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HOLINSHED'S (50

CRONICLES

E LAND, SCOTLAND,

AND
IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

SCOTLAND.

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THE
DESCRIPTION
OF
SCOTLAND,

WRITTEN AT THE FIRST BY HECTOR BOETIUS IN LATINE,

AND AFTERWARD

TRANSLATED INTO THE SCOTISH SPEECH BY JOHN BELLENDEN

ARCHDEACON OF MURREY,

AND NOW FINALLIE INTO ENGLISH BY R. H.

WHEREV PON IS INFERRED

THE HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND,

CONTAINING

THE BEGINNING, INCREASE, PROCEEDING, CONTINUANCE,

ACTS, AND GOVERNEMENT

OF

THE SCOTISH NATION,

FROM THE ORIGINALL THEREOF VNTO THE YEARE 1571.

GATHERED AND WRITTEN IN ENGLISH.

BY

RAPHAELL HOLLINDSHEAD:

AND CONTINUED FROM 1571, TO 1585, BY OTHERS.

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL MAISTER
THOMAS SECFORD ESQUIRE

AND MAISTER OF THE REQUESTS,

WILLIAM HARISON WISHETH ALL KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, WITH DAILIË
INCREASE OF HIS GIFTS AT THIS PRESENT, AND IN THE WORLD TO
COME LIFE EUERLASTING.

HAUING by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my descrip-
tion of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my tra-
trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your
infinite charges alredie finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe,
for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polish-
ed those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by
Leland our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not devise any
thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which great-
lie faouureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to
shew some token of my thankfulnessse for these your manifold kindnesses,
by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland
at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my trans-
lation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any
huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and what-
soeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will,
which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small,
and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a
farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation
sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diui-
nitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories.
And

THE EPISTLE.

And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate Hector out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to devise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, Boetius hatli penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie Iohn Bellenden archdeacon of Murrey his interpretor hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in
his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife
with such increase of his benefits, as may
most redound to his glorie,
& your own ad-
uantage.

THE CONTENTS

OF

THE CHAPTERS CONTEINED IN THIS BOOKE.

- 1 *Of the bounds of Albion, with the sundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion used there in old time.*
- 2 *The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.*
- 3 *The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.*
- 4 *The situation of Renfrew, Cliddesdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the same.*
- 5 *Of Rosse, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.*
- 6 *Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.*
- 7 *Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.*
- 8 *Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland; also of the strange nature of sundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.*
- 9 *Of sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citisus, commonlie called Hadder.*
- 10 *Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.*
- 11 *Of the nature of their Claike geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.*
- 12 *The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other sundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.*
- 13 *Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behauour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.*
- 14 *The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.*
- 15 *Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.*

THE AUTHORS

OUT OF WHOME THIS

HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND

HATH BEENE GATHERED.

Hector Boetius.

Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Fourdon.

Rogerus Houeden.

Richardus Southwell.

Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.

Albertus Crantz.

Aeneas Syluius.

Edward Hall.

Richard Grafton.

Iohn Stow: and others.

THE
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ARCHDEACON OF MURREY,

AND NOW FINALLIE INTO ENGLISH BY W. H.

THE BOUNDS OF ALBION WITH THE SUNDRIE COMMODITIES THEREOF, AND OF THE GREAT INFIRMITIES THAT FALL VNTO THE PEOPLE THERE FOR THEIR INTemperANCIE, AND FINALLIE OF THE RELIGION VSED THERE IN OLD TIME.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

THE Ile of Albion conteineth in the whole circumference, 2 M. miles, hauing in length 700, & in bredth 300, as appéereth well by the coast therof that dooth lie ouer against France where it is broadest, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter marches & last bounds of England and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas, and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane ocean toward the east, are scarselie 130 miles, and thencefoorth it groweth smaller and smaller till it touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thirtie miles, as I noted before in the description of Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with pleople, horssees, and all other kind of cattell and corne in most abundant maner, except it be in such places where as God of his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile with rich mines of gold, siluer, tin, brasse, copper, and quicksiluer, which for the most part are so plentiful, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of the whole Iland, but also of sundrie regions that are situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skilfull and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But the abundance of all other things requisite for the vse of men, that is found generallie in our Iland, maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodities, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the great plentie of those things which heauen and earth doo minister, as grasse, corne and cattell, foules of sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the same would suffice to féed and susteine all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which lie néere vnto the coast) doo saile hither with great numbers of vessels dailie to fish vpon our coasts, and buy such as we haue alreadie caught, not onlie for their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they sell the same at their owne wils, with very spéddie vtterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodities are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the aforementioned nations doo make no small account, beside these common things. What shall I saie of our woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands, bicause of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie skarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other gramed and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make this mention, bicause the report thereof is not yet made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Dionysius Alexandrinus saith that the wool of Britaine is often spun so fine that it is in manner comparable to the spiders draught.

Certes this I dare boldlie affirme, that if the kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of one prince, they should yer long féele such a sauour in this amitie, that they would not onlie line franklie of their own, without any forren purchase of things, but also resist all outward inuasion, with small trauell and lesse dammage. For as touching their persons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for the atteining of learning and knowledge of handicrafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. Theréunto we find them to be couragious and hardie, offering themselues often vnto the vttermost perils with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to performe, if they would giue themselues to liue temperatelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined their grounds (otherwise plentifulle indued with all kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bringeth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to them. For they are giuen to such vnaturall rauening and greedie desire of forreine things (whilst they contéine or not regard their owne) that they cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and excesse vsed in drinking of the same: insomuch that we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not onlie with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but also manie other which they hane not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience dailie teacheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing gréeses doo grow into such deformitie onlie through excessiue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you knew them when they were children & yoong men, you shall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged; and that which more is, in comparison of other that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them to be changelings and monsters, brought out of other countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerse of them through the continuall vse of wine are molested in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passions. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen much vnto wine and such welfare, to become parents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogither extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or Britains, as Cæsar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales doo report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturali and morall philosophie, and from thence came the first professors of that sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that season for the welspring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they perseuered in the same with great constancie, without anie note of heresie.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, WEST, AND MIDDLE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND, WITH
THE MOST NOTABLE TOWNES AND FLOUDES THEREOF.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THE Picts had sometimes the principall and most fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regiment of the Scots, and after they had continued in the same by the space of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains and Roinans, and sometimes also iarring with their Scottish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were ouerthrowne; their name extinguished; and the kingdom vnted vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue bene verie oftentimes assailed with most dangerous and terrible wars; and oftentimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet such hath bene the fauour of almightie God towards them, that still they flourish and reteine their estate inuiolate.

Whatsoever we haue generallie spoken of Albion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots, and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as they call them in the high land; as people that haue lesse to doo with forreine merchants, and therefore are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with strange blond and aliance. Hereby in like sort it cometh to passe; that they are more hard of constitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better; and absteine long, wherevnto also it appeareth that they are bold, nimble; and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the most plentious region of the Picts for their march, which so long as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named Mers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their countrie. In processe of time also the Scots extended their bounds enen vnto the Twéed, which now diuideth Northumberland from the Mers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cheriote hilles, and other mountaines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and so being brought into one chanell, they fall together into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriote hilles are in like sort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine small brookes that fall from the same, doo separate both the countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The Mers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whither it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea, sometime east Louthian, sometime the Twéed, and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong holds and castels, that stand vpon the borders, is the towne and castell of Barwike in time past called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Twéed springeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other small waters that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Twéed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriote hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it is Eskedale, or the vale of Eske, of a riner so called that runneth through the same: ouer against Eskedale on the other side lieth Eusdale, so named of the riuier Eus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Tif and Eske doo run into the Twéed: furthermore, on the west side ouer against the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherevnto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth sometimes without the bounds of Niddesdale, where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say, Eus, Annand and Sulway descend together in one bottome into the Irish seas.

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochmaben, five miles in length and foure in bredth, not onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a castell of the same name, builded of purpose to restraine the furious dealing of théeues which doo great hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales afore rehearsed, are manie strong théeues, which often spoile the countrie, and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as inhabit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers (because the English doo border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enimies) doo often make forceable rodes into the English bounds, for their better maintenance and sustentation, or else they pilfer priuillie from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so invred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praiseworthy to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it commeth to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perilous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yeelded themselues vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Niddesdale, so called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finallie restraineth itselfe againe, till it commeth at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers doo report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flandérs, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

THE DESCRIPTION OF GALLOWAIE, KILE, CARRICKE, AND CUNINGHAM, WITH THE
NOTABLE TOWNES, LAKES AND RIUERS IN THE SAME.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

ABOUE Niddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Créé into two parts, whereof that which lieth néerest to Niddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Créé is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcowbrie, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbeie dedicated to saint Ninian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Mirton, the one halfe whereof doo fréeze by naturall congelation as other pooles and plashes doo; but the other is neuer séene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me dooth séeme to be a great woonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Salset and the Neutramen, of equall length and bredth with the Lochmirton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lois, except I be deceiued, one of these lakes or pooles is 30, and the

the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herrings, coongers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Man the Iland lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwéene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the braies or baies are now worne wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea; yet the same latitude & eleuation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agréeth well to the heigth of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verle far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Man lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanish (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselues Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus dooth séeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the vttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Niddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine woolls and store of cattell, dooth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Above Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines doo yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into thrée parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sappie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile Reade in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in hith. 30 foot in length, and three elns thicke. king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or doone on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, nor not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me dooth séeme vnpossible, neuerthesse the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare; whatsoever the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a poole named Downe, from whence the riuer Downe dooth runne through the midst of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is dailie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

THE SITUATION OF RENFREW, CLIDESDALE, LENNOX, LOWMUND, ARGILE, LOUCHQUHABER, LORNE, AND KENTIRE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE THINGS
CONTAINED IN THE SAME.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE water of Clide diuideth Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the saine hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth

goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gludá, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Glota. Not far also from the founteines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clude hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mounteine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidesdale: Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two pooles named Quhinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next aboute Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Lelgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this lhiñ or poole are 30 Ilands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things woorthie consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred doo want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge wanes though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not aduerture to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which flécteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dée. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbritteine named sometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middest being called Knapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Iland, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsuallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and bredth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Garloll, one of the pooles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greihound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge okes with his taile, & therevnto killed thrée men outright that hunted him with thrée stroks of his said taile, the rest of them saning themselves in trées thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beléue that this beast is neuer séene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath béene described also before that time, although not veric often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in maner of a cape or toong, full sixtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kinire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, veric rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, aswell of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certeintie. The Lochtie riseth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnornorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their dailie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer hir pristinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repara of this towne, procéedeth of the slouth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons doo beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncerteine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

THE DISCOURSE OF ROS, STRANAUERNE, & MURREY LAND, WITH THE LAKES, RIUERS, AND NOTABLE TOWNES IN THEM.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

BEYOND the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middest of the Iland, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuerthelesse waxing more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yeeldeth it selfe to culture, and rendreth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the vallies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, doo yeeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Ros are sundrie lakes, but Lochbrun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finallie a notable firth or safe hauen called Cromart, wherevnto diuers in time of necessitie doo resort, to auoid the danger of shipwracke, that otherwise would assuredlie annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of shipmen. In this region moreouer is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) doo rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Ilaud) than the bolie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saned. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Ros, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I doo not find. Next vnto the said Ros lieth the Stranauerne, as the vttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, doo afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossia on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are thrée great crags or points lieng on the vttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hoie, Howbrun (the greatest of the thrée) and Downisbie, which bicause they shoot farre off into the sea, doo make two great firths and lakes, each of them being seuerallie distinguished from other.

Next vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, wherevnto it chieflie inclineth, as doo the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Murrey land, sometime

sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betweene Spaie and Nesse to the Ireland sea, was named Murrey; now it is knowne to be onlie beyond the water of Spaie & Kissocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Ros and Murrey land, is a great baie, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for thereinto fall the Nesse, Narden, Firdorne, Los and Spaie, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the flond striuing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Nesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said splash, from whence the Lochtiè runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeeld to be frozen in the veric deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast thereinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Nesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuieng the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often séeme to breùe them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whervpon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase eftsoones decaieth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to procéed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in bredth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martirns, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excessiue prices. In Murrey land also is not alonelic great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort doo vse a strange maner of fishing: for they make a long weele of wicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shoot themselues into the same, and foorthwith are so inclosed that whilst the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney, wherein is excéeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose séed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and herevnto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroied, as may be prooued by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by méanes wherof all the great fishes there be vtterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little Iohn remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcasse hath béene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yéeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hanch bone, which séemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, wherby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttonie and excesse. In this quarter finallie is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the month of Spaie, and therin is a cathedrall church furnished with carrons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Murrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisteaux, and Pluscardie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland.

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dée, a towne called in old time Alectum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Brechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines doo yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a cōtrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & pooles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this cōtrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose shéepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ottoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifulle as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolue and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I doo know of) but betwéene the Taie and the Tine witbin the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrewes is the chiefe, wherein is both the sée of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Iles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scotch saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riner of Forth that runneth a large & broad chanell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifulle indued with cockles, oysters, muskels, seales, pellocks, mereswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Iles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Maie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile springeth vp a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a woonderfull crag, rising within the sea, wherevnto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Basse-castell) is inuincible, and therein are manie caues verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and woonder; therein also is great store of soland géese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same doo satisfie the kéeper of the castell, for the yéerelie maintenance of his fewell, without anie other prouision. These foules doo féed their yoong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue alreadie preied vpon anie one, and haue it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, vntill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the kéeper of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather nō resistance, doo turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their yoong with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awaie of their yoong, they bring yéerelie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these géese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medcine, and fleaing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

fitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or vtterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had béene powred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be scéne in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firth also is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbeie. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are veric full of conies; and in the said firth are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto moonks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselues likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight dooth bréed great terror vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of uncouth signes & tokens.

THE DESCRIPTION OF LOUTHIAN, STRIUELING, MENTETH, CALIDON WOOD, BOUGE-WALL, GAREOTH, WITH THE NOTABLE CITIES, CASTELS, AND FLOUDS THEREOF.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

ON the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Piets, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & thereto for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and townes, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Northberwije and Leith: but Edenburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdom, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Maddens, remembered by the most renowned authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tripleth the renowne of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oilie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is restored: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man is now become one of the cheefe holds in Albion. It was sometimes the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbeie or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Mers, whereof I haue spoken alreadie, but we will now go vp higher into the land. Neerest vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: next vnto Twedale is Druisdale, Walcopdale, Douglassedale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riners haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops scé, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie zelouslie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diners pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of Iames the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bicause it is either vtterlie neglected,

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Menteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mounteine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white buls with shackt heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any bearhe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doo) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselues to death. Assoone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any maner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruze after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which voiage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebuls, bicause he ouerturned the beast, and saned the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinews and gristles, wherewith some delicat féeders doo often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the cast side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the vallies likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is morcouer worthie to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great woonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remooued from thence by manuell practise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so soone moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Gowray lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble vallies and riners full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yéeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose féelds are so plentious, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yéeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat soone into good and perfect rie, the like wherof I heare to be not farre from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhané and Bocne lieth Bostgewell and Gareoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Gareoth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to saie, the golden mounteine: for the shéepe that féed thereon are yellow, and their téeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreouer is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same maner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a crown which yéeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bradalbane, Strabraun, and Badzenoth, with diners small territories and flouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

THE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

OF THE GREAT PLENTIE OF HARES, RED DEER, AND OTHER WILDE BEASTS IN SCOTLAND,
OF THE STRANGE PROPERTIES OF SUNDRIE SCOTISH DOGS, AND OF
THE NATURE OF SAMON.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

HAUING made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therefore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red déere, fallow déere, roes, wild horssees, woolues and foxes. These horssees are not gotten but by great slight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certeine tame horssees & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallie home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and soone broken to their hands. The woolues are most fierce and noisome to the herds and flocks in all parts of Scotland, saning in one parcell of Angus, called Glennors dale, where these beasts doo no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild

Foxes doo much mischéefe generallie in all steads, but chéeffie in the mounteines, where they be verle hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserue their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that dooth not for certeine daies cherish vp a yong fox, which the Scots doo call a Todde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they gine vnto their foules and other little bestials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate héerof are preserued from danger of the fox, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the foxes as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellowes yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundreth of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are thrée sorts with vs, which are not séene else-where in anie quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardnesse, and strength, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against théeues that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a rach or hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a théefe, or théefe stolen goods in most precise manner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. Or if it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his footing, & be come to the place wherein the théefe is shrowded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would séeme méere incredible, except it were dailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase indifferentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellons and stolen goods; shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the sélfe theefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshaukes, sparrowhaukes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to excéed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be séene, as the capercailze or wild horsse greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onlie by the rinds and barks of the
pine

pine trees. We haue in like maner manie moore cocks and hens, the which abstaining from corne, doo feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of *Cytisus*, which the Scots doo commonlie call Hadder. These two are verle delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the phesant, and no lesse delicious in taste and sanor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in Mers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gustard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be séene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue béene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentiful in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and because the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doo know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in haruest time commeth vp into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which foorthwith they coner with sand and grauell and so depart away. From hencefoorth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore worthilie said to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellowes, during the time of this their leannesse, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it commeth to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to procéed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring dooth yéeld great number of little frie, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yse laid foorth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a maruellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnworthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnés or pooles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow aboue, are yet déepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the chanell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as commeth against him, he goeth so neere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtéineth his desire; if not, he assaieth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a litle hod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, doo broose themselues and become measelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do oft nest leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finallie there is no man that knoweth readilie whereon this fish lineth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humor.

OF THE SUNDRIE KINDS OF MUSKLES AND COCKLES IN SCOTLAND, AND OF PEARLES
GOTTEN IN THE SAME : OF THE VNCOUTH AND STRANGE FISH THERE TO BE SEENE,
AND OF THE NATURE OF THE HERBE CITISUS, COMMONLIE CALLED HADDER.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

HERE it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not vnlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vtterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called Horsse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the déepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnwoorthilie called of old time, widowes lustes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, wherein (as in yéeld of gaine) they farre excéed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finallie product the pearle.

Cardane denieth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke aboue them, doo speake neuer so softlie, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrie you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doo catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselues to be pursued. Their maner of apprehension is this, first foure or fiue persons go into the riner together, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, sith they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eies downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and cléerensse, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoope for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The perls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naile of ones little finger, as I haue had and séene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint Iames, and brought into Scotland, but they are without pearls, bicause they liue in salt water, which is an enimie to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many vncouth and strange shapes of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard skales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an yrcheon or hedghog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although milians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne

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Galen. lib. 1. de Antidotis saith that Citisus is no herb but a shrub, and so dooth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. cap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

is scène in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bées especiallie. This herbe in Iune yéeldeth a purple floure swéet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the maner of making hereof is perished in the hauocke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finallie there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be prooued easilie throughout all the Iles that are annexed to the same.

OF THE ILES OF SCOTLAND, AND SUCH NOTABLE THINGS AS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THEM.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

BEING fallen at the last into mention of our Iles, I will adresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and thrée Iles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Euboniæ, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Cæsar in his commentaries, and other Roman writers doo testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha, after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothesay, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland géese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their seuerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Nouant cliffe (in Scottish the toong of Lorne) within sight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fullie so large as Ila, both for length and dreadth. In Mula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere vnto this is Iona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbie, wherin the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammof, who erected the monasterie of Donfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue béene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the north-northwest seas, ouer against Rosse is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yeere, there shall no samon be scène there for a twelue month after, wheras otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of seale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be scène, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and vttermost Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrés, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degré, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a shéepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker

than

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Within two yeeres after there hapned such another trée to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundée, worneaten and full of yoong géese after the same maner: the third was séene in the hauē of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yéeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien thrée yéeres at anchor in one of these Iles, was broght to Leith, where bicause hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir kéele were found infinite holes as if they had beene eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Héere if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Iles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doo turne into these foules, I will disprooue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eies. Maister Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, & gluing his mind with attentiuē diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he tooke vp a branch of Alga, called in Scotish, Seatangle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to sée what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacitie of the shell.

Finallie, knowing that I was veric inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelies, he came hastilie with the said hearbe & shewed it vuto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are producted either by the qualities of the trées or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, bicause the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trées, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into géese, they beléueed that these géese grew vpon trées, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit doo by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruit fall from the trée into the sea, they grow first to be worneaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into géese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vuto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknowne vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nanie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Iland of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had séene the Thule, with other Ilands lieng about the same. Ptolome writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, which lie néere vnto Norway, and beyond the Orchades; but this cannot be prooued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, line onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale dooth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

OF THE DESCRIPTION OF ORKENEY, AND SHETLAND, WITH SUNDRIE OTHER SMALL ILES,
AND OF THE MANERS AND CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE DWELLING IN THE SAME.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

BEYOND the Iles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the northwest, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomonia, wherein is a bishops sée, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood,
howbeit

howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither line anie while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind. Ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for éeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue prooued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in bookes.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or poole there, néere vnto the which by manie m'les, there groweth neither herbe nor trée; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof dooth within one yéeres space alter and change excédinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboute the said element reteining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, thrée distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre excéedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be rehersed, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke séene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madnes. There is herévnto small vse of physicke: for mankind lineth there most commonlie vnto extreame age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or thrée lambs a péce at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horssees are litle greter than the French asses, but in their labour they excéed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit? among which there is one sort greater than anie horsse, of a maruellous and incredible sluggish desire to sléepe. This fish when shée prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboute the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieng, they foorthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselues to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be atchiued. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who féeling hirselle to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the déepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and indeuouring in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and soone after also turneth vp hir bellie, yéelding hirselle vnto the wanes, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they excéed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of shépes felles, oxe hides, gotes skines, and cases of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zeland and Germanie, fetch them yéerelic by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orchanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orchanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of

strong ale, content themselues with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to féed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselues in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or kéepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that déeme firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power dooth shew his whole indeuour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischéefe, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yéere there commeth a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministreth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certaine time (hauing taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish; which is their sole increase, and verie trulie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowme, they are not without these also : for the people of these Iles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and gréeuous infirmitie? For here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sicknesse to attach anie, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropriated vnto their carcasses. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vnchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in déed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders? Finallie, if those be the true honors, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, dooth shew vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the best sort doo maruellouslie reioise and delite themselues: and that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustlie say that these men doo lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather affirme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can iustlie wish or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Ilands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orchades, with whome one of these Ilanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearsall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

See Matthiols
vpon the first
booke of
Dioscorides
capite de populo
albo & nigra.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Iles groweth the delectable amber, called Electrum, Chrysolectrum, or (as Dioscorides saith) Pterygophoron, indued with so vehement an attractiue force, that being chafed it draweth straw, flox, and other like light matter vnto

it.

it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is throwen vp by continuall. repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the wanes groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilst it hangeth on the rocke, affirme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Seatangle ^{Alga.} is found inuironed also withall, because it is drinen hither and thither by the working of the wanes, and so long as it fléets to and fro in this maner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie horsse, which the heardmen that kept their cattell neere hand caught vp, & not knowing in déed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiuing a swéet and delectable sauour to procéed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a péece of stuffe which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir Iohn had béene more cunning than themselues, but contrarie to their expectation, it feil out that he was no lesse vnskilfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he tooke but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little prooffe and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskilfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had béene the laie or flame of a candle. Herein also the prouerbe was proued true, that the sow reckes not of balme. But so soone as I vnderstood of the matter, I vsed such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the Hebrides, Orchades, and Shetland Iles subiect vnto the Scotish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehersall of diners other strange things woorthie the noting in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath fraied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, whereof maister Iames Ogilbie ambassadour from Iames our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and whereof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of wether to get to land in Norweie. Thus standeth the case, being drinen (as I said) vpon the shore of Norweie, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diners pictures gine foorth for wild men, hearie and vglie to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuerthelesse deadlie enimies to mankind: they vnderstood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terror, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cherish great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to kéepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are morouer of such strength, that sometimes they pull vp yoong trées by the roots to fight withall among themselues. The ambassadours séeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong gard to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preied vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which comming downe from the snowie hils to grase in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and

caried vnto their canes. In this exercise also they tie little boords to their fées, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to clime vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, whereof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

OF THE MANERS OF THE SCOTS IN THESE DAIES, AND THEIR COMPARISON WITH THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE OLD, AND SUCH AS LIUED LONG SINCE WITHIN THIS ILAND.

THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

FORSOMUCH as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behaiour from those of our forefathers, and herevnto although I assure my selfe alreadie that the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundrie woorthie or renowned personages (of which few will yéeld to heare their doings touched or their errorrs reprovéd) yet because I owe such duetie and seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken vnto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable vnto all the readers, but especiallie such as are not immoderatlie giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholie drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vsages haue béene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so manie mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Iland with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaie. And finallie how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prowesse, we line in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and wrapped vp in all avarice and excesse, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowesse dooth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beléue that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet retaining a sauour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioise to heare their manhood & great prowesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sect (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excesse and riot) séeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonor gotten thereby openlie reuealed, will the rather adresse themselues to reformation of their estate, thereby to recouer the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prowesse, than proue a reproch vnto their successours, through their lewd behaiours neuer to be forgiuen. This I protest before all men, that whatsoeuer I shall speake of the euill maners of our times, I doo not meane it vnto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-loue, couetousnes, intemperancie, excesse and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmitie, by séeking reuenge on other men, but rather indeuour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuerthelesse in conuersation & behaiour verie temperat, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sléepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and con-

tented with such food as was readie at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readilie on the ground, without all maner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked vp as it came from the mill without anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof vnto our daille nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefelie fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they tooke great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred vp at home, whereof béeffe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies; though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or yoong béeffets vngelded, we either kill yoong for veale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and mōst delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or somuch for the pleutic thereof, as for that our lands laie often wast and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determind of set purpose to be merie, they vsed a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented themselues with water as rediest for their turnes. Ech souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes vsed to doo, and the emperour Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so vsed to nourish verie abundantlie. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especiallie when they wanted their vsuall preies, or could not atteine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shoot-anchor against extreme hunger, on which they would féed and sucke out the moisture, when other prouision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerar, but they did keepe themselues in their former actiuitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the vallies, or from the vallies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shauen after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their forparts, and neuer coucred, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was seene to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shooes, they dipped them first in the water yer they did put them on, especiallie in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their féet (which were well hardned in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labor and dailie trauell.

Their apparrell was not made for brauerie and pompe, but as shuld séeme best to coner their bodies, and serue their appointed vses, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their bréeches were for the most part of hempe, clokes also they had for winter made of course wooll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floore or pallets of straw, teaching their children enen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take
intollerable

intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their brests, as they were before they were borne with the blond of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerar and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselues, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulness they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trussed behind them on their horsse, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusall of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capteins.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mountains, that no horsse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was doone to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadlie fude conceiued in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readiest be séene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselues, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it happened that their capteine was beset with extreme perill, or peradventure some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenlie rush in through the thickest of their enimies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so doo, they would altogither lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerliue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enimies before time in the field. If anie souldier had beene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vsed they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capteine, was slaine wheresoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soone as the armie did set forward, they slue the first lining creature that they found, in whose bloud they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted therof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had alreadie béene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne bloud run from them in the fight, they waxed neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enimies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by meere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went foorth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectuous generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if she afterward happened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, droonkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first
being

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passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthie of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germanè honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out yer long, that wheras he in times past was accompted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fixed all their felicità. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beléeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dowghtinesse, we applie our selues to droonkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excesse with superflinitie: they were temperate, we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no péere if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to sée, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & powre in, till our bellies be so full that we must néeds depart. Certes it is not supposed méet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue doone before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforsaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night doo scarselie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for veneson, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Gréece: nay Afrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all thé world for swéet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behaiour) as men that aduenture their owne lines to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countriemen, as if the mind were not alreadie sufficientlie bereft of hir image of the diunitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which alreadie dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor kéepe him selfe vpright, but must néeds yeeld as ouercome, and to be torne in péces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to passe, that our countrimen traueiling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doo burne and parch as it were with continuall fiér, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenlie, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recouer for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried alreadie.

Our youth also following these vnhappy steps of their parents, gine themselues wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherevnto they applie themselues as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time dooth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in beaue armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse which choketh vp their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So soone also as they returne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them vp in pleasure and pampering of their mawes, they must fall to couetous and gréedie practises, therby to enrich themselues, or else proue strong théeues, or finally sowers of dissention and discord among the noble men, thereby to preie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, procéed generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would refraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despair not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt mauers of my countriemen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off vnshamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood dooth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with feruent deuotion increase euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue béene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doo passe their ancestors in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with spéed, Amen.

¶ Hitherto haue I translated Hectors description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English toong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swarueth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will gine ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euer hereafter of anie historical matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies vtterly condemned, as vaine and sauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

THE DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT PICT.

THE XIV. CHAPTER.

THE Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparell, howbeit the nobler sort of them doo wrap their heads and wombs in hoops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the gaiest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparell, because they estéemed it a great glorie

to haue these paintings séene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselues (in stéed of other armor) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, bicause they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, diuideth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Meats, saieng that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trées: and albeit that they haue excéeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They line naked in tents, and without shooes on their féet, their wines are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue morouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to steale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horsse, which run also verie swiftlie, & stand at their féet with like stedfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little péece or two of iron, which ratleth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise whère manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but chéefflie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise sore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marishes vp to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they féed on roots or barks of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Meats (which were the néerest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

THE NUMBER OF BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND.

THE XV CHAPTER.

THE archbishoprik of	Aberden	Marche	Niddisdale
S. Andrewes	Glasco	Athole	Wigton
Glasco		Stratherne	Are
Dunfalden	<i>Dukedomes.</i>	Menteth	Lanarke
Dunblanen	Rothsay	Leuenox	Dúmbritten
Aberden	Albanie.	Wigton	Sterueling
Brechen		Duglasse	Louthian
Moraue	<i>Earledomes.</i>	Carrike	Clakmanan
Ros	Cathnes	Crawford	Kimos
Whitherne	Sotherland	Annandale	Fiffe
Cathnes	Rosse	Ourmonth	Perth
Argadie	Moraue	Huntley.	Angus
Orkenie	Buchquhan		Mernis
Ymor one of the Iles	Gáruiach	<i>Viscounties.</i>	Aberden
which are exempt	Garmoran	Berwike <i>aliàs north</i>	Bamph
and perteine vnto	Mar	Berwike	Fores
the pope.	Mernis	Roxborow	Inuernes.
<i>Vniuersities.</i>	Angus	Selkirke	
S. Andrews	Gowri	Twedale	
	Fiffe	Dunfrise	

FINIS.

THE
HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND,

CONTEINING

THE BEGINNING, INCREASE, PROCEEDINGS, CONTINUANCE,
ACTS AND GOUVERNEMENT

OF

THE SCOTISH NATION,

FROM THE ORIGINALL THEREOF VNTO THE YEARE 1571.

GATHERED AND WRITTEN IN ENGLISH

BY

RAPHAELL HOLLINSHEAD:

AND CONTINUED FROM 1571, TO 1585, BY OTHERS.

WITH A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL PARTICULARITIES HEREIN CONTEINED.

M. PAL. IN ARI.

HISTORIÆ PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARLE OF LEICESTER, BARON OF DENBIGH, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER, MAISTER OF THE QUEENES MAIESTIES
HORSE, AND ONE OF HIR HIGHNESSE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

IT may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I vnder-tooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue seene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowme, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humbly beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting you with so
meane

meane a gift, proceeding from one, although vnknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will cease to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, aswell this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scotish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be commanded

RAPHAELL HOLLINSHED.

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Moses called
out of Madian
into Aegypt.

Moses not re-
garded.
Exodus 5.

Gathelus leav-
ing Aegypt,
seeketh other
countries.

Gathelus de-
parting was,
Anno mundi,
2253. H. II.
3643. H. B.
He was repelled
from Barbarie.
He landed in
Portingale.

The inhabitants
resist Gathelus.

A communica-
tion.
Gathelus build-
eth the citie
Bracchara.

A communica-
tion.

Gathelus left
Portingale,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
citie called
Brigantia,
and now Com-
postella.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinaances.

appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible maner; and moreouer it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sorer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarië purueiance to be prouided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Gréeke and Aegyptians, whom he imbarcked in those ships, and hoising vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voiage, they arriued first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they tooke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and eftsoones againe in a maner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth?

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their purueiance:) whose arriual being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely incountring with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the woorst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obteining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortlie after they began the foundation of a citie néere to the banks of the riuer called of ancient time Mundus, and afterwards Bracchara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiuing these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vnderstood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftsoones fell to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoiding of variance, to remooue vnto the northside of Spaine, lieng vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so doo, they would aid them to the vttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in anie maner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladlie accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Nouium, and now Compostella.

GATHELUS.

HERE Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fensed with strong walles, but also with

with good and holosome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scotia. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a woonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards, doubting the woorst, determined to foresée remedie in time, and herevpon purposing vtterlie to destroie them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Scottishmen, gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great bloudshed on either part, as the Scottish historie saietli. At length a necessarie peace was agréed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

The Spaniards fight with the Scots infortunally.

A peace concluded.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, following it, that wheresoeuer it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

Gathelus ministred iustice. A description of the seat.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocúnq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be thus translated:

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wisards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceiued that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agrément, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by séeking to inlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Ilaud lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an hauen néere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome hée had by his wife Scotia, the one named Hiberus, and the other Himecus, to conueie them ouer into that Ilaud, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hiberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

Galicia not sufficient to find the Scots.

The Scots séeke new seats.

At their first arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting on land, they first incamped themselues néere the shore, and then sent foorth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as lined onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought foorth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not about with force, but by gentleness to win those people, minding to ioine them in friendship so with their Scottishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be doone, sithens the inhabitants (perceiuing the Scottishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in wholie about them, submitting themselues into their hands with gladnesse.

The Scots arriue in Ireland.

Irishmen liue by milke and hearbes. Irishmen are gentlie intreated.

HIBER.

Hiber returned into Spaine. WHEN things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing foorth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, Hiber (leaning his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succéded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioising of all the people there.

Hiber succéded his father Gathelus. This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to inlarge the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and townes néere adioining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties: and in the end constreined his enimies to séeke for peace, which he willinglie granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same tooke such good successe, that within certeine yeeres after, both the nations, what by mariage and other contracts, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hibers deceasse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus were of most woorthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

Hiber a conquerour.

A peace.

Spaniards & Scots becom one people.

HÈMECUS.

Hemecus K. of Ireland. IN the meane while that these things were thus a dooing in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one, but that after his deceasse either of them would haue seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gonerne them: by reason whereof, falling eftsoones at discord amongst themselues, there insued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties happilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so soone as they had once recouered their decayed strengths, so that the one séeking the others destruction, they continued in great disquietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finallie adressed an ambassage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottish men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enimies, who went about with tooth and naile to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like inough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid prouided for the contrarie.

Dissention.

The Scots send an ambassador vnto Metellus in Spaine.

Aid sent to assist the Scots in Ireland.

Hermoneus returned into Spain againe.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man mooued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue care to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediatlie therefore he sent his thrée sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hibertus, with a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enimies with fierce and cruell battels, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and linings. This doone Ptolomeus and Hibertus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succéed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeeres in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred vp grudge and parcialities amongst them, which shortlie would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not prouided redresse in time, which was to persuade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for

for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the bloud roiall, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiancie in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with him amongst other princelie iewels and regall monuments, the fatall stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Simon Brech.

Brechus came into Ireland.

BRECHUS.

BRECHUS being thus crownd, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yéere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons account is after the flood 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sauour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yéeres or thereabout, he died, after whose deceasse succéeded Fandufus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, which Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scólishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appéere.

4504 H. B.

60 H. B.

696 H. B.

Fandufus.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Iles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the westerne Iles because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Iles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

Rothsay.
The Scots ferrie ouer into the westerne Iles.

They inhabit the Ile of Rothsay.

This Rothsay had not béene long in those Iles, but that hearing of his fathers deceasse, he returned into Ireland to succéed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Iles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither dailie in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Iles were not large inough to find them sustenance, by reason whereof diners companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the forerembred Iles, by them already inhabited, Anno 3333. That part where they first began to settle themselues, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first captein and guide Gathelus; but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

The Scots inhabit the maine land of Scotland.

4617 H. B.

They inhabit the countrie called Arguile.

They make lawes and ordinances. Governours had in reuerence.

At their first comming, because they perceived they could not live without lawes and ciuill government, they seuered themselues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes ministred, and iustice maintained: which gouernours were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yéere, increasing in processe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enimie. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers doo agréed, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine; which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

They liue in peace. The Picts came into Scotland out of Germanie.

Some saie that they came foorth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they vsed to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they vsed gaie apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yéeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Iles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and

ouer

changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

ouer into Cathnesse, whereof it came to passe, that the streict there **at this present is called** Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Rosse, Murrey land, Merne, and Anguse, **and after that,** entring into Fille and Louthian, they droue such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and bréeding of cattell.

4667 H. B.

The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require womē of the Scots.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appéere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arriued, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselues, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such shifts; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing fourth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure aliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if néed required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and vsurpers vpon their confines.

A league made.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with coucnants, that neither of them should seeke to vsurpe any péce of that which the other held, but content themselues with their owile marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at anie time it were doubtfull who ought to succéed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

The succession of the gouernement.

Their aliance misliked.

This aliance was enen at the first misliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparablie together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to preuent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroie both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselues, that afterwards when their powers were by such meanes sore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This denise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them. The Picts applied themselues to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, vsing about the same to go armed in iacks and light iesternes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had beene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

Dissention a present destroier.

The Picts good husbandmen. The Scots giuen to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send ambassadors vnto the Picts. A craftie suggestion.

At length, the Britains perceiuing happilie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they sent soleinne ambassadors vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitfull and replenished with all commodities necessarie, hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of mettall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beasts. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophesies, that the Scots through treason should vtterlie in time to come extinguish and destroie all the Pictish blond. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoever enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

Prophesies.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, encouraged the Picts so, that they sought dailie how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: wherevpon making proclamation that no Scottishmen should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such

such as they tooke within the same, they cruellie slue; other they ransomed at excessive summes: wherevpon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The Scots reuenge the iniurie doone vnto them.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there insued open war betwixt them: wherupon the Sotishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadors vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the vtter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needful to haue one ouelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some capteine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselues. In that season amongst the Irish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclining to the petition of the British Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leuied, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusius to be generall of the same, a worthie yoong gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome hee sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went foorth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Scots send for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Ferguhardus king in Ireland.

Fergusius sent into Scotland.

The marble stone.

Such also as went with him in this iournie, had their wines, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusius was no sooner come into Albion among the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselues against their enemies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finallie for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to choose onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thencefoorth follow and obeie.

Fergusius landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is for to be obeied.

FERGUSIUS.

BUT because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the chaire of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioising of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Ferguse tooke vpon him to rule as king, making prouision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilest these things were a dooing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselues, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Ferguse hauing hereof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Ferguses banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folden towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be mooned to displeasure. Ferguse was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath béene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroie them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of araie in following the chase. The like report was brought

The Britains are about to deceite the Picts.

Treason re-
uealed vnto
Ferguse.

brought vnto Ferguse by one that fled to his side from the enimies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

Ferguse send-
eth to the Picts.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Ferguse sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safegard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araie, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to re-
turne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

A peace to be
concluded.

The king of
the Picts called
his councill
and commons.

Herevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his councill afore him, declaring the substance of the communication which had beene betwixt king Ferguse and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuises of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agréed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

A prophesie.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be doone; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter frendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beastlie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroie all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to kéepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to séeke new dwellings in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Ouer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their séed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the néerest meane and foreablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

The Picts ad-
monished by
their wiues to
peace.

Whilest the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbandsto haue pitie vpon them, in their solorowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoever it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine togith-er in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betweene them: and

The Picts are
moued to pittie.

for

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of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuier of Dune, by a certeine blind foord, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (séeing none other remedie but to saue themselues by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselues, nor yet to maké shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sisellius, who with his mother Mertia gouerned the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as Hector Buct. saith, their countrie of Coill tooke name.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enimies hands, got them together in the next morning, & perceiuing what losse they had susteined not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yéeld thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and spéedilie published betwixt them.

Peace concluded.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Ferguse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enimies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongst themselues, and to absteine from violating the leagues now concluded, aswell with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

A parlement. An exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this péce or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Ferguse, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

The land is parted.

Obedient subjects.

Wherevpon shortlie after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be surueiors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as néere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulnessse or barrennesse of the soile required, so they should inlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission seuered foorth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Ferguse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne, as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

Men diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries tooke their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euen vnto this day. Ferguse hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied furthermore to devise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbrie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

Beregonium. A place appointed for iustice.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughquhabre on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westernne Iles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of she same Iles might haue their ac-

cesse

cesse & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, indeuouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finallie, sailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was inbarked, was drinen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath béene euer since called rocke Ferguse, after his name.

Ferguse went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned. Rocke Ferguse, otherwise Knocke Ferguse.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Esdadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious hauen apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that hauen was: and the citie it selfe was finallie subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The forenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Maidens, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & woorke, till they came to yéeres of mariage.

Esdadus.

Cruthneus Camelonus. This citie the Scottish writers take to be Camelodunum, of the which there is so often mention made in the Roman writers; but verelie herein they doo greatlie erre.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Ferguse, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might choose to succéed in his place. Manie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouvernement of king Ferguse, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though yoong of yéeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with toong can be well expressed.

Agneda now called Edenbrough. The castell of Maidens. The Scots consult about another election of a king.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minoritie, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected, the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries doone or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agréed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he séeke to aduance his kinsfolks more than reason happilie required, and peradventure doo things otherwaies much displeasent to no small number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yéeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he vnderstood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fansies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yéeres) how to gouerne themselues.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agréed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Ferguse should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Ferguse his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yéeres, they might succéed him in the estate and kingdome.

Feritharis chosen king.

This ordinance also they decreéd to be obserued as a law from thencefoorth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succéed him, then should

should one of his néerest coosins, such as was thought méettest to occupie the roome, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecessors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

The choesing
of kings was
not allowed.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obteneing the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this denise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncle to séeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthie princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finallie that ordinance was clearelie abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

FERITHARIS.

A two edged
sword.

BUT now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifieng that he tooke vpon him to preserue the libertie of his countrie, to sée offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

The crowne
changed,

The league
with the Picts
confirmed.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scotish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperour and king of France, to indure for euer betwéene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, together with foure croslets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, maintained by the Scotish nation, might be the more eident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortlie after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solenne wise confirmed, and such punished as had doone anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge veric vprightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe gréeued: and thus continued he certeine yéeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Ferguse, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that whère before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staid them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughe, till that all such as had béene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis sud-
denly died.

Ferlegus
exiled.

An election of
a new king.

Feritharis liued not passing thrée moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to flée first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yéeres of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agréed vpon Mainus the yoonger sonne of king Ferguse, as then being about 24 yéeres of age.

MAINUS.

MAINUS.

THIS Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus; was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguse. He therefore studieng to answeere the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthie acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euerie yéere once to haue a publikie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earst had committed.

Justice maintained.
Small matters redrest among neighbours.
Great matters determined by the king.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chrinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldlie policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to bee appointed out, and compassed about with great huge stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in manér of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Picts.
Mainus a deuout man in his religion.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chappels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that maner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason wherof this vse was taken vp, that so soone as anie of them got sight of the new moone next after hir change, ne saluted hir with certeine praier or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yéeres after. Mainus did also appoint foorth linings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finallie, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his cōuntry, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yéeres, leauing the estate to his sonne Doruadille, Elidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thaara amongst the Picts.

Diana honored of the Scots.
Diana goddesse of hunting.

The new moone is worshipped.

A lining provided for the priests.

DORUADILLE.

DORUADILLE being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and kéeping of hounds & greihounds, ordeining that euerie housholder should find him two hounds and one greihound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eie or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a státute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an oxe for his paines. This beast in déed the Scottishmen, euen from the begining, vsed to pursue in all they might deuise, bicause the same is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Doruadille a lover of peace & Doruadille had pleasure in hunting.

The reward for killing of a wolfe.

Thus

Lawes made
for hunting.

The dogs re-
warded.

Old lawes al-
lowed, and new
established.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordeined, that he whose dog did teise and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were scene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being drest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the maister of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should choose by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse; I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed enen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Doruadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Ferguse had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certeine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the custodie of a graue councellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offendor should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offendor might vnderstand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Iles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decrée taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and dooings of king Doruadille, who in the 28 yéere of his reigne departed this world at Beregonium, now called Dunstafage, leaning behind him a sonne called Reuther as yet not of sufficient age to succéed in the estate. By reason whereof Nothatus the brother of Doruadille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

Nothatus.

NOTHATUS.

THIS Nothatus had vneath reigned two yéeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And forsomuch as he being admonished of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Reuther king Doruadilles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diners of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diners of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enimies to Doualus and his friends.

Brigantia, now
called as the
Scots say
Galloway.

Nothatus mur-
dered.

REUTHER.

AFTER this they proclaimed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged

Reuther
crowned king.
Diuers lords
offended.

it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorouslie murthered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskilfull yoong man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lorne and Cantir, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Douaius hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there sleaing diners of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by flieng yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

Nowantia.

A conspiracie of Ferquhard against Doualus.

Ferquhard fled into Ila.

In the end, Ferquhard persuaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enimies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first ioining hands, which they did wet in mans blond (according to the custome then vsed) they promised one to another to line and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselues in certeine vessels, they entred the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountred with Douale in battell, whose host twice in one daie was put to flight néere to the citie Beregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

Ferquhard returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came foorth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enimies readie to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aline. Vpon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Reuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & cōmons that tooke part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & cōmons of Rosse, Cathenesse, Marne, Argile, Cantire, and Lorne, with them of the westerne Iles which were there with him.

Douale is slaine.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Reuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left alieue. Whereof his enimies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a castell in Cathnesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in respect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsell of malicious persons. By this cruell murther and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottishmen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie inféebled, that they became an casie prey to their ancient and common enimies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happilie be past and gone.

Reuther the king fled.

Reuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiuing themselues not able to make resistance, fled with their wines, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Iles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a litle before mentioned. Héere also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true.) Hereof moreouer as some suppose it came to passe, that these Ilands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

Gethus king. Why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seeme to be that they were so

In

called because
the Picts inha-
bited there be-
fore they set
foot in Britaine.

The Scots ouer-
throwne.

Scots besieged
deuoure one
another.

The Scots come
foorth and
fight.

Reuther escap-
eth.

Reuther pass-
eth into Ireland.
They inhabit
the mounteins.

Reuther is sent
for out of Ire-
land.

A custome.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Mers, Louthian, and others, they left in diners places where they thought expedient, garisons of men of war, to kéepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottish kingdome, burning & wasting all afore them, wherewith such Scots as yet remained aliuie, being highlie mooued to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incountring with their enimies néere to Kalender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being sore chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they vtterlie despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope vtterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Reuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliuie, to flée for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beregonium, where they held themselues as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Beregonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and vehement siege, vntill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agréement made amongst them.

But when it came to passe, that enen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing foorth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarieng still within the fortresse, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies. Wherevpon by common consent there issueth foorth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiors, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were borne downe and slaine with prease and multitude of his enimies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilest he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Reuther with the residue of his people brake foorth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Iles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Oenus king of the Britains to auoid foorth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Reuther remained not long in the Iles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little mooued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and lined there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such veneson and flesh of wild beasts as they killed in the wilderness: and sometimes they came downe and made raises vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yéeres, vntill in maner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitudè to the Britains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Picts kept his siegè roiall in Pomonia the chéefest Ile of the Orkenies. Reuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortlie after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Gethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships together, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Iles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the yest halfe of Rosse at Lough Bruum, and there comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his bloud, they first tasted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of
Germans,

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A law for physicians and surgians.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskillfull surgians and physicians ~~manie wound-~~ ed and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and ~~consent of his~~ councell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vnlesse ~~they were by~~ long experience well practised aforehand in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had béene vexed with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, kéeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Aegyptians.

Reutha resigned the estate vnto his coosin Thereus.

Reutha thus studieng for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finallie perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to trauell in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his coosin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attein vnto the prowesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

THEREUS.

Iustice neglected and vice imbraced.

The nobles conspire against Thereus. Thereus fled to the Britains.

THIS Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outragions in their licentious liuings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof insued theft, murther, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together; deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conueied himselfe out of the way in most secret wise, fléeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Yorke, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

CONANUS.

Conanus is chosed king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate. Iosina elected king.

IMMEDIATELY after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and pères chose one Conanus lord of Galloway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had beene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chiefly imploied how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing, of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number; but he weeded them forth, in such wise that yer he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Beregonium, where by common consent Iosina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succéed.

IOSINA.

IOSINA.

THIS Iosina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Picts and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he vnderstood the vertues and properties of herbes, wherewith in those dales the Scots vsed to beale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowen amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous féeding and excesse of meats and drinks vsed in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeting, the chiefest bréeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Iosina his daies it chanced that a Portingale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streinable tempest néere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Iles, wheré diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

Surfeting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne. Two ancient philosophers through ship-wrack arriue in Scotland, and are ioifullie receiued of the king.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Beregonium, where the king as then soiourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most ioifullie, dooing them all the honor he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things néedfull, and accordinglie ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselues at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the mauers and customs of his people, so far forth as they had séene and heard. They without pausing for answeere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of corne and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; and this they said that they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vsages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Aegyptians, woorshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beasts and fowls, whereas God was enen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them conteined; whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall çause or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of lining thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vowes: at whose hands such as liued chastlie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarilie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

The Scottish religion reprobued.

Vpright liuing well rewarded at Gods hands.

With these their sensible instructions they perswaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the moone, and stars, but that there was a certeine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers brieflie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to procéed with our purpose. When Iosina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Beregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of ihe people proclaimed king of Scotland.

Iosina departeth this life.

FINNANUS.

THIS Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priuie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by méekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constreine anie man to woorship the gods, otherwise than his fansie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelates, which gouerned after the maner of bishops, in all matters perteing to religion, and were called in the Scottish toong Durceglijs, in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the British toong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great linings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all in-iunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

Prelats or-
dered in reli-
gion.
Druides in the
old Scottish
toong called
Durceglijs.
The Scots mis-
take Man for
Angleseie.

These Druides afterwards applied themselues so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, aswell naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whère of their authoritie dailie so far foorth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserved accòrdinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obeie their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no creature durst once kéepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cléerelie by the same Druides absolued.

The authoritie
of the Druides
increased.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Cæsar, with diners other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifieng how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all wholie vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting foorth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in ioifull rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little aduanced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that aliance he wan diners of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Picts as then sore diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Beregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

DURSTUS.

AFTER him succéded his sonne the forenamed Durstus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banketting and excessiue drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diners vile persons in most villanous maner.

Wicked coun-
cellors.

A conspiracie.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Iles with them of Cantire, Lorne, Argile, and Rosse, conspired together in the reformation of such disorders as were dailiè vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed councellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that
fauoured

fauoured them in this quarell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beléefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such councellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

A craftie and cloked dissimulation.

He further also in presence of Doro the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, sware in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and couenants as he was agréed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being deceiued, came without suspect of further guile unto Beregonium, where at their first comming he was readie to receiue them (as séemed by his feined countenance) with gladsome hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

Craftie dissimulation.

A cruell murder.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinsfolke, caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies after, manie thousands of men in furious rage came before the castell, and besieged the king most straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such danger as he knew not well how to escape, came forth with such companie as he had about him; and incountring with his enimies, was straightwaies beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceiued against them for their fathers fault, to auoid the perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the nobles of the realme assembled themselues together for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding to haue any of Durstus his race to reigne ouer them, least they would sécke by some means to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of contrarie opinions about the election of their prince, through a wittie oration made by Coranus gouernour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie reasons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agréed to commit the frée election vnto the same. Coranus, promising firmelie to accept whomsoeuer he should name. Herevpon Coranus consulting a little with the péeres of the realme, named one Ewin the vnckles sonne of Durstus, who as then remained in Pictland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt maners. This election was acceptable to all estats, for that thereby the administration of the kingdome continued in the line of their former kings.

A new tumult.

King Durstus besieged.

Durstus is slaine.

Ewin is chosen king.

EWIN.

AND Ewin shortlie after was brought forth of Pictland with all regall solemnitié, and at Beregonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the great reioising of the people there assembled. Herewith also the nobles of the realme, putting their hands in his, bound themselues by oth to be loiall and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins commandement, begun and continued manie hundred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie; in somuch that the capteins of the tribes also required the same kind of oth of them that inhabited within their libertiés, which in part remaineth yet vnto this day amongst those of the westerne lles, and such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whome they name their capteine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie, proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting within his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the ancient & accustomed name as such rulers afortime haue béene called by. And that so oft as they heare him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine seruice, when anie bolie mysterie is in dooing, or anie sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

Swearing of fealtie first begun.

Humble reuerence.

But

The dutie of a
good prince.

A notable or-
dinauce.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest studie was to mainteine iustice throughout his dominion, and to weed out such transgressours as went about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Furthermore, considering what inconueniencies proceeded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and trauell, as to lie vpon hard boords without anie feather heds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise themselues to throw the dart, to shoot, to wrestle, and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of warre; that when need required, trauell and such kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might make the same intollerable. Whilist Ewin is thus occupied about the setting foorth of necessarie ordinances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require his aid against the Britains, who were entred his countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

A doubtfull
battell.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the old iniuries doone to his nation by the Britains, who likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the Scots and Picts were desirous to gine it, so that both the armies incountring together (the Scots and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the other) there insued a sore conflict betwixt them, continued with vnmercifull slaughter till night parted them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either part being priue to their owne losses, withdrew themselues further off from the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts the same night got them into the mounteins of Pictland, and the Britains so soone as it was day made homewards with all speed towards their countrie, and leauing no small preie and bootie behind them, which the Scottishmen and the Picts recouered, comming downe with all speed from the mounteins, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from his iourne, determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of the same. He appointed also such as should watch for the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high waies, assigning them liuings of the common treasure to liue by. And there be enen vnto this day that hold still such liuings, though the office be worne out of vse and forgotten.

Dunstafage is
buildd.

After this, he buildd a castell not farre distant from Beregonium, which he named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwards it was called Dunstafage, which is as much to say, as Steuens castell, which name it beareth at this present. Finallie, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great weale of the realme, about 19 yeres, he departed this life, leaning behind him a son base begotten, named Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be executed with all solemne pompe and ceremonies, raised vp soone after sundry obelisks about his graue neere vnto Dunstafage, where he was buried.

The craftie
working of
Gillus.

There were present also at the buriall, two of Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were in exile. Beth these, as well the one as the other, bicause they were twins, and not knowne whether of them came first into the world, looked to be king after Ewin: their names were Dothan and Dorgall. And such malicious emulation and enuious spite rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which Gillus, like a craftie & subtill fox, by conert means sought still to augment; and in the end causing them to come together for some conclusion of agrément, at length when he had set them further at ods than they were before, he procured a number of souldiers appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and there to slea them both.

Durstus two
sonnes are
slaine.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he came for, shewed in countenance as though he had bene much offended therewith, and done what hee could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith he commeth running foorth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into such mischefe themselues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon

also

also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie : in somuch that manie of those that heard him, gluing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstafage, where being receiued into the castell with diners of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gal-lerie, and there making an inuectiue oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he persuaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right apperteined.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubing lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might happilie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaime him king : where-vpon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to doo him homage according to the custome. And herewith agréable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he wan the greater fanour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and therevpon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all lone and fréndlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was two yeeres yoonger. The yoongest of the threé named Ederus, being about senen yeeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands : Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaning certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the yoongest out of the way at lei-sure ; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstafage, he caused them to be murdered, enen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they be-sought and required. But the woman that had the kéeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, prouided more warilie for his safegard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Ar-gile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the moun-teins, and there within a secret den susteined his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he : euer reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the main-tenance of iustice, & punishment of misdooers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the blond of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the renenge of his wicked misgouernance : insomuch that he caused in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Now the people séeing the dailie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be ve-rie sore mooued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Kiley, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lorne, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched foorth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant : who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such puissance as he could make, & hauing no other re-fuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enimies with more speed than good-successe : for yer the two armies came to ioining, a great number of Cillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that herevpon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stale priuillie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied him-selfe ouer into Ireland : whose departure being once knowne, his souldiors yeelded themselues vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gillus king.

Gillus goeth about to mur-ther Dothans sonnes also.

A detestable murther.

Ederus es-capeth.

Gillus coun-terfeiteth a zeale to iustice

The Scotsrise against Gillus.

Gillus depart-eth secretlie and getteth ouer into Ire-land. Cadall of Ga-loway is chosen gouernor of the realme.

This

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie ginen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beregonium, Dunstafage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Iles. Thither was brought vnto him also, the yoong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorable conueied vnto Epiake the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, hee might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

Leland and other take Epiake not to be so farre north.

Gillus purchaseth aid in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name chosen king.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces: Wherof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, wherevpon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephue to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gowere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

EWIN.

THIS Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had béene in the Ile of Ila, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith oner into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstafage, directed his course streight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enimies, he put them to the woorse, insomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiers also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yéelded themselues vnto Cadall, who tooke them to grace, and foorthwith sent out certeine companions to séeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almost starved for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie stroke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioising of all the companie.

Cadall with an armie is sent into Ireland.

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded.

A shipwrack by a tempest.

Cadall for his good & faithfull service is rewarded.

An interview betwixt the kings of Scots and Picts.

The people of Orkney invade Cathnesse.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprise with good successe, he tooke the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voiage. Which mischance sore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioising of manie was turned into dolefull moorning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall tooke it so gréeuously, that nothing could be more offensiué vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castels in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scottish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sijora the daughter of Getbus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dunstafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rosse, that the Ilanders of Orkney had passed Pictland firth, and were entred into Cathnesse,

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Ederus burneth
his enimies
ships.

the mounteius) gathered an armie with all spéd, and hasting to the place where his enimies ships laie at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

Cassibilane
king of the
Britains re-
quireth of the
Scotishmen aid
against the
Romans.

After this, he passed oter into the westerne Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Bredus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and de- priuing some vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadors sent from Cassibilane king of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Iulius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie shortlie to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seignorie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Androgeus
cheefe ambas-
sador of the
Britains de-
clareth the
effect of his
message.

Ederus receiued these ambassadors verie courteouslie: and forsomuch as their maisters re- quest required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whome he willed that Androgeus, cheefe of the British ambassadors, should declare the effect of his message, which he did so eloquentlie, and vttering such sensi- ble matter, how it stood the Scotishmen vpon to aid the Britains against such common enimies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associats vnto Gethus king of the Picts, to moone him to doo the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

The Scots grant
to aid the Bri-
tains against
the Romans.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped according to their desires, repaired homewards: immediatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ederus & Gethus leuied their armies, & sent them forth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojourned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Donald gouernor of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iournie which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yéere that Iulius Cesar came to inuade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after Maister Harisons account 54 before the comming of our Sauour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

Cadallane &
Douald with
ten thousand
Scotishmen
send to aid the
Britains.

5139 H. B.

60 H. B.

The Scotishmen and Picts hauing their part of the spoile which the Romans at their de- parture left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beléueed verelie they shuld haue no more to doo with those enimies, or if they had they thought themselues strong inough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to inuade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren enimies, to séeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselues to resist the same well inough.

The Britains
refuse aid being
offered them.

Iulius Cesar in-
uadeth this
land the second
time.

The Britains
are ouer-
throwne.

But of this refusall of so friendlie an offer, it was not long yer the Britains sore repented them. For shortlie after Iulius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at thrée sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaieng and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were thrée of their cheefest capteins, Androgeus, Cisentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mis- cheefe, he yéelded himselfe vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of couenants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scottishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselues as Cassibilane had doone, or else he had them looke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselues they should, in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement alreadie. Wherevnto aswell the one king as the other made this or much-what the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the triall, should be euidentlie prooued by the déed it selfe.

Julius Cesar his message to the Scots and Picts.

The answer of the Scots and Picts vnto Cesar his ambassadors.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and vtterlie refusing all maner of bondage; would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of fréndship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolued to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iournie shortlie after indéed, if he had not béene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picards and Normans, with other the inhabitants néere about Chartres doo now dwell.

Cesar sendeth new messengers vnto the Scots and Picts, but they spéed much like to the former.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Iulius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish kings vsed most to sojourne. Herevnto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stonehouse of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in bredth, of square hewen stones, right workemanlie framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be vsed in steed of a iudgement hall, and here placed it néere the riner of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of Camelon; as a witnesse that the Romans armie had béene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be séene euen vnto this daie, and is called Iulius hoff, that is Iulius hall, or Iulius court. Howbeit, other more agréable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his advancement to the empire.

Kalendar or Caledon wood. This cannot be true, for Cesar came not néer Scotland, as in the historie of England it appéereth.

Iulius hoff.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Iulius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Iles to reinforce his host, he was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Iles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting vpon the enimies as they laie at anchor, he tooke them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them vp along the shore side within the Ile of Gowre: Murket himself being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their chéefe head and leader in that voiage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstafage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set vp about the place where he was so intumulate.

Murketus nephue vnto Gillus inuadeth the westerne Iles.

Murket is hanged with manie more.
48 H. B.

26 H. B.

Ederus departeth this life.

EWIN.

AFTER him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first

A licentious
king.

Filthie lawes.

Ewin is pur-
sued and for-
saken of his
subiects.

Ewin con-
demned to per-
petual prison.

Ewin is
strang'ed.

32 H. B.

yéeres of his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murthered, onlie bicause he might the more fréelie without gainsaieng hant his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and coosins. Such delight he had also in his filthie and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wines, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first defloure the bride after hir marriage: which last ordinance tooke such effect, that of manie hundred yéeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succéeding, shortlie after this Ewins deceasse, taken awaie and reuoked.

But now to conclude touching the dooings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there tooke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlíe proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous yoong man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stéed of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked déed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yéere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9 yéere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

METELLANUS.

Kimbaline king
of the Britains.

AFTER Ewin succéeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behauiour: This Metellanus mainteined his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie maner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such yoong gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassador from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernement of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, sith the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

Metellanus be-
commeth friend
to the Romans.

These ambassadors went also vnto Metellanus the K. of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superioritie in the Romane emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadors with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherwith Metellanus being partlie mooued to haue a freendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperour, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long tme after.

The birth of
our Sauior
Christ.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giner and authour of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeare of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from

the

the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yéeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie dooth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to doo the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finallie, he passed out of this life in the 39 yéere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauior, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue aliue behind him to succéed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellan by his sister Europeia, was proclaimed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the péeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a little to doo in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vnclé Metallane:

10 H. B.
 350 H. B.
 5199 H. B.
 Metellane departed this world.
 29 H. B.
 14 H. B.

Caratake is proclaimed K. This Caratake all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains dieth. Guiderius the British king rebelleth against the Romans.

Planctius otherwise Plautius. Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid. France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

The emperor Claudius cometh into Britaine. Claudius saileth into the Orkenies.

CARATAKE.

THE first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which doone, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Carictonium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore faouoring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilest these things were a dooing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had béene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succéeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saned themselues within castels & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Planctius, and Cneus Sentius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadours returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect. (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not beene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yer the Galls could be resolued vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortlie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obeisance, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Iles of Orkneie, purposing to conquere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approching neere to those Iles, he was in danger to haue beene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entred the streict betwixt the Orkenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arriued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselues in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius therefore leaning this Ile, passed into Pomonia the chiefest of all the Orkenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Iles

Now Kirke-wale.

Claudius taketh
the king of the
Orkenies.

The doubt of
Claudius going
into the Or-
kenies.
Dion Cassius.

Aruiragus for-
saketh his law-
full wife.

Voada impris-
oned.
Voada is de-
liuered out of
prison, and
conueied into
Wales.

Aruiragus
giueth hi^s eni-
mies an ouer-
throw.
A commotion
against Aruira-
gus.

The Britains
make them-
selues strong.

The Britains
assemble them-
selues at
Shresburie.

They confe-
derat them-
selues together.

Caratake
chosen to be
capteine of the
Britains.
Aruiragus
would disherit
his own chil-
dren which he
had by Voada.

Iles named Ganus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finallie causing him to yeeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.

¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staid not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in déed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Orkenie and conquere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should séeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant woorthie of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Aruiragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Voada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen, and marled Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Voada, as a son and two daughters. But this was doone, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Planctius, thereby to breake all friendship and aliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Voada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteiné Aulus Planctius assembling together with such of the Britains as tooke part with Aruiragus, set forward toward the enimies, and ioining with them in battell, did gine them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lanchashire, Yorkeshire, and Darbeshire, were vp in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer chanced. And to re-enforce their power, Aulus Planctius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all spéed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselues, now being certified of all their enimies dooings, thought best to make themselues so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might procéed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Corimum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Aruiragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agréed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might choose for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Aruiragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie doone to his sister queene Voada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might

might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprize, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the inst causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all thê inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weieng the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to prouide for themselues, as their enimies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioising at the news, made prouision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so neere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So soone therefore as the spring approched, all those threë people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkeshire, in purpose to incounter with their enimies in battell, where-soeuer they found them.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius hauing knowledge of all the dooings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them, for a while forebare to ioine in battell, through counsell of Planctius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be soone out of heart, through watching and euill harborough, in such sort that in the end they should be easie inough to dealé with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the fields on each side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, so that what through hunger, lacke of sléepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselues from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enimies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore inféebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were inforced vnto in the campe. Wherevpon Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius determined the next day to gine battell. And so in the morning they arraied their people, & marched foorth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

The Britains wearid through trauell.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderstanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; wherevpon there insued right great and vnmercifull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie hast afterwards to ioine againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left aline as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Planctius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Yorke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortlie after there came vnto him ambassadors from Aulus Planctius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the British rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a woorthie amends for so presumptuous an enterprize, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enimies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue, it were much better for him to séeke their friendship, than to abide their enimitie.

The Romans giue battell to the Britains.

Night parteth the fray.

Caratake returneth home to Carictonium. Ambassadors are sent vnto Caratake from Aulus Planctius.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust cause to doo that which he did, considering the iniuries which his sister Voada with hir sonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was doone, that hee thought it more reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid

Caratake his answer vnto the ambassadors.

out.

out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselves to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enimies; and that onelie for the challenge of their ancient liberties and freedome. The Romane ambassadors being returned with this answer, Planctius tooke no small indignation thereat, sore menacing to be reuenged of so high and contumelious words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conceiued by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, reuolting from them, fled into Shrewsburie, where, at the same time such British lords as were enimies to the Romans, were assembled againe in councell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, tooke such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that traouelling before hir time, she immediatly died therewith. But Aulus Planctius, perceiuing now thoroughlie how little trust there was to be put in the Britans, dispatched a messenger in all hast with letters vnto Claudius the emperour, who as then soiourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision were not the sooner made.

Claudius weieng the matter by good aduise of councell, ordeined by decrée of the senate, that Vespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loftie stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his comming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and moreouer all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Planctius.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to procéed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forward toward Aruiragus & other the enimies, whom he vnderstood as then to be at Yorke, making their assemblie, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yeere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piked men were sent for, as out of Deuonshire & Cornewall there came 6000, foorth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Oxfordshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Yorke, euerie man bringing his prouision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scottish men: and Illithara otherwise called Tharan, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time of all the dooings of his enimies, hasted with all speed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Yorke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had beene néere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfullie stood to their defense: inso-much that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue beene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part restored. The captéins on either side did what they could to encourage their folkes to sticke to their tackle, without gluing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came by victorie, and what losse insued by receiuing the ouerthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like iraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardnesse preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the

dominion

Aruiragus reuolteth.

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperour from Planctius.

Vespasian commeth into Britaine.

The Britains gather an armie.

Iceni.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains. Illithara or Tharan king of Picts.

Vespasian assaileth the Britains in their campe.

The desperate hardnesse of the Britains and Scottishmen. Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

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through his host, that euerie man should make him readie to depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of their capteins in order of battell.

Planctius setteth vpon the Scottish campe.

Caratake flieth vnto Dunstafage.

The people of Galloway submit themselues to the Romans.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was hie noone, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstafage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselues, were put in such dread through brute of this ouerthrow, that immediatlie therevpon they came in and yeelded themselues vnto Vespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway vtterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Planctius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

Ambassadors sent vnto Caratake. Caratake vtterlie refuseth to become a subiect.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by a purseuant, he rode streightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the otbs of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie meanes to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some maner of subiexion therevnto: but this denise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a frée Scotishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to line long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies foorth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselues. Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his answer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous passages he must march thorough, all full of desart mounteins, bogs, and quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to bée found by all the way as the armie should passe.

The Ile of Wight rebellith.

Vespasian appeaseth the rebels.

Vespasian returneth to Rome. Planctius left as gouernor. Planctius prepareth to meet the Scots.

Leaning therefore this enterprise, he caused so manie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten together a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iournie also was broken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were reuolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garisons in those parts. Vespasian therefore minding to cure this wound yer it should throughlie fester, hasted thither with all spéed, and with litle a doo pacifieng the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be punished according to their deserts.

The Romans through policie vanquish the Scottishmen.

Shortlie after being sent for by the emperour Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchiued victories. Aulus Planctius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who bearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselues vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Vespasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepared to meet them, so that both the armies incountring together, there was fought a right terrible battell with great slaughter on both parties, till finallie the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skilfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by anie adventure they chanced to be put to flight.

Planctius fallith sicke.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yéers space, by rôdes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Kile and Galloway. In which meane while Planctius fell sicke of the flix, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case,

that

that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperour Claudius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and therevpon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Ostorius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

Ostorius Scapula is sent into Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then soiourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded néere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findor a village in Merne, fiue miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Marre, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by certeine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of workemanship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Manie the sembla- ble monuments haue béene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

Aulus Plautius dicth.

The vsage amongst the Scots to burne the dead bodie.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the comming of Ostorius into Britaine, the people of the west countries rebelled, procuring the northerne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to doo the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well inough with this new Romane capteine Ostorius Scapula, that vnderstood litle of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Ostorius being informed of all these practises, and remembring what furtherance it were for a capteine in the begining to win a name by some praise-woorthie enterprise, he made first towards the westerne Britains, whome he thought to surprise yer they should assemble with the other rebels, and so méeting with them, he chased and tooke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

The Britains yet eftsoones rebell. The Britains require aid of Caratake.

The Britains of the west part are chased.

After this, he went against the people called Icenii, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Oxfordshire, but other take them to be Northfolke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fense pasture grounds, that no horssemen should breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Ostorius assailed them within their strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterprises, which Ostorius and other of the Romane lieutenants atchiued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yéere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants remooued by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie prooued by Humfrey Llhoïd, and others, that they inhabited countries contained now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Ordouices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the description as in the historie of England aforesaid.

Icenii. Oxfordshire is assailed. Some take the Icenii to be the Northfolke men.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such other of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Ostorius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were

They of Galloway are beaten and pacified.

Kile and Cantire wasted and spoiled. Caratake assembleth an armie.

soone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Kile and Cantire, spoiling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either else to loose life and libertie both at once, for the tast of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholie conspired together to remooue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painfullie pinched them.

The strength of the place where Caratake was incamped. Of this matter ye may read more in England. Women incamped. Women placed in order of battell. Caratake and his capteins exhort their men to fight.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose foorth a strong place to lodge in, fensed on the one side with the course of a déepe foordlesse riner, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the stéepnesse of the crags and such fensing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any way to enter. All such women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to doo valiantlie with shouting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were yoong and lustie, were appointed to kéepe araiie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Ostorius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his capteins and sergéants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiors, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ostorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araiie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whome they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romans.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the cnimies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Ostorius vsed him verie honorablie, according to the degré of a king: finallie he sent him vnto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

His quene taken. Caratake betrayed by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterprisé against whatsoeuer the most puissant cnimies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and retaining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth receiued to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham. He lined not passing two yéeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the deasse of his vncke Metellan, in the yéere of our Lord 54.

Caratake departeth this life.

54.

Strange sights seen.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of horssemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appéerance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of woolues in the night season set vpon such as were

kéeeping

kéeeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreouer, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims saning the head, which was like vuto a rauens. These vnketh signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

CORBREID.

AFTER Caratakes decease, his yoongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yéere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agréeeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the westerne Iles, also in Rosse & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a new king called Conkist, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castels adioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the capteins, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiors, lost their lines there.

The Picts mooue war against the Romans.

Shortlie after also, the same Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers, with such companies of hoissemen as came to defend them. Herewith Ostorius being not a little mooued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselues so vigorously, that the fore ward of the Romans was néere hand discomfited. Which danger Ostorius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enimies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue béene slaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vuto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streicts of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

The Picts ouerthrow the Roman forragers.

Ostorius is wounded.

The Romans trained foorth into ambushes, and so distressed.

Ostorius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortlie after sent a purseuant vuto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be eftsoons receiued vpon their submission, if they were drinen to make sute for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as soiourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Ostorius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or through sicknesse (as should rather séeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose deceasse Manlius Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie foorth to incounter the Picts that came to sécke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had abidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horssemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and chased vuto their campe, there being slaine aboue 3000 of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

Ostorius dieth.

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Picts.

The Romans are discomfited by the Picts.

About

Aulus Didius
commeth into
Britaine.

The Picts sent
to the Scots for
aid.

Caesius Nasica
entred with an
armie into Gal-
loway.

Venusius the
husband of
Cartimandua.

Venusius re-
uolteth.

Cartimandua
is buried
quicke.

The darke
night parted
the fraie.

A peace con-
cluded.

About the same time there arriued in Britaine an other Romane capteine to be generall in place of Ostorius now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great danger of loosing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been woone and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselues to recouer againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them manfull stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loued libertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the sooner moued to condescend vnto the request of the Picts; and therevpon assembling an arme entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuersed againe vnto the empire.

The herald had vneath doone his message, when word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Romans vnder the guiding of Caesius Nasica was cutred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castels and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Venusius that had married the fore-named Cartimandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Venusius was of counsell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraieing of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Romans, he reuolted from them vnto Corbreid. Wherewith his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also tooke & caused Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few forragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slaine. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Nasica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entries, had not other newes altered his purpose; for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approached within threé miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hasted forth towards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mounteins.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselues with that which they had in possession before the begin-
ning

ning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts paieng their former tribut for the finding of such garisons of Romans as laie at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour anie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had doone manie notable displeasures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

Aulus Didius departeth this life at London.

After his deceasse the emperour Nero, who succeeded Claudius, appointed one Verannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought dailie in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable incounter chanced betwixt them, Verannius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue doone.

Verannius is made lieutenant of Britaine.

Verannius departeth this life

Paulinus Suetonius succéded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries doone on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for somuch as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleseie which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after what sort Suetonius both attempted & atchiued this enterprise, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to repress certeine tumults raised among the people there. In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whilest Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseie, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and woonders which happened about the same time, wherevpon the southsaiers (as Hector Boetius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerthrow. Vpon trust of whose words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, set vpon such Romans as inhabited there, and slue a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine ech mothers sonne.

Paulinus Suetonius.

Angleseie and not Man was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horssemen to their succours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, lost all his footmen, hardlie escaping himselfe with the horssemen to the campe. Shortlie after he tooke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then sojourned, who vnderstanding how the whole Ile was on ech side in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quéene Voada sent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid against the Romans, who had so vilie vsed hir and hir daughters, to the great dishonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of such iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being risen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Petilius Cerealis his men being slaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quéene Voada desireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Corbreid being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his sister, determined either to see hir satisfied by woorthie recompense, or else to be reuenged on them that had misvsed hir: and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiuing but a scornefull answer from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering

Charanach K. of the Picts.

The Romans
slaine.

Dutchmen ar-
riue in Scot-
land.

Merherns
were men of
goodlie stature.

Women come
with the quéene
in armour.

The Romans
are put to flight
and ouer-
throwne.

Catus was
wounded.

70000 Romans
slaine, and
30000 Britains.

Voada assem-
bled an armie
against the
Romans.

The Romans
ouerthrow the
Scots and Picts.
The Morauians
all slaine.
Voada slue
hir selfe.

Marfus was
made king.

thering together a mightie armie of one & other, pursued the Romans and their associats, slai-
eng downe a woonderfull number of them. He also burned and destroyed diuers townes,
such as in kéeping their alleigiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Ber-
wike and Carleill with others. About the same season there arriued in the frith a number of
Dutch ships, fraught with people of Merherne or Morauia, a region in Germanie situat be-
twixt Bohemé and Hungarie. They were drinen out of their owne countrie by the Romans,
and assembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth
of the Rhene, where making shift for vessels, they tooke the seas to séeke them some new ha-
bitations; and thus arriuing in Pictland, were ioifullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that
they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries against the Ro-
mans. Namelie with the Picts they were much estéemed, for that they came forth of the same
countrie from whence their ancestors were descended.

Their huge bodies and mightie lims did greatlie commend them in the sight of all men
before whome they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and
Picts were incamped with their people readie to march foorth towards the enimies, they were
highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in
that iournie, in aid of quéene Voada against the Romans. With this Voada was assembled a
mightie host of the Britains, amongst whom were fíue thousand women, wholie bent to re-
nenge the villanies doone to their persons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for
this purpose were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the first that should
gine the onset. Voada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies,
met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought
them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselues in their enterprise, they thought it good to
make hast to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come
to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Wherevpon marching towards him, they met
together in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; but
in the end the horssemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten
downe on ech side; Catus himselfe being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and short-
lie after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing at-
chiued this victorie, pursued their enimies from place to place, so that there died by the sword,
what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, seuentie thousand Romans and other strangers,
which serued amongst them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie
thousand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what dan-
ger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers,
and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. Voada the quéene vnderstand-
ing of his arriual, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to
hir aid: who together with the Morauians came with all spéed vnto hir. When they were
thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Morauians on one part, and Romans with their aids
on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter
by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernors on either side. So
that ioining puissance against puissance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning
being slaine and borne downe on both sides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Ro-
mans, the Britains with other the Albans were chased out of the field. There were slaine of
them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the
Morauians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Voada the quéene,
doubting to come into the hands of hir enimies, slue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were
taken prisoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto
Suetonius.

The eldest of them within a few moneths after was married vnto a noble Romane named
Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was also created king of Britaine by the em-
perours

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Gald punisheth
such as disturbe
the quiet state
of his subiects.

The Morauians
helpe to apprehend
théeues
and offenders.

Gald laboreth
to abrogate
wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis
a Romane cap-
taine sent by
Vespasian into
Britaine.

The Ordouices
and Brigants
mistaken by the
Scotish writers.

The Picts ouer-
throwne by the
Romans.

The Romans
purpose to enter
into Gallo-
way.

Gald deter-
mineth to fight
with the Ro-
mans.

Strange sights
appéere to the
Scotish armie.

The Scots not
all of one mind.

The Scots agréed
to fight with
the Romans.

westerne Iles, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Iles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdemeanors of the people there. To be short, hée purged the whole realme of all such robbers, théeues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and herevnto he was mightilie aided by the Morauians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeere next insuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstafage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partlie specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poore men from thenceforth should haue their wines frée vnto themselues, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holsome orders & statuts for the w^{el}l of his subiects, woord was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Roman captaine, being sent from Vespasian the emperour to haue the gouernement of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortlie to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

With these newes Cald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certentie of the enimies dooings, before he made anie sturre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horssemen to ride foorth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts alreadie a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approch towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all spéed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being readie to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath béene reported, that as he marched foorth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was seene almost all a whole day, flieng vp and downe ouer the Scotish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was seene flieng round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with bloud. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie good successe, and some otherwise. Also the chieftest capteins amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weieng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had béene brought into their countrie before that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought withall, but rather to suffer them to wearie themselues, till vittels and other prouision should faile them, and then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (sith the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaie: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agréed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enimies host, they made readie to incounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the chéerefull exhortations of their king, and other their capteins, their stomachs began to reniue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof insued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the

end

and the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Gald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in déed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

The Scots are discomfited.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yéere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced eftsoones to haue receiued the ouerthrow.

The citie called Epiake is woon by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie therevnto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen doo place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the dooings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But neuerthesse wee haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselues, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall seeme to them expedient.

Touching all the dooings of the Romans in Britaine yeshall find sufficientlie in the historie of England.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Voadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partlie touched) gathered together a crew of souldiors within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shée tooke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past receiued at the Romans hands, she vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be quieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had beene in great danger: but these torches or firebrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enimies, staid their hardie forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselues in arraie, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sproong, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enimies, they put them quite to flight.

Voadicia reneweth wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Voadicia.

But Voadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent fourth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, vsed such diligence, that laieng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shée was presentlie slaine by the souldiors.

Epiake is taken & burned by Voadicia.

Voadicia is slaine.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yeere after, he fell sicke of the flix and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Iulius Frontinus to succéed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiors, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the kéeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such

The Britains rebell. The Britains are appeased. Petilius the Romane legat dieth.

Iulius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus proposeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Galloway men. Frontinus requireth to ioine in amitie with the Picts. The Pictish king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Gald resisteth the Romans. By reason of sicknesse he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselues to the Romans.

Frontinus being vexed with sicknesse returneth to Rome. Iulius Agricola is sent into Britaine. The Scots of Annandale beat downe the Romans. Agricola prepareth to go against the Scots. Karanach King of the Picts discomfited by the Romans.

Karanach flieth beyond the Firth.

The Scots of Annandale slaine by their wiues.

Here is a manifest error in the Scottish writers, taking Man for Anglesey.

vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Caliden, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Hervnto the king of Picts much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie; and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his peeres & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Gald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sicknesse, he was at length constrained to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to resist the enimies attempts: but shortlie after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, threé thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countries submitted themselues to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which vexed him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Iulius Agricola to succéed as lieutenant of Britaine in his roome. About the time of whose arriual there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouision with all spéed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwike to their former subiection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fiercelie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced his power, he eftsoones gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie therevpon was Camelon woone by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the most part of all the castels and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched foorth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wines they were murthered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation vsed to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Agricola vnderstanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance vnto him for the atchiuing of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and therevpon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to conney his armie ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow

shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the goolfe, and so got on land, to the great woonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to haue arriued vpon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as indangered themselues to passe the seas in that maner of wise, they submitted themselues vnto Agricola.

Agricola assaileth the Ile of Anglesey and not Man as *Hector Boetius* mistaketh it.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie, shew of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst aduance themselues to incounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had beene aforesaid subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselues to a ciuill trade of lining, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Roman maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and aboue all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The Ile of Anglesey is subdued by Agricola.

Agricola studieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded such countries as were yet vndiscovered by the Romans, entring by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen vnto the dolorous mounteine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mounteine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had beene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Kalendarwood. Agricola cometh to Sterling.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mounteine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie ouer into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing vpon an high mounteine cleped Beenart, he inuironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to haue broken the bridge, which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountred by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his siege, and was coming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting together in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased vnto the riner of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water: By reason of this ouerthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betwene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Fothrike, and Ernedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their couenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bridge.

Mount Beenart.

Karanach assaileth Sterling bridge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is eftsoones chased. Fife with other countries brought into subiection of the Romans.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted vnto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good chere, and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen to come yer ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them laie, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and herevpon they tooke aduise which waie to worke, insomuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought good, to seeke for succor at the

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send
for aid to king
Gald.

Gald promiseth
to ioine in
league wth
the Picts against
the Romans.

The Scots slea
the Roman
souldiers lieng
in certeine gari-
sons.

The riner of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.

Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win the
castell of Dun-
breton, ancient-
lie called
Awdcluch, or
Alcluth.

Agricola in-
uadeth Lennox.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appease a re-
bellion of the
people th^{ere}.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

Agricola pur-
suth his enter-
prise against
the Scots.

At the Scots
assemble.

the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messingers dispatched with all speed vnto Gald the Scottish king, requiring him in that common icopardie to ioine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the vtter subuersion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appéered by their procéedings, hauing already occupied and wrongfullie surprised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding still to go forward in such vnrightheous conquests, if by timelié resistance they were not staid. Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladly consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herevnto the assent of all his péeres and chéefest councillors.

Thus whilst the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselues and their countries, certeine Scots entred into the confines of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine garrisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whome they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had doone those iniuries, some he tooke amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the riuier of Clide, but the castell of Dunbreton he could not by any meanes obtaine, though he assaied to win it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired such castels and fortresses as they had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the fift after the first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about frō the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter despaire of escaping his hands either by water or land: and therevpon passing ouer the riuier of Clide with his armie, and finding his nauie there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason wherof he left off this enterprise against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he appesed the rebels with small adoo, punishing the chéefe authors according to their demerits. This doone, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

The summer following he appointed his nauie to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and créeks of Argile, and of the Ilands néere to the same. Whilst he by land passing ouer the water of Lenine, went about to conquer townes and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streict passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, déepe marishes, fens and mosses, with the great riners which with his armie he must néeds passe, if he minded to attein his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their woorthie generall and other the capteins, and so inuading the countrie tooke townes and castels, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and stuffed with garrisons of men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lorne, Murrey land, Lugemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at a place not passing fíue miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining together in one armie, they might some high exploit: But he hauing assembled fiftéene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of

Granzhene,

Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Grampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the cares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iournie was broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and discomfited héerewith, skaled and departed asunder.

Karanach K. of the Picts slaine by misfortune of one of his owne subiects,

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chéefest aid, durst not ieopard to trie the chance of battell with the enimies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to prouide against the next summer new aid and succors to kéepe the field, and so to incounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moone them vnto mutuall agréement & concord amongst themselues, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

An ambassage frō the Scots to the Picts.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselues, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agréed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to choose one Garnard to their king to succéed in the roome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former leage with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Nowwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enimies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wheresoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as frō them that estéemed themselues halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

The Picts brought to agréement amongst themselues.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Danes and Irishmen for aid.

Whilest these things were thus in dooing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselues in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprise anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no sooner come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an other againe with all their forces.

The fame of Gald his puissance putteth the Romans in feare.

Foorth of Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there alreadie assembled in great numbers out of all quarters of the Scottish dominions. Thither came also Garnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agréement amongst them, Gald king of the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched foorth towards the enimies in purpose to incounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spials, parted his people also into thrée wards, doubting to be inclosed within some combersome place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, that were estéemed to be in number aboue 50000 of one and other.

An aid of Irishmen come to the succors of the Scots.

Gald chosen to be generall against the Romans.

Gald on the other side vnderstanding by spials this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth vpon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to slea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had anie knowledge of his comming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprise of the Scots, sent foorth with all spéed a certeine number of light horssemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to kéepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to thé rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprise according to the

Gald setteth vpon one part of his enimies in the night.

deuise

denise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall sore amazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

Agricola cometh to the succors of his men.

Agricola discomfitteth his enimies.

The Romans passe through Calidon wood ouer the riuier of Amoud.

The Picts burne the citie of Tuline. The place where Tuline stood is called by the inhabitants at this daie. Inchtuthill.

The Germans coming to serue the Romans rebel against their captein and leaders.

These Vsipites first inhabted the parties betwixt the mounteins of Hessen and the Rhene, now called Hoehrug, from whence they removed into the nether countries. Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriueth in Tale water. Cornelius Turitus maketh no mention of anie forraine aid to come to the succors of his enimies, com-

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Heerewith were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did so abash both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making sundrie raises vpon their enimies, as occasion and opportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome whatsoever should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar wood, and ouer the riner of Amoud, they pitched their field néere to the riuier of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lodged so neere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castels and towers, as may appeere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Inchtuthill. All their wines and children they remooued vnto the mounteins of Granzbene for their more suertie and safegard.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish vp such numbers as were decaied in his armie. These slaieng their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the maner was, got certeine pinnesses which they happened vpon in the riuier of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arriued in Taie water, offering themselues to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they dread for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Vsipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gulike.

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Murraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilest these things were thus a dooing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his nanie first arriued in the frith betwixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuier of Taie, where he landed all his people, for prouision wherof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Garnard king of the Picts hearing of their arriual there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundée, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receiued him in most ioifull wise, feasted and banketed him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselve was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselues the better after their painefull iournie by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundée the Scottish king Gald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselve most ioifull and glad of his comming, yeelding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best

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the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enimies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most chéerefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in araie. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduantage. On the other side, king Gald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compassse in the enimies on ech side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to fight at hand-blowes, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorie light bucklers to defend themselues with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried foorth into the warres, though the same haue béene so vsed among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, slue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage againe at their hands, till king Gald appointed his spearmen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlic, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were néere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed foorth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloudie fight and most vnmercifull murther betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finallie the night comming on, tooke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left aline, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

¶ Cornelius Tacitus agréeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Iulius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The número of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederates at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreouer, the night following, when Galdus with the residue of his people which were left alieue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was vnderstood by the wiues and kinswomen of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

But Cald, doubting least the same should come to the éares of some espials, that might lurke neere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had béene in token of some reioising, till the women bewailing thus the deth of their friends, might be remoued out of the way. This doone, they

fell

Gald by reason of his multitude, thinketh to inclose his enimies.
The armies approach together to fight. They ioine.

The Scottish mens disaduantage, by reason of their vnfit weapons.

A cohort of Germans restored the Romanesid^e n^e:e at point to haue had the worse.

The night seuereth the armies in sunder & parteth the fray.
The Romans withdraw to their campe, & the Scots to the mounteins.

Sée more here-of in the historie of England.

The number of them that were slaine at this battell.

Women bewaile their friends.

fell to take counsell what was best to doo in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safegard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Gald and Garnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

The Scottish men & Picts breake vp their campe.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had beene in the chase, but some of them vnadvisedly aduenturing too farre forward, were inclosed by their enimies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hils and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adioining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enimies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched foorth vnto Angus, where (forsomuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he tooke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

The Romans in pursuing vnadvisedlie are distressed.

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintereth there.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Pictland frith. But herewith being not greatlie discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie prouision, and manned throughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This doone, he appointed them eftsoones to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkenies, and so vp alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Taie they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in harbrough.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his nauie.

The Romane fleet saileth round about the north point of Albion.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnketh and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared flieng in the aire certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great peece of Kalendar wood seemed in the night time as it had beene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like maner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eies. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fansie of man.

Strange visions.

Ships scene in the aire. It rained frogs. A monstrous child borne.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperour Domitian, he tooke such enuie thereat, that shortlie after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellius to succed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousine to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the souldiors, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a sort of the best souldiors away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

Domitian the emperour enuie the prosperous successe of Agricola.

Agricola is sent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place which causeth the souldiors to make a mutinie. The Scots vpon occasion of discord amongst the Romans, come forth against them. The Scots set vpon the Romans. The Romans are discōfited.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, ioined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their leader, created Caius Sisinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Gald readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselues, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enimies: howbeit in the end, because that Sisinnius receiued a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchiued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioised the appalled harts of the Albions, hauing beene continuallie in maner now for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerse fortune grieuouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselues wholie vnto Tuline, and shortlie

The Romans withdraw vnto Tuline.

They retire
backe ouer the
water of Tay
and breake the
bridge after
them.

The Scots get
ouer the water
of Tay nere to
Calidon castell.

The Scots eft-
soones giue
battell to the
Romans.

The Romans
are againe dis-
comfited.

The Britains
hearing of the
euill aduentures
fallen to the
Romans, reuolt
frō their obe-
dience.

The Romans
send vnto
Marius king of
the Britains for
aid.

Marius king of
the Britains
doubteth re-
bellion of his
subiects.

Marius coun-
selleth the
Romans to
leauē the north
parts vnto the
enimies, and to
draw vnto him
into the south
parts to kēpe
the same.

The Romans
withdraw into
Cantire, & after
into Galloway.
Gald pursueth
the Romans.

after for their more safeguard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Gald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delaie, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And herevpon comming to the castell of Calidon otherwise Kalendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streictnesse.

The Romane captains also not ignorant of the passage of the enimies, brought foorth their armie, and made themselues readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Sisinnius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of fīue thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains reuolted from the Romane obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This doone, they sent vnto Gald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioising and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreouer, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifieng vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scotchmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timelie succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecouerable. Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subiects, so far foorth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likeliehood; considering the slender prouision there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to kēpe them from rising vp in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to kēpe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to re- teine & rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scotchmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Wherevpon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to doo, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arriued, and perceiuing themselues as yet to be in no great snertle there, they went awaie from thence with spēd into Galloway. In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best eftsoones to fight with them yer they might haue anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerse castels and fortresses furnished with sundrie garrisons of his enimies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be doone, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselues with offering their seruice vnto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselues faourable in this their relieuing of the oppressed Britains. Herevnto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentile, mixing his talke with most comfortable words; therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous suc-

cesse,

cesse, as that shortlie they should thereby be restored intierlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren seruitude and bondage.

But to procéed, at length he did so much by his iournies, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all spéed (séeing none other remedie) resolued themselues to giue him battell, and therevpon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie vnto the woorst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiuing the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till néed required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiancie than the men, and therewith much more crueltie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preserued.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occasion to all the residue to flée backe to their campe, being pursued so egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoo to defend the enries of their trenches, where both parties fought right égerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselues to rest, but prouided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enimies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanor and purpose being vnderstood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some persuaded Galdus to the contrarie) vpon déepe considerations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted vnto them, and foure ancient Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came foorth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whome with humble submission they acknowledged themselues as vanquished, and that by the iust wrath and renenge of the equall gods, which against them they had conceiued for the wrongfull inuasion of that which in no wise of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bridle and refraine their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resounding so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could bee more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were réputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the féet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pitifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald tooke vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should cesse from that day forward in anie wise to infest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart wholie out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoever as then remaining in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselues out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agrément, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Marius king of the south Britains sojourned as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of thréescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained vnñeth twentie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before woonne and taken away from them, as the Mers, Louthian, the marches about Berwike, Fiffe, and Angus, with Kile, Cantire, Coningham,

The Romans determine againe to fight with the Scots. The Romans fiercelie assaile the Scots.

Strange dealing in womē, and contrarie to their nature.

The Romans flie to their campe.

The Scots purpose to assaile the Romane campe.

The Romans require a communication.

The Romans submit themselues as vanquished.

The conditions of peace prescribed to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

The Romans giue vp all their holds and fortresses which they kept within the Scottish or Pictish dominions.

and

and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leaning the same vnto the former owners.

Galdus studieth to preserue his subiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Such as sought to trouble the peace were punished.

Gald departeth this life at Epiake.

3. H. B.

3302. H. B.

130. H. B.

Galloway taketh the name of Gald.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, tooke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the commonwealth, visiting dailie the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre bréedeth good souldiers, so peace by iustice riddeth them out of the way, if they be not the better prouided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons néere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, hee came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Kalendar, to represser certaine troubles raised betwixt their subiects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiuing a sort of euill disposed persons to be wholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to steale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such trauell and labour sought to restore, they punished the offenders, and set all things in good quiet, and so departed in sunder with great loue and friendship.

Thus Galdus applieng all his studie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, lined manie yeeres so highlie in the fauour of all his subiects, that the like hath béene but seldome heard of: finallie, to their great grieffe and displeasure he ended his life, more déere to thém than their owne, at Epiake, in the 35 yéere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yéere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yéere after the worlds creation, and from the birth of our Sauour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in most pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie toome which was raised with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number of obelisks set vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots doo hold: but how that séemeth to agréee with a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

LUGTHAKE.

An vngratious son succéedeth after his woorthie father. The incontinencie of Lugthake. His small regard to the nobilitie. Fauor shewed to men of base condition.

Offenders maintained.

Iustice is banished.

Lugthake would haue put to death such as spake against his misgouernment. Lugthake is murdered with a number of his men.

AFTER this famous prince was thus departed hence, his sonne Lugthake succéeded in rule of the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men for his detestable and filthie vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went so farre past the bounds of all continencie in following his sensuali lusts, that hee forced and rauished not ouelie aunt, néece, and sister, but euen his owne daughters also. Such as were honorable personages, and méet to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the administration of things vnto vile persons, and such as could best devise how to inuent quarels against the rich, whereby they might be fléeced of all whatsoever they had: and oftentimes vpon some forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to see offenders in anie wise corrected, that contrarilie he maintained them in such sort therein, that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but spoile and ranine exercised.

Thus hee continued aboue two yéeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finallie, when he went about to put vnto death such as in an assemblie called at Dunstafage spake against the misordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murdered amongst the people, with a number of those also whome he vsed to haue attendant on his person for safeguard of the same. His owne bodie was solemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing respect to his fathers benefits, but the carcasses of his gard were cast out into the fields, there to bee deuoured of beasts and birds of rauine.

MOGALL.

AFTER Lugthake was thus dispatched, one Mogall the nephue of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheefest studie was to reforme the decaied state of his countrie, and first he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors and vnclie Lugthake, as had escaped with life (when their maister was made awaie) to be put to death, according to their iust deseruings. He restored also the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers. The Scottishmen in like maner conceiuing an assured hope of a good redresse in all their gréeses and oppressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, enen the like as they had doone his grandfather Galdus. In the meane time came certeine ambassadors from the Picts, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid against the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden inuasion had doon much hurt in Pictland, to the great distresse of the inhabitants.

Mogall nephue to Galdus is admitted king, and studieth to redresse abuses.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him also by letters, that the same Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great bootie of goods and prisoners. Mogall hauing a mind no lesse giuen to déeds of chriualrie, than to the studie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioised that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some prooffe of his valiant inclination, and so herevpon sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald dooing his message, receiued nothing but scornfull words, and disdainfull menaces, wherby Mogall being throughlie kindled with despite, assembled his power together foorth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the same into Galloway, visited his grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as it were his aid against those enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by solemne oths and other accustomed meanes of ratification. This doone, he drew into Annandale, where Vnipanus as then king of the Picts abode his comming. There ioining their powers together, they marched foorth into Cumberland, and so forward into Westmerland, with fire and sword wasting and spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

Mogall is beloued of his subiects. The Picts desire aid of the Scots against the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scottish borders.

Mogall requir-eth restitution of wrongsdoone by the Romans. Mogall prepar-eth to the wars.

Mogall visiteth his grandfathers sepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioin-eth their powers together and enter into the lands of their enimies.

Lucius Antinous lieutenant of Britaine.

Mogall exhort-eth his men to doo valiantlie.

Lucius Antinous the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the same time at Yorke, being certified hereof by such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and hasted forth with the same towards his enimies; of whose approach Mogall haning notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to encourage them to fight manfullie against the Romans, persuading them effectualle thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterprises atchiued by their elders, in the defense of the countrie and libertie of the same. In like maner Lucius Antenons for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predecessors, and how that as then they should fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than with any discretion or aduised order, saieng furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoo to recouer that which through the negligent sloth of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they should atteine great honor and famous renowme for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew neere together, and began the fight right fiercelie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneth see another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, bicause they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reason of bogs and marishes, with such sideling banks on the sides that they could keepe none araie: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this battell was fought so far forth to the vtterance, that in the end, after

The battell be- ginneth be- tweene the Romans and Albions.

A cruell fight. after a woonderfull slaughter on bôth sides made, when their swords and other weapons were spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

The Romans retire.

Lucius Antinous is wounded.

The Romans are put to flight.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antinous perceiuing, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them hervnto, he was wounded with an arrow, and therevpon departed out of the battell, which gaue occasion to diners other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselues as well as they might, though some companies perceiuing that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselues together and departed by another waie, which they tooke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselues in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enimies were lodged so néere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number foorth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted; or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yéeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verle good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yéeld themselues as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulnesse, they were slaine in the end euerie mothers sonne.

Women as readie to the battell as the men.

Lucius Antinous hauing thus receiued the ouerthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole maner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason therof things stood in great danger here in Britaine, if spéedie succors were not the sooner sent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce; than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine prooffe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

Adrian the emperor prepareth to go into Britaine. Adrian transporteth into Britaine. Adrian cometh to Yorke.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Britaine. Causing therefore an armie to be leuiued, he passed foorth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and comming to Calice, he transported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late wasted and spoiled the countrie enen to the riuer of Tine. Herewith Adrian being sore offended, ioined the power which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Britaine. This doone, he remooued to Yorke, where soiorning certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and cōming to the riuer of Tine, he passed ouer the same.

He passeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enimies. What maner of people he had to doo withall.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he gréuouslie afflicted them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end espieng the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tine, there to restreine the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romañe empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tine to the riuer of Eske, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. ¶ The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for safeguard of the Britains against the Picts and Scots. The Romañe writers doo confirme the same.

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in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leuied through the realme, of euerie person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expenses as he daillie vsed in excessiue banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respite to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they communed secretlie together, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie gouernement, sith his naughtie life required no lesse.

The lords conspire against Conarus.

The answer of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councell-chamber, one of them in name of the residue tooke vpon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume his treasure, should yet be inforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his houshold; but the fault was knowen well inough to rest in such as he most vnworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but devise means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselues, but (saith he) as they shal be prouided for well inough yer long, and so aduanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallows, there to end their lines with shame, as a number of such other loosengers had often doone before them: so it is conuenient that the K. sith his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gonerance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a lowd voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they shuld deerelie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed therto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him vp, maugre all his resistance. In like maner, all such as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, vpon examination taken of their offenses, suffered death according to their iust demerits.

Conarus is taken and committed to close keeping. Conarus his ministers are punished for their offenses. Argadus is chosen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vp-right iusticer. Prosperitie changeth conditions.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour tooke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onelie to clense the countrie of all misdooers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finallie in all his dooings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vp-right iusticer. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe changed his former mind to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the commonwealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at ods. He also marled a Pictish ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren aliance.

Argadus is rebuked.

Herevpon the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding what mischiefe might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parlement to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemblee, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onelie in coupling himselfe in mariage with a wife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his trespasse being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus confesseth his fault.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees, & partlie confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eies, besought them

of

of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argadus, vpon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had beene his chiefest councellers were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and soone after, amongst other things, he tooke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, borough-maisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especiallie he trauelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theeues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreouer, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should taste of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as vsed with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketing chéere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongst their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to susteine nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of costlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpriht liuers of themselues, indeuored still to procéed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argadus amendeth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute. Fine cookerie banished.

Conarus departeth out of this world.

162. H. B.

ETHODIUS.

AFTER whose deceasse, the nobles and other estates of the realme assembling themselues together, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus being highlie rewarded with lands and linings for his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduancement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernement, was thereto soone after created as it were lord president of the councell, thereby to be chiefest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ruling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortlie after Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those daies was) went ouer into the westerne Iles, there to take order for the administration of iustice, where immediatlie vpon his arriual, it was shewed him, that not passing two or threé daies before, there had beene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was stirred amongst their seruants, being a companie of naughtie and vnrulie fellowes, to the great disquiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that they might receiue reward according to their demerits. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place where he vnderstood the rebels to be remaining, and apprehending the whole number of them, some by force, and some vpon their humble submission, he returned backe with them to the king, who causing the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure. The Ilaud people being thus appeased, the king returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Enuerlochthée, a towne (as is said) in Louchquhaber, word came vnto him that the Romans had broken downe the wall builded by the emperour Adrian, and made a great rode into the Scottish and Pictish borders, where méeting with the inhabitants assembled together in defense of their countrie (after a sore conflict) the victorie remained with the Romans; by reason whereof they led a great bootie of cattell and other goods away with them to the places where they sciourned.

Ethodius the nephue of Mogall is chosen king.

Argadus is created lord president of the councell.

Ciuill discord amongst the lords of the Iles. Argadus is sent forth to apprehend the rebels.

The Iland rebels are punished.

The Romans invade the Pictish and Scottish borders.

Ethodius being mooned herewith, sent foorthwith an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant, requiring that his subiects might haue restitution of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to looke for warres within fiftéene dales after. Victorine answered herevnto,

Ethodius requireth restitution of his subiects goods taken away by the Romans.

Victorines answered to Ethodius request.

herevnto, that the Scots and Picts had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall, and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifieng it with a number of men of warre, who running dailie into the British confines, fetched preies thence from amongst the Romane subiects, and though he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue anie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had doone alreadye.

Ethodius exhorted the king of the Picts to make warre against the Romans.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer, wrote streightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhorting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subiects had lately receiued at the hands of the Romans, to inuade the wall on that side where it diuided his countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon the enimies by the same, and for his part he promised shortly after to come, and to ioine with him in such a necessarie enterprise against the common enimies of both their countries. The Pictish king giuing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promised with all speed to set forward according to the aduise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two kings, with all speed made preparation also for the wars; but the Scots and Picts first breaking in vpon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceiued, they passed by the enimies campe in the night season, and entred into the Pictish borders, wasting and spoiling all afore them.

The Scottishmen and the Picts inuaded the British borders.

The Romans incountried by the Scottishmen and Picts.

When the two kings vnderstood this, they hasted forth towards them, and were no sooner come within sight of them, but that they made ech towards other, and so incountring together, there was fought a sore battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on either side vanquished the left, the breasts of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not once shrinking backe from the other till night seuered them in sunder, but not without such slaughter made on both sides, that being once parted, they made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as well the one part as the other being thus disseuered, drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie further exploit of all that yeare following.

Night parted the battell.

Victorine sendeth letters to Rome.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to Rome vnto the emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifieng vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; further declaring, that if conuenient succors were not sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious rage of the enimies, by reason of the small trust he perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no lesse readie vpon occasion to make wartes in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were to incroch vpon them. The emperour vpon receipt of these letters, thought in his mind that Victorine was not so valiant a capteine as the case required, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became the more imboldened to resist, therefore he sent for him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to succed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in writing) the nephue of Iulius Agricola, the most famous capteine of the Romans that euer came into Britaine.

Victorine is sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succed in his roome. Calphurnius entred into the borders of his enimies.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with an armie, ioined to the same the power which he found there, as well of the Britains, as of other seruing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which doone, he repaired toward the riner of Tine, where being arriued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimies, finding all the countrie round about him so clearely wasted and burned, that there was not a house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hed of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland, and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was before him with fire and sword. And for so much as winter came vpon him, when he had doone his will in that behalfe, he returned vnto Yorke, where he sojourned vntill the spring.

Calphurnius returneth to Yorke.

The Welshmen rebell against the Romans.

When summer was once come, hauing made his prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted, and began to raise warre against the Romans, so that taking order for the repairing of the wall made by Adrian; which the enimies in diuers places had broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of men of warre for defense of the same against all inuasions that might be attempted, he

turned

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The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans. Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts. Pertinax is chosen emperor.

Argile infested by the Ilandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus.

Argadus is slaine.

The Ilandmen yeeld themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius visiteth his countries, to see iustice maintained.

into the hands of the Romans, were hanged vp vpon sundrie trées and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season tooke down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe foot anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, tooke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, driuing them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constreined them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scotish common wealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Îles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselues together, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great host of Scotishmen and Picts lay in campe réere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enimies on that side, if happilie they shuld attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Ilandmen hearing of Argadus his approach, drew themselues together to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enimies, they laid themselues secretlie in ambush by the waie where hée should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake foorth vpon his rereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first brunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araiie of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enimies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hasted foorth towards Argile, to renege the death of his valiant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue béene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warilie by closing them vp among the hils and mounteins, that finallie constreined through famine, they submitted themselues vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yeeld themselues simplie to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and péeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yeelded vp their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finallie they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Ilandmen being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scotishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idlenesse, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he tooke order that

that all such ordinances as had béene devised by his elders, should streictlie be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroie anie hares with nets, grens or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had béene once coursed and escaped, to follow the suté, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and couerts néere vnto the townes & housés.

He giueth him selfe to hunting & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be wel kept & looked vnto.

He ordeined moreouer therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroied, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west Iles, he was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be devised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to doo that déed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adjudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bée so painfull, but that I shall reioise cuen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finallie by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horssees in most violent wise.

Ethodius murthered by a musician.

194 H. B.

Ethodius reigned 33 yéeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperor. He was buried at Dunstafage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interrement of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yéere after the birth of our Sauior, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

Septimus Seuerus. H. B.

Britaine receiued the christian faith in the yéere 187.

SATRAHELL.

AFTER the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell, or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succéed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet bicause he was verie yoong in yéeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtile of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from atteining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods hée onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischêefe insued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailie rose amongst the people, that pitie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he vnderstood well inough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his kéeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yéeres.

Satrahell séeketh to destroy such as were in fauor with his predecessor. Discord criseth among the people through the kings misgouernment. Satrahell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 H. B.

DONALD.

IN his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was frée, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore

Donald studieth
to reduce his
subiects vnto
all ciuilitie.
Lucius king of
Britaine dieth.

afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subjects. Neither bare he with offenders, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he tooke such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subjects as it had bene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inioy that title.

The Britains
rebe'l and
choose one
Fulgentius to
their captain,
who sendeth
for aid vnto the
Scottishmen.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enimies the Romans, whose endeour (as he knew) had ouer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Ilaud vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholie out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald pro-
miseth to aid
Fulgentius.
The Britains
come to
Adrians wall,
and pull it
downe to let in
the Scots.
The Scottish
men & Picts
come to the aid
of the Britains.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whome in semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free accesse and cutrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

The Scots and
Picts inuade
the Britains.
The Scots helpe
the Britains
to spoile their
owne countrie.

This doone, ioining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & barrieng of the countrie abroad on euerie side, constreining the most part of the people to come in and yeeld themselues vnder their obeisance. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter inforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries; till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

Trebellius cer-
tifieth the em-
peror of the
state of Bri-
taine.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe, in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appeere. At his comming into Britaine, he slacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadors vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to anie, wherupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to sticke to their necessarilie begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredlie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them; and trie it forth manfullie by dint of sword, like fellowes and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie concord, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtaining of victory must needs be wanting among them.

Fulgentius in-
courageth the
Britains to
sticke vnto
their begun en-
terprise.

The Britains mooned herewith, promised him to live and die in the quarrell. Wherupon he tooke aduise with them, which waie to mainteine themselues against Seuerus, of whose comming they were alreadie certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadors

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fore instantlie required him to send ouer into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beléefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all spéed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most méet for that purpose, who at their arriual there, did their endeour in such diligent sort, that not ouelle the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and cleerelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our sauour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chronologie dooth manifestlie confirme.

Moreouer this Donald was the first as the Scottish chronicles alledge, that caused siluer and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he deuised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots vsed no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romane monie, as diuers marble chests full of the same which haue béene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland doo verle well witness. Finallie K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

ETHODIUS.

AFTER him succéded Ethodius the second, and sonne of the former Ethodius, which prince prooued so verle a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, tooke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and vsed themselues verle vprightlie in all their dooings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seuerus before his death had gluen such order for the gouernment of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chéefest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as oné though doltish, yet naturallie giuen to vnquenchable couetousnessé, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

ATHIRCO.

THEN was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so frée and liberali towards all men, that he wan him woonderfull much praïse and loue amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarilie decaied, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yéeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice: for courtesie and amiable countenance, he vsed sterne and loftie lookes: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholie to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by vilanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degré.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Natholocus, had two faire yoong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satisfie his lust vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so content, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this vilanie doone to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole mat-

The Scottish men receiued the faith in the véere of our Sauour 203.
5399 H. B.
533 H. B.

Donald departeth out of this world.
216 H. B.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

The vilanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

ter, he required their assistance. They being in a woonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie doone to their bloud, promised in reuenge therof to spend life, lands & goods, and fourth- with departing in sunder, they prepared themselues to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the countrie of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satisfieng of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstafage, where they vnderstood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enimies; but when he had throughlie weled the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of good wils in his people, he priuillie stole awaie from them, and would haue passed ouer into Ila, one of the westerne Iles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies hands, he chose rather to slea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggers weed for doubt of death, and went into Pictland with threé of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Howbeit, Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, sent forth certeine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verle strictlie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischeefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doorus, slue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie ioifull of the newes, although indéed they came not néere to Doorus. Then Natholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by disuading them to choose any of Athircos bloud to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Natholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, saue onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some néere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

NATHOLOCUS.

BUT Natholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athireos blond attainted of treason, and so published, according to the custome he tooke the othes of those that were present, and then repaired vnto Dunstafage, there to be inuested according to the maner. This doone, he called such aside as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gaue vnto diuerse of them verle great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he shewed himselfe verle gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establishment of his new atchiued estate: and hereto he imploied such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studieng by all meanes to auoid all seditious quarels and secret discords amongst them.

The kinsmen and friends of the gentlewomen conspire against Athirco.

Athirco doubting to be forsaken of his owne men if it came to the triall of battel conueied himselfe from among them. Athirco slaeth himselfe.

242 H. B.

Doorus the brother of Athirco conueieth himself out of the way. Natholocus seeketh the life of Doorus.

Natholocus is chosen to be king.

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunstafage to be inthronized. Natholocus seeketh to procure loue of the nobilitie through bribes.

Fortune fauor-
ing Natholocus
for a time be-
gan to change.
Dorus writeth
vnto certeine
Scottish lords to
moue them to
rebellion.

Natholocus
putteth such to
death as he
suspecteth to
fauour Dorus.

Natholocus
sendeth vnto a
witch to know
the conclusion
of his enimies
attempts.

The witches
answere.

What happened
by giuing cre-
dit to the
woords of a
witch.

Natholocus
murthered.

252. H.B.

The lords of
the realme as-
semble together
to chuse a new
king.
The sonnes of
Athirco are
sent for, and
the eldest of
them named
Findocke cho-
sen to reigne.

Findocke his
noble qualities
and vertuous
disposition.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yéeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after hir old accustomed guise. For Dorus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Natholocus supposed to haue béene dead) wrote certeine letters, signifieng his owne estate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scottish lords, whom he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Pictish woman, appointing hir how and to whome she should deliuer the same; but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Natholocus, he caused hir secretlie to be sacked and throwne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the forsaid letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretlie strangled.

Which wicked déed being once notified abroad, so mooned the harts of their friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them together, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Natholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe priuile into Murrey land, there to get together an armie to resist his enimies, and for that he was desirous also to vnderstand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Iona) estéemed verie skilfull in forshewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hâp of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortlie to passe, that the king should be murthered, not by his open enimies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be? Euen by thine saith she, as it shall be well-knownen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these words, railed against hir verie bitterlie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a déed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might happilie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared, and therevpon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he kéepe it secret, it might happen to be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to worke the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being cōmanded to auoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling foorthwith vpon Natholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horsse which he had there readie, he fled with all spéd vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought newsvnto them of this act thus by him atchiued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the first cutring of Natholocus into the estate.

After Natholocus was thus dispatched, the péeres assembled together to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them concluded, that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Pictland, and Findocke receiued for king. The Morauian that slue Natholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commission) comming into Pictland, conueied them right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being alreadie chosen king, was placed on the stone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that case apperteining.

FINDOCKE.

THIS Findocke was in the flower of his age, of person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie stature; wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind, not so much desirous to séeme as to be vertuous in déed. He was courteous, méeke, & full of affabilitie,

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no doubt they would haue spokèn somewhat of the same; for although he might happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeit himselfe to be borne of some base kinred, and so for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards that he attained vnto so high degré of honour, as to vsurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he would haue set foorth to the vttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had beene come of anie; and that so apparantlie to the world, that aswell his enimies as friends should both haue knowen and spoken of it.

DONALD.

FINDOCUS being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunstafage, his brother Donald, the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Iles against Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great péece of that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the murder by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Iland-men, and transporting with them ouer into Rosse, proclaimed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, spéedilie marcheth foorth with such power as he had alreadie assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland.

Donald of the Iles suddenlie setteth vpon the enimies.

The Scots ouerthrown.

Donald departeth this world.

Donald of the Iles taketh vpon him as king.

Thus comming into Murrey land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the comming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of the Iles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolued, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enimies, before that his comming towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringeth foorth his men, setteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pithie words to receiue their enimies with manlie stomachs. But the Iland-men encouraged also by their capteine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Scottishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were inforced euen at the first to ioine at hand-blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constrained to gine backe, some sauing themselues by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part thrée thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate, together with the king himselfe being woundèd so sore, that he died within thrée daies after the battell, rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the victorie, tooke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

DONALD.

A guiltie conscience.

BUT because he came to the estate thus by blond, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull vsurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Moreouer he nourished priuie factions amongst the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more féeble in anie publike exploit that was to be mooned against him; finallie, if anie mischiefe happened amongst them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures

forfeitures and penalties which he tooke vp amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred foorth anie whither, he had his gard about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that manie there were which dread him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a maner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murdered one night at Enuerlochthée (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Iles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the déed doone, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting néere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries doone not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but also to the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioising greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verle dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houshold meaine, they slue aboue two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping foorth of the house, and thinking to saue themselues, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioised much at his death, but thought themselues sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

CRATHLINT.

AFTER this, Crathlint being certeinlie knowne to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such euident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his iust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he persuaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp; enen as it were a trée by the roots, least anie of them happilie remaining aliue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common-wealth. The people consented lightlie herevnto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for bis wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting foorth all his dooings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and alies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruellie put to death. Which doone, Crathlint appointed foorth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the laws executed; and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These hée chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yoonger sort he reserued to attend vpon his person.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mounteins of Granzebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maister had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most ioifullie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maister for this signification of his good will shewed by their comming, and herewith promised, that during his life

Donald of the Iles is murdered.
Anno Christi.
273. H. B.

Crathlint chiefe conspirator to the murdering of Donald.
Crathlint procureth the nobles of the countrie to oppresse the seruants of king Donald.

Crathlint is made king.

The kinsmen and friends of Donald of the Iles are persecuted.
The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mounteins of Granzebene, ancienelie called *Grampus mons.*
An ambassage from the Picts.
The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint promiseth to obserue the ancient amitie betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts.

The present sent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts.

Diuers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

A praise of the Scottish dogs.

The Picts steale one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What mischief insued vpon so light an occasion as the stealing of a dog.

This chanced about the yere of Christ 298, as *Io. Ma.* noteth.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders.

The Scots & Picts encounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & now broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars.

Theलगus king of the Picts being an aged

man, desireth to haue peace, and therevpon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

Carantius named by *Eutropius* Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreouer, when the said ambassadors should depart, he tooke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maister certeine horses, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And shortlie after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse yoong gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart homewards, perceiuing that the Scottish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardnesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bitches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maister of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maister of the leash through with their borespeares that he died presentlie, wherevpon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there insued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderstanding (till all was doone) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were woonderfullie mooned with the iniurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and incountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died aboue threé thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus vpon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still readie to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Reutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Ferguse.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was woonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destroie the other. No pitie might mooue their cruell harts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blond. At last Thelargus K. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then sojourned, had much adoo to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vsed such humble persuasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for threé moneths space, which was but sorilie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauger their princes and all their sore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Romane empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowne at his comming to Rome of what lineage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the souereigne regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats

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at Yorke he
turneth thither-
wards.

force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in thrée great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marishes.

The Britains
betray the Ro-
mans.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enimies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great brute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched streight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh readie for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forsomuch as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they desirous to see the vtter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselues apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them vp into the next mounteins, to see what would insue. The residue of the Romane armie, seeing themselues thus forsaken of their fellowes, and their sides left bare and open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marish ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were ouertaken and slaine. Amongst whome Bassianus himselfe was one, and Hircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Romans
are discōfited.

The slaughter
of the Romans.

The Britains
yéeld them-
selues vnto
Carantius.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yéelded themselues vnto Carantius, and sware to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yéeres and thréescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owné souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, vsurping the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and retaining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safegard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enimies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadors, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countries of Westmerland and Cum-berland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Yorke, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for euermore. Finallie the said Carantius was slaine by his companion Alectus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

Carantius or
Carausius, as
Eutropius
nameth him,
vsurpeth the
kingdome of
Britaine.

Carantius hau-
ing got the
victorie, diui-
deth the gaine
in assigning to
his cōfederats
their due por-
tions.

The persecu-
tion of the
christians by
Dioclesian.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperour Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furious wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Britaine also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most vnmercifull murder committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

Constantius
persecuteth the
christians.
Manie of the
Britains flee to
the Scots to
auoid persecu-
tion.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine, who adiudging the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in déed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But yer he could atchiue any notable enterprize, he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and woorthie prince, sauing that in one point he sore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Picts to auoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destroyeng all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the begining; and vtterlie
abolished.

abolished all the superstitious rites and customes of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which hee dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauour, wherein the christians might célebrate their diuine seruice, according to their profession. This church being richlie indowed, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots, and therevpon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Sauour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, being much praised aswell for his politike gouernement, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Crathlint destroyed the temples of the false gods in Man. The first bishops see in Scotland. *Sodorensis ecclesia.* Crathlint departed out of this world.

FINCOMARKE.

FINCOMARKE that was his vnckles sonne, succéded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marble, to the great reioising of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fléeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Sauours church in Man: this Amphibalus did verie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting foorth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Modocus, Priscus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scotish toong Culdei, that is to vnderstand, *Cultores Dei*, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

Amphibalus.

The church of S. Sauior, otherwise called *Sodorensis ecclesia.*

Culdei.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, ye shall vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the yéere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Saviour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scotish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yéere of Constantine the emperour. It chanced that Octavius king of the Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to doo, choosing rather to susteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safegard.

What yéere Fincomarke began his reigne.

322. *H.B.*

5490. *H.B.*

655. *H.B.*

First of Constantine. *H. B.* Octavius is vanquished, & flieth into Scotland.

Traherus inuadeth Westmerland.

Fincomarke raiseth his power.

Herewith Traherns being not a little mooned, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scotishmens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons together in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne cuntrymen, 20 thousand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Octavius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hasted foorth to incounter with his enimies, before they should haue time to doo any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus inuaded his countrie, but receiuing frō him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and so ioining with the enimie, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnmercifull murther and slaughter on both parts.

Fincomarke ioineth in battell with Traherus.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbandmen, who had got together their cattell and were driuing the same awaie, that supposing they had beene some new succors comming to aid their enimies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leauing the victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slaine (as their chronicles report) fiftéene thousand men, and on the Romane part about sixteene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Octavius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him

The Romans flée. The numbers slaine.

into

Yorke is yeld-
ed vnto Octa-
uius.

Octavius ob-
teineth the rule
of Britaine.

Westmerland
assigned to the
Scotishmen.

A councill kept
at Yorke.

Octavius couet-
eth to enlarge
his dominion.

The Britains
inuade West-
merland.

Traherus re-
turneth into
Britain.

Octavius is
vanquished by
Traherus.

Traherus by a
conspiracie
is murthered.

Octavius is re-
conciled with
Fincomarke.

Octavius en-
treth into
amitie with the
Pictish king.

Octavius be-
commeth tri-
butarie vnto
the Roman
emperor.
17 of Cōstans
& Cōstantius
emperors. II. B.
Fincomarke
deceased.

358. II. B.

Eugenius &
Ethodius sons
to Fincomarke.

Romacus, Fe-
thelmacus and

into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies came thither, the citizens yeelded themselues, and receiued Octavius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of these atchiued victories being bruted throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Octavius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortlie after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

This doone Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewardeed for their paines and trauell susteined in that iourne. There was also promise made and confirmed by solemne oth, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their ioining together in league against the Romans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scotish kings, without anie claime or title to be made to the same by any of the Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortlie after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans foorth of the British confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into France, there was a councill called at Yorke, where it was not onelie ordeined, that from thencefoorth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended foorth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, enen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling foorth the inhabitants of forren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For herevpon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scotishmens hands: but being incountred with a power of Scotishmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octavius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Norwaie, there to saue his life, bicause that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortlie after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octavius murthered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scotish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans eftsoones to inuade his countrie, as shortlie after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castels and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scotishmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yéeres. This was in the yéere of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yéeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yoonger than his brother by one yéere, so that neither of them might succéed their father, by reason they were not of yéeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Herevpon a councill was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by thrée of his brethren, which of them should gouerne

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this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Octavius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yéeres vnkowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were eftsoones discomfited in battell by Maximus, and sore by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

Nectanus king of the Picts maketh sore warres vpon the Scots.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Angusianus K. of Scots was sore disquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who inforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthuring of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with vilages; and in the end haning his power increased by the aid of certaine Scottishmen, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he preased so sore vpon Angusianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agréement could be heard, though Angusianus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after sore fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Angusianus, and Nectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselues by flight.

The Picts discomfited by Scots.

Nectanus desirous of reuenge.

Nectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he caused a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceiued against his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fanour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all spéed an armie should be leuied, and led foorth into the Scottish borders. Nectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choisest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staid not long but set forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroieng all afore him at his owne will and pleasure.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scottish confines.

Angusianus sueth for peace.

Angusianus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Nectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictish and Scottish estates, in putting the same in aduerture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe, how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

Nectanus refuseth all offers of peace.

Angusianus and Nectanus ioine in battell with their armies.

Angusianus is slaine. The Scots are discomfited.

But Nectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Angusianus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Nectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doo valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie fréelie one at an other, vntill at length coming to handblowes they stroke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Angusianus perceiuing his people to be put to the woorst, rushed foorth into the thickest of the prease amongst his enimies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not understanding what was become of him, supposed that he had béene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but

But the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the capteins on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right pensife and sorrowfull, giuing manie a sore cursse vnto such as had béene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time beene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this blondie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprize of importance the one against the other.

Nectanus is also slaine.

FETHELMACUS.

ANGUSIANUS reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and incountring with the Scots, there was a sore battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots first putting the wings of their enimies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselues. So that among other, their king named Nectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within threé daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuier of Taie, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Scots discomfit the Picts,

An other Nectanus king of the Picts dieth of hurts receiued in the fight with the Scots.

The Picts, perceiuing themselues not to be strong inough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light incountrings (if it were possible) to kéepe them off from the winning of anie of their fensed townes, castels or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselues in this their purposed intention, they did choose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtill nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two slie fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselues for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus tooke great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

Heirgust is chosen king of the Picts.

A pretended treason.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hanging plaid in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asléepe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who foorthwith slue him euen as he laie so sléepe: but the king groning gréuouslie at the deadlie stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mountains, where they sought to defend themselues with hurling downe stones vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the déed, with the whole maner of the same, they were drawn in péeces with wild horsse: the musician also being apprehended and conuict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his teigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

Fethelmacus is murdered in his bed.

In the fifth yeare of the emperour Constantius.

In

369. *H. B.*

Saint Reule
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots send
into the Ile of
Man, for Fin-
comarke his
sonnes.

In this season (as in times past hath béene beleued) certeine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought foorth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Gréekish moonke named Regulus Albatus, commonlie called S. Renle, a man in those daies highlie estéemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his bolie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Reule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie church-yard, where the chanons were woont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will procéed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonnè of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remaned, during the daies of the thrée last remembred kings, Romacus, Angusianus, and Fethelmacus.

EUGENIUS.

Eugenius is
inuested king.

The practise of
Maximus to de-
stroy the Scots.

He sendeth
vnto Heirgust
king of the
Picts.

THIS Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations. thereby not onelie to inlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had béene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroyed the other: for he considered it would be an hard péece of worke to haue to doo with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceiued by their continuall practise and vsage, euer sécking to disturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them vtterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust his
answere vnto
Maximus his
message.

Maximus and
Heirgust ioine
in friendship,
and the Scots
pruclamed enim-
ies to them
both.

An herald sent
from Maximus
vnto Eugenius.

Heirgust right ioifull of these newes, gaue bartie thanks vnto almightie God, that had mooned the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people: & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should denise, not onelie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Maximus hauing receiued this answere, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust neere to Yorke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adjudged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries doone vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the K. of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doo, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

The answeere of
Eugenius vnto
the herald.

Eugenius for answeere herevnto, declared that since he entred into the gouernment of the Scottish estate, he had doone nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures doone on either part, according as

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persons right fierce and hardie, desirous' either to vanquish the enimie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in the place.

The approach
of Maximus
towards the
Scots.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus incamped in Kile, marched towards them, and lodged the same night not far off from the riuer of Munda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, that Maximus was come within fiue miles of him, with a greater armie than he had at his last incountring with him in Galloway. These aduertisements caused no small stir to be raised in the campe, some being striken with present feare: where other contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired nothing so much as to ioine in battell with the Romans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested. Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable words, he brought them streight in order of battell, diuided into thrée wards, committing one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the third to himselfe. This doone, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being vanquished, their countrie was indangered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to oppresse the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce the same into the forme of a province, to be gouerned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

Eugenius com-
forteth his
people.

The sudden
arriual of
Maximus.

With these and manie other like reasons he went about to encourage the minds of his subiects, in such wise, that in maner the most part of them determined rather to die with honor, than to liue in such miserie as they feared would insue, if the victorie shuld rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in such talke together, suddenlie commeth in one of their scouts with the newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hand. This was in the morning, anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not looked for till the euening following, insomuch that the same his sudden arriual, chancing so farre contrarie to their former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze; for that hereby they were constreined to change the order of their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as they had prouided at the first it should haue béene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after none. Yet notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their place, and gotten themselues into arraie of battell againe, but that with great violence they preassed forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which Maximus perceiuing, made all the spéd he could to set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue his enimies comming thus to incounter him. So both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approched within danger of shot, they let flée the same most egerlie, albeit that through hasting fourth to ioine at hand-strokes, there was litle hurt doone with bowes or darts.

The Scots giue
the onset.

The battels
ioine.

The Scots crieng vpon the name of their woorthie and famous ancestor king Gald, did laie about them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioining: and likewise the Romans, being encouraged with the cheerefull words of the lieutenant Maximus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doubtfull at the first whether part should haue the woorse end of the staffe. But shortlie there followed variable successe, for on the one part, they of Rosse and Mar, being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that wing of the enimies where the Picts were, fought so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easilie put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they would haue passed the water of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the spoile, they were slaine downe right, by a legion of such Romans as were sent by Maximus vnto the succours of the Picts.

Doubtfull fight.

Ethodius over-
throweth the
Picts.

The Scots hau-
ing vanquished
the Picts, are
slaine by the
Romans.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile, Cantire, Kile, and Coningham, who were matched with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for euer, so that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scottishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he caused the same

to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must néedes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enimies hands to line in miserie, &c: was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather spédilie with honor, than longer to line with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome, in the third yéere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scottish battell is overthrown. Eugenius is slaine.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to kéepe the carlage and trusse of the field, séeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed foorth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slea some number of their enimies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne lines, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anie valiant actiutie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and drinen backe, they were finallie slaine & beaten downe. Moreouer, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enimies, when the battell was doone, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they flue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie vanquished, and refusing to flée, they were also slaine and cut in péeces in a most miserable maner.

The furious rage of the Scottish carters.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloialtie of the Picts, procuring this murther and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed maner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeans to sée to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Romane princes.

The spoile diuided amongst the souldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in maner halfe dead, was also taken vp by commandement of the same Maximus, and surgeans charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus atchiued, Maximus surueieth the countries of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without anie further molestation. Heirgust king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to sée the vtter destruction of all the Scottish race. Wherevnto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefits, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselues, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

Ethodius sore wounded, is committed to the cure of surgeans.

Heirgust desireth the vtter destruction of the Scots.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuade him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anie quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophésies spake) they were begotten and borne. Finallie when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaid if they might bring that to passe by wicked méed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not doo by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scottishmen banished and expelled out of the countrie.

Where words
faile, gifts pre-
uaile.
The proclama-
tion for the
auoiding of all
Scotishmen
foorth of the
whole Iland of
Britaine.
The Scots
plagued for
their beastlie
crueltie.

The cruell
dealing of the
Picts.

Cartandis
quéene of
Scots.

The Picts of-
fended with
Maximus.

Cartandis la-
menteth hir in-
fortunate estate.

The monasterie
of Iona builded
by banished
Scotish moonks.

cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came foorth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scotishmen, should by a certeine daie auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Britain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer vp their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselues not able to make anie resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Iles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got interteinment amongst the Romane souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensigns. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to seee all the Scotish linage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their natiue countrie all the residue of their lines, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

Moreouer, where Cartandis quéene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the toome of hir husband, where she had remained euer sith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Brittain, and descended by linage from the princes of Wales; Maximus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictish riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie slea hir groome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, caused them that had doone so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The quéene hirselle being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so néere as it was possible.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and speciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deserts of their nation had not beene such toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans sake, being both an enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that she might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all hir goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir most vnhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she should now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wishing rather than she should be inforced so to doo, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Maximus in most pitifull wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of hir life after such sort as she thought best agréed with hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis haning liuing assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degré, was licenced to depart into what place she thought expedient, there to liue as she thought best without let or disturbance. The same time the Scotish bishops and préests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scotish people, a number of their moonks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monasterie for their owne habitation, the worthinesse whereof hath béene right famous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was afterward

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they could come to any conclusion of that enterprise, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered themselves together, and gaue battell againe to the Scottish and Irish companie, wherein they ouerthrew them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The Scots and Irishmen are ouerthrowne. The king of Ireland seeketh for peace. Maximus granteth peace to the Irishmen. Maximus seeketh by his bounteous liberalitie to win the peoples fauour.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Maximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent at the first were sore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had aided the Scottishmen in the last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certaine conditions, whereof the most principall article was, that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, hauing got a quiet peace on each side, vsed all meanes possible how to procure the loue of his souldiors and men of war, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberrall and frée, that his bounteous gifts passed all vnderstanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie neere hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yeelded to the empire in a whole yéere.

Maximus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so néere vnto their mauers & fashions, that at his comming into Pictland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him such loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiors, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yeere after Christ, protesting generallie, that they would owe onelie their obeisance vnto him as to their supreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Maximus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himselfe vsed to attein vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certaine persons to woorke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of fiue yéeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquilia in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

Maximus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yéeres.

The emperor Gratian is slaine by Maximus.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Octavius the sonne of Octavius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortlie after he was constrained to agrée with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and line vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Octavius should be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie héerevpon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whome the one named Martius sojourned at London, and the other called Victorine at Yorke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and vsed most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue streight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed anie longer amongst his subiects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust

Heirgust now perceiuing into what thraldome and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and séeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile estate, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts should not choose anie other from thencefoorth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agréed, as he alledged, by the ténor of the léague, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Maximus, that after the deceasse of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the woords of Victorine, but by common agreement did choose one Durstus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Heirgust slaieth himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durstus is chosen king of the Picts.

Wherevpon Victorine being informed of their dooings, raised a power, and made such spéed towards them, that he was gotten so neere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approach, that Durstus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being foorthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assalt, and the citie sacked, to the great enriching of the Romane armie, and vtter vndooing of the poore inhabitants. Durstus with other the chiefest prisoners were first had vnto London, and from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by décréé of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie yearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig stones foorth of the quarries, and to make bricke to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

Durstus is besieged of the Romans.

Durstus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries:

They are put to their base seruices.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselues. For they were become so loftie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortlie disquieted by their willfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before specified; but to their further gréeuance he deuised an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto vtter destruction, which was this: he constreined them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remooue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Maximus to possesse after that the Scots were expelled.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as subiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast alongst by the same, from Abircorne, through the territorie of Glasgow vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluch, now called Dunbreton, so running from the east sea to the west. Héereto proclamation was made, that if anie of the Pictish nation did enterprise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilest the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scottishmen (as is said) being banished the land, lined in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poore liuing with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie woorthie capteins here and there, as occasion serued.

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts. The Picts forbidden to passe ouer beyond that wall. The Scots liue in other countries.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke; was ioifullie

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius.

genius, late
king of Scot-
land.
Erthus the son
of Ethodius
begot Ferguse.

The Gotthes
make an expe-
dition against
the empire of
Rome.

Ferguse was
sent to aid the
Gotthes.

Rome sacked.

Ferguse was a
capteine vnder
Alarike and
Athaulfe kings
of the Gotthes.
Ferguse with
leau returned
againe from
Italie into
Denmarke.

S. Ninian.

The Picts sent
into forren
countries to
call home the
Scots.

Ferguse sent
vnto the Scots
dispersed.

ioifullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degré, so that he liued there certeine yéeres in right honorable estate, and begat of his wife whome he brought thither with him fourth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wife called Rocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus, second person of the rea'me) a sonne named Ferguse, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scottish nation againe to their former estate and kingdome. In his yoong yéeres he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voiage which he tooke in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agrément they conspired together to the vtter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so ech of them sent fourth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Ferguse being set fourth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottishmen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the vsing of his ancestors so cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and natiue countrie. This Ferguse was present with the Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking whereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certeine chest full of bookes, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Iles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which bookes (as is to be supposed) were certeine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderstood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreouer of Ferguse, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards seruéd vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. ¶ About the same season, the bishops sée of Candida casa, otherwise called Quhitterne, was first instituted by one Ninian a preacher, that tooke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards reputed a saint, and the place of his buriali had in such veneration, that manie vsed to resort thither for deuotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were vsed.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as before we haue partlie declared) and doubting dailie of woorse to insue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Iles, in Norwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the iniuries which they dailie sustained at the Romans hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiectiō. The experience whereof they now felt to their vnsufferable gréeuance, looking for nothing else but shortlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driuen to go séeke them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the maner of out-lawes, as it had chanced alreadie to the Scots by commandement of Maximus, as before is expressed.

Ferguse, vnto whom amongst other this message was chieflie directed, reioised greatlie of the newes; and first conferrring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Orknie, the westerne Iles, and

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bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vnruthes, vsed and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and alies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had béene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisit and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had beene expelled by the Romane power.

The ancient league renewed againe betwixt the Scots and Picts.

The Scots restored to their countries.

FERGUSE.

Ferguse is conueied into Argile, and there crowned king.

422. *H. B.*

396. *Io. Ma.*

The 18 yeare of the emperor Honorius. *H. B.*
755. *H. B.*

When the Scots first got certeine seats here in this Ile of Britaine as some thinke.

AND Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and cōmous into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had béene drinen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Honorius the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castels also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessaries, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for currant coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselues to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine seats in the same till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Iles, where they before inhabited, they vsed to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor wish others to beléeue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doo make mention; & as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willinglie séeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not mooned thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Iles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and some other happilie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they méere Britains, and had little to doo with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Iles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Victorine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred dooings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leuiued with all spéed, and hasted foorth with the same vnto Yorke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiuing he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so therevpon setting forward; he passed foorth till he came néere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner alreadie assembled a mightie huge host, both of Scottishmen and Picts,

Victorine prepareth an armie to go against the Scots.

Victorine séeketh to persuade the Picts from taking part with the Scots. Victorine incampeth néere vnto Camelō with 50000 men.

came

came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Victorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being redie to receiue the Scots vpon their first approach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riner of Carron (néere vnto the which their battels ioined) was well néere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a ruddie hue, that it séemed as though it had run altogither with blond.

Ferguse passeth the Forth. Ferguse purposeth to assaile his enimies in the dawning of the day.

The riuier of Carron runneth with bloud.

In the end (whilest as yet it was doubtfull to whether side the victorie would incline) there came such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great abundaunce of hailestones, that neither part was able to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the violent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side was faine to withdraw from the other. There were slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as well on the one side as the other, that they had small lust to ioine in battell againe for certeine yéeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderstanding what losse of people he had susteined, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certeine of his companies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in Pictland, & with the residue he returned into Kent. In like sort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiuing themselues not able as then to make anie further attempt against their enimies, brake vp their armie, and deuised onelie how they might defend that which they had already in possession.

The battell seuered by reason of a tempest.

The lieutenant furnishing diuerse holds, returneth into Kent. The Scots & Picts breake vp their campe.

And forsomuch as the Pictish nation was increased vnto a greater multitude of people, than those countries which they then held were able to find with sufficient sustenance (considering what a great portion of their ancient seates the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agréed by the Scots that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering néere vnto the same, lieng without the compasse of the mountaine of Granzeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increased there woónderfullie, and builded manie faire castels and towers in those parties, to the great beautifieng of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make hast with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and susteined with certeine posts of timber passing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, begining (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching foorth by Glasco, and Kirkpatrick, euen vnto Aldcluch, now Dunbriton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to be made.

Athole assigned to the Picts.

The Britains by the appointment of Victorine make a wall.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they assembled themselues together, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graime, they set vpon the Britains, as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not onelie a great number of labourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and defend the worke, but also entering into the British borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe in this enterprise) was brother vnto the Scottish quéene, the wife of king Ferguse. He was borne in Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the Scottishmens banishment, and had a Scottishman to his father descended of a noble house, and a Danish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Ferguse by the persuasion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore his coming into Scotland) thrée sonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whome hereafter in their place mention shall be made, as occasion serueth. Other there be, that affirme how this Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled foorth of his natiue countrie, and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer readie to doo what displeasures he could devise against the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this Graime those Scots, which vnto this day beare that surname, are said to be descended.

The Scottish men & Picts interrupt the making of that wall.

Graime, otherwise called Graham, and his lineage.

Ferguse marled a daughter of Graime.

Diuersitie of opinions touching the original beginning of the Graimes.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that after that it was knowne in forrein countries,

The Scottish men returne into their countrie. Ferguse inuadeth the confines of the Britains.

The Scots put to the woorse.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Ferguse is dissuaded to fight with the Romans.

The Romane empire inuaded by barbarous nations.

Victorine accused vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperor in Britaine. Heraclianus is sent against Victorine. Victorine is deliuered into the hands of Heraclianus. Heraclianus is sent into

Affrike. Placidus lieutenant of Britaine. The warre renewed by the Scots.

countries, how the Scots had got foot againe within those regions, in Albion which their elders in ancient time had possessed, there came dailie diuerse companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Italie (where during the time of their banishment they had serued vnder sundrie capteins) vnto Ferguse to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient seats, out of the which they had béene most cruellie expelled. So that Ferguse now séeing his power thus not a little augmented by their comming, entereth into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Coningham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on euerie side: but shortlie therevpon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whome the Scots incountring in battell, receiued no lesse damage than they minded to haue doone vnto their adnersaries. Wherypon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Ferguse wintered for that part of the yéere which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to haue eftsoones offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Gallowaie: and rather to trie the vttermost point of fortunes chance against him, than to susteine such displeasures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were dailie doone vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the danger was great to ieopard againe in battell with the Romans, being men of such skill & practise in the feats of wars, considering what losse had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as he might without giuing battell, it must needs come to passe that shortlie the Romane empire should be brought vnto such ruinous decaie, by reason of the multitude of enimies, which as then inuaded the same on each side, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne suertie, would conueie himselfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it be an casie matter for the Scots and Picts to recouer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduise was followed as the best and most likelie, so that making sundrie roads into the borders of their enimies countries so to kéepe them still occupied, Ferguse and the Scots refused vtterlie to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortlie after also it chanced, that Victorine was accused vnto the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against his maiestie, as to be about to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine, wherevnto he was compelled indéed by the souldiers (whose hearts he had woone through his bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the said information made against him, they did moone him with such earnest persuasions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to liue and die with him in defense thereof, as well against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he consented vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed emperor, and clothed in purple, vsing thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had beene emperor indéed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their suprême gouernor, began to feare the sequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they tooke Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heraclianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortlie after sent for Heraclianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Ferguse their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioine with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting therevnto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enimies, ouer-

running.

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Ferguse re-
pareth his
castels.

which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their living now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to live vpon.

Placidus the
lieutenant of
Britaine dieth.
The Scots &
Picts renew the
warre.
The crueltie of
the Scots and
Picts.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire dailie falling into decaie; it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts tooke occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroie all such of the British nation as went about to destroie them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Manie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous maner. The Romane souldiers, after the deceasse of Placidus, ordeined one Castins to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Octavius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scottish king Ferguse, whose sister he had in mariage. Castius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent foorth a messenger at armes vnto king Ferguse, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power foorth of the prouinces, which were subiect vnto the same Romans, without procéding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had béene drinen out of their countries, and banished quite foorth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

Castius ordeined
lieutenant of
Britaine.
Dionethus, or
Dionotus, as
some books
haue.
Castius sendeth
vnto Ferguse.

The answer of
king Ferguse.

But herevnto was answer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceased by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie, vntill the whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cumberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Dürstus king of the Picts, vnto whom Castins had sent a like message. Wherewithall the said Castins being not a little mooned, assembleth an armie, and with all speed marcheth foorth toward his enimies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was alreadie ioined with the Scots.

Castius raiseth
an armie.

Dionethus
ioineth with
the Scots
against the
Romans.

The armies
ioine in battel.

The Romans
giue backe.
The Scots fol-
low in the chase
too rashlie.

Which newes sore appalled the hearts of the Britains, but yet being encouraged with comfortable words of their capteins to procéed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within thrée dales after, they came within sight of their enimies, béeing ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that streightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finallie the multitude of the Scottish archers and kernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backes, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Castins (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their arraie and fled. Wherevpon the residue likewise followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welshmen, pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselues close together, readie to defend themselues, and to beat downe such of their enimies as followed more rashlie than warilie in the chase, not once regarding to kéepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie together for their most aduantage, there was great slaughter made both of Romans and Britains.

Dionethus pro-
claimed king of
Britaine.
Etius lieutenant
of the Romans
in France or
Gallia.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and sore warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Picts, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour Valen-

tinianus,

tinianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the captains which yet remained a line in Britaine, appointed one Maximianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire.

Maximianus sent ouer into Britaine.

This Maximianus at his arriual in the Iland was most ioifullie receiued by the soldiours and subjects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie resorted also vnto him; shewing themselues most glad of his comming, & promising with what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enimies. Wherevpon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countrie vnto Yorke, and so from thence marched foorth towards the Scots, being already assembled in campe to defend the countrie of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Picts, Ferguse and Durstus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Britains, who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Britains that inhabited in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Britains acknowledged him for king.

Maximianus causeth the Britains to ioine with him to go against the Scots.

The Scots and Picts assembled against the Romans.

When both the armies were come néere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselues to battell. Ferguse first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of good successe in them that enterprise anie thing in defense thereof; where contrarily all such as attempted to disquiet other by iniurie and wrong dooing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his captains negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vsed most comfortable woords, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence.

The armies prepare to battell. Ferguse exhorteth his people to doo valiantlie. Right minstreth hope of good successe.

On the other side, Maximianus with his captains and officers of bands were as busie on their side to array their battells most for their aduantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onset was ginen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first sore annoied with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie séeming as it had been couered ouer with a pentise. So that Maximianus perceiuing this disaduantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiours to aduance forward to the succour of their fellowes; by reason whereof the battell was foorthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans sore preasing vpon their enimies: so that in the end passing quite through their battells, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting themselues in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselues together, and with maine force assaied to haue broken through the thickest prease of their enimies, but being inuironed about on ech part, they were there slaine ech mothers sonne. Whilest the Romans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scottishmen, Picts, Britains, & Welshmen, found a waie to get foorth through their enimies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as fast as their fét might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding ouertaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pitifullie.

The onset is ginen.

Maximianus perceiuing the disaduantage, prouideth to remedie the same.

The Scots disordered.

Ferguse the Scottish king, and Durstus king of the Picts were slaine in this mortall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being sore wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow sore dismayed both the Scottish and Pictish nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countries, for Maximianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie wasting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the Pictish confines, destroyeng all before him with fire and sword.

The two kings Ferguse and Durstus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth.

Maximianus pursueth the victorie.

Camelon taken
by force.

The Scots and
Picts withdraw
beyond the
wall of Abir-
corne.

Maximianus
taketh vpon
him the abso-
lute gouernance
of Britaine,
with the im-
periall title.
He marrieth
Othilia the
daughter of
Dionethus.
Dionethus re-
puted for se-
cond person of
the realme.

sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserablie put to sacke and spoile, with diuerse other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there anie end of these cruell dooings, till both the Scots & Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained to withdraw themselues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is said) a few yeeres passed was begun by the Britains, and stretched from Abircorne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land vnto Alcluth now Dunbreton.

Maximianus hauing thus drinen his enimies beyond this wall, caused them to make assurance by their oth of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or Romans. There were that counselled Maximianus either vtterlie to haue destroyed both the Scots and Picts, either els to haue drinen them out of the whole Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was alreadie doone, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dionethus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in aiding the enimies of the empire. But when the time came that he should haue set forward on that iournie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond the seas, into what ruinous decaie the empire was fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that changing his purpose, he minded to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to haue the more fauor of the British nation without anie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of those two, which he ouelie had without issue male, by the sister of king Ferguse. She that was thus cooped in mariage with Maximianus was called Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrsula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made second person of the realme, aswell in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

EUGENIUS.

Eugenius cre-
ated king of
Scots.

430. H.B.

760. H.B.

The bodie of
Ferguse is
buried in the
abbeie of Iona,
otherwise
Colmekill.

Maximianus
granteth peace
to the Scottish-
men.

AND whilst these things were thus a dooing in Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Eugenius the sonne of Ferguse, king of their realme, as due to him by rightfull succession from his father, who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yeeres yer he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne (as we find) in the yeere of our Lord 440, after the first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried, as occasion suffered, whilst the Romans were yet in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conueied ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremonies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within the abbeie there.

In like manner Maximianus, to the intent to establish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains, which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for the same. After this also, he being once fullie established in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to atteine to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and therefore assembling all the forces of the British youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be proclaimed emperor, and so vsurped that title; as in the English and Italian historie you maie find more largelie expressed. He left behind him in Britaine his father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there, with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for such Romans as Maximianus had left in Britaine, who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen vnto the same Maximianus, obeyed Etius, as one that supplied the roome of their rightfull lord and maister the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise was Britaine dispurueied of all maner of able men for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts tooke good occasion to inuade the British borders,

The Scots and
Picts inuade the
Britains.

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tenant. Neither shewed he lesse prooffe of his valiancie at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earnest resistance, so far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was vndermined and throwen downe in sundrie places, so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on ech side that went about to make resistance, for none escaped their hands, but such as saued themselues by flight.

The wall is ouerthrowen.

There came also an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themselues. Both houses and people passed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the Britains as could get away, withdrew foorth of the countrie, not staieng till they came beyond the riuier of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Twéed and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings vnto the souldiers, to spoile and vse at their pleasure; wherevpon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilest the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their market, the Britains with all diligence repaired and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said) by the emperour Adrian, shooting ouerthwart the countrie from the riuier of Tine, vnto the riuier of Eske.

The Britains leaue Pictland and get themselues ouer the riuier of Tine.

The wall of Adrian is repaired by the Britains.

The countries lieng north from the wall of Adrian diuided amongst the Scots and Picts.

The Britains require aid at the hands of Etius.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter approched; made no further attempt against the Britains at that time, but diuiding those countries which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian, among themselues, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certeine castels and holds for defense of the same countries, as it were to countergarison such Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the foresaid wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would inuade their countries, which lay on the south part of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had doone the yere before through the other wall of Abircorne, they sent ambassadors vnto Etius the Romane lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requiring to haue some aid and succour at his hands, whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enimies, as sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged themselues in anie maner of wise subiects vnto the empire.

Etius refuseth to aid the Britains.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather because he conuenientlie could not (for that he was otherwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the French men) made a direct answer that he had no men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to doo what they could for their owne defense, for aid of him they might none haue. The messengers returned home with this answer, and made report thereof in a publike assemblie of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathered together at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithstanding that they perceiued they should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to resist the enimies, the whole puissance of the British nation should be mustered, as well men as women, being able to doo anie feat of seruice auailable in defense of their countrie, & rather to trie the vttermost point of fortunes chance, than to suffer themselues to be ouerrun without resistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongst them, as one that was descended of the blood of Octavius sometime king of Britaine, went about with earnest persuasions to remoue the residue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduising them to seeke for peace at the Scottishmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull chance of Mars his iudgement, considering the feeblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former ordinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

The Britains forsaken of the Romans, determine yet to make resistance.

Conanus Camber counselleth the Britains to seeke peace at the Scottish mens hands.

Britaine dispeopled of warlike men by Maximianus. Conanus counsell is receiued.

Herevpon

Herevpon there were musters taken, armour and weapon provided, and both day and place appointed, where they should assemble together to march forth towards the enimie. Conanus sore lamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had said, was spoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence his aduise might not be followed, he doubted greatlie least the ruine of the British state by some fatall appointment drew fast vpon them. The people hearing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons fell vpon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst them: wherewith other being sore moued to indignation, set vpon the murtherers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Wherevpon began taking of parts, and together they went by the eares in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them being slaine, the magistrats had much adoo to appease the fraie.

The Britains make their apprests to go against the Scots.

Conanus is slaine amongst the Britains.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were thus busied in sending of their ambassadours to the Romans, & consulting together for defense of their countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be séene at this day of all that huge and woonderfull worke, it is called now in these daies Graimsdike, because that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same, but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greatest doer. Which being accomplished, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not béene destroyed the yeare before, standing on the northside of Adrians wall, the which wall the Britains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that vndermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuersed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

The Scots rase the wall of Abircorne.

Graimsdike.

The Scottish and Pictish kings inuade the British borders.

Adrians wall vndermined and ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus woone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderlie obeied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scottishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnnearth made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make shift to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riner of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischief being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they tooke new aduise, to redresse the present mischief in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadors, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Etius the Romane lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Etius here insueth.

Crueltie of Scots.

The lords of Britaine take new aduise. See more hereof in England. The tenour of the letters sent vnto Etius from the Britains, as is written by Hect. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thrise consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by woorthie proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and hauen, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substancè, and therefore remaining in great danger of loosing both kingdome and lines, through the sore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romane empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations, to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an eident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almightie God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other forren nations. But if it be so, that the fatall force of the time pre-

sent dooth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we bauing long since too too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our goods and cattell, which way to safe gard our hues, for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforetime did somewhat staie them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned vp our houses, townes & villages, beaten downe & raced enen to the ground our castels and towers, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decaied nation, they haue driuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof procéed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging flouds, either else slaine most vnmercifullie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humblie pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beastlie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succors and that with all spéed, least we séeme to be more cruellie betraied of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set foorth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

But not so largelie as here is expressed. The answer of Etius.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Geffray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Etius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses susteined by the Britains were right displeasent vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best shift they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries prouided, as they should thinke themselves to be verie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadours returned with this answer vnto London from Etius, the other also came backe foorth of the north without hope to spéed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vnlesse the Britains would wholie submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat tooke such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & hereupon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more spéed than was thought possible for them to haue doone, & foorthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

The Scots and Picts would agréé vpon no reasonable conditions of peace.

The Scots and Picts prepare against the Britains.

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britanus.

In the fore ward went such as came foorth of Galloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came foorth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting néere vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choisest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trusse of the armie, next wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could choose foorth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath beene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the cōmons vp the back of the whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming foorth into the field with their whole puissance to incounter their enimies, when they vnderstood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they

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The heresie of the Pelagians. Paladius sent into Scotland.

Of this Paladius looke more in Ireland. Paladius accounted the apostle of Scotland.

Seruan bishop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbishop of Pictland. Vnketh sights and strange wonders appeared.

Finmacoell the great hunter.

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to persuade his countriemen to breake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kinsmen lieng in hostage would not agrée to breake the peace. The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspiracie of the Britains, prescribe vnto them new articles to be performed. Inudent seruillie intruded vpon the Bri-

In this season was the Ile of Albion sore infected with the beresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preserue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuesture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the moonks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles doo report. Paladius with right good and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentilish idolatrie, till those daies vsed amongst them, wherevpon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. Héé lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his relikes remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Moreouer he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were séene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Yorke it rained bloud: and trées in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheapeside in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finmacoell, a Scottishman borne of seuen cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and sore feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agréeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecouerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yéers without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duellie paid their couenanted tribute, though sore against their wils, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yéers after the cōclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue mentioned Conanus, descended of the bloud of the Octauij, sometimes kings of the Britains, sore maligned to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and deuising how to find some redres, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great péce of his mind, persuaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to lenie warre against the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

Héere the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some awearied with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this councill brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had beene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had béene made, and what was intended against them. Wherevpon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadors vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in councill without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient laws they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Romane or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hos-

tages

rages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twice so manie in number of the like age and degré, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadors, were in a woonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not béene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that looke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre foorth against their superiors, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadors were returned home, with answer agréable to their demandes, there arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the vtter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two seuerall times with great slaughter and bloudshed, wherevpon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselues, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finallie through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceiued what néed the one had of the others helpe, and so they agréed. This ciuill warre sore decaied the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vttilled, whereof insued a maruellous great scarcitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortlie after followed such plentie, that those that were left alieue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselues vp to all kind of vice, which tooke such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie maner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

In the meane time lined the Scottish and Pictish kings in good quiet and rest, applieng their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, wherby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie forren power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finallie the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer doone before him, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, he ended his life about the fourth yéere of Leo, that vsurped the empire of Constantinople.

DONGARD.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yéere 470, and his chéefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of good fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligentlie forsee, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe tooke vpon him also to see to the reparing of such castels as were decaied, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, speciallie néere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of scornfull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most excéedinglie set foorth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladins and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them

tains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true. The commons of Britaine offended with theirgouernors.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous welth occasion: of vice.

The Scots applie themselues to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

Dongard king of Scots.

461. H.B.

The studie of Dongard for preservation of iustice and good orders. The reparing of castels by K. Dongard.

The bountious liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Sanctuaries.

The Britains send into Britaine Armorike for aid.

Aid sent into Britaine from the Armorike Britains.

Constantine proclaimed king of Britaine.

The assemblie of the British armie.

The great earnestnes of the Britains to recouer their libertie.

The Scots and Picts make their apprests. The Scots and Picts approach néere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorteth his people to fight manfullie.

them to be highlie reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned foorth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diners places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus a dooing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and tooke aduise by what meanes they might best séeke to deliuer themselues from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armorike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Héerewith was the archbishop of London appointed as chiefe ambassador to go on that message, which archbishop vsed such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the British inhabitants there. Héerevpon, when the men & ships with all necessarie prouision were once readie, he embarked at Saint Malo, where the assemblie was made, and taking the sea, sailed foorth with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie into great Britaine, where he landed at Totnes in Deuonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and foorthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, wherevpon he promised to assaie to the vttermost of his power to recouer againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment héereof, commandement was first giuen, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place appointed néere to the riner of Humber within fortie daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare armor, withdrew themselues, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the assemblie, and offering to go against the enimies, so that it was a woonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recouer their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the Scots and Picts, but also vtterlie to destroie & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apprestes to meet with them in the field, and therevpon raising their powers, came foorth with the same into Yorkeshire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderstanding how néere vnto the enimie they were, they raised and marched forwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils, néere to the aforesaid riner side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made readie for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king getting him to a little hill, called his men together, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of persuasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would kéepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie breake foorth of the same in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retirijng backe.

He had scarce made an end of his woords, but that diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to auale the hils where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got foorth alreadie in order of battell, and were marching forwards to incounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to be right ioifull of these newes, commanded incontinentlie, that the standards should aduance foorth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yéeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioining

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Constantine the
Scottish king is
slaine by one
whose daughter
he had rauished.
Anno 481.

of the waie, and so appointing certeine slie fellowes to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their deuised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that should woorke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of diners, which neuerthesse were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appéereth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yéere of Constantine king of Scots, neither lined he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the westerne Iles, he was slaine by hir father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yéeres.

DONGALL.

Dongall the
sonne of Dongard
is made king of Scotland.

The politike
rule of Dongall.

THEN was Dongall his nephue, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeuour, that peace and concord therevpon insuing, the people recouered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

Constantius a
moonke elected
king of Britaine.

Vortigerns
treason.
Constantius
murdered.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Vortigerne, Constantius the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbeie, where he was shorne a moonke, and aduanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne, Vortigerne had the whole rule committed to his hands, wherevpon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murther the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finallie made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that their councitmen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantius king of the Britains, were malicio:slie circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraies into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Vortigerne by a gréuous report informed héereof, caused an armie with all spéed to be leuied, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enimies: whilst he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made awaie Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his owne person.

Guitellus generall
of the British army
causeth five
hundred of the
enimies to be
hanged.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings gather
their people to
resist the Britains.

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defense thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enimies, being aduanced from the residue to fetch a bootie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore anie ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon such other as escaped by flight, and had séene their fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe héerewith, gather together their people, and haste forward with all spéed toward the enimies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and Pictish power: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to

doubt.

doubt of victorie, haning so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to anie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like woords the Britains being imboldened, as might well appcere by their change of countenances, Guitellus therevpon remooued his campe more néere vnto his enimies, so that at the first and for certeine daies together, there chanced onelie diners skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore mooned against the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dougall the Scottish king fought, the Britains shortlie began, to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Galanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiuing, foorthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfullie, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enimies with more eger minds than they had doone at the first, so that maintenantlie both the wings of the British armie were vtterlie discomfited. And héere with a certeine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haste to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flée: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yéelded themselues, most humblie crauing mercie at their enimies hands. There were slaine in this battell aboue twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts, néere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which doone, they marched foorth into the countrie to conquere castels and townes, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to denise by what meanes they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Vortigerne as one giltie in conscience, doubted least through want of good wils in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enimies, whervpon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the vttermost point of fortunes hap, than with dishonor so to yéeld at the first blow of hir froward hand, considering the abundance of treasure which he had in store, wherewith he might wage souldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enimies. This counsell as the best was followed, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent with all spéed into Germanie, to reteine a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Britaine, to serue against the Scots and Picts in wages with Vortigerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Saxons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant capteins, appointed with the British commissaries for a certeine summe of monie to take vp their prescribed number of men, & to receiue charge of them as coronels, aswell for their conuaie ouer into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arriual. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Horsus, who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, containing about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, boies, and plaits, and in the same transported them, ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yéere after Christ, as our histories doo affirme: where they were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of Vortigerne, who trusted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Guitellus incourageth the appalled hearts of his men of warre with comfortable woords.

The Britains ioine in a pight field with the Scots and Picts. The Scots are put backe. Galane king of Picts succoureth the Scots.

The wings of the Britains put to flight. The campe of the Britains woon.

The Britains chased, know not whither to flée.

Guitell with twentie thousand Britains slaine.

Foure thousand Scots and Picts slaine.

A councell holden at London. Vortigerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

Vortigerne is counscelled to send for aid into Germanie.

Hengist and Horsus reteined in seruice with Vortigerne.

The Saxons together with a power of Britains are sent to the borders of the enimies countries. The Saxons in hope of good successe begin the wars against the Scots with blood.

The king of Picts sendeth for aid vnto the Scottish king.

The king of the Picts vanquished. The Saxons won praise, and the Britains noted of cowardize.

The Picts estoones solicit the Scots for aid.

Cōgall promised to aid the Picts.

Prouision made by the Scots to aid the Picts.

The Scottish and Pictish kings assemble together with their powers.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselues somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent forth with an other armie which Vortigerne had assembled of his owne subiects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enimies countrie, where at their first comming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but sorie shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to begin their enterprise with blond, slaie all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them committed in all those parties where they passed, namelie about the riuer of Tine. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales about Berwike, next adioining vnto Pictland, destroieng all before them with fire and sword.

The Pictish king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all spéd to support him against the dreadfull inuasion of the enimies, whose force being now increased with a power of Saxons, would woorke much mischéeffe, if the same were not the more spédilie in the beginning repressed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains dailie approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scots, but hasted forth with his owne power to incounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons won them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains got them no small note of giltie cowardize, fighting so faintlie, that their capteins had much adoo to cause them to kéepe their ground, being readie still to haue run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that it should be an easie matter for him to conquere them at his pleasure, when time and occasion might serue thereto.

The Pictish nation hauing receiued this grieuous ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enimies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie, and what mischief by the same people was intended, aswell against Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of both nations, if the enimies in time were not resisted. They that were sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of spéedie succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and losses of the Picts his friends and alies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towards himselfe and his owne people, determined spéedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie resolved to preuent that mischief which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the sooner resisted.

He sent word therefore to the Pictish king, that if he might kéepe off the enimies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his aid shortlie, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the twentieth day after assemble together at the south side of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came together at the day and place assigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and méete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & vew of his whole numbers, he set forward towards the place where he vnderstood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie. On the fift day after, both the kings met together, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friendship the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout praiers vnto almightie God for their good spéd and luckie successe in that iourne: which being doone, they march forth toward the enimies, as then lieng in

campe

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incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortlie after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to renenge the deaths of their fellowes; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had doone before, sped much-what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diners of them being slaine, and diners other by treason of the borderers themselues deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiuing in what danger they stood, sithence they might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether vnfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wiues and children, came ouer into this land, in eigheteene hoies, and amongst other came Hengists wife and his daughter the ladie Roxena. Shortlie after king Vortigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Vortigerne so much ground as he might compas with an oxe hide, and hauing that granted, he tooke a mightie oxe hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which tooke name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it tooke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scotish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

A new power of Saxons cometh ouer into Britaine.

Thswang castell, or Thogcastell. The Saxons first inhabited in Lindseie.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Vortigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he tooke foorth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staieng for the coming of the Britains. Vortigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne *Vortigerne**, a yoong man of great force and valiancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authoritie for the warres he commanded chieflie to be followed.

[* sic. q. Vortimer.]

Vortimer generall of the Britains.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts come to meet their enimies.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enimies laie. The Scotish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuers of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come foorth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Hengist prolongeth time to giue battell.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a vallie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scotishmen & Picts must néedes passe, yer they could find meanes to doo anie notable displeasure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires. Which being aecomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British campes, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so néere to the lodgings of their enimies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they tooke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were thus incamped, verle much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scotishmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie together, and binding it in bundels like vnto fagots, in the night

A policie of the Scots.

season

season they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Saxons laie. The wind in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies foorth, droue the flame so streinable amongst the tents and cabins of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the straw and twigs which they had couched together vnder them in stéed of beds, increased the feare amongst the souldiors woonderfullie, by reason that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still coming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from aboue, and euen foorth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roring of beasts, and running vp and downe both of them and of the horsses which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone together, there could not haue béene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the souldiors had doone what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some vprore and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armor and weapons foorth into the next field, which Hèngist himselfe perceiuing (hauing first doone what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choisest men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come together, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the meaning of his enimies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enimies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the same, perceiuing how the Saxons were gotten foorth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their woorthie elders, and by their example to choose rather to die in defense of their cuntrye & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonested life, which (if their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words encouraged his men to doo valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in persuading his Saxons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie they might deliuer themselues from terror of all enimies from thencefoorth in Britaine.

Whilest he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to gine the charge vpon him, which whilest the Saxons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on ech side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them foorthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called foorth about three thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backes of the Scots, brought them streight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Saxons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnneath roome for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoparded to passe ouer the same, and to saue themseiuies by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being sore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length constreined to giue ground and breake foorth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enimies. Manie were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Saxons had giuen the Scots the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter also with them, determined.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons.
Hyperbole.

Hengist calleth his people together.

Congalls exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfullie.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.
The Saxons in danger to haue the ouerthrow.
An ambush of three thousand men.

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to flie.

Congall is wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his household seruants.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Aurelius Ambrose & Vter, sons to king Constantine. The Saxons placed in Kent.

A new power of Saxons came ouer with their capitain Occa.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called. Vortigerne marieth Hengists daughter.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Vortigerne deposed by his subiects. Vortimer chosen to gouerne the Britains. The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall K. of Scots vnto the British messengers.

mined not to abide their comming at that time. And so night approching yer the Saxons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, should be placed and piled together before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretlie as they might, and staid not to make awaie, till they were farre enough out of the danger of the Saxons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and perceiuing no enimie abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this iournie as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, hée withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where hée was receiued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Saxons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if néed were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant eftsoones to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Saxons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Occa the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Saxons, who brought them ouer, being ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and fiftie holes. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and setled themselues in the north parts betwixt the riuier of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And enen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you wold say, the land by north the riuier of Humber, and so it dooth continue.

Shortlie after, Vortigerne forsaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Roxena or Rowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, Occa not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie aduanced, winning castels and fortresses there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, hée put diuerse of them to death, some secretlie, and others openlie, as conuict of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Herevpon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Vortigerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Vortimer in his roome, which being doone, ambassadors were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and vtterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enimies as had béene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commotions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadors were sent) for answer declared, that he was sorie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moone him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to doo the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnike generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie among the christians, with dooing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the be-

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Vortimer vseth
the victorie
modestlie.

dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Vortimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking ouelle from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

The heresie of
the Pelagians.

After this, Vortimer gaue order for the reparing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decaied, partlie through the euill example taken by dailie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue beresie of the Pelagians, as then mightlie spred ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Vortimer through treason of his stepmother Roxena was poisoned, and died. Then was Vortigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Vortigerne then restored thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other maner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Vortimer. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; shortlie after Hengist returned, and what by force and subtile shifts, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to flie into Wales, whither also Vortigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Vortigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merline the British soothsaier had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merline was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueieng mans seed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doo lie with women, and vse them after the maner of carnall copulation.

The league re-
newed betwixt
Britains, Scots
and Picts.
Hengist re-
turneth.

Vortigerne
burnt.

Illusions of
spirits.

A tale of a wo-
man abused
with a spirit.

About saint
Barnabees day.

¶ In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat abridging the same we haue here infarced. In the yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a woonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outragious, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners woondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middest of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saned: and therevpon told them, how she had bene hanted a long time with a spirit, dailie comming vnto hir in mans likeness, and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his filthie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vsed such wholesome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length she seeming right penitent for hir greuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighs euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witnessse (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pompe of the ship a foule and cuili faouered blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And suddenlie therupon the tempest ceased,

and

and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iournie, arriued in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap héereof, there was in like manner a yoong man dwelling in Gareoth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to doo with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remooue into some other countrie, and to gine himselfe to fasting and praier, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yoong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

A young man
haunted with a
spirit.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Mar, a yoong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she prooued with child, and being rigorouslie compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yoong man vsed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir woords, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within thrée daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie therevpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Héere a number comming hastilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of veric honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gossell, and comming to these woords, "Verbum caro factum est," suddenlie the wicked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the rooffe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and couerings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserued, and within thrée or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not béene seene, which the midwiues and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. ¶ Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to prooue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. Ye shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Vortigerne, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to prooue if his chance might be to recouer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also vnto one Loth a towardlie yoong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so necessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the enimies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both these kings, weieng with themselues the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the vttermost of their powers against the Saxons, who had in such tyranlike sort subuerted and abolished the christian profession within the British confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and couenants aforetime concluded betwixt the thrée nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voiage.

Aurelius Am-
brose pur-
poseth to make
warres against
the Saxons.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Scots and Picts
to require their
aid against the
Saxons.

The Scots and
Picts promise
to aid the Bri-
tains against the
Saxons.
The league re-
newed betwixt
Britains, Picts,
and Scots.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he brought with him foorth of France, & joining therevnto a great multitude of those Britains which had escaped the Saxons hands, either
by

by withdrawing themselves into Wales, or else by conueieng themselves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, setteth forward toward the Scottish armie. But first calling together those Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises vsed by Hengist, against the linage of king Constantine, and the whole estate of the British common-wealth: also of the horrible persecution made by him and his people the Saxons, against the professors of the christian religion. All which matter he handled in words so pithilie, his talke yet sauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to atchiue some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be doone in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king. Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in the yéere 498, after that Vortigerne with his sonne Vortimer had reigned 17 yéeres in the whole.

Aurelius Ambrose maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambrose proclaimed king of Britaine.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Mahesbell.

The Albions and Saxons incounter in battell.

The Armorike Britains.

The Saxons discomfited.

Sée more hereof in England.

Hengist is slaine by Aurelius, as the Scottish chronicles say.

Aurelius hasteth forth to London.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of Britaine passeth forth with his people, and within six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some prooffe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be deuised, as well to the one as to the other of those two nations, promising to requite them with as much friendship when time and occasion should craue the like assistance. These three mightie armies therefore being thus assembled, marched forth towards a place called Mahesbell, where they vnderstood that Hengist with his power as then did soierne. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horssemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to displeasure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie incountring ech other, so that (as it appéered) their force was not so great, but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the histories saie right.

The Armorike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persing their battels, with their men arraied in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewise. The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almost to méet, hauing made waie therevnto through the middest of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) began to giue backe; and finallie, notwithstanding all that Hengist could saie or doo to haue staled them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he throughlie saw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himselfe (in manner the last man that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field, with an ambushment of horssemen about him, but being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yéere of Christ, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne Oeca (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp into the next mounteins, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled and abused of his enimies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the vpper hand of his enimies, hasted forth with all spéd vnto London, where hauing both the citie and tower deliuered into his hands, he recouered the whole Iland from the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to serue in the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellowes that werè thus forced to depart, became subiects to the Britains, and coucnanted to become christians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of the Scottish writers, but more héereof, ye may read in the historie of England, where ye shall find this matter set forth more at large. For that which we write héere, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish writers make

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found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie prooued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

The king present at assises.

Aurelius Ambrose fell sicke of a consumption.
Occa and Pascentius returned into Britaine.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called inditements, continueth enen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duellie ministred, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forrest or chase, néere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilst Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Occa and Pascentius sonnes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

Aurelius Ambrose departed this life.

Vter the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same time sore sicke of a flix in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go against the enimies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that incountring with the Saxons they wan the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure moneths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the Scottish and Pictish kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres against the appointed time of their assemblie. Occa also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was drinen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischéefous moonke, a Saxon borne, named Eopa or Copa (as some bookes haue) that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a moonke by profession. His death was sore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Saxons reioised greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Britains, vsing great crueltie in all places wheresoeuer he came.

The Scottish armie returned home againe.

Vter begat Arthur.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie known amongst them, the capteins and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambrose, his brother Vter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more fréelie, he ceased not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he tooke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capteins called Nathaliot, in battell against the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Vter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succéed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictish king was not a little moued, disdainig that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade Vter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Vter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie doone to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Saxons; and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Auxer, as the Scottish writers make mention. Which battell

as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Saxons with the Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Saxons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Finallie when both parties were readie to giue battell, saint Germane tooke vpon him to haue the leading of the fore ward, wherein he had all the préests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answere him with one intire voice.

S. Germane preacheth vnto the campe.
S. Germane leadeth the fore ward.
Their crie was Alleluia.

Thus procéed they foorth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the fore front, & vpon the approach to the enimies, he with the rest of the préests crieng with a lowd voice thrice together Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, vttering and crieng the same crie so wholie together, that the verie sound thereof caused such an eccho on each side by reason of the hollow mountaines and cliffes hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden priuillie among the hilles which they saw on ech side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteins would haue fallen downe vpon their heads together with the frame of the element, readie (as it séemed to them) to breake in sunder, they tooke them to their féet in such dreadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Manie of them made such hast, that running to the next riuer in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victorie remained with king Vter and his Britains, without anie bloodshed.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

The Saxons miraculously discomfited.

Hyperbole.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, whereas Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Vter. But at what time soeuer this victorie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waxing proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor tooke anie héed for prouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Seuerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excesse, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceassed not most earnestlie to reprocue, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leaning their wicked liuing and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Beda dissenteth from Hector Boetius and his authour Veremond.

The Britains giue themselues vnto all kinds of vice and abominations. The threatning of vengeance to succéed vicious liuing.

Neither were they deceiued herein: for within few yeares after, Occa eftsoones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftéene thousand, with their generall Nathaliod. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleasant to the Saxons, for in the chase they lost their king the foresaid Occa, being aduanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with five hundred horssemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enimies, which was the ouelie cause that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit against the Britains. And yet for that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to be their K. the nephue of the former Occa by his brother Oiscus: and then turned all their force to make warres against the Picts, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certeine prisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

The Britains receiue a great ouerthrow.

King Occa slaine.

The yoonger Occa nephue to the former Occa by his brother Oiscus. Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Britains against the Saxons.

Occa therefore being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enimies the more, sent into Germanie for one Colgerme or Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongst the

Colgerme or Colgerme a Saxon is sent for by Occa.

Colgerne land-
eth in Nor-
thumberland.

the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promising for recompense of his trauell and aid against the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his for euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shortlie after in Northumberland, putting the whole cuntry vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerse castels in that quarter, to come foorth into the field to defend the cuntry; and ioining battell with their enimies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the conming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. For he first taking truce with Vter king of the Britains, hasted with all speed to ioinc his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

The king of
Scots and Picts
raise their
powers to resist
the Saxons.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march foorthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within sight of them readie to gine battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hosts, to ioinc in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Saxons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim lookes and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terror was spread through both the whole armies, that if shame had not partlie wrought amongst the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had béene attempted at all.

The Scots and
Picts are put in
feare of the
Saxons va-
liancie.

The kings cause
one to make an
oration vnto
their people to
remoue all feare
out of their
hearts.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought méet for the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalves, how they could not but marnell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriours throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victorie, before they had séene some triall and iust occasion of disaduantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no such men but that they might be ouercome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by prooffe of such victories as Vortimer the British king had obtained against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had vanquished them in such sort, that when they durst not eftsoones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

Then sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts so often had subdued) had at sundrie times vanquished the Saxons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their cuntry, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was bruted amongst them, that the Saxons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withstand them, it was certeinlie knowne, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Saxons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardize, & not in natures woorke, hauing doone hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in such plentious maner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

The Scots
through com-
fortable words
of an oration
recouer new
courage.
The Scots and
Picts are put to
flight.

Manie other arguments were alledged and laid foorth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to liue and die at their capteins féet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, foorth they march towards their enimies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Picts were put to flight, the

Saxons

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the Armorike Britains to incounter with the battell of the Picts, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtfull whether part should haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Picts were put to flight, which aduanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceiued how the Picts were discomfited, dreading to abide the whole brunt by themselues, betooke them also to their héeles, and made their race towards Yorke, as fast as their feet might beare them.

The Picts put to flight.
The Saxons chased, made their race towards Yorke.
Yorke besieged.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths together, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues foorth vpon the Britains, that till hunger began to constreine them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yéelded vp the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Picts and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forward to their succors; also that king Occa (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and fléeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arriued within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Britains should shortlie be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Occa returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like maner, and iudging it no wisdome to tarie the comming of his so puissant enimies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had already in his host, by reason of their lieng abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdrew himselfe so spédilie as was possible with his whole armie into Wales, where he appointed the Armorike Britains to soiorne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilst he tooke the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went foorth against Colgerme and Occa, who being issued foorth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrie with their accustomed crueltie.

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur discomfith the Saxons twice in battel & then againe laieth siege to Yorke and winneth it. Arthur vseth the victorie with gentleness.

Wherevpon incountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enimies, which were content to yéeld themselues, but vsed them very gently, therby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his woorthie victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie feats of armes were dailie practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselues to banquetting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

The Britains sojourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue theselues vnto banquetting & voluptuousnesse.

Christmasse bankets resembling the feasts Bacchanalla.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and renell for the space of thirteene daies together, according to the custome vsed still through both the realmes of England and Scotland enen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vsed to kéepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beastlie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vre. But whence soeuer, or by whome soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselues in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessiue filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather ce-

celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilest they sojourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was doone of certeine yeeres after, till finallie Arthur ioined in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturali life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdom to remaine vnto Mordred and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Picts should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recouered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Mordred should marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authoritie next vnto Arthtur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Gawan the brother of the foresaid Mordred, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large interteinment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

The Britains through rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres. A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Picts. Mordred marieth the daughter of one Gawolan a Britaine. Gawan or Cawen in seruice with K. Arthur.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Pictish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Tinmouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Arthur sendeth ambassadors vnto the kings of Scots and Picts.

Loth king of the Picts, and Conranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprize, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Occa, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approched nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell right stoutlie, and there vttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted shortlie to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most trustie friends and stedfast allies.

Scots, Picts and Britains ioine together against the Saxons.

Colgerme reprooueth Loth.

The Pictish king not greatlie mooned heerewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise hasted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Picts let flie their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in arae, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so soone as he perceiued that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in semblable wise comandeth the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there insued a sore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & sleaing Cheldrike one of the chiefest captians amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is said) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first incounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie therevpon two Pictish horsemen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recouered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that streightwaies therevpon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur

The Saxons are put to flight.

Occa constrained to flee. perceiuing, the more earnestlie preassed foorth vpon them, so that in the end Occa being constrained to flee, and receiuing a sore wound, had much adoo to be conueied awaie by some of his horssemen, the Britains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchiued, constrained the Saxons to yeeld vnto king Arthur, simplie submitting themselues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, vpon condition they would become christians, and from thencefoorth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains, Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agrée heerevnto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next insuing.

Vpon what condition Arthur receiue the Saxons vpon their submission.

Manie of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselues to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set foorth for the same purpose, so that in comparison verie few amongst them receiued the christian faith sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur tooke order for the reparing of churches abroad in the countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced; & namelie in the citie of Yorke he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had doone much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

Arthur caused churches to be repaired.

In the yeere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentish Saxons, had doone great displeasures vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & sleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore mooued, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing vtterlie to destroe all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, being still in danger to be murthered and robbed, so long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained heere amongst them.

Arthur purposeth to destroe the whole race of the Saxons in Albion.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in this iournie ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephue to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Mordred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a lustie yoong gentleman, verie wittie and towardlie in all his dooings. Furthermore, Arthur vnderstanding what hurt rest and ease had doone amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iournie, and passing by London, lodged them a litle beside the riuier of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto almightie God threé daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in stéed of a badge he bare in his shield continuallie from that day forward, as diuerse heeretofore haue written. After this, issuing foorth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enimies of the faith. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane passed on before the battels with fise thousand horssemen, and being come within fise miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambassadors, requiring him to staie his iournie, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie so to doo) to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

The opinion which men had conceiued of Mordred for his wit & towardlinesse.

Arthurs badge.

Arthurs exhortation to his people.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthur.

Arthur would neither consent heerevnto, nor yet grant a truce for threé daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but bad them depart for that time, onelie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefest gouernors of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would haue the matter more throughlie debated. In the meane time, whilst the Britains were busied with hearing of these ambassadors, and taking aduise what was best to doo touching their demand, the Saxons marched foorth

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ble or disorder. But finally, when king Courane began to wax aged, and that such as had the chiefe dooings vnder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Courane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

A conspiracie practised against Courane.

It chanced that there was one Toncet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the administration of the lawes in Murrey land, a person passing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent dooings of this Toncet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Fores in Murrey land (as then the chiefest towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie thereabouts, and namelie of the towne of Fores, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this act, and héerevpon they first came vnto Toncet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull woords, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpossible for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Courane should be lining.

An euill officer.

A presumptuous act.

The determination of the murderers to dispatch the king also.

Donald gouernor of Athol conspireth with the outlawes to murder the king.

The outlaws enter into the kings bedchamber.

Conrane is murdered within his bedchamber by traitorous meanes.

35. H. B.

20. H. B.

535. H. B.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous déed and bold enterprize with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to slea the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischief that then reigned in the realme through the vnwoorthie gouernment of his vniust ministers and couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the fauor of some of the noble men, whome they knew to maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald also gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust with the king, had vnderstanding what these outlawes intended, and therevpon practised with them by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Enuerlochtee, where the king sojourned, promising them by most assured meanes of oaths and vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could denise towards the atchiuing of their enterprize.

Héerevpon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Enuerlochtee, and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waie when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betraied, and that his enimies were got into his chamber readie to murder him, stept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knées besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the blond of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had béene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, streightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king Conranus, in the 20 yéere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the fift of the emperor Iustinianus, and in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, with such funerall pompe and exequies, as in those daies were vsed.

EUGENIUS

Eugenius is invested king of Scotland.

AFTER him succéeded his nephue Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned iournie against the Saxons.

There

There were that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in anie wise the authors of his vncl's death duly punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like héereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgiue the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murtherers into his seruice, and made them of his priue councill, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had béene of councill with them in committing that murther. The talke whereof was so common in all mens mouths, namelie amongst the common people, that the queene Dowager late wife to king Courane, doubting not onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degré.

Regicides or kingquellers ought chieflie aboue all other to be punished. Eugenius is suspected of his predecessors death.

The queene Dowager fled with hir two sonnes into Ireland.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his procéedings, dooing nothing that tasted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least anie man had wrong, he would licence them to plead their case anew. And such as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasurie. He ordeined also, that no orphane should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vexed by sute of law. Moreouer, that no widow should be constrained to come past a mile foorth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, théeues, and their receiuers he caused to be duly punished, to refraine other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

The humanitie and fauourable friendship of king Eugenius towards his people.

Commendable ordinances.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did atchiue all those woorthie victories, which are ascribed vnto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreouer it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit héereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gotthes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did inuade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie wasting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set foorth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. ¶ Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will procéed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scotish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it woorthie to be noted héere, to the end that euerie man maie iudge thereof as to him séemeth best.

The victorious conquests ascribed to Arthur.

This causeth no small doubt to arise of the great victories ascribed vnto Arthur.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to wax wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and héerevpon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succéed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceasse. Arthur not gainsaieng their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselues, being descended of the blond roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie prooffe of wisdom and valiancie: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioising of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantinus, the

The Britains repent themselves of the league concluded with the Picts.

The request of the Britains to haue one of their owne nation appointed to succéed king Arthur.

sonne

sonne of Cadote duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yoong gentléman, - both for his person and other his woorthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the péeres of the realme into the councell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most méetest to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine foorthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorablie, and with such a shew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much praise, with an opinion of high woorthinesse amongst all the British nation.

Constantine proclaimed heire apparant & prince of Britaine.

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictish king.

Mordred succeedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Mordred complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created his heire apparant.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceassed, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his woorthinesse, hath béene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Mordred, succéeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome; and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agréed amongst other things, that there should none succéed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs deceasse, but the children begot betwixt K. Loth and his wife quéene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agréé vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was méerelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnelie taken vpon him, and to mooue his subiects to doo the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almightie God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answeere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had doone nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his deceasse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens liuings, they might happilie within short time perceiue, what dooth insue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnaduised attempts.

The answeere made to the Pictish ambassadours.

The Picts purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scottish king agréable to the request of the Picts.

The Pictish ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdain therewith, that immediatlie they resolued to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like maner latelie receiued at the Britains hands. Moreouer, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now mooue the same Saxons cftsoories to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Mordred vnto Eugénus king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incursions into the Scottish horders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enimies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. That doone, he passed foorth with

the

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betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certaine faire charets laden with rich stuffe and iewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion queene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines therof. In which castell they were deteined vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In wisse wherof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Megill; not past 10 miles from Dundee: but amongst the residue, that of Guainore is most famous.

Dunbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

The fable of queene Guainores graue buried in Angus.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing foorth anie issue more than the said Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come néere that graue, not onelie eschuing it themselues, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This blondie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these threé nations incountred thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Sauour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

542.

8. H. B.

Strange and vnketh wonders.

In the same yere before the battell, were séene manie strange sights in Albion. Grasse and hearbs in Yorkeshire appeared to bee all stained with blond. Néere vnto Camelon, a cow brought foorth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought foorth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about noone daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betweene crows and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

Eugenius rewardeth his souldiers.

But to procéed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and néerest kinsfolke of such as were slaine, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of lands & linings, that they inioieng the same, might be a wisse in time to come of the good seruice of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same vpon their issue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he wan him such loue amongst his people, that afterwards it séemed how he gouerned the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them alieue to make anie claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruellie murdered Mordreds children, in most pitifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, beséeching hir to saue their lines, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made awaie, the familie and linage of their father the foresaid Mordred was vtterlie thereby extinguished.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Constantine crowned king of Britaine. The crueltie of the Britains in murdering the innocent children of Mordred. The linage of Mordred clearly extinct.

The Saxons at the same time haning aduertisement what losse the Britains had susteined, not onlie by the death of their most valiant king and chiefeine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepare a mightie nauie of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and driue them with their K. Constantine into Wales, so recouering all that part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. ¶ Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certaine

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into Wales.

yéeres

yéeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whervpon waxing wearie of this world, he forsooke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretlie departed into Ireland, where applieng himselfe for a time in ministring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the persuasion of a moonke he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocesse ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdom by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yéeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be séene enen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was driuen into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the fift (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inuiolate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enimies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauiour 569.

CONUALL.

AFTER his funerall obsequies finished in Colmekill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succéed him in administratiôn of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iustlie woonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he tooke it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) hée had the same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horsse, he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, knéeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of siluer with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the staffe, containing these two words: *Christianorum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of stéeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of castels & townes. Moreouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon anie pauement, least anie man should vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yéelded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the gréeuous punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should loose his hand for it: and hée that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and bée burned quicke. Againe, he bestowed manie rich iewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the ministers of sufficient liuings, and appointed that they should haue their houses néere ynto their clirches, to be readie to execute that which appertained vnto their offices, when anie néed required.

The king being thus vertuouuslie disposed, caused the whole number of his subiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the aduancement of religion. The report and fame whereof mooned that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer fourth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of moonks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of moonks, being here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselues to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Constantine forsaketh his earthlie kingdome in hope of the heauenlie kingdome.

Constantine entereth into religion.

Constantine sent fourth of Ireland into Scotland is there murthered.

Iurmirike or Iurmirike king of the Englishmen.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scottishmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scottish king dieth.

568. H.B.

Conuall elected king of Scotland.

Conualls deuotion to the crosse.

Crosses set vpon the tops of stéeples.

Conualls deuotion towards church men.

Conualls liberalitie toward churches.

Saint Colme commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Pictland.

Kentigerne bishop of Glasgow, otherwise called Mungo bishop of Vasco.

Thamew or Thametes rauished by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which rauishment she bare the foresaid Kentigerne.

The castell of Calidon now Dounkeld.

The bishops see of Dounkeld.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

Saint Colme cometh againe into Scotland, bringing with him Aidan sonne to king Conran. The death of Conuall.

579. H. B.

Saint Colme present at the buriall of king Conuall.

Kinnatill elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aidan received by Kinnatill. The prophesie of Kinnatill.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie traouelling to instruct both him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigerne, otherwise called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glasgow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigerne was descended of the blond roiall of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thamew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a yoong lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king rauished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigerne. He was greatlie in fauour with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king, as one that was neere of his blond. For the same Brudeus was nephue vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Melethon, and therefore succeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was slaine, as before is expressed. Kentigerne went with saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths in a monasterie there, builded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidon, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in the same place, where the said castle sometimes stood, a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire square stone, being at this day a bishops see, commonlie called Dounkeld, indowed with manie faire reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous persons taking their leaue each of other, not without shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigerne returning into Glasgow, and saint Colme into Ireland, where reporting manie things, touching the great vertue and bolines of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and his people, he mooned manie to woonder greatlie thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere following, saint Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenius, fled ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bee made away by the same Eugenius. Saint Colme taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there arriued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the king was dead, being the yeere of his reigne the 10, and after the birth of our Sauour 579.

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, hee thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at the funerall, and so dooing, was as one of the chiefest there in executing of the obsequies. Which being ended, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argile, by the free election of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his former purposed iournie, and came vnto Kinnatill, bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had lined) they were both receiued with all beneuolence of the said Kinnatill contrary to most mens expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he bad him be of good cheere, for it should shortlie come to passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish common-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words, it is vncerteine, but sure it is that his purpose was to haue giuen out the gouernement of the kingdome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for

within

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1
 iuer the Scottish
 outlawes, pro-
 cureth warres
 to him selfe and
 his countrie.
 The breach of
 peace betwixt
 the Scots and
 Picts.
 A field fought
 betwixt Scots
 and Picts.
 Saint Colme
 reprobeth K.
 Aidan.
 The repent-
 ance of king
 Aidan.
 Saint Colme
 goeth vnto the
 king of the
 Picts.
 An agrément
 betwixt the
 Scottish and
 Pictish kings
 by the sute of
 saint Colme.
 Saint Colme
 returned vnto
 the westerne
 Iles.
 England diui-
 ded into seuen
 seuerall king-
 doms.
 Edelfred K. of
 Northumber-
 land.

Edelfreds pur-
 pose.

A league con-
 cluded betwixt
 the Scots &
 Britains, with
 the articles of
 the same.

The Picts &
 Saxons enter
 into the land of
 the Britains.

him, caused a number of his people, first to fetch a great bootie of cattell and prisoners out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Mentieth, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkeld, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlie at the gaine. That bolie man saint Colme troubled with ^{such} newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuouslie he had offended almightie God, in procuring such mischief as had insued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he mooued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasse, that he wholie submitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance sore offended, the king got him by the sleeue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffered himselfe to be intreated, and therevpon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of diuerse godlie aduertisements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by traouelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agrément, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Iles vnto his woonted home, where he did by wholesome documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Saxons hauing drinen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and countries, they diuided the same into senen parts, ordeining senen seuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Picts, one Edelfred reigned, a man of excéeding desire to inlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could denise, to persuade Brudens the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make against them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue béene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but also for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathyrse, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were also come. But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purposed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged informations of the Scottishmens dailie attempts against the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons against them, and caused therupon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scottish king Aidan perceiuing the practise of the Saxons, and together therewith the vntruth of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioineth in league with the Britains: this article being the chiefest in the whole couenant: that if the enimies first inuaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable maner come ouer to their aid.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, entred into the British confines. Aidan according to the couenant came streight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelfred and Brudeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, therby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked dailie to haue

Ceuline.

Ceuline king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid : but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge therof, first thought it best to incounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus vnderstanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armor and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Saxons, that at the first, sleaing Cutha Ceulines sonne, with a great number of other, they easilie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled héerewith about their standards, made such ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dansing, singing, and plaieng on pipes and other instruments, according to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenlie appéered the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelfred and Brudeus, approching towards them in good order of battell, with whome were also the residue of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Wherevpon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight héereof, were suddenlie striken out of countenance, insomuch that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had already put to flight the other of their enimies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Manie other words he vsed in admonishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset giuen by the enimies caused him to make an end.

The Saxons laid about them so stoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whome they were matched, to gine backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incountred ; so that finallie the same Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and sore distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running awaie. There were slaine in this battell on the Scottish mens side, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungar the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen beside. The king himselfe scaped by helpe of his sonne, who staieng to get his father out of the preasse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Saxons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelfred himselfe lost one of his eies. Brudeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.

Thus Edelfred hauing got such a notable victorie at Deglastone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but eftsoones assembling his people, and ioining againe with Brudeus and his Picts, the next summer after inuaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries next therevnto adioining, to yeeld vnto him ; either els to bring them into extreme pouertie in wasting all afore him. But Aidan being aduertised héereof, sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, ouerthrew certeine companies of his enimies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for preies : then passing by their maine armie, he commeth into Anandale, where he ioineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their waie to méet him. The Saxons and Picts hauing knowledge of their enimies dooings, wan such a place of aduantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in kéeping the same, to distresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping vp the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come foorth on that day. These passages laie through certeine quicksands, and by a riuier which had but a few foords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they were thus inclosed, with all spéed trenched their campe about, raising certeine bulworks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to haue continued. Aidan himselfe tooke such pains in séeing euerie thing doone in due order, that his people mooned more through his example

than

Ceuline or
Ceolin.

The Scots and
Britains put the
Saxons to flight,
and slue Cutha
the sonne of
Ceuline king of
the Westsaxons.
The triumphant
ioy made by the
Scots and Britains
vpon their new
victorie.

The Saxons and
Picts.

The sudden
feare of the
Scots and Picts,
after all their
great ioy &
triumphing,
Aidan exhorted
his men to
manfullnesse.

The Saxons
fight stoutlie.
Edelfred.

Brudeus K. of
the Picts maketh
slaughter of the
Scots.
The Scots run
awaie.

Edelfred lost
one of his eies.
Brudeus hurt
in the thigh.
Deglastone the
place where this
battell was
fought.
Galloway inuaded
by Edelfred.

Certeine com-
panies of Sax-
ons ouer-
throwne.

Passages thro-
ugh Sulleway
sands.

The dilligence
of king Aidan
in providing to
resist his eni-
mies.

The Scots and Britains dislodge. The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

than by anie exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to bane occasion ministred, to shew some prooffe of their woorthie valiancies. At length, when the enimies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leauing a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenlie dislodge, and passing the water by secret foords, they entred into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed with fire and sword all that came within their reach: the report of which their dooings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrie to resist their inuasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enimies.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. Too much hardnesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to giue backe neuer so little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scotishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Callan and Mordacke Scotishmen. Ech of these taking a seuerall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their vttermost indeuors therin, encouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to sticke to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and aduancement to the commonwealth of their countrie; where otherwise they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and importable seruitude. So that the Scotishmen and Britains encouraged héerewith, preassed vpon the enimies so fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so egerlie in the chase, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had doone in the battell.

The Saxons and Pict^s discomfited and chased.

S. Colme as yet being alieue, and within his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inspiration (as the Scotish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battels were in sight together, he had assembled a companie of veric vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making intercession for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flée (as they which had the ouerthrow) that bolie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enimies were discomfited, willing them therevpon to giue vnto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Ceuline king of the Westsaxons, with other two woorthie capteins of that nation, made the slaughter more sorowfull on that side, the one of them was called Cialine, and the other Quhitelline.

S. Colme indued with the spirit of secret knowledge. Ceuline king of Westsaxons slaine. Quhitelline or Whiteline.

The diuision of the spoile.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to haue béene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The residue which remained was diuided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yeere next insuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost wasted through age, and héereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill; but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Ilaud called Heu; where againe the Irish writers arffirme, that he decessed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, & that his toome is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are these Latine verses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

S. Colme departed out of this life.

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when all the sonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them should reigne after him, he ouerpassing the residue (which he vnderstood by secret knowledge should die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also Brudus, declaring that it should be onelio he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie seat, forgot not such holsome lessons and vertuous precepts, as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his youth, so that studieng how to defend rather that which was his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to séeke anie waies or means how to inlarge it, by wrongfull incroching vpon other mens possessions, he grew into such fauour with all good men, as greater could not be deuised. Unto all offenders he was a sharpe iusticer, not sparing anie transgressour of his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or otherwise, but rather those gentlemen which misused themselues in breach of good orders, he chiefelie gaue order to sée them punished; where if they behaued themselues worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them vnto honor.

A louer of
peace and
quietnesse.

A sharpe ius-
ticer.

By these and the like his princelie dooings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethniks, persisted in their infidelitie, and the other ceased not by all maner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmelie caused the same to be obserued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Cinigell king of Westsaxons & Elfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquished Cadwallo king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where vanquishing his enimies the Saxons, and sleaing manie thousands of them, he was restored againe vnto his kingdome. About the same time was Edelfred king of Northumberland slaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riner of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbreth, the one being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of such iniuries as the same Edelfred had doone vnto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, conteining (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those shires from the riuier of Thames vnto the riuier of Mersée in Lancashire. Then was one Edwine a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two forsaid kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

Cadwall van-
quished.
Cadwall is
restored vnto
his kingdome.
See more herof
in England.
King Edelfred
slaine.

Edwine.

Whilest these things were a dooing, there were seuen sonnes of the aforesaid Edelfred, that detesting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwine, got them to Eugenius the Scotish king for more suertie of their liues. Their names were Eufreid, Oswald, Oslaws, Oswin, Offas, Osmond, and Osike. Ebba the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongst other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculously got a bote in the riuier of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath béene reported) she sailed foorth, & at length safelie arriued at the point of land which stretched foorth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectnesse of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbesse of hir bouise, shewing still in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

S. Ebbes head.

Eugenius the Scotish king did louinglie receiue the sonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer béene a cruell enimie against the Scotish nation; and within a while after their coming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and moonks (who in those daies continuallie gaue themselues vnto that exercise) they finallie abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had overthrowen and destroyed in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repaired; moreouer also he reedified sundrie castels in those marches, and placed in them garisons of souldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftéene yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great
aduancement

aduancement of the commonwealth of his subjects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monasterie of Colmekill.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came foorth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeine it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which diuideth the countrie of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he trauelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, an other at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundée, and the third at Restennoth, where afterwards an house of chanons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Rossemarken.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlie man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Mar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flée and forsake their vicious liuing, and to indeuour themselues to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finallie died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

620.
Bonifacius a
godliepreacher.

Molocke a
preacher.

Moons were
preachers in
those daies.

FERQUHARD.

AFTER the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succéded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodore (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons: Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degré: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents déepelie in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more fréelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where séeking a solitarie place, Pharao the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a péce of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doo, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vuder the gouvernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enimies; but his subjects among themselues fell at such diuision, that euerie part of the realme was full of murther, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which disorders sproong, were nourished and mainteined through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than tooke order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them,

Ferquhard king
of Scotland.

Fiacre giueth
himselue for to
liue a solitarie
life in France.

Ferquhard
mainteined ci-
uill discord.

so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agrément, all matters in controuersie were taken vp & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue therevnto.

King Ferquhard infected with the Pelagian error.

The king is summoned by an herald.

He is taken prisoner.

Ambassadors sent into France to Fiacre. Fiacre his praier.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian beresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he vsed to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had béene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme mooued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe kéeping. This doone, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agrément, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diners of the Scotish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his praier desired feruentlie of almightie God, that it might please him so to woorke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And enen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusall to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answere, sith his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sira, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champagne in France, where she with hir-fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leaning in those parties a woorthie memorie not forgotten amongst them there till this day.

The desperat end of king Ferquhard.

632.

The foresaid ambassadours returning foorth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had séene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scotish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose foorth foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as séemed them good in all points. In the meane time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, slue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had béene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens lines in time of the ciuill discord, that he had euer nourished. After this wretched end of Ferquhard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselues together in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with great ioy and triumph.

DONWALD.

Donwald K. of Scotland.

THIS Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as appertained vnto the common wealth, and had béene anie wise decayed and misgouerned by the slouthfull negligence of

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Anno 854.

Sigebertus.
Fosse mo-
nasterium.
Strife about the
celebrating of
the feast of
Easter.

So that it séemeth as yet, such as professed themselves to be moonks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise praier and thanksgiving: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were converted to the christian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for kéeping of the Easter day, the Scotish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelates of the west: but at length through persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

FERQUHARD.

Ferquhard the
second of that
name created
king of Scot-
land.
Ferquhard be-
ing king was
couetous: be-
fore he was
king, he shewed
liberalitie.

AFTER the deceasse of Donwald, his nephue Ferquhard the sonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, succéded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuertheless rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had attained the crowne, insomuch as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redéeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other deuout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieued to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue néed of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but woonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well desposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now fourthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hée vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had piked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

Gifts are re-
quired as a
loue.
Lo, what a
Pretense coue-
tousnes hath.
For their goods
sake prelates are
troubled.

The king is ex-
communicated.

The king is
hunting.

He was a glut-
ton.

A drunkard he
was also.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiuing such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length bicause they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to kéepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrarie to the custome of his cuntry, to eat thrée meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not béene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and áll to serue his gréedie appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantlie at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being excéedinglie giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse.

nesse. He customablie vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, haning his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so mistempered, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such beanie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certheine yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesieng as it were by diuine inspiration, that Ferquhard sore detesting his owne wicked dooings, should shortlie be punished by the hands of almightie God, according to his deseruings.

A prophesie.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all intraged by the pursute of the hounds, flue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, féet, and priuie parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that vnneath might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had beene infected with the dropsie, and therto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid or cleansed of them.

The king is sicke.

At length, when he had béene vexed in this sort for the space of two yéeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reicising hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiuenesse of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humblie receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackcloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, hée there yelded vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to atteine the same. Thus Ferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yéere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yéere of Grace 664.

He sent for his confessor.

The king being excommunicated is released.

Ferquhard yéeldeth vp the ghost.

664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for foorth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their sée. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renoumed for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the deceasse of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remooued vnto that sée of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of bolie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting foorth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin, that succéded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

Finnan bishop.

Holie Iland.

Bishop Colman conuerted the Saxons. Penda king of Mercia.

MALDWIN.

Maldwin in-
vested king of
Scots.
A lover of
peace & iustice.

Lennox and
Argile are at
variance.

The westerne
Iles take part
with Argile,
Galloway with
Lennox.

Maldwin went
about for to
punish the
author of this
commotion.
The captains
becam friends
together, and
fled into the
Iles.
The Ilandmen
apprehend the
captains of the
rebels.

He buildeth the
church of the
abbie of
Colmekill.

A great pesti-
lence & death
vpon earth.

Scotland was
free of the pes-
tilence and
plague.
Riotousnesse
the mother of
sicknesses.

Colman erected
a monasterie.

THIS Maldwin was the sonne of king Donewald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged; studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offenders to be punished, that other harmlesse persons might line in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reign had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and Argile: for first through bralling among the heardmen, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such deadlie enimitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Iles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offenders, there had insued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of those countries.

The king at his arriual amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their captains, but rather the captains and authors of this tumult themselues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement together, being inforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise tooke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, wherevpon they were safelie conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserued execution. Thus that commotion vnadvisedlie begun, was speedilie appeased, and the name of Maldwin by reason hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbeie church, wherein his ancestors had their sepultures, to be in decaie, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this woorke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Sauior Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greuous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left aliue: for it continued the whole space of thre yeeres together. At length, through common praier, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous woorke, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did staie and giue ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Neither were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparsnesse of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banketting and excessiue feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing therevpon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing woonderfull numbers of Englishmen perish dailie of that contagious sickness, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Iles, he erected a monasterie there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie joining with the Picts, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which iniurie when Maldwine, reuenged with more displeasure doone to them of Northumberland, than the Scottishmen had receiued, it caused the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themselues with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Maldwin died,

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King Egfred
slaine.
See more héere
of in England.

Twentie thou-
sand Saxons
slaine.

Brudeus king
of the Picts.

Inuasion into
Northumber-
land.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
fift died
688.

Eugenius the
sixt succedeth
Eugenius the
fift.
A league be-
twéene the
Scots and Nor-
thumberland
men.
Truce taken
with the Picts.
Warre without
anie notable
incounter.
The death of
Eugenius the
sixt.

697.

Woonderfull
visions séene.

seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be anie waies able to shew or doo them. But whilest he was thus busilie occupied in comfort- ing & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The English- men discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie therevpon put to flight and chased, a great number of them tooke the riner so to escape the enimies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flond, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbred in mires and mosses, also amongst streicts, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were ouertaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie aboue six thousand. By this ouerthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie sore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

Brudeus the Pictish king hauing knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing sorie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumber- land, sore afflicting th' inhabitants, insomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els vtterlie destroied it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cutbert (who then held the sée of Lindesferne) preserued the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselues for parting of the spoile, and buckling to- gether by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselues with those countries about Berwike, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not will- ing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recouer their former forces againe, of manie yéeres after insuing.

Héere is to be noted, that whereas the Scotish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the fift, succéded Eugenius the sixt, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by persuasion of bishop Adannan (with whome he was brought vp) & of S. Cutbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstand- ing he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his defiance by an herald. Howbeit, through the earnest praiers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cutbert and Adannan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre con- tinued without anie notable incounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloudshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yéere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie woonderfull visions were séene that yéere in Albion, as the Scotish chronicles make mention. In the riuier of Humber there appéered in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had béene furnished foorth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noise, as it had béene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into bloud in diners places in Pictland, and chéese conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Corne, as it was gathered in the haruest time appéered bloudie.

In

In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained bloud. These sights being scene of some, & declared to other, caused a woonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining some great alteration to insue.

AMBIRKELETH.

AMBIRKELETH the nephue, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the fift, succéded Eugenius the sixt in the gouernment of the realme; who after his atteining to the crowne, shortlie changed therewith his manners and good disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defendor of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue prooued a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excesse of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he tooke nothing in hand woorthie of his estate and degré, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must néedes thorough his negligent slouthfulnesse fall into decaie and ruine: wherevpon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receiued at the Scottish mens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verle pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

Ambirkeleth succéded Eugenius the sixt. The king turned from vertue vnto all licentiousnesse.

Garnard king of the Picts inuadeth Scotland.

At length Ambirkeleth (being sore blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doo euer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appéere) foorth he goeth without anie great good order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so ouerwhelmed with all kind of excessiue gluttonie, immoderate surfeting, insatiable lecherie, and deliting altogether in slouthfull ease, and sluggish idlenesse, the root from whence all such filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & mainteined.

Ambirkeleth gathered an armie against the Picts.

Idlenesse the bréeder and nourisher of sensuall lusts.

To conclude, he liued as one that tooke no maner of regard to that which chieffie appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things doone as was behouefull, of himselfe, neither yet to gine order to others how the same ought to be doone. Neuerthelesse marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and neere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to go foorth of his lodging to doo the necessities of nature; and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenlie shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yéeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

EUGENIUS.

THE lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, bicause the armie for want of a gouernor should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seuenth, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honorable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redresse to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scottish armie dissolved,

Eugenius the seuenth is elected king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

dissolued, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he receiued his inuesture of the kingdome, sitting vpon the stone of marble, according to the custome and maner.

The king is crowned.

The quene slaine in stéed of hir husband.

The king is suspected of the murther.

The murthers are hanged.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

Eugenius the seuenth departeth out of this life.

716. H. B.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of aliance, Spontana the daughter of king Garnard being cooped in mariage with Eugenius: she in the yéere following being great with child, was murdered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in stéed of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who mooned to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murther the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap laien foorth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murther, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at length with great danger of life and honor inforced to make answer by waie of arrainment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrés of the Scottish nation. But in the end being found giltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioising of all honest men. Those that had doone the déed, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gibbets by the héeles, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue béene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the godlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subiects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserued in the abbeie of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue liuings there in the abbeie. Moreouer, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yéeres, whereof the last fell in the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauior 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

MORDACK.

Mordacke succéedeth Eugenius the seuenth.

A louer of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The testimonie of Beda.

A LITTLE before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdome vnto Mordacke that succéedeth him. This Mordacke was the nephue of Eugenius the seuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contened. In those daies (as S. Beda dooth testifie) foure seuerall people lined in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His woords are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent denises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred doo impugne the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church,

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but the more they complained, the woorse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethfne, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misorders insued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

The deceasse
of Ethfne.
762. H. B.

EUGENIUS.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Mordake, was inuested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie therevpon he hasted foorth to catch Donald of the Iles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were bestowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as through his contriued falshood they had susteined. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Eugenius
the eight in-
uested king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Iles apprehend-
ed.
Donald and his
complices put
to death.

Mordake
lieutenant of
Galloway is
put to death.
The commons
recompensed.

A righteous
king.
Offendors put
in feare.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him woonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offendors put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misorders against the simple and meaner people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had doone. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this woorthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his vnsatiabie fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could devise to defloure yoong virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and denise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his companie.

Eugenius is
peruerted with
sensuall lust
and concu-
piscence.
A filthie de-
light.

Couetousnesse
linked with
crueltie.

Eugenius is
murthered.

The end of
Eugenius the
eight.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthie concupiscence, he fell dailie in more greeuous vices, as into excessiue couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednes remained not long vnpunished, for the lords and pées of his realme, perceiuing how he procéded dailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall dooings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they slue him one day amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had béene of his councill, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile dooings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thrée yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, though the people thought it little woorthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

FERGUSE.

AFTER him came th' administration of the realme vnto Ferguse the third, the sonne of king Ethfne, in the yéere 767, who being established in the same, began fréelie to practise all kinds

kinds of vices, which most abundantlie reigned in him, howbeit till that day woonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He séemed to striue how to passe his predecessor in all points of wickednesse. He tooke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessiue gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whoine hée vsed as concubines, that his wife was no better estéemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take sore gréeffe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthie trade of lining.

Fergus the third created king. A wicked prince.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to doo good vpon him, the woorse he was, through verie displeasure of such iniuries as she dailie susteined at the hands of his concubines, shée found meanes to strangle him secretlie one night as he lay in bed, choosing rather to be without a husband than to haue one that should deceiue hir of the right and dutie of mariage; and that in such sort, as she must be faine to suffer the reproch dailie before hir face, being misvsed of them whom he kept as paramours in most despitfull maner. The day after she wrought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funerall wise, and brought foorth vnto the place of iudgement, where inquisition was strictlie made what they were that had done so heinous a déed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet sortie of his friends were verie earnest to haue the matter tried foorth, that such as had committed the murther might suffer due punishment.

K. Fergus the third, strangled by his wife.

Manie were apprehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confesse it. The quéene was void of all suspicion, as she that had béene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet, when she heard that a number of innocent persons were tormented without desert, sore lamenting (as should appeare) their miserable case, she came hastilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the presence of all the companie, she had these or the like words vnto the whole assemblie. "I know not (good people) I know not what god mooueth me, or what diuine reuengement vexeth méé with sundrie thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and morning preceding, I haue had neither rest in bodie nor mind. And verelie when I heard that certeine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place, partlie vnto modestie, whereof I must confesse there is left but a small portion in me, I had foorthwith rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conscience constreinet me (setting apart mine owne safegard) to confesse the truth, least the guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therefore vnderstand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue examined are priuie to the offense. I verelie am she, that with these wicked hands haue strangled this night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe pricks as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient forbearing of carnall lust, & irefull wrath. Fergus by his continuall vsing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the husband oweth to the wife: wherevpon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertisements, vehement force of anger rising in my hárt, droue me to doo so wicked a déed. I thought rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quéenelie honor) to line still subiect to the perpetuall iniuries of such lewd women as he kept & vsed in my stead. Loose yée therefore those that be accused of the kings death, & as for me ye shall not néed to procéed against me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accordingly doo execution vpon my selfe enen here incontinentlie in presence of you all: what honor is due to the dead, looke you to that." ¶ Hauing thus made an end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke hirselfe to the heart with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All such as were present woondered greatlie at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerslie thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fergus was caried foorth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried.

Suspicious persons are racked.

The quéene confessed the murther.

She glueth hir owne sentence.

The quéene taketh execution of hir self.

767. H. B. 769. buried in the third yéere after his entring into the gouvernement, and in the yéere of our Lord. The quéens corps was not buried in sacred ground, for that she slue hirsselfe.

SOLUATHIUS.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland. Soluathius an impotent man.

A rebellion. Makedonald proclaimed king of the Iles.

He inuadeth Lorne and Cantire. A power from the king is sent against him.

The kings power passeth ouer into the Iles. Gillequhalme the sonne of Donald.

Soluathius departeth this life.

788.

SOLUATHIUS the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scottish estate next after the death of Ferguse: a prince suerlie borne to the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through hap of froward destinie he had not béene hindered. For in the third yéere of his reigne he began to bée vexed extrémelic with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so continuing with him during his life, staid him from manie woorthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as abroad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his lims, there were some commotions and misorders the more boldly attempted: and first amongst them of the out Iles. For Bane Makedonald, gouernor by the kings appointment of the Iland called Tire, got all the castels and fortresses of the Iles into his owne hands, & strengthened with a rout of vnruilie and mischefous youthfull persons, tooke possession of all the said Iles, causing himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with a great armie ouer into Lorne and Cantire, made great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duthquhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, being sent with a chosen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to incounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased them to such a streict, as where there was no way to get foorth, saue onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Lorne, with a streict passage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large and broad, inuironed about with craggie mounteins, chained together with a continuall ridge, a déepe riuer compassing them in beneath in the bottome, with such steepe & sidelong banks, that there is no way to passe foorth of the same, but by that through which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his folks being entred at vnwares into such a streict, and perceiuing there was no way to issue foorth, but by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the passage closed from him by his enimies, he was in a woonderfull maze, not knowing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to counsell with the chiefest of his armie vpon the danger present, and so continuing for the space of two daies without anie conclusion auailable, on the third day driuen of necessitie through hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yéelded men vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie haning their lines assured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they rushed foorth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue passed through them. But such was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take example by such their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings captiues after this passing ouer into the Iles, brought all things there into the former state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway: for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great number of vngrations scape-thrifts, & did much hurt and mischéefe in the countrie. But shortlie after, being vanquished by the same captiues that had suppressed the other rebels of the Iles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death for their offenses. In this meane while, the Englishmen & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprise against strangers. Neither were the Picts frée of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceiued against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enimies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yéeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yéere of our saluation 788.

ACHAIUS.

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anie warres against the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

Ambassadors
sent into
Scotland.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriuing in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectuallie the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bee no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and iniurious enterprises, as they dailie tooke in hand against their christian neighbors : but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent dooings, such force as was alreadie prepared against the Saracens (the common enimies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to kéepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
teined.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselues being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the cheere and honorable intertainment that might be deuised : but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doutfull, the king thought it necessariè to haue the aduise of his councill : and therevpon calling them together, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilst he consulted with the residue (bicause he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approoued wisdome) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who therevpon standing foorth, began- as followeth.

Due conside-
rations.

“ No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achaius, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant to almighty God, than to ioine in league and friendship with a nation of greatest power and wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds of Europe : for by that meanes should the Scottish name be highlie renowned and spoken of through the whole world. But trulie these considerations contenting so well at the first, are not so much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow therevpon : for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though too late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of reason in establishing this league, if we once consent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I beséech you) to make a league, and to ioine in societie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expedient for vs) than euen to haue from hencefoorth a neere and in maner a domesticall enimie at hand, whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and large sea, at whose plesure also we must make wars against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-guards, putting our bodiēs in hazard of death and wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing néere vs ; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and lines vnto extreme perill of vtter destruction ? I would thinke it good therefore to take better aduisement and deliberation herein, least whilst we séeke for vaine glorie and counterfeit honor, we doo not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much trauell by our elders, for the which they so often fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and finallie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more pernicious vnto a frée nation, and people borne in libertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and pleasure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were) into bondage ? For the auoiding whereof, not onelie men, but also all other liuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in the chiefest heat and most earnest brunt of the warre

An enimie at
hand.
Friends farre
off.

Good counsell
of Colman.

(which

(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league with our enimies, leaning vs in all the whole danger; shall we haue anie iudge afore whome we maie bring them to answer for their default, and by whose authoritie they may be constreined to see vs satisfied for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine at the Englishmens hands? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter confusion by those warres which we shall enter into for their cause? If euer we be brought vnto that point (as God forbid we should) that through want of substance, and decaie of force, the Frenchmen shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall not bée able to resist the English puissance: afore whome (I beséech you) shall we accuse them for breaking of this league? We shall dailie haue to doo with our enimies after the conclusion of the league (if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with our friends. In the midst of our enimies we shall be still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to our friends, in case anie néed shall inforce vs therevnto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine, France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but onelie such as the Englishmen doo permit. Againe, when our merchants shall passe into France, what hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such as vse sailing? Either must they perish and be cast away through rage of seas, either else fall into the hands of our enimies together, with all their goods and fraught. What discommodities hereof shall rise, your grace (most prudent prince) and you right circumspect councellers, doo well inough perceiue. I therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should continue in the former peace concluded with the Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the custome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Scotish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue in suspicion, sith they séeke for amitie so farre off) except we shall manifestlie resolute with our selues to imploie and ieopard both life and libertie for the safegard of the French, without regard of our owne." ¶ Manie in that assemblie shewed themselues sore offended with Colmans woords, supposing the league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable and necessarie.

Colmans counsell is misliked.

Then one Albion, a man of great nobilitie (whome the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant in the Iles) spake in this manner. "If it were possible that there might be one sure and inuiolable consent amongst those foure people, which at this daie haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion, or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we would not denie but that those considerations and aduises which Colman hath héere vttered, ought to be followed; bicause that then there should be no occasion at all, why we should conclude anie league with anie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was neuer man that found more vntruth and breach of promise in anie nation, than hath béene found in these Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and Britains haue by triall sufficientlie prooued; I suppose it is eidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with such alies and confederats, as by their support we maie be the better able to withstand the malice of such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I praie you? The Saxons in times past being requested of the Britains to aid them against their enimies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie rewarded for their seruice: but they contrarilie in recompense of such kindnesse, shewed themselues in steed of aiders, enimies; in stéed of defenders, destroyers: turning their weapons points against the Britains, by whome they had béene so sent for to their aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great number of them by fire and swoord, but also they haue spoiled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either they saw

Albion his oration.

The English Saxons breakers of promise.

occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they that haue neuer béene ashamed so to doo, where hope to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie hand béene offered. Into what sundrie and most miserable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons brought the sillie Britains? How oftentimes haue they broken the peace established with vs, and also with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon anie such thing? Yea and that more is, amongst them selues at this season the Englishmen warre one against another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so manie kings, and so manie noble men haue béene traitorouslie murdered and made awaie, that scarce may there be anie found that will take vpon him the supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yéeres ago, since Oswin king of that countrie was rid out of the waie through treason of Oswie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after deprived both of life and kingdome by Osrike, whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne subiects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murdered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and denises doo the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting foorth of Gods woord hath béene committed, wearie of and abhorring this wood madnesse, rage and wicked misdemeanour of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remooued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen doo absteine at this present from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now dooth reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or couenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and abate their subtill practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion héerevnto. For héere be at this present the French kings ambassadors, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie doo acknowledge for their souereigne. Ought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Ought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts of the earth, the same being fréelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Héerevpon also frée passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandize and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euerie one of you (so that he weie the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (veric puissant both by sea and land) and thereto of approoued faith and steadfastnesse in promise, ought more to be estéemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scottish commonwealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great disloialtie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they doo the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wils? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enimies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian religion, for the which the Frenchmen are continuallie in armor, if we set more by vertue and constancie than by vnfaithful-

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casuall haps, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namelie on this side the riuer Rheene.

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the posterities of both nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which the Englishmen should attempt against either nation, should be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise aid the Scots in time of wars against the Englishmen at their owne proper costs and charges. Whatsoever he were, priuat person or publike of these two confederat nations, that against either of them should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell, vittels, or in anie other maner of wise; the same should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the consent of the other. These were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a monument in both realmes, for a witness vnto such as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby, that the lion from thence fourth should be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are represented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds doo interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement, and Iohn, remained still with king Charles, but Rabane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made against anie of his enimies, the said lord William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his fame and authoritie dailie grew in all places where he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable stead in his expeditions against the Saxons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his estimation in Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan, and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that within short time the same was not onelie fortified with new wals, repared and replenished with great numbers of houses, churches, and other beautiful buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to hir former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew themselues thankfull, deuised for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France gine, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their citie (after the destruction therof by the Goths) was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the tresurie within the citie certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognisance) and therevpon as the Scottish chronicles affirme, those beasts grew to be had in such honor amongst the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and woorthie feats of chiuallrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelue martiall warriors, which are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotsgilmore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer married, wherevpon growing in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he builded diners abbies and monasteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such number of moonks, as he appointed to be in the said abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he were a Scotishman borne. In witness of which ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the first order

The armes of
Scotland.

The valiantnes
of William.

Florence is re-
edified.
William lieu-
tenant of Tus-
cane.

The armes of
Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at
Florence.

Scotsgilmore.

William vn-
married maketh
Christ his heire.
Monasteries of
Scotishmen in
Germanie.

or institution. Before the accomplishment of these things, by the foresaid lord William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and Pauia were instituted by king Charles, chiefelie by the helpe and means of these two fore-remembred Scottishmen, Iohn and Clement, insomuch that Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the students at Paris, and Iohn of the other at Pauia.

The vniuersitie of Paris and Pauia.

But now to returne to the other dooings of Achaius, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelstane the sonne of Ethelwoolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to inlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictish dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and contened the marches about Berwike, alledging how the same appertained to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had béene fraudulentlie taken from his ancestors by the Picts: but forsomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sauing such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Pictish king sore stomaching this iniurious enterprize of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast, and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Adelstane entereth into Deira.

Deira wasted by fire and sword.

Hungus aided with Scottishmen inuadeth Northumberland.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to doo the Englishmen a displeasure, sent foorth with vnto Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods and prisoners; but yet he forbare slaughter of men, and burning of houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawn into their countrie, he followed them so néere at the héeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a brooke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, haning thus found his cnimies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie foorth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

He warred without slaughter and burning.

Athelstane pursueth Hungus.

Athelstane his cruell proclamation.

The Picts thus séeing their enimies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were woonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to doo. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifieng of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceiued how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enimies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put foorth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come foorth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was doone; the Picts kéeping themselues still within their campe.

The Picts are amazed.

The Picts enter the campe.

Athelstane dooth challenge his enimies.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agréed by generall consent, that the next day they should giuc battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselues for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enimies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their sore impression; so that beginning somewhat to swarue, at length they were forced to flée vnto the place, where ye heard how they tooke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe

The Picts prepare themselues vnto battell.

The Englishmen are put to flight.

downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fel- lowes, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assem- bled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which con- tinueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans foord. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sléepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enimies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sléepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enimies.

Athelstane is slaine.

Ailstone foord. A dreame.

The crosse of saint Andrew.

Saint Andrew the Scotchmens patrone.

Saint Reule.

Why Scottishmen vse saint Andrews crosse in warfare.

Athelstan his buriall.

Hungus re- pareth saint Andrews church.

Images of gold and siluer.

Tenths to be giuen to the cleargie.

Feredeth taketh from the cleargie their priuileges. And why not. Priests to be tried afore se- cular iudges.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie séene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the relickes of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accus- tomed maner. They vowed there also at the verie same time (as the fame goeth) that from thencefoorth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots enen vnto our time. The hodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new hildings & néedfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the relickes of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall pèrsons should not be compelled to answere before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish cleargie did not long inioy. For Fere- deth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, tooke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuileges, that they should answere for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so fréelie bestowed vpon them.

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crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to see the aduancement of the house of Achaius. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king most barte thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, drawing God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within thre yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselues also, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he vnderstood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to doo, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorstologus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chiefest peers of his realme, and tooke to wife Brenna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorstologus had married, that thereby he might assuage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happilie haue conceiued for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorstologus. His feare was great on ech side, and therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies foorth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had woone & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge hir former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleepe, hauing droonke a little too much in the euening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Eganus liueth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his queene.

Thus both Eganus & Dorstologus being made away, without leaning anie issue behind them, forsomuch as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephue to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime therevnto, and thervpon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peeres of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well vnderstood: and that if they throughlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall warres, as by discord and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

An ambassador sent vnto the Picts.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadors come into the court.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortlie come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scottish ambassadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed anie further therein, but

began

began to make such an vprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe tooke vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadors: and therupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpose the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordenance decreed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therefore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephue of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet bicause he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regali administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadye proclamed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

King Feredeth
his answer
vnto the Sco-
tish ambassa-
dors.

Vpon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtile arguments, and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And thereupon the second time he sent his ambassadors vnto them, requiring them either to doo him reason without anie further surmised cauillations; either else within threé moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottishmens hands. These ambassadors passing foorth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Cameson, certeine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

Dongall his dis-
pleasure with
the Picts au-
swer.
Ambassadors
sent againe.

Ambassadors
are not re-
ceiued.

The ambassadors being terrefied with such maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to méet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time laie in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilst Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be drowned in the riner of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a bote. This mishap chanced him in the sixt yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funerall obsequies.

Warre is pro-
nounced vnto
the Picts.

The Scots wil-
lingly giue
themselues
vnto the war.

930.

ALPINE.

AFTER Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefest studie was vpon his first cnting into the estate, to follow his sute touching his title to the Pictish kingdome: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mightie host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed foorth towards Angus, not staicng till he came to the castell of Forfair, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects aranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, wherupon immediatlie néere vnto the towne of Restennoth they met, and ioining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was néere hand ouerthrowne; but Fenedocht lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succors with 400 of his cuntrymen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: whereby insued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it séemed doubtfull for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

Alpine crown-
ed king of
Scotland.

Alpine with
an armie in-
uadeth Pict-
land.

Fenedocht the
thane of Athole.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrinke, speedilie preassed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to at-

tend him : but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enimies, he was closed in on each side; and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that hee could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by anie other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiuing their lines to be in present danger, did cast themselues into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whervpon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts gine ouer the battell, so long as anie daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small ioy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had béene made on both sides.

Feredeth is
slaine.
The night
parted the
armies.

The Picts fled
by night.

The captains of the Picts wcieng with themselues the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leaning their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone already, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Wherevpon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certeine horssemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laieng of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horssemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioising thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselues according to their accustomed order.

The Scots di-
vide the spoile.

Feredeth is
buried.

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre from Forfair. After this causing the musters of his people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and therevpon brake vp his campe for that time, licencing those that were left aline to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the first yéere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weakned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of vtter ruine (if they should commit their whole puissance eftsoones to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to pursue the warre by making of incursions and inrodes onelie vpon their enimies, so to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen did by such their continuall rodes & incursions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and desolate of all the inhabitants.

The Scots de-
termine to
warre onlie
with incur-
sions.

Brudus suc-
céedeth his fa-
ther Feredeth.

Neither did Brudus the sonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his father in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to withstand those dailie inuasions, thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his office, wherevpon he was had in derision of his owne people, who in the end slue him amongst themselues before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yeare. Then succéded Keneth, the second sonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no sooner within sight of his enimies, but that casting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leaning his people in the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour. His people seeing themselues destitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enimies, kéeping themselues in order of battell without anie further attempt.

The Picts slue
their slouthfull
king.
Keneth king
of the Picts.
The king cast-
ing off his ar-
mor fléeth.
He was slaine
by a plowman.

Brudus king
of the Picts.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts chose to their king one Brudus, a man of a stout and manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine Scottish robbers, and fourthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadors

vnto.

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faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that those which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enimies verie fiercelie.

But heerewith did the counterfet troope of horssemen, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth, and shewed themselues vpon the backe halfe of the Scottishmen, appéering in sight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in déed: with which sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and tooke them to their féet so to escape and saue themselues by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were beaten downe on ech side as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himselve was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Pasalpine. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all spéed into Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yéere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yéere after Alpine entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and ioifull victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where causing a solemne procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almightie God for their good successe in their passed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots war, till they had vtterlie destroyed the race of them: and herewith ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certeine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled. The Scots being certified héereof, were nothing héerewith discouraged, but rather put in good hope of better successe, sith the enimies abused themselues thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their power together, and setting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselues, and fought with such hatred together, that the king was not able to appease the fraie, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue agréed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie for that time. Brudus liued not past three moneths after, for through griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a gréeuous disease, and finallie thereof died. After whose deceasse, the Picts chose his brother named Drusken, to succéed in gouernment of the kingdome, who applied his whole indeuour vpon his first entring into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilest he was thus busilie occupied about the same, there were certeine Scots, which sore disdained to vnderstand that the head of their late king should remaine vnburied, in such reprochfull sort amongst their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictish toong, they feined themselues to be merchantmen of that countrie, & comming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night season to steale to the wals, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escapéd with the same home into their owne countrie:

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recouered, was closed in a ledde coffin, and Kenneth himselve, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbeie, amongst the sepultures of his elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie solemne wise, as apperteined. And further, those persons that had put their liues in ad-

uventure

The Scots being
deceiued with
a counterfet
troope of
horssemen fled.

King Alpine
taken by his
enimies and
after beheaded.

Kenneth the
sonne of Alpine
inuested king
of Scotland.
834.

The Picts giue
thanks vnto
God for their
victorie.
They make a
vow to con-
tinue the warre.
The good coun-
sell of graue
men is despised.

The Scots are
animated.

The Picts fall at
variance within
themselues.

Brudus died.

Drusken K.
ouer the Picts.

The head of
king Alpine is
stolne, and so-
lemnlie buried
with the bodie.

uenturé to fetch the same head from the wals of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie, to remaine to them and to their beires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his subiects, furnished all the holds and castels on the frontiers of his enimies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreouer tooke order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse vpon an honres warning, to go foorth against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuasions.

Kenneth fortified the realme.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take anie enterprise in hand eftsoones against the Picts, remembring how infortunatelic they had sped the last time: so that for the space of threé yéeres there was no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion serued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them doone and attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth yéere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chiefest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuade them to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to pursue with open warres, till he had them at his pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus assembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie about to moone them to the warres, he could stir them no more to his purpose, than if he had beene in hand to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke of stomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to denise a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblie for the same day, he commanded that they should come together againe on the next morow, to consult further for the state of the realme, as they should see cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were soone brought into a sound sléepe. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments pretlie deuised and made of fish skins vnskaled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as shineth in the night, and in their other hand a great oxe horne, to the end that vttering their woords through the same, the sound of their voices should séeme farre differing from the vsuall spéech of man.

A pretie shift deuised by the king to persuade the nobilitie.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to ech of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords laie fast asléepe, who being at the first as it were halfe awakened, were woonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or some true and vnfeined vision.) Héerewith also were heard certeine seuerall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almightie God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them to obeie their king, for his request was iust: the Pictish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offenses and sins towards almightie God, should shortlie come to vtter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie, against the which might neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist.

Of such sights there were manie in those daies: and oftentimes no doubt estéemed to be heauenlie visions indéed.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their woords, they slilie hid their staués vnder their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their vppermost vestures made of fish skales (as I bane said) into their bosoms, in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie vanished awale. Those lords that had seene these sights, laie still for that night, greatlie musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the councill chamber, they declared to ech other what they had seene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beléued verelie it was some celestiall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had béene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars with all their forces against the Picts.

The lords declare their vision vnto the king.

The

The answer of
king Kenneth.

The king told them he had séene the like vision, but they ought to kéepe it close, least by glorieng too much in the fauour shewed by almightie God tōward them, they might happilie displease his diuine maiestie, which otherwise they might perceiue was readie in their aid. Then finallie might the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all maner of prouision should be prepared with all spéed for an armie to be set foorth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to prouide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leuied a greater host than had béene seene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come together, Kenneth marched foorth with the same, cutring by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

Kenneth entred
into Sterling-
shire.
Drusken hasti-
lie inuaded his
enimies.

Drusken the king of Picts aduertised héereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had reteined, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scotish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, insomuch that the day did no sooner appéere, but the one part desirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capteine, they rushed together most fiercelie. The hastie spéed of the Picts to ioine, put them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to the next mounteine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therwith giuing a shout, declared themselves to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Drusken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen answered, that their vse was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnskillfull men had cast awaie themselves to be slaine by the enimies hand, where it apperteined vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appéered.

The English-
men fled.

Drusken send-
eth to the Eng-
lishmen.

The Picts are
vanquished.

The English-
men escape.

Drusken es-
caped by flight.

The middle ward of the Picts séeing themselves left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to shrink: which the Scots perceiuing, stroke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being ouertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward with all spéed; and by reason of the mounteins which they had to passe, that tooke awaie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Drusken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horse, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Picts sue
for peace.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, kéeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had béene lodged in some secret place néere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue séene anie advantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the souldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iournie so manfullie imploied. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Drusken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was eftsoones renewed with more crueltie than before.

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thought most expedient. The fore ward was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The king himselfe with a troope of horssemen followed them to succour in all places where he saw néed.

King Drusken
imboldeneth
his people the
Picts.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Picts.

Kenneth with
the horssemen
disordered the
Picts araié.

The right wing
of the Picts is
put to flight.

Kenneth cau-
seth the re-
treat to be
sounded.

The king of
the Picts slaine.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to the battell, which the Scots began with such a chérefull shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Drusken had not with comfortable words relieued their fainting stomachs, the most part of them had fled without anie stroke stricken. But being encouraged through the presence of their king, shewing himselfe with chérefull countenance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stand by him at that present, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell betwéene them. The women that were amongst the Picts, of whom there was no small number, speciallie in the right wing, made such a wofull noise, when they beheld the men one kill an other, that they were a more cumbrance to the Picts, than aid; when it came to the point of seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortlie beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Kenneth beheld, he set in with his horssemen on the backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring in amongst them, disordred their araié in such wise, that by no means they were able to aid themselues, or come into anie order againe: so that in the end they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their féete, thereby to escape the danger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell, that the Scots were forced in following the chase to breake their araié, so to passe the more speedilie: by means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, commandeth to sound the retreat, and so gathering his people about their standards, he appointed certeine companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of the enimies, whilst he himselfe with the residue abode still in the place (where the field was fought) all that day and the next night following. The Scottish capteins that were sent to follow the chase, earnestlie executing their kings commandement, made great slaughter of Picts in all places where they might ouertake them. Drusken the Pictish king himselfe being pursued to the riuér of Taie, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him. It is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the Picts that day at senen sundrie times, and in seuen sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the Scots. The day after the battell such as had followed the chase returned to the campe; where they presented vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other spoile of Drusken the Pictish K. which they brought with them, besides great abundance of other pillage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies that were slaine. Druskens armour and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to such as should come after.

An oration of
king Kenneth.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue departed home; but he purposing now to make an end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a forwardnesse, called together the multitude, and in this wise began to vtter vnto them his mind and purpose. “¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres not ended, if he mind the preseruation of himselfe and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought, not to cease from pursuing the enimies once vanquished, till he haue either made them his friends, or else vtterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way; for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the enimie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he shall haue recouered his forces againe, he shall procure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than happilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake somewhat of this danger now present, the state of the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore inféebled, their power being diminished by force of

warre.

warre, is brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vtterlie to destroie and exterminat the whole nation. Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for vs by anie meanes to draw them (our honor saned) vnto our friendship. But the Picts are of such a stubborne nature; and so desirous of reuenge, that so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliue, they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by this warre. Wherevpon I doo verelie belieue, that there is none of the Pictish nation from hencefoorth, will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts, thus latelie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vtterlie to destroie the whole nation, by putting to the sword not onelie both men and women, but also all their youth and yoong children: least they being descended of that linage, hereafter in time to come, arme themselues to the reuenge of their parents deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter losse of our countrie and kingdome."

This sentence of the king, though it séemed too cruell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie herevpon was foorthwith shewed throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliue, saning such as saned themselues within the walles of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortresses, and also about two thousand of those that fled into England: for all the residue were most vnmercifullie murdered and slaine, without respect either of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth hauing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the same as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles, according to the merits of euerie of them dulie weied and considered, he added new names vnto euerie quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riner, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictish names might end together with the inhabitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Horestia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Mer-nan, by reason whereof the one part of the same countrie was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Otholinia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valiancie was throughlie tried in these last warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuier of Leuin and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was fensed about with senen rampires, and as manie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this woorthie man after his deceasse had their habitation by the space of of manie hundred yéeres. Louthian retained still the former name, so honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongst all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie, Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine named Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood the Scots in no small steed in those warres, in which the Picts were thus subdued. That fortresse euer sithence (after his name) hath béene called Dunbar, that is to say, the castell of Bar.

There descended of him a noble house or familié, bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with sundry branches of right famous memorie. The names of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some kept their old names still. Ordolucia shortlie after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuier of Annan that runneth through the same. And so likewise Twéedale tooke name of the water of Twéed. And Cludesdale of the riner of Clude. In like maner manie other countries, townes, and castels had their names changed at the same time, after they came into the possession of the Scottishmen, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnessse of their victorious acts atchiued against the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon trust

The commōs allow the kings saieng. A cruell act committed by the Scots vpon the Picts.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

New names are giuen vnto euerie region. Angus. Merne. Fife.

Louthian.

A reward giuen vnto Bar which was the fortresse of Dunbar.

The familie of Dunbar.

The changing of the names of the dales. Annandale. Twedale. Cludesdale.

The gentlewo-men are preserved in Camelon.

to be in safetie in the same, as well by reason of strength of the place, as also of the strong garison which was appointed to defend it.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, commanding them for to yeeld.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto them within, to know if they would yeeld, he was answered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all such as fell into their hands, aswell of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life. Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of manie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got together a great number of fagots, and other such brush and stuffe to fill the ditches withall, which were verie déepe and broad, at length when they within began to want vittels, they required a truce for thrée daies, in the which meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrusting no deceit, granted their request, and therevpon commanded his people to ceasse from all maner of annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

They of Camelon require truce for thrée daies.

The Picts issue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themselues of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and stopped vp with earth and stones vpon the one side of the citie, so that of a long time before there had béene no way foorth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell wherewith it was closed vp, about the third watch they passe foorth at that gate in good order of battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the slaughter went on almost enen to the kings tent with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the night season.

An extreame vow made by king Kenneth.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie they came, were pursued by the Scots, and nō small number of them slaine at the entering. The citie also had beene taken at the same time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, discharged a woonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approched néere to the gate, where their fellowes (that made the issue) hasted to enter againe into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue six hundred, wherewith Kenneth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the falshood of the Picts, he vowed by open oth that hée would not depart from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and sword, without sparing of anie, either one or other.

The constancie of the Picts when they were besieged.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue woone the citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchine his purpose. Wherevpon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarsitie of all kinds of vittels still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselues, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was foorthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, bicause they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft vsed by Kenneth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stuffe, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choisest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, ioining néere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should giue the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come foorth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came foorth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as

The Scots enter the citie.

being

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The marble stone is removed from Argile into Gourie, in the place called Scone.

time brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Ferguse out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now fourth of Argile (where till that time it had béene diligentlie kept) into Gourie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for th' establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, bicause that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were vsed to sit, when they receiued the inuesture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine verses were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesaid Ferguse the first his comming ouer fourth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

The residue of the Picts were dispersed.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer into Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse other of them remained still in England, where they got their lining either by some manuell occupation, either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of K. Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the inlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie and in such wise, that where he found the fronters, he made the same well néere the middest of his kingdome. Other things he did also touching the politike gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no lesse woorthie of praise than his noble and famous conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers should proceed in the administration of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to rehearse part as yet being vsed, that aswell the author, as the time of their first establishment, maie the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this historie.

The Scots liue in quiet.

Kenneth maketh lawes & or dinances.

THE CHAPTERS OF THOSE LAWES WHICH YET REMAINE TO BE OBSERUED ARE THESE.

Lawiers necessarie.

“LET euerie shire haue certein men skilled in the lawes appointed to be resident in the same, according as in the beginning it was instituted. Let their sonnes also in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the same lawes.

The tables of the law to be kept. Bribers to be hanged.

“Let them onelie keepe in their custodies the tables of the lawes, with the register bookes of the kings & peeres of the realme.

Punishment for theft and murther.

“If any of them be conuicted of extort bribing, or other the like vniust dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburied.

A woman condemned to be drowned, or burned quick. Blasphemers haue their toungs cut out.

“Such as are cōdemned for theft, let them be hanged, and those that are proued giltie of murther, let them lose their heads.

The punishment for a ller.

“A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir bee drowned in some riuier, either else let hir be buried quicke.

A man accused to be condemned by an od pnest of men.

“He that blasphemeth the name of God, of the saints, of his prince, or of the capteine of his tribe, let him haue his toong cut out.

Robbers to be cut to the sword.

“He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his sword taken from him, and be banished out of all mens companie.

Vagabonds to be whipped and burnt in the chéeke.

“Such as be accused of any crimes that deserue death, let them passe by the sentence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11, 13, 15, or more, so that the number be od.

The wife shal not suffer for the husbands offense.

“Robbers by the high waies, destroiars of corne growing in the fields, as is vsed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the sword.

“Fugitiues, vagabonds, and such other idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt in the cheeke.

“Let not the wife suffer for the husbands offense, but the husband shal answer for the wiues misdeeds, if he be priuie therevnto.

“ Any

- “ Any mans lemman or concubine shall suffer the same paines that he dooth which offendeth with hir. The concubine and hir mate to have a like punishment. Rauishers of maids shall die. Adulterers shall die.
- “ He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it, vnlesse she require for safegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.
- “ If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, she consenting vnto him therein, they shall both suffer death for it. But if she consent not, but be forced against hir will, then he shall die onelie for the same, and she shall be released.
- “ If the child hurt the father either with toong, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall. A child hurting his father shall die. Who are not to inherit.
- “ A murtherer, a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not inherit his fathers patrimonie.
- “ Inglers, wizzards, necromancers, and such as call vp spirits, and vse to seeke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death. Inglers and wizzards, &c.
- “ Let no man sow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds. Sowing of graine. Euill husbandrie.
- “ He that through negligent slouth, suffereth his arable ground to bee choked vp and ouer-growne with weeds; for the first fault let him forfait an oxe, for the second ten oxen; and for the third let him forgo the same ground.
- “ Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being slaine, see him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied. Buriall of friends.
- “ Anie straie cattell that commeth into thy grounds, either restore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the searcher out of theeues, commonlie called *Tonoderach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the space of three daies, thou shalt be accounted giltie of theft. Waifes and straies.
- “ He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cause it to be cried in the market, or els he shall be iudged for a fellow. Things found
- “ He that striketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuersie, shall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other set free. Aduersaries in sute of law.
- “ If oxen or kine chance by running together to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes shall be iudged the occasion of the skath; and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to whome it belonged. Oxen or kine hurting ech other.
- “ If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned to death, and buried, so that no man eate of hir flesh. A sow.
- “ A swine that is found eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the same without danger. Swine.
- “ Other kinds of beasts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy pastures, or eate vp thy corne, impound them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.” ¶ These were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, other there were, which apperteine to religion: as these. Beasts damage faisant. Articles touching religion.
- “ Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.
- “ Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, vigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S. Christ & his saints. Keeping of holie daies.
- “ To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense woorthie of death. Priests.
- “ That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for senen yeeres space. Ground to be left vntilled.
- “ Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it. Graues.
- “ Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance. Buriall.
- “ The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner. Buriall of noble men.
- “ Let

“Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horsse shall beare the coate-armor of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horsse; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horsse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and therewith the people making an outcry against him, he shall strictwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place frō whence he came; the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armor with his horsse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister dooth inioy enerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.”

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in stead of the horsse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Reule his church, now called Saint Andrewes.

The bishops sée, which before had béene at Abirnethie, he translated vnto the church of that bolie man S. Reule. Euer since which time the towne hath béen called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the sée of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge méet for the office, vsed the authoritie & roome of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue béene about the number of fortie bishops resident there, since the first institution of that sée: manie of them for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbred according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched foorth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Iles of Orknie on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yéeres in great renownme and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Fortiuot, in the yéere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honorable buried amongst his ancestors.

The bounds of the Scottish Kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life.
855. H. B.

DONALD.

Donald the fourth of that name succeeded his brother Kenneth. The king is of dissolute behauior.

AFTER his deceasse succéded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had continued scarce two yéeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, kéeping of hawkes, hounds, & horssees for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue béene at for maintenance of men of warre to kéepe the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cookes, bawdes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

The king is admonished of his nobles.

Wherevpon diners of the nobles remembring what appertained to their duties, spared not but fréelie admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his maners, nor restrained the licentious dooings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their woords were not regarded, but for the same they themselues ran into displeasure; they sorrowed not a litle, to sée so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons

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The campe is rifled.

The whole realme of Scotland discomfited.

The Englishmen Inuade Louthian, the Britains Galloway. The Scots left comfortlesse.

The Britains as yet kept possession of Cumberland, and those other countries llyng by the coast of those west seas. The victorie vsed cruellie.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

Ambassadors sue for peace.

Fortune is brittle.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proponed.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided amongst the Englishmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken prisoner, his campe woone, the armie discomfited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aliue remaining prisoners in the enimies hands, there was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had already béene lost without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance put the fault in diners other things, as in such cases commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are euer sundrie opinions. Manie ran vp and downe the stréets and high waies, to inquire the certeintie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to resist the enimies, alsò which way the enimies held, whereabout they went, and what they purposed to doo.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowen that the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks) stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens, that a greater hath not béene heard of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor. The Englishmen herevpon tooke all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains seized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no resistance in their way at all. Herevnto aswell the Englishmen as Britains vsed the victorie verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the Scottish blond, that by anie means fell into their hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by the edge of the sword.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he staid certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that the enimies were nothing of that puissance or number, as at the first they were reported to be; he determined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind and weather, that rose in that instant, there were fíue thousand of them drowned, the residue being constrained to land againe on the same side from the which they loosed, hauing lost through violence of the weather all their tackie and whole furniture of their yessels. Osbert being also admonished with this misfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so inuade other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scottish ambassadours came vnto him to sue for peace, which they humblie required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much on brittle fortune, the which streweth hir selfe neuer stable; but commonlie vseth to call backe againe hir grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanquished séemeth to haue béene sufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should little auaille them: yet were they minded to die in defense of their liberties, rather than to submit themselues vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The words of these ambassadors being throughlie weied (though some tooke them in great disdain) yet in the end it was supposed that after victorie thus had against the enimies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Wherevpon answer was made to the ambassadors, that both the English and British people with their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (thonga it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agréé to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by

them

them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Arcluith, standing at the mouth of the same riuer, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thencefoorth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driuen to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within threé daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constreined them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they should not fortifie anie townes or castels on the frontiers néere to the English or British confines. And further, they should couenant to pay vnto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agrément, the Scots should deliuer threéscore hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefest noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbreton. It was called before Caer Arcluith, that is, the citie vpon Clide, as H. Llhoild holdeth.

Hostages are required.

The ambassadors returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for frée people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people béene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, persuading them to haue respect to the time. And sith the force of the realme was so inféebled, abated, and brought vnder foot through aduerse fortune: better it was to yeeld vnto necessitie in saning part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonor to receiue conditions of peace at the enimies hands, sith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladlie accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Gald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdome amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

The multitude moued with these words of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age and roome) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finallie determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Osbert had prescribed: and therevpon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in maner as is before rehearsed. Which being throughlie accomplished in such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Osbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestlie required so to doo, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The multitude consented vnto Calene his sayings. The Scots receiue the peace.

King Donald with the noble men are sent home againe.

The agrément being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the riuers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those threé people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Osbert, as it was couenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, wherevpon came vp the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are de-

Lands diuided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bridge of
stone made at
Sterling.

1 ceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appéere) that name came not in vse till manie yéeres after. Osbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the woodden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set vp a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by :

Anglos à Scotis separat cruxista remotis,
Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.

Belenden the
Scot.

I am free march as passengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts hope
is dectiued.

The Picts which had béene with the Englishmen in this iournie, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Osbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in déed, least the Englishmen of friends would now become enimies, séeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselues in the possession of those lands and linings, wherevnto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilest anie of them remained aline.

The Picts went
into Norwaie
and Denmarke.

Vpon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselues; so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norwaie and Denmarke, vnto their councitmen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found aline within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honor than he had deserued; in hope yet by this scourge of aduerse fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Neuerthelesse, he had not béene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remoouing from his companie such honorable personages as wished the suertie of his estate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiuing the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent disorder, vndiscreet rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him vnto safe keeping: But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he was thus put in ward in great desperation slue himselve, in the sixt yeare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Sauour 860.

King Donald
falleth to his
old vices
again.

King Donald is
laid in prison.

He slaieth him-
selve in prison.
860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought vnto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is rehearsed, there were sundrie woonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scottishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pasturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddenlie died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sauour of them lieng on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they tooke through infection thereof.

A yoong babe
giueth warning
vnto his mo-
tier.
Beasts roring
died.
Fishes like in
shape to men.
Adders and
snakes fell
downe out of
the skie.

The interpreta-
tion of the pro-
digious things.
King Constant-
stine crowned.
He fahn would
recouer his pre-
decessors losses.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuination, affirmed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Donald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made away himselve in prison (as before is expressed) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the maner as then vsed. After his first entring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recouered out of their possessions, those countries which they had latelie taken from the Scots in his predecessors time: but his

councill

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determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This busines being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenlie followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischiefe, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

One trouble followeth another. Cardane king of Denmarke.

The cause that made the Danes to make warre against England and Scotland.

A great nauie sent into Scotland.

The Danes vse great crueltie.

The inhabitants fled the countrie.

They that fled into May Iland were slaine.

The vncertentie of writers in this matter of these martyrs.

Cardane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Picts alledged they had sustained) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefeins hauing their ships and men with all prouision apperteining once readie, tooke the sea, and sailed foorth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they tooke land within the countrie of Fife, before anie tidings were heard of their comming thither.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namelie for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, ouerthrowing and burning vp churches and chappels, wheresoeuer they found anie in their way. Wherevpon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting foorth the woord of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Iland called Maie, which lieth in maner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of moonks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Iland of Maie; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stolbrand: the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeing out of their countrie, from the persecution which was there exercised by men of misbeliefe against the christians, they arriued here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certeine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted anie further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subiects. Herevpon leuieng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed foorth with the same towards his enimies, the which were lodged in two seuerall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Lenin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that laie on the further side next vnto them) chanced

Constantine assembled a mightie army.

to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it mi. ht bée passed ouer at the foords.

After this sore and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waxed verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enimies, whilst the other could not come ouer vnto their aid and succors. In this campe which lay on that side the riner next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue staid his men from issuing foorth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew néere to the same, and assaied all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come foorth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could doo, foorth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captens were constrained of necessitie to set them in order of battell, sith they would néeds giue the onset vpon their present enimies.

The Scots & Danes ioine their battels.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor certeine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold foorth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araiie of battell. But anon coming néere together readie to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Manie of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, aswell of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase. and struing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drownd in the whorling wanes of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side readie to haue passed the water, if they might so haue doone without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whome Hubba was one, to the great reioising of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongst his enimies, and secondlie out of the roring streame of that déepe and swift raging riner.

The Danes apparell. Their weapons.

Tall men of bodle and limbs. A battell.

The Danes take the flight.

Hubba was saned from drowning.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the woorse, with that happie successe tooke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had béene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies together, there was such dansing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not béene heard of. Yea so farre procéded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselues for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same wholie in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captens after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aline to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoo and manie vaine woords were spent héereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie procédings against their enimies. At length, when the riuier was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselues in such order, whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to denise for the diuiding of the spoile, perceiuing occasion now offered to giue the onset, foorthwith araiied their people in this sort.

The Scots tooke of this victorie immoderate ioy.

The Scots for ioy readie to fall out.

Constantine procéded against his enimies.

The order & placing of the Danes arnie.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Englishman borne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare such

Hubba had the rlight wing. Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept
the battell.

Hungar made
a vow.

The souldiers
did make the
like vow.

King Constantine placed his
men in like
manner.

An encourage
ment giuen to
his souldiers.

such iniuries as Osbert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonor of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certeine bands of Englishmen, with those Picts that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell or middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, sith the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contened therein, either else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, vowed with solemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Wherevpon the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agréed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine kéeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Dun-cane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a péce.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all bartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie atchiued the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be afeard of their enimies, in respect more for their hugenessse of bodie, than for anie of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their woonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a ioifull victorie. Heerewith he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enimies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselues, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this devise did not a little abate the Scotish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their cnimies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enimie in feare, and encourage themselues to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched foorth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they also staid in the midway to refresh themselues, least at the ioining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie páce, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their cnimies verie freshlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had béene a storme of haile.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they constreine the same in the end with great bloudshed and slaughter to gine backe and flée out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this infortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a caue by the sea side amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the enimies. The place was called certeine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murther there committed. The Scotish nation also had beene vtterlie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, escaped awaie with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

ETHUS.

THE people likewise doubting for want of a gouernor to be the sooner ouercome by their enimies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yéere after the birth of our Sauour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yéere were manie woonders and vnketh sights séene within the Scotish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth otherwise called the Scotish sea, there appeared fishes in

great

874.

Fishes like vnto
men in shape.

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of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

GREGORIE.

THIS Gregorie being knowne to be a man woorthie of the roome, though he himselfe onlie was against it, at length by persuasion receiued the inuesture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due solemnitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within thrée daies after, in the second yeere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Sauour. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by aduenture he might haue béene restored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus established in the estate, considering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his gouernment with some luckie enterprise, caused a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thencefoorth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paieng of tribute and all maner of exactions. Also that they should not be constreined to go vnto the warres, neither to come before anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their ordinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iudged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aswell for the kéeping of faith giuen, as to constreine them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controuersie touching matrimonie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreouer the correcting of those that blaspheme either God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like offenders against the lawes and articles of the christian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and their substituts, so that all those which were found disobedient vnto them, and refused to be at their commandement, they should haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie kéeping with anie of the cōgregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived of all abilitie to inioy anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions whatsoever they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witnesse in anie maner of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was the first author of that ordinance, by the which the Scottish kings at their coronation vse of ancient custome to vow by solemne oth, that during their liues, they shall mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the same.

There was suerlie in this Gregorie a certeine naturall inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse in all his woords, that he vttered few or none but that the same séemed to be spoken with verie great consideration. He was néuer married, but continued in chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to sléepe. But his fame increased most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill administration concerning the state of the common-wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where necessitie required. The first expedition which he tooke in hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those parties at their departure thence, being striken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enimies, fled foorthwith into Louthian, leaning Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it against the Scòts.

Wherevpon Gregorie so finding it desolate of inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought most expedient. This doone he passed into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and places of defense, some by force, and some by surrender, he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so that within a few daies, hauing there all at his pleasure, he came vnto Berwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioined together with the Picts, as men riot minding to flee anie further, but to fight

with

876. H. B.
875. Io. Ma.

A conuocation
of the clergie.
Priests are free
of all tribute.

They should
not be called
to serue in the
warres.
Authoritie gi-
uen vnto bi-
shops to order
kings.

When the Sco-
tish kings first
began to pro-
mise by oth to
mainteine the
libertie of the
church.

King Gregorie
was giuen
wholie vnto
godlinesse.
King Gregorie
was neuer
married.
He was sober.
He made an
expedition into
Fife.
The Picts fled
into Louthian.

The king set
inhabitants in
Fife.
He subdued
Louthian.

The Danes and
Picts ioine
themselves to-
gether.

with the Scots euèn there, if they should come forward vpon them. But when they saw what number the Scots were of, and héerewith doubting the Englishmen to come on their backs if the matter went not well with them; they thought it best that such Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwike before the enimies were at hand, and the residue to passe ouer Twéed into Northumberland, there to ioine with other Danes that in those parties were latelie arriued.

They fled into Northumberland. The Danish nobilitie fled into Berwike.

But the Englishmen within Berwike, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the Dânes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it together with their ghests vnto the Scottishmen, who suffering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in their houses, slue the Danes, without sparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a strong garrison of Scottishmen within Berwike, Gregorie marched foorth with the residue of his people into Northumberland, to vnite that countrie to other of his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

The Danes are slaine in Berwike.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countriemen at Berwike, threatned sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which vow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortlie after, hearing of their enimies approach, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued foorth of their campe to gine battell.

Herdunt threatned the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

Héere the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to preasse vpon their enimies, that he saw it more needfull to take héed to the ordering of them in perfect araie, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yeelded himselfe prisoner to these enimies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots egerlie inuade their enimies.

King Gregorie his saíeng to the souldiers.

The Scots héerevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enimies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iauelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there néeded neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wiflers to kéepe them in araie. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egernesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had doone in the field.

The Danes fled to their campe.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men together againe, being dispersed here and there; but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappy day, and determined to retire vnto Rasin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got foorth on his waie, when woord came to him, that Rasin fighting with the Englishmen vnwarilie, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was caried abroad vp and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be séene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaie.

Herdunt assembled his men together. Herdunt went toward Rasin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose foorth a plot of ground most méet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to doo. But Gregorie king of Scots,

Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie suffered the inhabitants of Northumberland to enjoy their lands. King Gregorie wintered at Berwike. King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

The Scots overthrow the Britains.

Constantine is slaine

having thus expelled the Danes foorth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuerthelesse he permitted the inhabitants to enjoy all their possessions still, onelie receiuing of them in name of souereigntie a yérelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwike, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iournie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not drinen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yéeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortlie after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enféebled, by reason of the two last ouerthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enimies to become their friends. Héerevpon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enimies to both their countries, promising that if they would so doo, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weieng with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good suertie and aduancement of Christes religion, whereof the Danes were greuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they néeded to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this maner, it greatlie reioised the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongst their enimies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th' amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they néeded not greatlie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (having now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the deceasse of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Anandale, to recouer that countrie out of the Scottishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was comming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their bootie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more regard to his honor than to the suertie of his life, he rushed foorth into the foremost prease, there to succour and relieue his standards: but being compassed about amongst a great companie of his enimies, his chance was there to be slaine with a number of the chiefest lords of all the British nation. The other multitude séeing the day go thus against them, fled to saue their liues, leauing the victorie so vnto the Scots.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to haue bin vtterlie ouerrun, what hy the Scots on the one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid to be looked for of the English, they

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Irishmen into that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two ships of Dabline arriuing on their coast, sent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great slaughter of the people on each side. King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, streitwaies made towards them, but they hauing knowledge of his comming drew to their ships with a great prey of goods and cattels, and returned therewith immediatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Herevpon Gregorie without delaie got together his ships and followed the enimie with all his armie, and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention together which of them should haue the gouernement, by reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a sonne behind him being but a child in yéeres, to succéed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiser sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their countrie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but when they saw that it would not be, they did so much preuaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, least fighting still amongst themselues, they should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of the Scots: against whome when they had agréed vpon the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other; for these two princes were heads of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by consent of the residue had the leading of all them that were of their faction.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties. The two Irishmen gather their powers

Two armies one néere the other. The Irishmens practise.

The Scots had made prouision of vittels afore hand.

[* Sic. qu. iniured.] The kings devise.

These two capteins with their armies incamped themselues vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, vnder the mounteine called Fute: their camps being seuered by a small distance the one from the other, in such a strong place, that it was not possible for the enimies to approach them without manifest danger to cast away themselues. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had famished the Scottish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious prouision of Gregorie passed the politike denise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fiftie daies space, as of bread, chéese, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not néed to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & seruile gluttonie had not softned nor inured* with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiors vp to the ridge of the forenamed mounteine called Fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constreine them to come foorth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan. King Gregorio assailed the Irishmen.

The Irish are pursued.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, tooke vpon him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backside of the mounteine, in the morning when their felows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Bren lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flée in maner without anie stroke striken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, tooke a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few, hauing before hand such commandement from their prince.

Bren was slaine.

Whilest this mischiefe fell vpon Bren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes curssing that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Bren also was found amongst other in the rifling of the campe, with the head bruised in péces, and the braines dashed out with some stone

stone throwne downe by the Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmelesse, onelie reteining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should prouide themselues of vittels to serue them, whilst they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Women and children are kept harmles. Unarmed men were spared. Vittels were commanded to be prouided.

Herevpon manie of the Irish people thus tasting the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yeelded themselues vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient provision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about wth a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the townesmen to redéeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiors for a péece of monie.

Doungarg or Doungard besieged. The towne was yeelded.

A gentle ransom.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of thrée daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therefore preserued the citizens from all hurt & annoiance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not béene séene within the memorie of man in that Ile. Whervpon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mounteine.

Pontus was surrendered also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thrée battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Kernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which they carried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their génerall Cornelius, with all the chiefest nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiors, chosen fourth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselues into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thrée sorts of souldiors: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swords and leaden mallets.

The Irishmen came in thrée battels. Kernes. These might we name Gallowglasses, if they had béene furnished with axes. The Scots came in two wings.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or iauelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come néere them: which disaduantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they should with their swords cut those iauelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselues, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scottish standards.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded. The Irish ran away.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a woonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them enen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a woonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were receiued into it fléeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yeeld, either else by some issue auoid that danger wherein they were presentlie bewrapped.

Dublin besieged.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scottishmens puissance) they should fall

They consult
vpon a treatie
of peace to be
made.

fall to some treatie with the Scottish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained: for other remedie in that present mischiefe they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cormach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cormach
B. of Dublin
went vnto
K. Gregorie.

He tooke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humblie to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie péce of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yoong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to séeke their destruction.

Duncane.

A wittle saieng

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had doone to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselues were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had déerelie bought with no small portion of their bloud (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yoong Duncans behoofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

King Gregorie
his wise &
godly answer.

Dublin is sur-
rendered vnto
K. Gregorie.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined foorthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched foorth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cormach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Gregory was
receiued with
procession.
Cormach bi-
shop of Dublin
becometh a
crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the
crucifix.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe aduanced foorth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knées, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieng till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, hée entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be doone of certeine vnrule persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

He entred the
castell.

A peace con-
cluded with
Ireland.
Articles of co-
uenant.
Their yoong
king to be wel
brought vp.
K. Gregorie to
haue the go-
uernment of
the realme.
He should also
appoint the
magistrates.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in councell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and couenants. First it was agréed that the yoong king Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discrét persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yéeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not so much as for trade of mer-
chandize,

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King Donald
goeth to resist
him.

Gormond went
beyond Hum-
ber.

Donald sent
5000 men to
the aid of the
Englishmen.

Gormond is
ouerthrowne
by K. Alured.

A peace con-
cluded.

The Danes to
be baptised,
and to remain
in England.
Gormond is
baptised with
manie mo.

They of Rosse
inuaide Murrey
land.

Two thousand
men slaine.
The king went
with an armie
into Murrey
land.

The chiefe
doers were
put to death.
The king went
into Northum-
berland.

Donald died.

conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To prevent therefore all dangers, Donald hasted towards Northumberland; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iornie, but that word came to him, how Gormond was alreadie passed ouer Humber, and entered into the English borders. But yet did not Donald staie his iornie, till he heard certeinlie that Gormond kéeping vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the least 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting least happilie he had ment some deceit, as suddenlie to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had béene once gone backe.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpose was onelie to assaile the English countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald sent 5000 Scotishmen vnto the aid of the Englishmen; and also appointed two thousand horssemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he staid for a time) discharging the residue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortlie after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Englishmen and Scots, though the same was got with such losse of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to pursue the enimies in chase, but constreined immédiatly after to conclude a necessarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes should enioy common seats with the Englishmen in Albion, & that Gormond with his Danes should be baptised and professe the christian religion. Herevpon also were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gormond comming to receiue baptisme had his name changed and was called Athelstane, during whose life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Whilist things passed thus in England, there rose a péce of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey land and Rosse, which disquieted king Donald not a little. The occasion grew by reason of certeine théeues, which comming foorth of Rosse in the night time, secretlie entered into Murrey land, to fetch booties from thence. At the first they of Murrey land made resistance against them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they skirmished in such wise, that within two moneths space, there were slaine betwixt them two thousand of the one side and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with intestine discord, gathered a great power, and with the same hasted into Murrey land: where calling the chiest doers and maintainers of this businesse to make answer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themselues of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this sort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readinesse, if the Danes or Englishmen (whome he suspected) should attempt anie thing against his subiects in those parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almost 11 yéers, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, with a marble toome set ouer his graue, as the manner in those daies was custom-able vsed.

CONSTANTINE.

Constantine
the third.
903.

King Edward
sent an herald
with defiance.

The answer of
king Constantine.

AFTER Donald the fift, there succéded in rule of the realme Constantine the third of that name, the sonne of Ethus the swift, beginning his reigne in the yeere after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie succéded Alured in rule ouer the Englishmen being ware thereof, sent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to restore vnto his subiects the Englishmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, & Westmerland (which the Scotish king Gregorie had in times past by occasion of the troublesome season taken from the right owners by force) either else to looke for warres at his hands within fortie daies after this summons.

Constantine heerevnto answered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for those lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend
themselues.

themselves, hoping in the almighty God that he would turne the punishment on them that vniustlie had piked the quarrell. Héerevpon insued manie rodes and forraies, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, made (as occasion serued) into ech others countrie, with diuers skirmishes and light bickerings for twelue moneths space together, without anie notable incounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increased in puissance, more than was thought requisite for the suertie either of the Englishmen or Scots, which moued king Edward by persuasion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Constantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Constantine lightlie agreed: so that the league was confirmed, againe with the former articles betwixt the English and Scotish nations.

Forewarnings
of war.

The peace was
renewed and
the league con-
firmed.

Shortlie after also the warre was renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by conclusion of a mariage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poisoned by his wife the said Beatrice: and then bicause Aualassus (whome the English writers name Aulafe) and Godfrie, the sonnes of Sithrike, put the same Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre against them, and in foughten field discomfited them, but was slaine in that battell himselfe (as Hector Boetius saith.) But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the historie of England.

The Danes
were discom-
fited.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus slaine, conceiued such hope of good successe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquished, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and first of all Aualassus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, sent vnto Constantine the Scotish king, to allure him to ioine with them against the Englishmen, which with great gifts and large promises he easilie brought to pass, the league notwithstanding which remained betwixt the English and Scotish nations. Héerevpon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to vtter destruction.

The Danes con-
ceiue hope of
good successe.

The Scots euer
false to the
Englishmen.

The Scots and
Danes confe-
derate them-
selves together.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scotish armie, conteining the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordcined, that he which should succéed to the crowne after the kings deceasse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualassus and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murthuring the people without anie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come foorth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scotishmen now ioined in one armie together.

Malcolme is
made chiefe
generall of the
armie.

He is created
also heire ap-
parant.

The earle of
Cumberland
heire apparant
to the king of
Scots.

The Scots and
Danes ioine
their powers
together.

They begin a
cruell warre.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their dooings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succéed in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers deceasse) with all speed sought to be reuenged of such iniurious dooings. Wherevpon getting together an armie, he incountred with them at a place called Broningfield, or Brunenburgh, in luly, in the yeere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue somthing backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in déed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, ech of them struing who might be the foremost.

Athelstane base
sonne vnto king
Edward.

Athelstane
came against
the Scots.

937.

The Scots and
Danes out of
order.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their captains) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enimies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so atchiued a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scotishmen, but chieflie the Scotish nobilitie bought the bargaine most déere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some

The Scots and
Danes ouer-
throwne.

The nobilitie
went to wracke.

write)

Athelstane
tooke Nor-
thumberland.

write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest therof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Westmerland
and Cumber-
land recouered.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yéelded themselues vnto him, promising from thencefoorth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horsse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countries aforesaid. Wherevpon Constantine caused a councell to be called at Abirnethie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infébled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the residue that were left, seemed through want of yéeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he vtterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldlie pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partlie bent) he gaue ouer his kingly estate, and became a canon within the abbeie of saint Andrewes amongst the couent there.

Malcolme
escaped his
hurts.

A councell
called by Con-
stantine.

Constantine
becomneth
a canon.

943.

Matth. West.

This was in the yéere of our Sauour 943, and in the fortieth yéere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith :) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Broningfield or Brunenburgh. (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needes be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approoued amongst our English writers doo report, so that it should rather séeme that Constantine refused in déed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yéere of our Lord 937, or shortlie after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andrewes a certeine time) in the foresaid yéere 943, falling in the fortie yéere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a toome set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

943.

Constantine
died.

A monster.

In the 36 yéere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodyte, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the brest standing foorth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with féete like a goose, legs like a man, full of bristels, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two brests creasted or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man; beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wils or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarilie, as when the one did sléepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and brall together, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent eiaher other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sicke- nesse wearing away and finallie decessing, the other was not able to abide the gréuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

An other mon-
ster.

Two contrarie
willes in this
monster.

One part died
before the
other.
Bloud issued
out of an hill.

About the same time there issued foorth a founteine of blond out of the side of a moun- teine in Galloway, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to séeme bloudie certeine

miles

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King Malcolme was murdered. The conspirators were put to execution. The murderers were torne with horsse.

The procurers of the murder were staked.

959.

The mistaking of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish writers.

well for the wealth of the temporaltie, as spirituale, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his réalme, to see the lawes duly ministred, at Vlrine a village in Murrey land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat streictlie executed vpon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftéenth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked déed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserued, being torne in pièces with wild horsse, and those pièces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

They that were the deuisers of the murder also, and procured the doers therevnto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged vp aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case séemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Sauour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceiued in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms deceasse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but sixtéene yeares.

Moreouer, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succéded Athelstane had against Aulafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succéded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares:) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the iust account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to glue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agréé with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safelie follow, and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happilie perceiue the true time, aswell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts doone, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account; whereof to admonish the reader, aswell here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moone vs to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we doo of that in our owne writers? We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, aswell in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not séeme by way of controlment to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

INDULPH.

BUT to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiuing the crowne and other the inuestures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of five yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent vnto him from Aualassus, to ioine with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Bronningfield, alledging that opportunitie was now offered, sith after the deceasse of Athelstane,

Indulph is provoked by Aualassus to warre against England. His persuasions.

the

the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose deceasse the said league was ended.

But Indulph for answere herevnto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solemne oaths for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vnlesse he should violate that oath, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almightie God against him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accounting Indulph but a slouthfull and negligent person for this kind of answere, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualassus, who ioining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right valiant capteine called Rainold, transported with all speed ouer into Northumbeland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish blood, yéelded all the castels, townes & forts, promising to aid Aualassus against king Edmund to the vttermost of his power.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by couenants of the league; there came vnto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wils to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then ioining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enimies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualassus, the which vpon the first incounter with the Englishmen, fell streight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to atteine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enimies, encouraged now with the flight of the Northumbers, were quicklie constreined to giue backe, and in the end to flee amaine, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they ouertooke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselues neuer so humblie in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enimies hands was taken aliue: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of three daies alter the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields néere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treason was drawn in péeces with wild horssees. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said ouerthrow of the Danes with their capteine Aualassus, who is also otherwise called Aulafe, as is to be séene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partlie touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a woorthie prince. But enen as all things séemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countrymen lathie made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nanie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assaieng to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the riner of Taie; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to kéepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and wasting alongst the coasts of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, and Buthqhane, at length faining as though they would haue taken their course homewards, they lanced forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore,

Indulph his answere.

The Danes not pleased with such an answere procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualassus. Rainold a valiant capteine. Elgarine yéelded the forts vnto the Danes.

10000 souldiers sent vnto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

Elgarine is drawn in péeces.

K. Indulph was diligent in his office. The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They land in Boen.

King Indulph draweth néere towards the enimies.

K. Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

A supplie sent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his companie falleth into the enimies dāger through negligence. K. Indulph was slaine with a dart and died. 961 saith *Io. Ma.*

968.

shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie ioining vnto Buthqhane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselues to impeach their landing and inuasion.

But Indulph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such spéed, that he was come into Boen before his enimies were certified that he was set forward. So soone therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraieng the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approach to the enimies, he prepared to gine battell, and with a short oration began to encourage his people to fight manfullie. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, dooing their vttermost indeuours to atchine the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capteins Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie pursuing, beate downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certeine stiffe stubbornes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, nanelie the archers and Kernes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the mosses, the maresh grounds, and other stréicts, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

Indulph himselfe with certeine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had beene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where the same lay in couert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither vpon the first ioining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enimies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst other his predecessors the Scottish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

DUFFE.

AFTER the corps of Indulph was remooued vnto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of K. Malcolme was crowned K. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the sonne of K. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie wherevpon the king transported ouer into the westerne Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdemeanors vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongst them he called the thanes of the Iles afore him, commanding streightlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without vexation of such barretors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, tooke no small number of the offenders, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to exécution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation wherewith to get their lining, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constreined to get their liuing with the labor of their hands,

The king went vnto the westerne Iles.

He purged the Iles.

Barretors taken and put to death.

Vagabounds compelled to learne an occupation. The nobles were discontented with the kings dooings.

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An image of wax roasting at the fire.

their mischievous mysterie, he sent foorth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches roasting vpon a wooden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

The witches were examined.

The whole matter is confessed.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, tooke them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake foorth in sweat. And as for the words of the inchantment, they serued to keepe him still waking from sléepe, so that as the wax euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the wax was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, streightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserued) to bee burnt to death.

The nobles of the countrie set the witches on work. The witches were burnt.

The king is restored to health.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a dooing within the castell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking foorth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doo anie maner of thing that lay in man to doo, as though he had not béene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murrey land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Rosse, and from Rosse into Cathnesse, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

The king with an armie pursued the rebels.

The rebels are executed.

Captain Donwald craued pardon for them but not granted.

Amongest them there were also certeine yoong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the castell, and had béene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: wherevpon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceiued such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulnessse, hee found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Fores where he vsed to sojourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, haning a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

Donwald conceiued hatred against the king.

Donwalds wife counselled him to murder the king.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great grieffe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to trauell with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

The womans euill counsell is followed.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whervpon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart foorth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming foorth, he called such afore him as had

faith.

faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had béene euer accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king.

The king rewarded his friends.
The king went to bed.
His chamberleins went to banquetting.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, one-lie with two of his chamberlains, who haning brought him to bed, came foorth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads wére no sooner got to the pillow, but asléepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeied his instructions, & spéedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sléepeing, without anie busking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horsse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuier running through the fields there, and digging a déepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had béene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bléeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. ¶ For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bléed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and streightwaies therevpon fled into Orknie.

The suborned seruants cut the kings throte.

The king his buriall.

The poore laborers are slaine.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in dooing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he foorthwith slue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had béene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length coming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their kéeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable murther.

Donwald kept himselfe amongst the watchmen.

Donwald a verie dissembler.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerie inquisition and triall of the offenders héerein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell foorth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue therevnto, and héerevpon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appéered no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

Some wiser than other. The matter suspected.

Prodigious weather.

CULENE.

The king asked the cause of the foule weather. The bishops answer vnto the king.

The king required publike praier to be had.

The king made an oth.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

A giltie conscience accuseth a man.

Donwald getteth him secretlie awaie.

The murder of the king is reuealed.

The castell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitants slaine.

The murder is wholie confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp. Donwald is taken prisoner.

IN the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his comming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murther of king Duffe: and suerlie vnlesse the offenders were tried foorth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the inst indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greeuous an offense. Culene héerevpon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oth, before all the péeres & nobles there assembled, that he would not ceasse till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to armor, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delaie towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approch, and the cause of his comming, were striken with excéeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being giltie in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be inforced to confesse the truth. Whervpon without making his wife priue to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he tooke with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwaie: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to bewraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towards him afore time) had he not thus sought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging flonds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owght, for his vile treson in murthering his naturall lord.

Culene being heereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Fores, slue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his thrée daughters were taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoever could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being doone, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chieflie hir husband was mooned to cause the déed to be doone, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Héere would the multitude haue run vpon hir and torne hir in peeces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The K. with the residue for that night rested themselues, and in the morning tooke order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessors.

But as they were busie héereabout, woord came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Wherevpon the inhabitants of the places next adioining tooke him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent foorth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded:

and

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Evill doers
were not pu-
nished.

Good counsell
was not heard.

The kings an-
swer vnto his
graue péeres.

He would not
displease.

Ancient coun-
cellors leaue
the court.

The youthful
court followeth
their sensuall
lusts.

A wicked time
of voluptuous-
nesse.

A lecherous
king.

Forcing of
womenkind
exceeded.

O beastlie be-
haviour!

All honestie
exiled.

Robberie, theft,
&c were main-
tained.

Death made an
end of all.

or anie of the commons, though the same were neuer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment vsed against them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the common-wealth therevpon to insue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The ancient péeres of the realme also being gréened thereat, spared not to admonish the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the realme was likelie to fall through his negligent behaiour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough how yoong men were not at the first borne graue and sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads: wherefore their first youthfull yéeres could not be so stable as they might be héereafter by old age and continuance of time. But as for such rigorous extremitie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might incurre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the gouernment of the estate. Wherevpon he was determined so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he thought) to reteine his subiects in due and most faithfull obedience. This answer was such, that although it séemed nothing agréeeable for the preservation of the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that durst reprocue the same, but diuerse there were that práised him therein, as those that hated all such as loued the vpright administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie serued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state of that present world (wherin the youth of the realme, namelie all such as were descended of noble parentage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through want of correction to be woorse and woorse) departed from the court, and withdrew to their homes, without meddling anie further with the publike administration. In whose place there crept in others, that with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he measured supream felicitie by the plentiful inioieng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He fansied onelie such as could denise prouocations thervnto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of costlie meates and drinks, those that could excell other were chieffie cherished, and most highlie of him esteemed.

Heerewithall he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, widow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of such villanie and violent forcings as were practised by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre past all shame in this behalfe, that when his lecherous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to doo it in his presence, that his decaied lust might be the more stirred vp with sight of such filthinesse. This abominable trade of life he practised for the space of threé yeeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, ranine, manslaughter, forcings, and ravishments of women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such flagitious offenses) being put in yre, through negligence of this monstrous creature.

So farre fourth also increased the libertie of théeues, robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull dooings, and were partakers with them in the same, that if anie man went about to withstand them, or refused to aecomplish their requests and demands, he should be spoiled of all that he had, and happilie haue his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be misused in such outragious and violent sort, that it would gréeue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare of such enormities as were daille practised in that countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings: for falling into a filthie disease (through

abuse

abuse of excessive drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of nature, he consumed away in such wise by rotting of his flesh, that he appeared more like unto a dead carcase, than unto a liuelie creature, insomuch that his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Gonorrhœa.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable personages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some other (whome they should iudge most méetest) to reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing wherefore this councill was called, as he was going thitherwards, at Meffen castell, being almost in the mid waie of his iournie, was murdered by one Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This end had Culene together with all his filthie sensualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be forgotten whilst the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fift yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauour 976, the nobles & great péeres of the realme reioising at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

A parlement.

King Culene was murdered.

976.

KENNETH.

AFTER that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great péeres assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to doo to reduce the people from their wild and sauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecessor) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanor. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first thé nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselues to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of living shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberalitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but refraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He mainteined amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He tooke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselues in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaie to a flourishing state.

His life is reformed.

King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing.

He loued strangers.

He abhorred sloth.

He did punish offenders.

A session kept at Lanrike, or Lanerke.

The gilty ran awaie.

The king dissembled with these dooings. The king went to visit saint Ninian.

The king consulted how to call the transgressors vnto iudgement.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subiects, he indeuored himselfe by all meanes he could devise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of théeues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Kile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certeine offenders were summoned to appéere. But at their comming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through persuasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretlie their waies, some into the westerne Iles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disloiall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to doo. Héere he inuented (by conference which he had with some of his priue councill) a devise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yéere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yéere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his réalme to assemble.

An assemblie
had at Scone.

Armed men
laid in wait.

The king and
lords sitting, the
armed men step
fourth.

The king put-
teth the lords
out of doubt.
An oration
made by the
king.
A rehearsall of
all enormities.

assemble at Scone, as though it had béene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the councill-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his band till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaie to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement. On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the councill-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degré about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselues round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durst not speake a woord. Then the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to councill at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preseruacion of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to ranish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaie, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour; where should the lord or gentleman haue wherevpon to line? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as vsed to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallie of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not séeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as théeues and robbers dailie offered them; but also would helpe to sée inst execution doone vpon the same théeues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. “The last yeare (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue procéded by order of the lawes against all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Lainrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouslie disobeieng our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue béene informed by some how diners of you fauring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withdrawing themselues so from iudgement.

Lainrike, or
Lanerke.

“The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well néere persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet notwithstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fautors of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though happilie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your dueties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were anie.” In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselues to haue those armed men which they saw there present; to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords hauing heard the kings spéech, and perceiuing what his meaning was, first partlie

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The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soone as it was knowen that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to doo both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should incounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, sith chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enimies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement gineu) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riner called Eske, the which in those dales washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all speed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes doo land at Mountros. Mountros taken, and all within was slaine.

The Danes come to the riuier of Taie. King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They laie siege before Bertha.

King Kenneth set his men in aray.

The king exhorted the Scots vnto valiantnesse.

The order of the Scottish battell aray. The Danes had the advantage of a little mountaine.

The Scots begin the battell.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuier of Taie, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these gréeuous newes, he determined foorthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enimies. The assemblie of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riner of Erne falleth into the riner of Taie. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Taie, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delaie, he raised with the whole armie, and marched streight towards his enimies, comming that night vnto Loncart a village not far distant from the riner of Taie, famous euer after, by reason of the battell fought then néere vnto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but foorthwith prepared to giue battell.

Kenneth as soone as the sunne was yp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickelie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promiseth to release them of all tributs and paiments due to the kings cofers for the space of fieve yeares next insuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much woorth in value to euerie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remember there was no place to atteine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enimies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them foorth, into what place so euer they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little encouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mountaine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come foorth to anie euen ground, aduanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were constrained to leaue the same, and with all speed to come forward vpon their enimies, that by ioining they might auoid the danger of the Scottishmens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was ginen on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both

sides:

sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads' of the Danes, euer as they might. ouercome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiuing that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed foorth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and flée backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet kéeping their ground: but the same stood in such dangèr, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must néedes haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

The two wings of the Scots fled.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiancie in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in gréat dangèr to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to doo the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongst other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine alieue after the discomforture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most vnmercifull enimies. There was néere to the place of the battell, a long lane fensed on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes

Haie with his two sonnes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselues ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new power of Scottishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they choose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellowes comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had béene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and therevpon ceassing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

Haie staied the Scots frō running away.

The Scots were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellowes in great disorder.

The Scots also that before was chased, being encouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Kenneth perceiuing his people to be thus recomforted, and his enimies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now sith their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie vndoubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots encouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constrained to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scottish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by this meanes chieflie was the victorie attached. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enimies campe (which they had left void) shuld be diuided, the chieftest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome vsed amongst this nation.

K. Kenneth called vpo his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is diuided.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enimies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused costlie robes to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that, being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running foorth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when

Haie refused costlie garments. The king came to Bertha.

the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell axe might haue béene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honoréd of tall estates, within certeine daies after, at a'councell holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefest nobles and péeres of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with ilands and reuenues, such as he should choose sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

Haie his request.

The falcon mesured Haie his lands out.

Haie had armes giuen him.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the riner of Taie runs by the towne of Arrole ouer against Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freelie granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inschire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till shée came to a great stone néere a village called Rosse, not passing foure miles from Dundée. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inschire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth), fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, dooth cause the thing better to be beléued, and well néere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes thrée scutchons gules in a field of siluer, a plowbeame added therevnto, which he vsed in stead of a battell axe, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath atteined vnto great estimation of honor, and hath béene decorated with the office of the constablership of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succéded. These things happened in the first yéere of king Kenneth.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

An other commotion in Mernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather. - Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set vpon Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was instigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

The countrie is forraied.

They of Mernes requite their iniuries.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by forren enimies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was woonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Kerns of the westerne Iles inuading Rosse, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the waie and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the commonwelth raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefest lords of the Mernes, who was sonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southeske, and the other Northeske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruingmen, in the which two of Cruthlints seruants fortunéd to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the busines, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake foorth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Fethircarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Mernes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted foorthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receiued: so that assembling a number of his friends and kinsfolks so secretlie as he might together, with a band of the inhabitants of the Mernes, he entereth into Angus, and coming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the kéepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenlie oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left aliue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he forraied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great bootie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselues together inuaded the countrie of Mernes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie

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ambassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered that he was glad to vnderstand that king Edward was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his subiects and the Scottishmen, according to the articles of the ancient league in times past concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and therefore in rendering most heartie thanks vnto him for his gentle aduertisement, he purposed by the aduise of his nobles, and the other estates of his realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and therevpon required the ambassador to be present on the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles should name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The ambassadors herevpon departing foorth of the councill chamber, were conueied to their lodging by diuerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe them companie.

The king requested that the crowne might come by inheritance.

A fit oration for his purpose.

He had roome enough to walke in, to gather proofes & reasons to persuade this matter, it being good of it selfe.

The peeres of the realme did willingly grant to his request.

The herald required Constantine his voice first.

Constantine his saieng.

The multitude wel pleased, crie Malcolme.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the custome and ancient order vsed by their elders in choosing of him that should succéed in the gouernance of the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in possession. He vsed so manie reasons as was possible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to induce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie to this end, that one of his sonnes might inioy the same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared also what discommodities, seditions, and great inconueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone in times past by election: for though it was ordeined at the first that it should so doo, vpon a good intent and great consideration, yet in processe of time prooffe and experience had shewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wicked practises were throughlie weied and considered, the summe whereof he recited from point to point, and so in the end with great instance besought them, that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes commonlie the order was, that the sonne should without anie contradiction succéed the father in the heritage of the crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort hee could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were there amongst other, being made priuie to the matter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland, that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceasse of his father. This motion by and by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth perceiuing, he required of the most ancient peeres whome they would name to be prince of Cumberland, that there might be a meane to ratifie and confirme the league betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, Constantine the sonne of king Cullin, and Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mogall: howbeit by the force of the former law they might by good reason haue looked to haue had the preferment themselues.

But yet perceiuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they should neuer so much stand against it) being first demanded of the herald what they thought, they answerd (notwithstanding against their minds indéed) that the king might order all things as should stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought most méet to bee prince of Cumberland, and to abrogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in deuising new ordinances for the same, as should séeme vnto him and those of his councill most requisite and necessarie. The multitude then following their sentence, cried with lowd and vndiscreet voices, to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth created prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe. The daie next following, the ambassadors comming into the councill chamber, heard what was decreed touching their request, and then being highlie rewarded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they returned into England, and Malcolme with them, to be acquainted with king Edward, and to doo his homage for the principallitie of Cumberland, as the custome was.

At the same time also there was a new act deuised and made, the old being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it either in harts or voices, though some currifauours among them set forward the matter to the best of their powers. The articles of this ordinance were these. The eldest beire male of the deceassed king, whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse, should from thence-foorth succéed in the kingdome of Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be preferred before the nephue by the daughter, in atteining to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the brothers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son. The same law should be obserued of all such of the Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance comming to them by descent. Where the king by this meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule, there shuld be one of the chiefest péeres of the realme chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his person and realme, till he came to 14 yéeres of age. The which foureteenth yéere of his age being accomplished, he should haue the administration committed to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons of ech estate and degré should remaine vnder the wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came to the age of 21 yéeres, and not till then to meddle with anie part of their lands and linings.

A new act for the succession of the crowne.

Articles concluded in that parlement.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and therevpon indeuored himselfe to win the harts of the people with vpright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, aswell in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he séeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he séemed most vnhappy, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, vttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doo that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had beene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the inst vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer woorthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thée and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou doost indeuour to assure vnto thine issue."

King Kenneth ministred iustice trulie. The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a guiltie conscience.

A voice heard by the king.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eies. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Mouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beséeching him of counsell, which waic he might obtaine pardon and forgiuenes at Gods hands by woorthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoned his offense committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiuenesse by these and sundrie other the like comfortable words of the hishop, studied vnfeinedlie to doo woorthie penance, leaning nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witness of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

The king confesseth his sinnes.

The king tooketh great repentance.

It chanced héerevpon, that within a short time after he had beene at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, to visit the reliks of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage.

to.

A parke with wild beasts at the castell of Fethircarne.

Fenella was of kin vnto Malcolme.

She was desirous for to reuenge.

Fenella hir malicious intent.

Crossebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

The king was slaine with the crosse bowes.

Fenella escaped from them all.

His seruants looked for their king. The doores broken open, they find him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hirselfe into Ireland by the helpe of Constantine. Constantine aspired vnto the crowne.

to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie denise of the king (as before is partlie mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, longtime before hauing conceiued an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelle aswell for the death of hir sonne Cruthlint, as hauing some inkling also of the im poisoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certeintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She vnderstood that the king delighted aboue measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compasse hir malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, ioining vnto hir owne lodging within the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Héreto was it boong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verle faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie brasen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones; deuised with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remooue it neuer so little anie waie foorth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aswell of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie? Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, iacincts, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkasses, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beséeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value woorthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And héerewith she hirselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing foorth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remoouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got foorth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed horsse to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming foorth in the vtter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softlie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The clamor and crie héerevpon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a déed: but the vngracious woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lords to assist him in atteining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by his

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stantine to
breake vp his
campe.

penurie of vittels in both hosts, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprise for that season.

King Edward,
or rather Ethel-
red, purchased
peace of the
Danes.

Malcolme is
readie to helpe
king Edward
against the
Danes.

King Edward
made peace
with the Danes.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischiefe happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finallie, there rose one mischiefe so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilest the Scottishmen were thus at diuision amongst themselues, renting and pulling in péeces their owne miserable natiue cuntry, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiuing that his enimies ceased not daille to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doo by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to K. Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloudshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselues with those lands which they had alredie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enimie sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilest Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which tooke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiunction.

King Constantine renewed
warre with
Malcolme.

Constantine
ioined battell
with Kenneth
the bastard.

King Constantine is slaine.

1002.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawford, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, thrée miles from Edenburgh, purposing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine herevpon hasted thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enimies, streightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there rose such an outragious tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driuing the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against their enimies that then preassed vpon them right eagerlie. By means whereof the discomfiture lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had anie great cause to reioise: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to incounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enimies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

GRIME.

Grime vsed li-
beralitie and
gentlesse to-
wards Constan-
tines friends.

THEN Grime nephue to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was sore weakened, & therevpon he came vnto the abbeie of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed

bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no means could be woone, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enimies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland sore mooned in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to woorke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enimies, but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assistant vnto Grime. Wherevpon Malcolme following the counsell of his friends, sent foorth secret messengers vnto those lords that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doo in renouncing their obeisance vnto the vsurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equali iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his dooings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message reuolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doo the like. But other & the greater number tooke those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme sore offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his purseuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iourne, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the westerne Iles. Malcolme doubting least if the certeintie hereof were once bruted amongst his people, the fame would increase the terror more than néeded; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought to his presence. But this denise nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest, by reason that such as had some inkeling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in déed. For there rose a murmuring amongst them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger ouelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the ioning had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarell.

This rumor passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buieng and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the capteins were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enimies with his people thus astonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and aboad onelie with certeine bands of his most faithfull friends néere to the water of Forth, to stop his enimies from passing ouer that riuier.

Whilist the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, sore lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in péeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselues before king Grime, who with great

Malcolme prince of Cumberland is moued against Grime. A good counsell. Malcolme sendeth priuile to the lords of Scotland.

Malcolme his promise vnto the Scots. Malcolme his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie. Grime is of greater force than Malcolme. Malcolme would not haue his people to vnderstand the truth thereof.

His aduise auailed not.

A brute spred in Malcolmes armie of treason.

Merchantmen authors of the rumor.

Malcolme licenceth the most part of his armie to depart hence. Malcolme intendeth to stop his enimie from passing ouer the Forth. The great bishop of Scotland,

Fothadus seeketh to take vp the matter.

The fruits of ciuill warre.

Fothadus vnder-taketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grimes answered to Fothadus.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolms offer.

Grime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agrément. The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beséeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redresse were not found in all speedie wise, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth must needs insue, by reason of the sundrie debats and factions dailie rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murthers, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefe were still put in practise without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime mooned with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suerlie wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, enen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so therevpon breake vp his campe, and depart foorth of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to doo, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the vttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe, not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihoode of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the vttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agrée to haue a truce for three moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorised thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so therevpon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Forfair, there to take further aduise what was to be doone touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chiefly through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his deceasse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decrée made & established by K. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decrée, should be reputed for a traitor to the com-

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The lords of Scotland arreare warre against Grime their king. What mischief ensued.

the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceassing from raising new paiments and exactions still of his subiects, till at length he was aduertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched foorth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more miscneefe and trouble than euer had béene scéné afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castels were raced and ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne destroyed, fields wasted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme is required to relieue the Scottish estate.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the vtter euersion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all spéed foorth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vuto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and torne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remooue away from the people such imminent destruction as dailie hasted towards them, which to doo they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentiouslie appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his vnhappie councillors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Grime.

Malcolme mooned with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which dailie resorted vuto him, resolved with promise of their support to leuie warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set foorth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vuto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solemne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Grime likewise being aduertised of those newes, with all spéed got together such people as hee might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enimies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got foorth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose foorthwith to assaile them.

Grime assembleth an armie to incounter Malcolme. The camps néere the one to the other. Grimes policie.

Malcolmes request.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being aduertised thereof, sent vuto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but néedes would come on without stop or staie; whervpon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the woorsse, and in the end clearelie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken alieue standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and was buried in Colmekill, after the incarnation 1010 yeeres.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme. Grimes part discomfited. The end of king Grime.

1010. H.B.

1001. Io.M.

Malcolmes words to them that were taken prisoners.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle woords toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne apperteined vuto him, and that the warres which hee had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his

his councellers. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approoued, wherevpon the lords bound themselues by solemne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioising of all the people present.

A parlement at Scone.

Malcolme refuseth the crowne but vpon cōdition. The ordināce of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne is confirmed.

MALCOLME.

WHEN the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and péeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had béene assistant vnto his aduersarie Grime: and there vsed the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rootes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discord had sproong vp among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discrét persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and vprightnesse, as had not beene heard of in anie age before him. Whilest the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to renenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

Malcolme agréeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolmes wisdom in ordeining officers.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie ouerthrowes receiued at the enimies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driuen and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beléefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortlie after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is said) in England, and chased king Egelred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined eftsoones to trie the chance of battell with his enimies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuier of Owse, néere to the banks whereof, not farre from Yorke, he pitched downe his tents.

Sueno cōuerted to the christian faith in Scotland.

Egeldred (or as the Scots write Eldred) chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleasures receiued but latelie at the Scottishmens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egelreds companie; either else to looke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there readie bent to their déstruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staid and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought foorth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who verie desirous to accept the offer, brought foorth also his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, so that there was no ^{staid} on either part, but that together they flue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing

Suenos message to the Scots.

The battell betwixt Egeldred & Sueno.

The English men put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred escapeth by flight.

Suenos cruell imagination.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.

Under what conditions Sueno licenced the Englishmen to liue in their owne countrie.

529. H.B.

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordain how it came vp.

tinning certaine honres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie déere and bloudie victorie. The murther also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a hote and passed ouer Ouse, so escaping out of the enimies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it dooth appéere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succéed of them that were then alieue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humblie before his presence, & falling downe on their knées at his féet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castels, townes, or other souereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne natieue countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vsed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armor or weapon, but to applie themselues vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castels, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their soueigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armor, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, aswell in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to doo, proclamation was made that he should immediatlie lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yéeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vsed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie remoued from the same, and some of them cast in prison and dailie put in hazard of their liues. Finallie, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie housholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continuallie giue good watch what was said or doone in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which woord was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

¶ Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos dooings in England, the which although it agréed not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place séemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our

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without further triall of their forces. “ ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appéereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valiancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your woorthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye séeme now so much to feare? There hath béene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowme of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at néed, considering ye haue to doo with those enimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue béene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other places; yea and besides that, such as moouing warres now at this present without inst occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deseruing thereby inst vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enimies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appéere what outragions follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must néedes at length perish, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enimie readie to ioine?”

Loncart.

Albion the
sepulture of
Danes.The Scots with-
out order rush
foorth to bat-
telle.The Scots put
to flight.
Malcolme is
wounded.The castell of
Narne rendred
by composition.
The Danes
breakers of
faith and pro-
mise.Elgin and Fores
left void.

The nobles mooned with these woords of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie whervpon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they rush foorth vpon them without anie order or good araie. Olauus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouslie against them, boldlie incountred them with arraied battels. Wherevpon insued a veric terrible fight, with great manhood shewd on both sides, nothing being let passe that might apperteine to woorthie capteins: the Scots inforcing themselues to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes dooing their best indeuour by valiant hardinesse to saue their lines and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in maner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege eftsoones the castell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on ech side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their lines and other goods saned. Neuerthesse the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most despitfull manner. Thus was Narne woone by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murrey land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those souldiers which kept Elgin and Fores, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castels, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioising at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselues sure seates in Murrey land, and therevpon sent backe their ships into Norwaie and

Denmarke,

Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their vse and commoditie.

K. Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arriual of new aid, his enimies might wax more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of warriors, and came in good order and most warlike arraie vnto Murthlake, a towne of Mar, where the first erection of the bishops see of Abirden was founded. Héere the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenlie both amazed. For the Scots hauing had too much experience of the crueltie shewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and vpon an vnknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuerthelesse in the end, by the encouragement of the capteins on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruell malicious hatred on ech hand.

In the first brunt thrée valiant capteins, that is to say, Kenneth of Ila, Grime of Strathèrne, and Patrike of Dunbar, rushing ouer fiercelie on their enimies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie foorth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fensed on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in traerse were laid sundrie trées, as it had béene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion; did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preasse, till he came to the middest of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Moloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast vp his hands towards heauen, making his praier on this wise. “¶ Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our natie countrie granted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the inin- rions inuasion of Danes, doo flee vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beséeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remooue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Moloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I héere make a vow to build a cathedrall church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath béene defended.”

Scarselie had Malcolme made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobles with a lowd voice, as though they had béene assured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows, for suerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enimies. Héerevpon rose a woonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, eth one encouraging other to withstand the enimies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defense of their countrie and ancient liberties, & foorthwith as it had béene by miracle they returned vpon their enimies, making great slaughter on ech side, without regard to their lines or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Heerewith Malcolme with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Onetus, who was pransing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had béene already without reco- uerie clearelie discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horsses, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capteine, staied from further pursute on the Scots. Heereof insued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers dooing their best on either side, till at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Olauus beholding the discomfiture of his people, and how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Murrey land with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering what a number of his most valiant capteins he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongst his men, and ceassing from further pur-

Murthlake.

The Scots and Danes one afraid of another.

The Scots forced to retire.

Malcolmes praier.

To you, that is to God, and our ladie, and saint Moloke, for so he ioined them together according to the manner of that time.

The Scots of- tentimes renew battell.

Onetus is slaine.

The Danes put to flight. Olauus fleeth into Murrey land.

sute of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yéere within the castell of Forfair, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publike affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Murrey land out of the enimies hands. King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunatlie his people had sped thus in Scotland at the battell of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie nanies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come foorth of the riuer of Thames; and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

Sueno prepar-
eth a new ar-
mie to inuade
Scotland.

Camus ap-
pointed cap-
taine generall
of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes
head.
The Scots
keepe off the
Danes from
landing.

Camus with
his armie land-
eth at the
Redbraies.

The yéere next insuing, both these fléets according to commandement and order giuen, arriued and met together within the mouth of the Forth, néere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled, for the same intent. Camus then plucking vp the sailes, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbraies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeaes before had béene destroyed by the Danes, he reioised not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

Camus march-
eth through
Angus.
The crueltie of
the Danes.
The towne and
church of
Brechine de-
stroied.

King Malcolme
hasteth fore-
ward to fight
with the Danes.

After this, he tooke his iournie through Angus, sparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages and churches, with all maner of other buildings publike and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechine, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie woone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon another. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finallie aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundée with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenlie he tooke the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enimies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to gine them open battell.

Malcolmes
oration.

Camus ex-
horteth his
Danes.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and capteins together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, lining on the spoile and pillage got by théeuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniustlie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to doo, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to line by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therefore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their natiue countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to renege the cruell iniuries doone by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behooued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them foorth stronglie ranged in good order to incounter the Danes, which likewise approched towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and

valiant

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though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

Danes slaine
néere vnto
Gemmer.

This conflict was fought néere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be séene yet enen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship bord, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellowes (because they returned not againe to the ships) so soone as the wind came about for their purpose, hoised vp sailes, and tooke their course foorth-right towards Murrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerse fortune, made preparation in all spéedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then haning the administration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroied a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countriemen the Danes, which had béene there made latelie before.

Sueno prepara-
reth the third
time to inuade
Scotland.
Canute brother
vnto Sueno, ap-
pointed gene-
rall to come
against the
Scots.

King Mal-
colmes deter-
mination.

Malcolme sore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatlie decaied, yet did he assemble an armie with all spéed he could denise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light incounters, but in no wise to ieopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the ouerthrow, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the cnimies. For the space therefore of fiftéene daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the townes and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their cnimies, protesting plainelie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

The Scottish-
mens request
vnto their
king for li-
cence to fight.

The onset is
giuen.

The Scots wan
the name of
victorie, rather
than victorie it
selte.

Malcolme perceiuing the earnest minds of his people to incounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and dueties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they inforced themselues to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well néere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selte remaining with the Scots, who were so féeble and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this blondie battell, they lodged heere and there in seuerall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

Peace conclu-
ded for want
of power to
mainteine bat-
tell.
The articles of
the peace be-
twixt the Danes
and Scottish-
men.

On the morow after, when it was vnderstood on both parties, what losse they had susteined, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, bicause they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Wherevpon by mediation of such as tooke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, during the naturall lines of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others cnimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriali, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed foorth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes re-

The holds in
Scotland deli-
uered vp by the
Danes into the

signing

signing vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fléet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

Scotishmens hands.
Canute returneth into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie vnto ioifull peace, thought nothing so good as to performe the articles of the agrément accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olauus patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scottish chronicle) beheld in the yeere 1521, which séemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

A church builded.

Crowdan, what it signifieth.

Bones of Danes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He tooke order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enimies in time of the warres had béene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yéeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemblie of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting foorth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

Publike praiers.

The repairing of churches.
The restoring of lawes and iustice.

A parlement at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the bloud of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mountaine wherein the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chappels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leaning them under the age of 21 yéeres: and in the meane time till the same beires came to the said age, they agréed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yéelding vnto him or his successors one yéeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

A parlement at Scone.
Diuisiō of the realme into baronies.

The wardship of heires granted to the king.

Marriage of wards.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountiousnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared such beneuolent hearts, as appeared in that their frée and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is expressed. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops sée there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these thrée places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdictions

The sée of Murthlake, otherwise Aberdeen.

and

and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this sée were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the dales of king Daid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the sée with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to bée set foorth, called *Regia maiestas*, conteining the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning foorth in the same what fées also should be giuen vnto the chancellor, secretarie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie dooings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheles his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had béene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to reconer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefest nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltie vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no inst causes, but onelle vpon forged denises, they conspired in sundrie méetings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glammis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne houshold seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all spéd possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ise brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne foorth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse townes of the realme, and there boong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yéere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sauour 1034 yéeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was séene manie woonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had beene séene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of St. Iohn Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that therevpon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

DUNCANE.

AFTER Malcolme succéded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not béene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue béene thought most woorthie

The booke called *Regia maiestas*.

Malcolme waxeth auaritious. Couetousnes and age arriuing together. Malcolmes crueltie to purchase riches.

The conspiracie of the Scottish nobilitie against Malcolme. Malcolme slaine at Glammis.

The murtherers drowned.

31. H.B.
1040. H.B.
Strange sights.

Duncan king of Scotland.

Makbeth.

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Makdowald
slaith his wife
and children,
& lastlie him-
selfe.

Makdowalds
head sent to
the king.
Makbeths
crueltie.

Makbeth de-
famed by the
Ilandmen.

Iustice & law
restored.
Sueno king of
Norway landed
in Fife.

This agréeth
not with our
English writers.
Harold that
reigned king of
England, was
not the son of
Sueno but of
Canute and was
not slaine, but
died of naturall
disease.
See more hereof
in England.
Canute king of
Denmarke.
Edmund Iron-
side.

Canutes words
to Edmund
Ironside.

The division of
the realme of
England be-
twixt Canute
and Edmund
Ironside.
Alured & Ed-
ward the sons
of king Ethel-
dred:

were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, hée first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplie, he should haue béene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Makbeth cutring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Makdowald lieng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end: and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bée boong vp vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the westerne Iles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his tratorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those whome he tooke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor against the king, he put to execution. Her vpon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murtherer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the Iles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their liberall talke, had he not béene otherwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, séeking to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon woord came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceiued, what this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being also king of Denmarke and Norwaie, had thrée sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he made king of England, the second king of Norwaie, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioied not the same dominion of England past thrée yéeres after his fathers deceasse, but was slaine by Etheldred or Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred, recouered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes: but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Etheldred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre against Canute for a season, till at length by both their consents they agréed to fight a combat singularie man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long space, and shewed right notable proofes of their manhood: "Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased almightie God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bée likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest inioy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thée as partener with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs without anie more contention." Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, supposing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubtfull triall of loosing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute vnderstood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might without all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon either of them lept beside their weried horsse in that fierce & earnest fight, & imbracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer against France was assigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Etheldred, with hir two sonnes (which she had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arriual of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expressed)

pressed) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his vnkle Camus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or deg é soeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he set all slouthfull and rlingering delaies apart, and began to assemble an armie in most spéedie wise, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constreined by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he diuided the same into thrée battels. The first was led by Makbeth, the second by Banquho, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norwaie. Duncane bestirreth himselfe in assembling an armie.

The Scottish armie diuided into thrée battels.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enimies, after a sore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolm with his Scots discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chase on their enimies, but kept themselues all night in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assembling together againe, might haue set vpon them at some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields were discovered, and that it was perceiued how no enimies were to be found abroad, they gathered the spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt either man, woman, or child, except such as were found with weapon in hand readie to make resistance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudshed.

Sueno vanquisheth the Scots.

Suenos commandement to spare fire and sword.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withstand the incursions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & comming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round about it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus enuironed by his enimies, sent a secret message by counsell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would haue yéelded vp the castell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise ment against them, till all things were brought to passe that might serue for the purpose. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendring vp the hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell into the campe great prouision of vittels to refresh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had béene in great penurie of sustenance manie daies before.

Duncane fled to the castell of Bertha. Sueno besiegeth king Malcolm.

Fained treatie.

The Scots héerevpon tooke the iuice of mekilwoort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great abundance vnto their enimies. They reioising that they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedie wise, that it séemed they stroue who might deuoure and swallow vp most, till the operation of the berries spread in such sort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was vnpossible to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set vpon the enimies, being in easie point to be ouercome. Makbeth making no delaie, came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides without anie resistance, that it was a woonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were so beaue of sléepe, that the most part of them were slaine and neuer stirred: other that were awakened either by the noise or other waies fourth, were so amazed and dizzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defense: so that of the whole number there escaped no more but onelie Sueno himselfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

Spiced cups prepared for the Danes.

The Danes ouercome with drinke, fall asleepe.

Makbeth assail-eth the campe of the Danes, being ouercome with drinke and sléepe.

The slaughter of Danes. Sueno with ten other escaped.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the

Scots had sent vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be partakers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued how through lacke of mariners he should not be able to conueie awaie his nauie, he furnished one ship throughlie with such as were left, and in the same sailed backe into Norwaie, cursing the time that he set forward on this infortunate iournie. The other ships which he left behind him, within three daies after his departure from thence, were tossed so together by violence of an east wind, that beating and rushing one against another, they sunke there, and lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the great danger of other such ships as come on that coast: for being couered with the flood when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some part of them appéere aboue water.

Sueno fléeth with one ship, leauing the residue of his nauie behind him.

The fléete of the Norwegians sunke by vehement rage of winds.

Drownelow sands.

The oth that knights tooke in Norwaie, to reuenge the death of their friends.

Solemne processions for victorie gotten.

A power of Danes arriue at Kingcorne out of England.

The Danes vanquished by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inch.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost, is yet called Drownelow sands. This ouerthrow receiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie displeasent to him and his people, as should appéere, in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were first sworne to renenge the slaughter of their countrymen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be ginen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enimies. But whilst the people were thus at their processions, woord was brought that a new fléet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, sent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To resist these enimies, which were alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie; Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the cuimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obtained of Makbeth for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be scene gräuen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men still is, and héere-tofore hath béene vsed.

A peace concluded betwixt Scots and Danes.

A peace was also concluded at the same time betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some haue written) in this wise: That from thencefoorth the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And these were the warres that Duucane had with forren enimies, in the seuenth yéere of his reigne. Shortlie after happened a strange and vncouth woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare: It fortunéd as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie together without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the midst of a laund, there met them thrée women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; "All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis" (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them said; "Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder." But the third said; "All haile Makbeth that héereafter shalt be king of Scotland."

The prophesie of thrée women supposing to be the weird sisters or feiries.

Then Banquho; "What manner of women (saith he) are you, that séeme so little favourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all?" "-Yes (saith the first of them) we promise greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in déed, but with an unluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succéed in his place, where contrarilie thou in déed shalt not reigne at all, but of thée those shall be borne which shall gouerne the Scottish kingdome by long order of continuall descent." Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father

A thing to woonder at.

Banquho the father of manie kings.

of

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punished and tamed in such sort, that manie yeares after all theft and reiffings were little heard of, the people inioieng the blissefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie. Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by anie disordered persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and buckler of innocent people; and hereto he also applied his whole indeuor, to cause yoong men to exercise themselues in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine seruice according to their vocations.

A kinglie endeour.

Iustice ministred without respect of persons.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranaerue, and Ros, because through them and their seditious attempts, much trouble daille rose in the realme. He appeased the troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Makgill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, such were the woorthie dooings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had attained therevnto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue béene numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holesome laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

LAWES MADE BY KING MAKBETH SET FOORTH ACCORDING TO HECTOR BOETIUS.

Liberties of them that haue taken orders. Tithes to be paid to the church. Persons accursed.

“ HE that is within orders of the church, shall not be compelled to answer before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

The order of knighthood.

“ The tenth part of all fruits that increase on the ground, shall be giuen to the church, that God may be woorshipped with oblations and praier.

Eldest daughters.

“ He that continueth obstinatlie in the cursse of the church by the space of one whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the common-wealth: and if he perseuere with indurar mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The kings gift.

“ He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communitie. And he that is made king, shall be sworne in semblable maner.

No offices to go by inheritance.

“ The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

Iudges.

“ No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

Retainers.

“ No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Raisers of the kings people, or vnlawfull assemblies. Waiters vpon other men.

“ No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

“ All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Keeping of horses.

“ He that is retained or becommeth a sworne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Counterfet fooles, with minstrels and such like.

“ He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they doo that assemble together by his procurement.

“ He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemblie, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

“ A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

“ Counterfeit fooles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled

compelled to learne some science or craft to get their lining; if they refuse so to doo, they shall be drawen like horsse in the plough and harrows.

“ Though the sonne chance to be put in possessiō of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person. Possession of lands.

“ All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires. Dowrie of wiues.

“ All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie neere together. Mariage of lords and barons.

“ All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moouable goods of the partie that herein offendeth. Bearing of armour.

“ Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same. Capteins. Buieng of lands.

“ And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their roomes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.”

These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfeit zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessor. The woords also of the thrée weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in déed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that déed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slée them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise. Makbeths counterfeit zeale and equitie. Makbeths guiltie conscience. Makbeths deuise to slée Banquho and his sonne.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chance medliè (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen upon a prepensed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. Banquho is slaine, but his sonne escapeth. Fleance Banquhos sonne fleeth into Wales.

¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to th' order which I find obserued in the Scotis historie) I shall in few woords rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquho, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to anoter, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be known from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortlie after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the end suffered.

Fleance de-
floureth the
prince of Wales
his daughter.
Fleance is
slaine.
Walter the
sonne of
Fleance.
His bringing
vp.
The stout sto-
mach appear-
ing in Walter
from his child-
hood.

Walter fleeth
into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.
Walter sent
with an armie
to daunt rebels.

Walter made
lord steward of
Scotland.

Alane Steward.

The iournie
into the holie
land.

Alexander
Steward.
Walter Ste-
ward.
Alexander Ste-
ward the sonne
of Walter.
Robert Ste-
ward.
Iohn Steward
and Iames
Steward.

Walter inheri-
tor of Bonkill,
&c.

King Robert
the second.

Iohn Steward
otherwise
named Robert.

Duke of Al-
banie.
Alexander
Steward, sonne
to king Robert
the second.

Iohn Dunbar.

fered him to get hir with child; which being once vnderstood, hir father the prince conceiued such hatefull displeasure towards Fleance, that he huallie slue him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of seruitude, for that she had consented to be on this wise defloured by a stranger. At the last yet, she was deliuered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares prooued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than anie other had commonlie béene found, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he shewed euer euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certeine stoutnesse of stomach, readie to attempt high enterprises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie tawnting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in vnlawfull bed; wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flée out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to séeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with quéene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degré of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the westerne Iles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and iniurious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterprise according to his commission he atchiued, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie, of Bullogne duke of Loraine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great iournie thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbeie of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtoun, and married the beire of Crukeistoun, from whom descended the earles of Leuenox and Dornlie. Moreouer, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as Iohn and Iames, with sundrie other. Howbeit they tooke new surnames by the name of those lands, vnto the which they succéded. The afore recited Iohn Steward, after the death of his brother Iames, married the beire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rothessaie, Bute, and Stewartoun, after that his father the forenamed Iohn was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second tooke to wife one Isabell Mure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth issue, thrée sonnes and thrée daughters. The eldest sonne hight Iohn Steward otherwise named Robert, who succéded immediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouernour, for the space of fifténe yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. The eldest daughter was married to Iames that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The second daughter was married to Iohn Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murrey. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was married to the Dowglas, and so Dowglas came to the earledome of Murrey. The third daughter was married vnto Iohn Lioun, that was after made lord of Glammis.

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by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such swéetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hée thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stuffe necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

The castell of
Dunsinane
builded.

Makduffe
thane of Fife.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all néedfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bée giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had doone, which he refused to doo, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had doone vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the thrée faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take héed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

Makbeth is
offended with
Makduffe.

Makbeths con-
fidence in wiz-
zards.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might doo what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beléued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outragious things, to the gréuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the croune of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fée with him, to reueale all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Lynxs eies and
Midas eares.

Makbeths
crueltie vsed
against Mak-
duffs familie.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and fourthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hée might

make

make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most beaue yoke of thraldome, which they susteined at such a caitifes hands.

Makduffe
escapeth into
England vnto
Malcolme
Commor.
Makduffes
words vnto
Malcolme.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for méere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they dailie susteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and therevpon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

Malcolme
sigheth.

“ I am trulie verie sorie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing méet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should séeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is.” Héerevnto Makduffe answered: “ This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuerthesse there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wiselie, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.”

Malcolme
Commor hit
answer.

Makduffes
answer.

Then said Malcolme, “ I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should séeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on you through mine vn-satiable couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a sore place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continuallie sucked out hir blond: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies driuen beside hir, she answered no: for if these flies that are alreadie full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my bloud farre more to my greeuance than these, which now being satisfied doo not much annoie me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may prooue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now griene you, should séeme easie in respect of the vnmeasurable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you.”

A fable of a
fox.

Makduffe to this made answer, “ how it was a far woorse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue béene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thée the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to satisfie thy gréedie desire.” Then said Malcolme againe, “ I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasing, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to be-

Couetousnesse
the root of all
mischiefe.

Dissimulation
and deliting in
lies.

traie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my woords. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praie you find shift to cloke this vice amongst the residue."

Makduffes
exclamation.

Then said Makduffe: "This yet is the woorst of ail, and there I leane thee, and therefore saie; Oh ye vnhappie and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one curssed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudiecrueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing woorthie to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auaritious, and ginen to vnsatiabie lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie woord he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation:" and with those woords the brackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

Makduffe
weepeth.

Malcolme com-
forteth Mak-
duffe.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sléeue, and said: "Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested with thee in this manner, onelie to prooue thy mind: for diuerse times héeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie héerevpon they imbraced ech other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them; sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull vsurper.

Makduffe &
Malcolme im-
brace ech
other.

Makduffe
writeth letters
to his friends
in Scotland.

Siward earle of
Northumber-
land.

In the meane time; Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland; the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Héerevpon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field, till his coming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agréement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale daike from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was borne of anie woman.

The nobles of
Scotland di-
uided.

Makbeth re-
coileth.

Makbeth is
counselled to
flee into the
Iles.

Makbeths
trust in pro-
phesies.

Branches of
trees.

Malcolme following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them coming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of
the

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called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Makduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 markes he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murtherers were woont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the Kinboc, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Makduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior sore reprooueth, and not without cause, as may appéere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their harts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

Gibbets and draw-wels.

Makbeths lawes abrogated.
Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is slaine.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselues, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vsed in Scotland. Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the foole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the coosen of the late-mentioned Makbeth, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Makduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountring with Lugtake at a village called Essen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

A band of théeues.

Patrike Dunbar vanquisheth the théeues and robbers of the countrie.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March.

The head of a théefe or fellow giuen in arms.
A. conspiracie.

After this, the réalme continued in peace certeine yeeres, till it chanced a great number of théeues and robbers assembling themselues together at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie, and tooke fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus haning deliuered the countrie of those péelers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood héerein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Pethes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Mers and Louthian of all théeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellows head sprinkled with bloud.

The manlie courage of K. Malcolme.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue béene executed, he calleth the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine vallie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reprouing him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorouslie conspired his death, whose preseruacion he ought chiefly to haue wished, considering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horssé, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most woorthie of life; by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether astonished, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings féet; beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who séeing him thus penitent, had him arise, and said; "I am content héerevpon to forgiue thee, so that thou be not of counsell héereafter in anie such traitorous practise."

Whilest

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chances came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine tooke on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Héere ye haue to vnderstand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephue Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home foorth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Edwine had béene sent awaie, as in the historie of England it appéereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the quéene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotish writers doo so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret and the other Christen.

*Sée more her-
of in England.*

Wil. Malm.

King Edward ment that his nephue the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing woorthie of admiration) vtterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life time; - & (as it chanced) he died, whilest his vnkle king Edward was yet lining. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it séemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to shore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ship, and vnderstood what they were that were aboard in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found so much gentlenesse and friendship.

Hector Boet.

*The quéenes
ferrie.*

Finallie, when he vnderstood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could denise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherevnto Agatha gladlie condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and solemnized after the octanes of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. K. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might bréed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, sith the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar; by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtéining liuings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whome were these, Lindseie, Vaus, Ramseie, Louell, Towhris, Prestoune, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Maxwell, with diuerse other.

*Malcolme
Cammore ma-
rieth Marga-
ret sister to
Edgar Achel-
ling.
1067. H. B.*

*Englishmen
fled into Scot-
land.
Surnames of
Englishmen in
Scotland.*

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with quéene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine enen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fottingham, Giffart, Meluill, Borthwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraseir, Sinclare, Boswell, Mowtray, Mountgumerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer; and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. ¶ But to the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints; and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king Dauid gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen,

*Surnames of
Hungarians.*

*Surnames of
Frenchmen.*

*The blacke
crosse.*

William

William conqueror threateneth king Malcolme.

William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refused to deliuer him, he would suerlie fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commoditie.

Malcolms answer.

Open warre Proclaimed by William conqueror.

Northumberland taketh part with K. Malcolme.

Roger a Norman capteine or rather earle Roger (as I take it)

See in England.

The earle of Gloucester.

Gospatrike saith *Simon D.uel.*

Odo bishop of Baieux and earle of Kent. Malcolms enterprise against his enimies.

But Malcolme, though he vnderstood that he should be sure of wars at K. Williams hands for his deniall ; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was vnreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this ansuere from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland tooke part with K. Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon K. William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorouslie slaine by his owne souldiers.

But king William nothing discouraged with this ouerthrow : sent one Richard earle of Gloucester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Menteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie aduantage of them. King William aduertised hereof, waxed wonderful wroth, that no more good was doone against his enimies, wherevpon he sent a new power thither with all speed, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Baieux, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was sore spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enimies, slue a great number of them, and recouered all the bootie which Odos men had got in the countrie, and so right ioifull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe néere to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterprise, saning that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Newcastle, which standeth vpon the same riner of Tine ; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Twéed, Cumberland, and Stainmoore, and to doo homage to the K. of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmoore there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreouer, it was concluded that Waltheof or Voldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Siward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams néece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all paiments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogatiue or means, for the space of twentie yeares next insuing.

Rebellion in Galloway.

Walter the sonne of Fleance.

Makglaue.

Walter created high steward of Scotland.

A new rebellion in Murreyland.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion : for the people of Galloway, and the Iland men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an ouerthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Makglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandment. For which high prowes and diligence in this péece of seruice shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue borne that surname, enen vnto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murreyland men, procuring them of Rosse and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie slea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed

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Sober fare
cause of
strength and
hugeness of
bodie.

Mans nature
prone to vice.

The greedie
taste of mens
insatiable lust.

Men compared
to wolues &
coruorants.

1086. H.B.

The church of
Durham built
by king Mal-
colme.
Turgot.

The church of
Dunfermling.
The sepulture
of the Scottish
kings.

King Ewins
law abrogated
or rather al-
tered.

William
Rufus.

The castell of
Anwike woon
by the English-
men.

The castell of
Anwike be-
sieged by the
Scots.

Through this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their ofspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like vnto giants than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and lims, pressing vpon their enimies like vnto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of anie danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Herevpon king Malcolme tooke great paines to haue redressed this infectiue poison, and vtterlie to haue expelled it foorth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to imbrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor vnderstanding of fine fare or riotous surfet; yet after they had once tasted the swéet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restreine their licorous desires. ¶ And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluties (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excesse with things vsed in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so ouercome with the abuse of superfluties, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparenesse of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedie taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoeuer may be gotten, is vnneth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & rauinous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left vnsought to satisfie the same, as though they were worthie of most high commendation that may deuour most: wherein they may be iustlie compared to greedie wolues and coruorants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in déeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroie the whole nation, than remouue this vice.

In the meane time whilest things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded vp a new, beginning euen at the first floore. In which season, one Egelwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that sée, and prior of the abbeie was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the liues of queene Margaret and Malcolme hir husband in the Scottish toong. Afterward he deceased in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought vnto Durham, and there buried, bicause he was first prior therof. King Malcolme by persuasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeining from thencefoorth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like maner as it had béene afore time in the Ile of Iona at the abbeie of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were deuised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silner to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is vsed to be paid yet vnto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the vse of their bodies all the first night after their mariage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should inioy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before anie denouncing of warre by him made, inuaded Northumberland, and tooke the castell of Anwike, putting all such to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enimie, leuied a great host of his subiects; and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Anwike. And now when the kéepers of the hold were at point to haue made surrender, a certeine English knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous interprise, mounted

on a swift horse without armor or weapon, saving a speare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to vnderstand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receiue the keies which he had brought. And whilst all mens eies were earnest in beholding the keies, the Englishman ran the king through the left eie, and suddenlie dashing his spurres to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee yeelded vp the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

An hardie enterprise.
K. Malcolme is slaine.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perse eie, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eie, and in recompense of his seruice gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whome those Percées are descended, which in our daies haue inioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake vp their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbeie of Tinmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Anwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the bloud roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quéene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edenburgh castell, hir disease increased through grieffe therof so vehementlie, that within thrée daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more ioifull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the yéere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of Nouember, and in the 36 yéere of his reigne.

The name of the Percées had no such beginning, for they came forth of Normandle at the conquest.
Earles of Northumberland.
K. Malcolme buried at Tinmouth.
Edward prince of Scotland died.
Quéene Margaret died.
1097. *H. B.*
The Ides of October *H. B.*

In the same yéere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were séené in Albion. By the high spring-tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie townes, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Goodwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer sithens haue bene called Goodwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that péce of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he tratorouslie contriued. Moreouer sundrie castels and townes in Murrey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trées and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

Strange wonders.
woon-tide.
An huge

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottishman borne, but professed a moonke in the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, florished about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife quéene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Etheldred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an hoie life in England: the other thrée were named Edgar, Alexander, and Daud. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his vnclé Donald Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the deceasse of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

Goodwins sands.

Thunder.

Trées and corne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of K. Malcolme Cammore.

Donald Bane.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he couenanted to giue

Donald Bane fled into the Iles.
Donald Bane returneth into Scotland.

His covenant
for the gift of
the Iles to the
king of Nor-
waie.

The respect
that the people
had to receiue
Donald Bane
for their king.

K. Malcolms
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar their
vnclie.
Orgar or one
Orgar accused
Edgar Etheling
of treason.

Orgar is slaine
within lists.

Donald
threatneth.

Duncan Mal-
colms bastard
sonne.

Duncane is
crowned king
of Scotland.
Duncane lack-
eth skill in
ciuill gouverne-
ment.

Makpender
erle of Mernes
sleith king
Duncane.

Donald Bane is
restored to the
croune.

Magnus K. of
Norwaie co-
meth into the
westernne Iles.

the dominion of all the Iles, if by his means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Herevpon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoo receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (bicause he had béene brought vp in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

As soone as Edgar Etheling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretlie for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Daud, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Organ or Orgar, accused him of trèason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmize remained not vnpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to darraigne battell with Organ, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbeie of Scone, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolms children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a woord amongst his familiars, that yer it were long the nobles should repent them of their dooing, if they applied not themselves the more to his opinion.

Which woords being marked, and deepelie imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortlie after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approched with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncans side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the westernne Iles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had béene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortlie filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, sollicitated Makpender erle of Mernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea K. Duncane, which enterprise Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioised than were sorie for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vnclie Donald was restored againe to the kingdome, chieflie by support of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephue the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yéere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephue) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof thrée yéeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions dailie to depose him.

In the meane time the Ilandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England cease, (though without anie great exploit or enterprise woorthie of remembrance) saning a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fléet, and sailing about the westernne Iles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping the dominion

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But now to returne to king Edgar, to shew some token of thanks towards saint Cutbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vncle Donald, he gaue vnto the moonks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I doo not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie foorth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dread amongst his subiects for his singular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundée, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauour 1107.

The lands of Coldingham. Canulph bishop of Durham.

Edgar rather reuerenced than dread.

1107.

Io. Ma.

1109. H.B.

ALEXANDER.

AFTER the deceasse of this Edgar, succéded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of théeues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murrey land and Rosse, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his praiers, and diuine seruice, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would prooue no great quieke iusticier in punishing offenders, and therevpon most presumptuously they began to rob and reane on ech side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yoong infants smiling vpon the murtherers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beastlie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised heereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and captéins, stroke off their heads. As he returned backe through Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon hir knees at his féet, beséeching him to pitie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maister of Mernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murthered as well the one as the other. The king mooned with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horsse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had séene the author of that heinous trespasse hanged vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Gowrie, he tooke in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of théeues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Théeues of Murrey land and Rosse. The crueltie of théeues.

Execution.

The earle of Mernes son.

A righteous iusticier. The castell of Baledgar.

Treason of conspirators to haue slaine the king.

The kings manhood.

Whilest he was thus busie about the furtherance of that woorke, diuerse of those théeues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiuing that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelish practises, they entered one night through a priue into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hoong néere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were alreadie entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue beene raised, and so haue hasted to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuerthelesse, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were encouraged to woorke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finallie, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Wherevpon the king gathering an armie, he marched foorth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water

water of Spaie, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king séeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserued. The realme after this execution doone on these offenders, continued manie yéeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was séene in the kings sight that day to fight most manfullie, in sleaing diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were vsed in those daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to say, An hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be séene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day. ¶ Other there be that say he got the surname of Skrimgeour, bicause he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constablership of Dundée, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hooke.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repara the abbeie of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaell. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constreined to abide thrée daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and bicause he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeie of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great bore was slaine vpon the said ground, that had doone much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this bore doo hang in chaines vpon the stalles of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thickenesse. Moreouer, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and repairing of religious houses, his brother Daid liued in England with his sister quéene Mauld, & through fauour which the king hir husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Mauld, daughter vnto Woldosius or rather Waltheof earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Iudith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Woldosius or Waltheof had no other issue to inherit his lands, Daid in right of his wife Mauld inioied the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appéere. Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauclerke had by his wife (surnamed for hir singular bounteousnesse, the good quéene Mauld) in comming foorth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of ech estate and degree. Their mother the said Mauld was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander decessed also, and was buried in Dunfirmling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yéere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yéeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kinred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one Iohn Cumming, a man of great prowesse and valiancie, obtaining of the king in respect therof, certeine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in processe of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample reuenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often hap-

The water of Spaie.

Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are vanquished.

Skrimgeour.

The abbeie of Scone.

Saint Colmes Inch.

The abbeie of saint Colmes Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrinke. Bore tusks.

The abbeie of Dunfirmling.

Daid brother to king Alexander. Woldosius earle of Northumberland and Huntington.

The lands of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

1124. H.B.

The beginning of the Cummings.

neth)

Knights of the
Rhodes.
White moonks.
Richard de
sancto Victore.

neth) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaie and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequele of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White moonks, the author whereof was one Nodobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottishman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbeie of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

DAUID.

Dauid is
crowned king
of Scotland.

BUT now to procéed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull beire to his brother, for that he left no beire behind him. This Dauid, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministring of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraine enimies, so long as king Henrie Beauclerke lined. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vsed to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderstood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the partie wronged, according to the value of his losse and hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

The care of
king Dauid for
the poore.
A righteous
iudge.

Banketting
cheare banish-
ed.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was vsed amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceiuing the same to bréed a great weakening & decaie of the ancient stoutnesse of stomach, that was woont to remaine in the Scottish nation. He builded to the number of fiftéene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood house, Kelso, Iedburgh, Melrosse, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundranane, Cambuskenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunriés, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeies beside Newcastell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white moonkes. He erected also foure bishoprikes within his realme, Rosse, Brechin, Dúnkeld, and Dublane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreouer he translated the bishops see of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

King Dauid
built 15 ab-
beies.

The names of
the abbeies
builded by
king Dauid.

Foure bishops
sees erected in
Scotland.

Holie rood
house builded.

Liberalitie in
king Dauid
toward the
church re-
prooued.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he shuld build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in togither. Whervpon he sent for woorkemen into France and Flanders, and set them in hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admonished, dedicating it in the honor of a crosse (wherevnto he bare speciall deuotion) for that verie strangelic it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these moonkish deuises, Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnmeasurable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vsed towards the church, in diminishing so hugelic the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue béene constreined through want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse their lands and liuings; also to raise paiments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impouerishment of the realme. And sometime they haue béene constreined to inuade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhiles they haue béene inforced to stampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the

common-

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A truce. in those daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen should deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so much as this coucnant was not performed on king Stephans side, king Dauid inuaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan mooued herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant araie vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without atchiuing of any woorthie enterprise.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland. King Stephan passeth vnto Roxburgh.

The yeare next insuing, a peace was talked vpon, the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glasgow, Aberden, and saint Andrews on the part of king Dauid. But Mauld quene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and nece to king Dauid by his sister Marie, was the chiefest doer in this matter, to bring them to agrément. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say Dauid, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the counties of Northumberland and Huntington should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid. And for these lands and segniories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doo homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Coucnants of agrément.

Homage.

K. Stephan returneth. Carleill was repaired by William Rufus king of England, about the yeare of our Lord, 1092. The death of Henrie prince of Scotland.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephans reigne. In the fourth yeare came Mauld the empresse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilst England was sore tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of these two persons, no small sorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrés of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of beires.

Prince Henrie his issue.

The lawes of nature.

The king also being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by dailie experience is most manifest. Therefore that king Dauid weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had susteined by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

An oration.

“ How great your fidelitie and care is, which you beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue prooued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now doo I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late decessed sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yeelding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this

this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoever thing I haue in the world, the same is readie to doo you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your comming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender youth, that I should woorship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was doone by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and unsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doo reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoever hath chanced either tuching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first seene my father, more déere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like maner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I estémed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we out selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, doo not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioise, that God by his singular fanour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was woorthie to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither doo I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortlie to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried vp to rest among that fellowship of heauenlie spirits, where I shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I knew them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe, I reioise (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is alreadie in that place to the which all we doo earnestlie wish that we may atteine, and doo in deuour by all means, that when the time commeth in which our soules are to be loosed foorth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found woorthie of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we doo lament, because as yet we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such filthie miers, and cumbred in such thornie thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we doo reckon that by diuine power he is alreadie arriued."

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdom. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place prince of Scotland, and

His parents
godlie instruc-
tions.

Losse of
friends.
His father.

His mother.
His brethren.
His wife.

Death cannot
be dispensed
with.

Why we
ought to take
the death of
our children
and friends
patientlie.

Malcolme the
sonne of Hen-
rie proclaimed
prince of
Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the empresse his sonne receiueth the order of knighthood.

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

1153.

His singular pitie toward the poore. King Dauids court.

King Dauids seruants.

King Dauids example, a rule of godlie life.

The education of king Malcolme.

A death.

A death not contagious.

Somerleid thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king Dauid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the empresse, who receiued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agrément with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortlie after was king Dauid taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe to wax faint and féeble, he required to be borne into the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemne reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending to them his yoong nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after another, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almightie God, to séeke the preseruacion of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike weale. This doone, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfirmeling, after the incarnation of Christ our Sauour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise woorthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may séeme to be omitted through fault of the writer. But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the reliefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen ouelle to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banquetting nor surfetting chéere was vsed amongst them, no lasciuious woord heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the woords, works, and whole demeanor of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing mooned to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly loue séemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their maister king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

MALCOLME.

KING DAVID being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephue to him by his son Henrie succéded in the estate. He was but 13 yées of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would prooue a right noble and woorthie prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chaste conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he lined single all the daies of his life, and without mariage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entring into the possession of the crowne, there was a great derth through all the bounds of Scotland. And soone after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleid the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise than stood with the basenesse of his lineage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe néere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was vnder yées of ripe discretion,

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colme had been vsed, and most vnrulie slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vnrue reports, which once being granted, they brake vp their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore moued for that he was thus iniuriouslie handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had béene wrongfullie taken from him, and so detained by th' Englishmen, proclaimed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie barmesdoone, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certeine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

Open warres
proclaimed
against the
Englishmen.
A conclusion
of agrément.

K. Malcolme
hated of his
people.
Feare of out-
ward enmities,
causeth quiet-
nesse at home.

Angus the
thane of Gal-
loway raiseth
a commotion:
vpon what oc-
casion writers
make not anie
mention.

Angus dis-
comfited by
Gilcrist.
Whiterne a
place of sanc-
tuarie.

Angus besleged
in Whiterne.

Angus yéldeth
himselſe to the
king.

Angus became
a canon.

A rebellion
moued by the
Murreis.
Gildo captein
of the rebels.
The crueltie
of the rebels.

Gilcrist dis-
comfited by the
Murreis.

The Murreis
are ouer-
throwen.

The Murreis
destroyed.

For the which agrément he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Howbeit shortlie after, there arose another péce of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiuing he might not hy secret practise atchiue his purposed intent (whatsoever the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie succes fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare sate as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Herevpon he assembled together a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilcrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiancie was before manifestlie approoued in the suppression of Somerleids rebellion) discomfited his power, in thrée sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselſe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie priuiledged for the safeguard of all offenders that flie thereto for succor in the honor of saint Ninian.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awaie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yélded himselſe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his good abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Wherevpon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had doone before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacieng of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murrey land men, by the proouocation of their capteine called Gildo, wasted with fire and sword the countries of Rosse, Bowgewall, or Bougdale, Mar, Gareoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue doone; insomuch that when the king sent diners of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious dooings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the abouenamed Gilcrist was sent with an armie into Murrey land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approoued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Héerevpon the king himselſe, supposing that his presence was néedfull to encourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displaid banner, ouer the riuer of Speie, néere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enimies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloudshed) he gaue them the ouerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt the like, he commanded that none of those of Murrey land should be saned (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation shuld passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murrey land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their roomes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Argile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the most part of all

all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murray land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine Kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Renfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and haning two sisters mariable, he cooped the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the yoonger called Adhama he marled with Florens earle of Holland.

Somerleid returneth into Scotland. Somerleid vanquished at Renfrow. Somerleid is hanged.

King Malcolmes sisters marled.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled together in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a verle pithie oration, tooke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appéered) he had made to line chast. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp séed to succéed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not choose a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceiued. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a woorthie ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladnesse, she being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in wo, an helpe both in sicknesse & health, redle to asswage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through studious trauell and care of mind.

A parlement at Scone.

The oration of Arnold bishop of saint Andrewes.

Matrimonie Instituted by God. The pleasure of mariage. The commodities by a wife.

Then shewed he what an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their roomes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enimies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuade with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subiects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moone his constant mind, hauing cuen from his tender yéeres affianced his virginie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subiects. Thus brake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Children an aid.

Men not borne for themselves.

Commendable before God and man.

K. Malcolme might not be persuaded to take a wife.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set woorkemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Rewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie péce of woorke, and verie costlie, as may appéere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned fourth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous cheere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or inlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbeie of Couper of the Cisteaux order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finallie, being vexed with long infirmitie, he departed out of this life at Iedburgh the 12 yeere of his reigne. A certeine comet or blasing starre appéered 14 daies together before his death,

A peace concluded with England. The Abbeie of saint Andrewes bulded.

Superfluous rents of abbeles, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbele of Couper founded.

The death of king Malcolme. A comet.

with

1185.

Roger archbishop of Yorke
the popes legat.

with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yéeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of Yorke, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, bicause he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

WILLIAM.

William sur-
named the
Lion.
Ambassadors
sent to the king
of England.
King William
is required to
doo homage.
K. Williams
request for the
restitution of
Northumber-
land.
The answer of
king Henrie.

AFTER Malcolme succéded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earledome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by good and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there doo his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could wish or demand. Héerevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had doone his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would doo therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

King Henrie
saileth into
Normandie.
King William
with manie
nobles of Scot-
land went with
king Henrie
ouer into
France.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iournie. For K. William would not disobeie his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers doo affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceiued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoo to returne home: and so comming backe into England, passed through the realme with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indeuour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he tooke order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties doone by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could devise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theeues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which dailie grow by open warre against anie forren nation, it may well appéere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as line by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enimies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to repress the licentious outrage of such arrand theeues and priue murtherers, than if he had slaïne manie thousands of forren enimies.

K. Williams
zeale of iustice.

Scotland more
indamaged by
domesticall
théeues than
by foraine
enimies.

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.

Sée more there-
of in England.

A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
péece of Nor-

When he had once censed the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent eftsoones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice ginen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would assaie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open wartes with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather K. Malcolme had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saned as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yéeres after, king Henrie féeling what hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scottish kings

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King William
yeldeth him-
selfe prisoner.

King William
conueied into
Normandie.

1174.

Discord of
writers.

Wilhelmus
Paruus.

Captains of
the English-
men.
W. Paruus.

Gilcrist and
Rowland re-
sist the Eng-
lishmen.

Northumber-
land vnder the
Englishmen.

Dauid earle of
Huntington.

The king of
Scots dooth
fealtie to the
king of Eng-
land for Scot-
land.
Rog. Houel.
Matth. Hist.

at him, he yéelded himselfe. There was not much bloud spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush laie, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking foorth of the ambush, abode the brunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could doo no good, they made the best shift they could ech man for himselfe, to escape the enimies hands. The king being thus taken of his enimies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yéere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sauour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

¶ Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agréable with that which we haue héere aboue remembred, who declare how K. William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumberland, not ceassing till he came to Anwike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell: but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close together without noise or appearance, in such wise that no Scotishman could haue vnderstanding where they were. At length king William wearied with long tarieng thus at Anwike, and seeing no enimies to appéere, determind to woorke some exploit yet before his returne, and therevpon sent foorth the most part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to forreie the same, kéeping no great companie about him, till the returne of the other thus sent foorth. Wherevpon incontinentlie a great ambushment of Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited Scotish ensignes, and were not once suspected for Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them on ech side, and so finallie taken and led awaie yer anie Scotishman wist thereof, saue a few which were left (as is said) with him for the time. In déed Wilhelmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbeie of Bridlington in Yorkeshire, in that his booke which he writes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes how there were not manie more than about three score horssemen with king William, while he was thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past foure hundred horssemen, which tooke vpon them that enterprise; whose capteins (as herciteth) were these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuil, Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots: for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was present amongst them, they durst not vtter their malicious intentions: but now that he was thus taken from them, so manie of the English Scots as fell into the hands of the Irish, paid déerelie for the bargaine, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so that the residue were constreined to get them out of the waie into castels and towers, where they might be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that bicause there was no great slaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithstanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before specified chiefeins Gilcrist and Rowland stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumberland. At length a peáce was taken, during the time that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should continue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the Scotishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William thus at Anwike, his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme, till the king his brother might be redeemed. So soone therefore as he had once established the realme in good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of saint Andrewes, with diuerse other noble men, ouer into Normandie, to take order there with K. Henrie for the ransome of the king his brother, which was agréed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that king William should become and acknowledge himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, against all men for the realme of Scotland and his other lands; and for the same should doo fealtie to the said king of England, as to his liege souereigne lord, in like sort as other his liege people were accustomed to doo. And further, he should also doo fealtie vnto the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (saning alwaies the faith which he ought the king his

his father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and agréed, that all the prelats of Scotland, and their successors, should recognise their woonted subiection to the church of England, and doo fealtie to the king of England, so manie of them as he should appoint. And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and their beires for their part, should doo their homage and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as therevnto should be required.

Moreouer, the king of Scots should paie for his redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand : and for sure paiment of the other halfe, the earldomes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland should be deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the same summe was paid. And for the more suertie of these couenants, and that the Scots should moone no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castels within Scotland, that is to saie, Berwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, & Striueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens hands. These things being thus ordered the eight day of December 1175, & the king restored home, there followed a new stirre in Scotland, for Gilbert of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force, made great slaughter of all them that withstood his desire. And because his brother reprooued his dooings, he put out his eies, and cut off his hands. Against this Gilbert was Gilcrist sent with an armie by the king. There was fought a sore battell betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellowes, such commonlie as for murder and other heinous crimes by them committed were in danger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired a change ; but yet in the end, Gilcrist with multitude wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus : In the armie of king William (saith he) when he was taken neere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Vared, that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with them a great retinue of their countriemen. These were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that prouince ; after whose deceasse the king of Scots that is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie betwixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest brother found himselfe much grieued to haue anie part of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from him ; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands, he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother, till it fortunéd the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had staid his mischievous purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellie murdered him, after no common maner ; but rather martyred him in beastlie wise, so to satisfie the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth great slaughter of men on each hand. But his brother had a sonne called Rowland, which proouing a valiant yoong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vncles rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the foresaid Gilcrist the murderer was expelled, as before is expressed. In the yeare following came Hugo cardinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the English churches, in such cases as were thought requisit ; and after he had made an end there, to doo the like in Scotland. When he had therefore finished with England, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being assembled there in consistorie, he went about in most earnest wise to persuade them to receiue the archbishop of Yorke for their metropolitane. But one Gilbert a yoong man, howbeit singularlie well learned, and for his holinesse of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by king William vnto this conuocation, to foresée that nothing were concluded in the same, preiudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrarie, that the cardinall left off the pursute of such maner of matter, and brake vp that councell without determination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and liberties of the Scottish clergie, was afterwards made bishop of Cathnes, and finallie after his departure out of this transitorie life, registred for

The prelats of Scotland doo fealtie to the king of England. The earles and lords doo homage vnto him. King William ransomed.

Foure castels deliuered to the Englishmen in pledge.

1175.

Gilbert of Galloway rebelleth.

Gilbert of Galloway vanquished by Gilcrist. Wilhelmus Paruus.

Hugh cardinall of saint Angelo the popes legat.

The bishops of Scotland summoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

Gilbert bishop of Cathnes.

his supposed perfect holinesse of life among the number of saints. The chiefest cause that mooued the Scottish cleargie to withdraw their obediēce from the primasie of Yorke, was the dissention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for superioritie in temporall causes. The same yeare that this councell was holden at Northampton, sundrie vnketh woonders were sēene in Albion. On Midsummer day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint Iohn the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile, that it killed manie shēepe and small cattell : people that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme. The sunne in September about noonetide was darkened for the space of two honres together, without anie eclipse or cause naturall by interposition of clouds. In Yorkeshire was such terrible thunder with strange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were consumed with the fire.

About this season, the abbeie of Arbroth was built in most magnificent wise, and indowed with lands and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his yoong yeares. At the same time the abbeie of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and shortlie after she had built it, she died. Not long after, king William sent as ambassadors Iohn bishop of saint Andrews, and Reignald abbat of Arbroth vnto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto him his obeisance, according as he thought stood with his duetie. The pope sēeming to reioise thereat, sent shortlie after vnto the king a rose of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerni^g the libertie of the church of Scotland. At the same time Gilcrist, hani^g his wife in suspicion of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Manis, not past a mile from Dundée. The king (for that she was his sister) tooke such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands : but when he saw he could not be found, he proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (wherein he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where it stood. This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this mischance had got the lands of Ogilvie : of whome the house of the Ogilvies tooke their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Gilcrist's offense) his whole familie was néere hand destroyed. About this time also, the queene, king William his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in mariage vnto the earle of Laon : but he himselfe after the deceasse of this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Gilcrist, that before was fled into England, was constrained to returne into Scotland, disguised in poore wéed, with two of his sonnes, and there passed foorth his life a long time in great miserie amongst the woods and in out places, vnknownen to anie man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham rendered vp the castell of Edenburgh into K. William his hands.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine prospered hugelie against the christians in the holie land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian héarts were mooned to pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares : in so much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christian publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not béene hindered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused to be crowned king, that went about to vsurpe the sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers-life time. About the same time William went with an armie into Rosse, against Makulzen and Makbein, two capteins of the westerne Iles, which vsed vpon occasion to passe ouer into Rosse, Cathnes and Murrey land, spoiling and wasting those countries ; & when they heard of anie power comming against them, they would

Woonders.

Haile.

The sun darkened.

Thunder.

The foundation of the abbeie of Arbroth, or Abirbrothoke.

1178.

The abbeie or nunrie of Hadington founded.

Ambassadors to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcrist murdereth his wife vpon suspicion of adulterie.

The kings indignation against Gilcrist.

Gilcrist proclaimed traitor. Bredus the brother of Gilcrist. The house of the Ogilvies.

The earle of Laon. Emengard. 1186.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miserable state of Gilcrist.

The castell of Edenburgh restored.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henries purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne. Makulzen and Makbein captieins of pirats.

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of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brighne, Aberden, Murrey, Rosse, and Cathnesse) was declared exempt from all other forrein iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike see of Rome should speciallie appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obteneid was at the popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March, and first yéere of the said pope Clements gouernment: Shortlie after, to wit in the yéere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succéeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

The death of
Henrie king
of England.

K. Richard.

The castels of
Roxburgh,
Berwike, and
Sterling rendred
to king
William.

Earle of Hun-
tington.
Scots with
king Richard
in the bolie
land.

The siege of
Acres.
Oliuer a Sco-
tishman.

John Durward

Earle David
entered the
citie Acon.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the bolie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and herevpon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their hands the castels of Roxburgh, Berwike, and Sterling: and moreouer that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he tooke him prisoner. He also deliuered the earledomes of Huntington & Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castels and holds within them, should be in the kéeping of his capteins and souldiors, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castels laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castels by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who therevpon dooing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolme the first, went with him also in that voiage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie laie at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman borne, was within the towne reteined in seruice among the Saracens; for being conuict of felonie in his natine countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their toong verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countriman he was. It fortunéd that this Oliuer had one of the gates in kéeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall; without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduenture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had béene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet vtterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certeine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was sufeted to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiuing the citie thus woone, entred the same, and shortlie after wan a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were atchiued therein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that streinable tempest, in the which king Richards nanie was dispersed in his comming homewards (as in the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle Dauid was in, chanced to be throwne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where

where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redéemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redéemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, hée hired a vessell at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being loosed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, néere to the coasts of Norwaie and Shetland.

Earle Dauid taken prisoner. He is redéemed.

He went to Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath béene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arriued at length in Taie water beside Dundée, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arriued before that time hight Alectum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundée, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had béene dead, he came spéedilie vnto Dundée to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to gine God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle Dauid, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundée, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbie in what place it shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as hée should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundée, which indure to this day.

Arriued at Dundée.

The name of Dundée.

Procession was holden.

A church built

Priuileges granted to the towne of Dundée.

Earle Dauid not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbeie called Lundoris, for moonks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be woondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet dooth no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the bolie land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almaine) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, tooke his brother earle Dauid with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had béene, aswell for furnishing of his voiage, as also for redéeming of his libertie.

The abbeie of Lundoris.

Adders without hurt.

K. Richards returne into England.

The gift of king William to king Richard.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were streightway put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead; and causing it to be bruted abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdemeanors by inuading the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recouered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be doone on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort giltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

A brute raised that the king was dead. Herald thane of Cathnes succourer of rebels.

Iustice not destitute of mercie.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that tūne escaped into the westerne Iles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a

The thane of Cathnes taken Seuerer punishment.

paire

Great dearth. paire of gallows. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a weed. In the yeere next insuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before : for a measure of harlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for five crownes ; and yet in the yéere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauior 1199, was more plentiful abundance than euer had béene séene afore.

1199. The same yéere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yoong sonne named Alexander. The same yeere also died Richard king of England, & his brother Iohn succeeded in his place. About thrée yéeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yéere came a legat from the pope sent to K. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturdaye should be kept as holidiaie from noone forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in dooing anie bodilie worke from saturdaye at noone, vntill mondaie in the morning.

Alexander the prince of Scotland. After this, king William returned againe into England to doo his homage vnto king Iohn, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland. Immediatlie wherevpon king Iohn willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And bicause he refused so to doo, king Iohn made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the same : so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled K. Iohn to make restitution of all the goods so taken ; bicause they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being alreadie in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid-March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreouer, from the Twelfth tide, till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

A legat sent from the pope. After the end of winter, king Iohn hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell in Northumberland ouer against Berwike, vpon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadors vnto king Iohn, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to séeke anie occasion of new trouble : but forsomuch as he receiued no towardlie answer againe from K. Iohn, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king Iohn had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and rased it to the earth. King Iohn sore offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his coming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward ; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolved, & both the kings repairing to Yorke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yéeres then next insuing were once expired, should be coupled in mariage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king Iohn, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other should succéed to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William should gine a right large dower. Also the castell which king Iohn had builded, and king William rased, it was agréed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king Iohn. In that assemblie there at Yorke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king Iohn, the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland ; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to doo homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England,

A hat. Defender of the church. Saturday after noone to be kept holie. King William did homage to king Iohn of England. Ale sold by weight. Earthquakes. A castell ouerthrowne. A peace established at York betwixt the kings Iohn and William. The couenants of the peace. Scottish hostages deliuered to king Iohn. A surrender made to a vse.

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A monstrous
calfe.

Two moones.

The abbeie of
Balmernocht
founded.

hold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yéere next following, there was a cow in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in déed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were séene also two moones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the moone in hir increasing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbeie of Balmernocht, but his wife quéene Ermengard iadowed it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yéere of this king Williams reigne, two moonks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberden, to conuert the same into an abbeie for them to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander the
second is
crowned at
Scone.
A time of
mourning.

A parlement
at Edenburgh.
Confirmation
of officers.

The office of
the constable.

The lands of
Forfair giuen
to the old
quéene.

A princelie
appointment.
Dissention
betwixt king
Iohn and his
nobles.

King Alexan-
der passeth to
London.

The league be-
twixt France
and Scotland
renewed.
The best ap-
prooued writ-
ters affirme
that Lewes
went not ouer
into France, till
after the death
of king Iohn.

AFTER the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirbrothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funerall obsequies of his father; and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yéere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yéere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edenburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had borne offices vnder him, should still inioy the same. Namelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alan of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, bicause the old queene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that bolie woman queene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castels & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt Iohn king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres insued, as in the English historie dooth appéere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from dooing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortlie after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came downe to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the couenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortlie wherevpon, king Iohn died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succéded him. And in the meane time had the pope

pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that faoured their cause against king Iohn, which curse was pronounced in a generall councell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king Iohn, returning home-wards with his armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoiance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenlie inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in straieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so mooued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Lewes and king Alexander accursed
A councell at Rome.
King Alexander returneth into his countrie.

Shortlie after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboue remembred, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, wherevpon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, insomuch that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agrément also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came K. Henrie with an armie into Scotland, sore indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisit, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with axes, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleeuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

Cardinall Gualo

Lewes returneth into France.
King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.
Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by Mat. Paris (as I take it.)

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castels and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laieng siege vnto Norham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterprises in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got eftsoons his people together, and comming to Berwike, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Hadington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, préests and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue woone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

King Alexander in Northumberland.
Carleill woon by the Scots.

Berwike woon by king Henrie.
Hadington.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder processe of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Neuerthesse at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Yorke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a finall peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agréed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carleill into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe of Northumberland, to the Recrosse. And further, that king Alexander should be absolued of the censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced against him.

Scotland interdicted.

Bishops of Yorke and Salisburie.
A peace concluded.
The conditions.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foresaid bishops comming vnto Berwike, absolued king Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction, by such authoritie as they had procured

The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Anwike.

Sale of spirituall promotions.

The Scottish cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scottish cleargie to the pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie.

The Scottish bishops absolved.

Dauid earle of Huntington deceased.

1219.

An interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Mariages concluded.

A legat sent from pope Honorius for a collection.

A legats excuse.

An other legat.

An oration of a bishop.

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of base linage.

procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the same cardinall, not minding to depart with emptie hands, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receiue their full absolution, to the intent by such means to trouble them, till they had disbursed to his vse some large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loued quietnesse more than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refused vtterlie so to doo, taking great indignation that spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie, and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no otherwise than secular possessions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie therevpon Gualo cited them to Rome, supposing that rather than to take vpon them so long a iournie, they would haue compounded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto the pope their complaint in most gréeuous maner, of the insufferable iniuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his most couetous legat the foresaid Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of sundrie such letters & informations as dailie came out of England and Scotland, from other bishops & abbats, conteining right gréeuous accusations, concerning the insatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope reuoked him home to Rome, to make answeere in his presence vnto such matters as were laid to his charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine for his trespasse and transgressions. And those Scottish bishops, which were come for their absolution, were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the iournie made by the christian princes into the bolie land) deceased, and was buried within an abbeie in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be more desirous of peace than of warres. Wherevpon at Yorke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall aliance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Iane the sister of king Henrie was promised to be giuen in mariage to king Alexander, and two sisters of king Alexanders were despoused vnto two great princes of the English nobilitie. These mariages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with buis to gather a summe of monie towards the furnishing foorth of an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchased no small quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the same in riot and outragious insolencie, making his excuse at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. Within short while after, was an other legat with semblable commission sent into Scotland from the foresaid pope. But king Alexander, being aduertised of his comming, called a councell, in the which one of the bishops (as should séeme) tooke great indignation, to see how couetousnesse reigned in most shamefull wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in maner as followeth.

“ Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from vttering such things as be most preiudiciall to the common-wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, giuen to nothing more than to the defense and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea enen that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifest wrongs doone to vs these manie yeares now passed, had come by the popes themselues, the same might somewhat more sufferable haue béene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, without lawfull commission; but haue also consumed in maintenance of their wanton and insolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raising an armie

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Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes loseth his lauds.

King Alexander commended of the pope. The priuileges of Aberden.

The archdecon of Murrey.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raiseth a commotion.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked sced, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so gelded, is called enen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deprived of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberden, gaue manie large gifts and priuileges therevnto, although the same before this time inioied sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The huls which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murrey, who succeeded next after the foresaid Adam in the see of Cathnesse. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermingard were sitting at their banket on the twelwe day in Christmas, otherwise called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King Alexander taking ruth & pitie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paied in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuertheless the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the inst iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the fame went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduventure.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectlie than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into woorse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious lining the space of threé hundred yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named Iohn Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberden, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Manie of them also after his deceasse fell to dissolute lining, kéeping no such streict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people inioied peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to atteine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with fise thousand of those that tooke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Steward of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes deceasse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was ginen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto Iohn Ballioll; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into threé, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being

appeased

appeared thus within the realme, K. Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agrément betwixt them, he went to London with his wife quéene Iane, and Isabell his sister. Through his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remooued, and the parties throughlie accorded. Which being doone, he married Isabell his sister vnto the earle of Norfolke, and in the meane time his wife quéene Iane deceased, without leaning anie issue behind hir, which chance caused the king hir husband to returne with great grieve and lamentation into Scotland. In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no succession begot of his bodie) married at Rocksburgh the daughter of Ingelram lord of Coucie, a virgine of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his deceasse in the gouvernement of the realme.

About the same time, Iohn Cumin earle of Angus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Also at Hadington was holden a roiall tornament, where knights and esquiers aduanced themselues by valiant prowesse to win honor: neuerthelesse the end of all that pleasure and pastime ended in sorow. For Patrike Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night, and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was Iohn Bissart, with Walter Bissart his vuele shrewdlie suspected for the matter, insomuch that though no euident prooffe could be had against him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the cleargie at saint Iohns towne. In the which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obserued in the church of Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time also, one Somerleid thane of Argile, the sonne of that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steps, rebelled against the king, sore indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argile, till at length the earle of March brought him to the brinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yéeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke in token of submission; and being so brought before the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the setting on of such seditious persons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust against Berwike, in the same place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is shewed) was raced and throwen downe by king William, by the articles of agrément with couenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of England (considering that the building vp of this castell was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had not staid the woorke, and so therevpon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the English and Scottish nations for that present ceased.

In the yeare following came ambassadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that K. Lewes was readie to passe forward on that iournie, which he had taken in hand to make into Iewrie, and therefore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in those warres against Gods enimies. With these ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certeine chosen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike earle of March, Dauid Lindseie of Glenneske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, thrée capteins of great wisdome, and perfect experience in feats of chiuallrie. The most part of all those Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iournie, perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sicknesse, so that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander lined not long: but falling into a sore and grieuous sicknesse within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant from the coast of Argile, deceased in the same Ile shortlie after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption. 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Melrosse.

K. Alexander
goeth into En-
gland.

Isabell the
sister of king
Alexander
married to the
earle of Nor-
folke.
Iane quéene of
Scotland de-
ceaseth.

1239.

King Alexan-
der marieth
the daughter of
the lord of
Coucie.

Iohn Cumin
earle of Angus
departeth this
life.

Patrike earle
of Atholl
murdered.
Iohn Bissart
suspected.

A conuocation
of the cleargie
at saint Iohns
towne.

Somerleid
thane of Argile
rebelleth.

Somerleids
humble sub-
mission.

A castell be-
gun to be bull-
ded by king
Henrie against
Berwike.

Matth. Paris
disagræeth frō
the Scottish
writers touch-
ing the occa-
sion of this
warre, as in the
English chroni-
cles ye may
read.

Ambassadors
forth of
France.
Scottishmen
that went with
Lewes king of
France into
Aegypt.

The death of
king Alexan-
der the second.
38. Io. Ma:
but that can-
not be.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander the third crowned.

An infortunate day.

The earle of Fife preuenteth the occasion of further troubles. The salutation of an Hilland man.

AFTER that Alexander the second was thus dead and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of that name, not passing nine yéeres of age, was proclaimed king. There was no small adoo on the daie of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the diademe. And againe some held opinion, how he ought to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so that thus they were at strife together, in such earnest maner, that it was doubted, least this contention would haue bred some great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in causing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the custome, without regard to the friuolous allegations of them that spake to the contrarie. When the solemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit the mounteine countries of Scotland) who in a kind of méeter of the Irish language, saluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak Alax, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Daid, and so foorth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pedegrée, all the kings in order of whome he was descended, till he came vp to Gathelus the first beginner of the Scotish name & nation.) The woords in English are as followeth: "Haile king of Albine, Alexander the sonne of Daid, the sonne of Alex, the sonne of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Daid," and so foorth as before. This Hilland Scot was highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requisite.

The translation of quéene Margarets bones.

In the second yéere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather such as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) assembled together all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfirmling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grandmother quéene Margaret, which being doone, he caused them to be put into a shrine of silner, the 21. day of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it resteth at this present, as it was borne foorth toward that place, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were not able to remooue the relikes anie further, till by the councell (as is said) of an aged man that was then & there present, they tooke vp the bones of the same Malcolme also, and bare them foorth with hirs to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting least the tender yéeres of their souereigne might imbolden the enimies of the relme to attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

They were affianced in the daies of king Alexander the faire, as in the English chronicle it may appeare.

An interuiew of the kings of England and Scotland.

1250.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Yorke with a great number of lords, as well spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promise before that time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephans day in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and ioifull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minoritie of K. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions doone by some of thé péeres of his realme against the poore people, and therevpon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt so to doo, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scotish men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

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The westerne
Iles vnder
subiection of
the Danes &
Norwegians.

Acho landed
in Albion.
The castell of
Aire besieged
and woode.

King Alexan-
ders purpose
to infeeble his
enimies force.

Ambassadors
sent to Acho.

The oration
of one of the
ambassadors.

Peace to be
preferred be-
fore warres.

Wherefore
warres ought
to be mooued.

The cause of
their message.

Burning of
churches.

King Achos
answers.

same in the westerne Iles, on Lammas day otherwise called *Petri ad Vincula*. Those Iles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, hée tooke the same, and began to waste and spolle all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being sore astonied with these newes, for that he was yoong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enimies, imboldened vpon such frequent victories as they had atchiued, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enimies force, by long soiorning in campe without triall of anie battell. Héerevpon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed therto, being well languaged and wise, at their first comming before him spake in this manner.

“ Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doo vse first to séeke redresse of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordinance of battell comming towards you to gine the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs doone to vs, by some maner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to séeke for that by fier and sword, which may be purchased with faire and quiet woords? Neuerthelesse, when our inst desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obtaining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie séeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are readie to rise wholie together in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduersaries. We are sent therefore from our king and soueraigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to inuade his realme and subiects, in violating that peace and league, which hath beéne obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yéeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Iles of Bute and Aran, but also to inuade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person séemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue the Scottishmen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may séeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath mooned you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murther of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which heere in this world we see; if ye dread not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied together in bond of amitie and mariage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from whom we are sent, doo admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue alreadie doone, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduenture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constrained to séeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted vnto you.” ¶ These woords were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon purpose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie king Acho.

Neuerthelesse he was abashed so little therewith, that he answered them in this manner. “ Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your fierce and awfull words, supposing

supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprise through your menacing threats : but ye are farre deceiued suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye exag-
gerate our iniuries doone to you in taking from you certeine Iles, we perceiue you are not
mécet nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither doo we mind to
learne of you, what we ought to estéme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further
to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue inuaded Aran and Bute, we saie and affirme,
that not onelie those two Iles perteine to vs and our people by good title and ancient right of
inheritance, but also all the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able by firme evidences sufficient-
ly to proue. And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of
Scotland, as ye haue taken in issues and profits out of those Iles in times past from vs. Shew
then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing woords, nor yet anie other violence that
he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and
lusteth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, and slaughter of his people ; or if he
desired not to sée the vtter extermination of his realme afore his eies, command him to send
vnto vs foorthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken vp and re-
céiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all
claime or title that he may séeme to pretend vnto the said Iles, in such sort that the same may
passe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without anie contradiction.”

The cause of
Achos com-
ming into
Scotland.

His demand.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enemie was, he was therewith sore
moued, & perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constreined to
trie fortunes chance, he assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men, that though
he were not able to match his enimies in prówessé, he might yet passe them in number. He
diuided his host into thrée battels. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a very valiant
knight, nephue to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of Paslie. He had with him all
the men that came foorth of Argile, Leuenox, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was
Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwike, and Striueling
shire. In the middle ward was the king himselve, with all the remnant people of the other
parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appéered. These battels were ordered
in such arraie, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to
exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praise and honor.

King Alexan-
der assembleth
his power.
The ordering
of the Scottish
host.

Alexander
Steward leader
of the right
wing
Patrike Dun-
bar capteine
of the left
wing.

The king in
the middle
ward.

King Alexan-
der exhorteth
his people to
doo valiantlie.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his eni-
mies, he called his people together, and exhorted them to doo their dutifull iudeuors like hardie
and valiant men, against those enimies that inuaded their countrie without anie iust cause or
title of warre, and to put their trust in almightie God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that
part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how necessarie it
was for them to behaue themselues valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight
with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope
of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested
in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue in seruile bondage
as their slanes and miserable thrals, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at
their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot-
land should sée them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their
cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their natie countrie and ancient liberties, he
trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought
onelie blond and spoile. These with other the like woords king Alexander vttered with bold
spirit, to encourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expe-
dient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great num-
ber and huge multitude of the Scots.

Hope of suer-
tie in what
point it rested.
The necessitie
of the cause.

Séekers of
bloud & spoile,

Achos exhor-
tation to his
people.

The chiefest point to encourage them to doo valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile,
and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the
Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also all the whole sub-
stance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if
they

Hope of spoile
incurageth
men of warre.

they minded to inioy it : so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant seruice. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be atchined without extreme ieopardie, it behooued them to atteine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of swoord the arraied battels of their enimies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soone coniecture. For through dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so woonderfullie inféebled, that they appeere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

High enter-
prises atchined
with extreme
perill.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misaduenture they would yet sell their lines déerelie, and not to die vnreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to doo what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enimies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to doo their indeuors, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people : wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part wheré the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (bicause he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks : but yet at the first incóunter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought : for they preassed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & incourage their men to stand to the bargaine with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings plaied the parts of verie valiant capteins.

The ordering
of the battels.

The battels
ioine.

The valiancie
of the kings.

The great
number of
Scottishmen.

The left wing
of the Norwe-
gians are put
to flight.

Achos nephue
is slaine.

The maine bat-
tell of the
Norwegians
fléeth.

The left wing
of the Scots
in danger.

The Danes and
Norwegians
chased by the
Scots.

The losse of
Achos ships
by tempest.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assaied sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought : notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed euen the ranks with fresh men where he saw it néedfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselues ouerpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enimies a certeine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into araie, brought them against the enimies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncerteine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline : but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their cnimies, at length they began to flee amaine.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselve was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomforted : but after they once beheld how thè middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to gine backe also : and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceassing from the pursute of the enimies, till night made an end of that daies woorke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had woone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained : for his fléet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outragious tempest, that there were not past foure

of

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and those Iles which for a season (as should séeme in déed) were substituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may also appéere, that sometime there was a certeine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had beene by waie of inheritance.

Guthred king
of Man.
Reginald.
1228.

Olaue, or
Olauus.
1230.

Husbac.
Insule Sodo-
renses.
Olauus and
Godredus.
Bute.
Husbac slaine.
Olauus and
Godredus di-
uide the king-
dome of the
Iles betwixt
them.
1237.

Alane.
Harold.
1247.

Harold passeth
into Norway.
Is drowned in
his returne.
1249.

Reginald.
He began to
reigne the sixt
of Maie.
Yuarus.
Harold.
Magnus.
1254.

Yuarus.
Lieutenant or
bailife of the
Ile of Man vnder
the Scots.

The westerne
Iles recouered
out of the
hands of the
Norwegians.
The chancellor
of Norwaie
an^bassador to
king Alexan-
der.

The release of
Magnus king
of Norwaie to
the Scottish Iles.

In the daies of king Iohn therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Gothred reigned as king in Man. And in the yeere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Iles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olane reigned in his place. In the yéere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Husbac, the sonne of Osmund (surnamed Hácon) to gouerne the said Iles called Sodorenses, that is to say, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbac, together with two other capteins Olaue and Godred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arriued at Bute, where they wan the castell: but Husbac was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they diuided the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, so as Olaue had Man allotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was also slaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleid held in possession.) In the yéere 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the sonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose deceasse his sonne Harold succéded him, and reigned 12 yéeres, being but 14 yeeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yeere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent for Harold king of Man to come vnto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obtained king Hacos daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence, in the yéere 1249, together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succéded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of Iune the same yéere, by the seruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godred Don gouerned Man one yéere, being remooued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olane began his reigne ouer Man & the other Iles, by consent of the Manskemen themselues. But in the yeere 1254, one Yuarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroy of those Iles, & gouerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Iles vnto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whome the first was called Godred mac Mares, the second Alane. And after him Mauríce Okarfaire succéded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I follow Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeeres assigned to the reignes of those Iland kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of those Iles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirteene ships, and fíue hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lenos, sent with a puissant armie vnto the other of the westerne Iles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much a doo vnder the obeisance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselues.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent eftsoones his chancellor in ambassage vnto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe those Iles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to compound with him for a yeerelie tribute. The first motion of the chancellor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceassing to spend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which tooke effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great seale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his successors to all the Iles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of

Norway,

Norway, foure thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeares of age, was promised in mariage vnto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same mariage to be consummat when she came to yeares mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had béene made, it was couenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

A yearelie pension.

Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. K. Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested K. Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Herevpon shortlie after, was Alexander Cumin, with fíue thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right valiantlie bare themselues in that war which king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at larçe. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lined, with his fellow little Iohn, of whome are manie fables and merie iests deuised and soong amongst the vulgar people. But Iohn Maior writeth that they liued (as he dooth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

Warre in England. King Henrie required aid of the Scots.

Alexander Cumin sent into England.

Robin Hood and little Iohn his companion.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enimies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leuieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbeie foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer herevnto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offenders are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuerthesse if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send foorth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise foorth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of théeues, as it had béene aforetime.

A legat from Pope Clement.

The legats demand.

The answer of king Alexander to the legats message. The more precepts the more offenders.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortlie after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the quéene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxsburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that K. Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in siluer: and vnto Lewes the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, Iohn Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keth, George Durward, Iohn Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with K. Lewes into Affrike, died there, either vpon the cnimies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not béene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftéene yeares of age. This yoong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as the vse is, fortunéd by aduenture to méet with a noble yoong man one Robert Bruse the sonne and heire to Robert Bruse the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter

King Alexanders wisdom praised by king Henrie.

A thousand marks sent to the pope. Scottish capteins sent into Affrike.

1270:

Thomas earle of Carrike. Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike. Robert Bruse.

of

Robert Bruse
married to
Martha daugh-
ter to the earle
of Carrike.

King Alexan-
der displeas'd
with the fore-
said Martha.

Robert Bruse
that was after
king of Scot-
land is borne.
1274.

King Alexan-
der with his
wife the quéene
came to Lon-
don.

A Norman
of passing
strength.
Ferquhard a
Scotishman
ouerthrew the
said Norman.

The earledome
of Rosse giuen
to William
Rosse alias
Leslie.

The death of
quéene Mar-
garet.
The mariage of
Margaret king
Alexanders
daughter.

The death of
Dauid sonne to
king Alexan-
der.
The mariage
of Alexander
prince of Scot-
land.
1279.

The death of
Alexander
prince of Scot-
land.
The death of
Margaret
quéene of
Norwaie.

of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yoong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuie to the matter) she married him in all hast, least anie man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruse which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he tooke such indignation that she should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom she neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneberie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while aftér he tooke pitie on hir case, and for an casie composition of monie which she paid for hir mariage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembred Robert Bruse that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the quéene their sister, & their brother in law the K. & after did attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned foorth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wrestled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scotishman borne, of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so woorthie a déed there doone in the presence of so honorable an assemblee, gaue vnto him the earledome of Rosse for euermore. Of this Ferquhard succéded fine earles all of his surname, but the sixt earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seuenth earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earledome of Huntington, as the Scotish writers doo testifie. Shortlie after that king Alexander was returned foorth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife quéene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfirmling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about three yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norwaie, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the mariage, leaning behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, enen immediatlie after the death of quéene Margaret the mother, hir yoonger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a mariage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedwoorth, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this mariage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fiftéene daies together. ¶ This yeare a number of the Scotish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Norwaie, were lost by shipwracke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the consummation of hir mariage there with king Hanigo or Aquine. Shortlie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint, two gréuous losses chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leauing anie issue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret queene of Norwaie deceased also, leauing behind hir one onelie daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

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Great winds. day toward the south, euen about noone daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such vnmeasûrable great hailestones, that manie townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning vp stéeple with such force of fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as though it had béene in a fornace. Amongest other, those of the abbeie of Abirbrothoke were most pretious, which were as then consumed together with the stéeple wherein they boong. The townes of Aberden and Perth were burned the same time: also part of Lainrike, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise manie townes and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, too long here to rehearse.

The first coming of the pestilence into Scotland.

In the 31 yéere of his reigne, was the first comming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this sicknesse had come within that realme before that time. In the solemnization of the second mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegroom (according to the manner) led the bride in a danse, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same danse, there appeared in their sight as it were closing vp the hindermost of the dansers, a creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & lire, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the companie were so astonied, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, lined sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge in that profession was no lesse estéemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

A strange sight in dancing.

Learned men. Michaell Scot a physician.

Francis Thins addition, to this marke.) The lawes of Alexander the third.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longuesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitablie by him deuised, séeme rather by report to haue béene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yéere, remaining about thrée moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue frée accesse vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which traouelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; bicause he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troope of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, bicause he supposed that the multitude of horsse (whereof in warre there was no vse) were néedlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his people to trauell by sea fór gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the vnskillfulnes of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselues to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extreame pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yéere, and by manie mens spéches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapnesse thereof did excéed the memorie of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they néeded.)

Scotland without a K. and gouernor.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceassed, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reçon he had neither left anie issue behind him to succéed

succéed in the gouvernement thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the roome of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and vngratious persons, the which vpon hope to escape vnpunished (bicause iustice was like to want due processe) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the grieuous oppression of the people: which misruled demeanors and disordered enterprises of those outragious persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood dailie to multiplie and increase, they thought it apperteined to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and therevpon called a counsell together, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finallie agréed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thrée should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquane. The other thrée were appointed to the gouernance of the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir Iohn Cumin (a man of high estimation for his wisdome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and Iames high steward of Scotland.

Mischiefes insuing for lacke of a king.

Six gouernors chosen to haue the rule of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Norwaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie yoong in yéeres, & not able for mariage: yet to compasse his purpose that waies foorth, he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruile subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceassed, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this mariage to succéed them, then shuld the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward or anie of his successors in time to come.

How can this be true, when K. Edward had a wife at that time? but verelie the Scottish writers shew themselves overcome with too much malice in most things which they write in the defamatiō of K. Edward.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir Iohn Scot of Albawore, and sir Iames Wemis, were sent into Norwaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their comming thither, shee was deceassed, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they seuerallie made and pretended to the crowne. There were thrée chieflie that séemed by néerensse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: Iohn Balioll, Robert Bruse, and Iohn Hastings. This Robert Bruse was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruse, which married Isabell the yoongest daughter to Dauid earle of Huntington, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruse was, that now claimed the crowne. Iohn Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid Dauid earle of Huntington: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest namd Detuogill, was giuen in mariage vnto sir Iohn Balioll, father vnto this Iohn Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next beire to the same king William, sith none other person alie approached so néere vnto him in blond.

The daughter of Norwaie deceassed.

The contention betwixt the kinsmen of K. Alexander for the crown. See more of this matter in the English histories.

The ancestors of Robert le Bruse.

The line of the Balioll with his title to the crowne.

* Here I thinke it conuenient, before any more be spoken. of this historie, to interlace somewhat

Fr. Thia

somewhat (besides that which is alredie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the samè somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William K. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as saith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This brall comming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench those flames of vnkindnesse betwéene the said brethren, and for that cause with indifferencie (as he supposed) he meant to pacifie and satisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betwéene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (bicause he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious against him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherefore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to vtter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the sudden, he tooke his brother prisoner, put out his eies, cut out his toong, and not contented with a simple death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most miserablie a long time together put him to paine, by dismembriug the seuerall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English nation, and taking preies on the borders, he did vnnaturallie and traitorouslie (as it were an vtter enimie to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murther and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephue Rowland (gathering a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had vtterlie spoiled all the countries adioining to England, or else would wholie haue brought them into his subiECTION. For this Rowland a lustie yoong gentleman, bold of spirit, indued with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncle, but did manie times (and that sometimes most happilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his natiue soile, or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of restreint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortlie after departing this life, they which had serued vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft and blood; did yéld themselues to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatrick, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had béene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all such euils as were by him performed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battle slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in cuerie place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe tooke in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vtterlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incountring with this Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was

valiantlie

Buchanan.
His Parous
naueth him
Vtred.

Of this matter
though not so
fullie is some-
what intreated
before.
Th crueltie
of one brother
to another.

Gilpatrick &
other spoile
Scotland.

Gilcombe
spoileth his
countrie.

Maketh him-
selfe lord of
Gallowaie.

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also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the beire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Wherevpon king Edward tooke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day to come vnto Berwike, willing that their councell might be assembled there against that time. At his comming thither, at the day assigned, and haning heard what could be said on ech part, and throughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discusse the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to choose foorth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appeere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he tooke a solemne oth of the ambassadors of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitiue sentence, further therevpon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proofes as were proponed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

The title
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swear to stand
to the order of
king Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smell-
eth altogither
of malice con-
ceiued against
him, for that
he scourged
them so sore
for their
vntuths.

¶ Heere the Scottish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing vprightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eies of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doo write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to procéed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plée should séeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
uersies is not
to be consi-
dered.

K. Edward
commeth to
Berwike.

The purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots doo vn-
trulle report.

Howbeit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruse, both for the woorthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with Iohn Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwike, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified; to be present, that finall sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwike, and the foresaid 24 learned lawlers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appéering before him in a chamber prouided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be suerlie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And bicause he knew that Robert Bruse was a man of singular manhood and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Balioll would do.

The answer of
Robert Bruse.

When Robert Bruse had throughlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he weied the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had béene frée) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to atteine the crowne, that he passed not whether he inioied the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue

haue it. Héerevpon when this Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would doo homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

The Balioll promiseth to doo homage to king Edward.

It is said, that the earle of Glocester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (séeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruse without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is doone by thée this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thée to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thée. Shortlie after, Iohn Balioll went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next insuing, on saint Stephans day in Christmasse, he came to Newcastle vpon Tine, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he séemed to submit his realme, (which had remained in freedome vnto those daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succéded therof. * And héere it appeereth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it gréuouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and prooffe whereof, there was shortlie after occasion offered to Makduffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six gouernors of the realme: for this earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirnethie (which familie did then greatlie flourish in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother also of the said earle was called into law by the Abirnethians, for whome the king in assemblie of the states did giue sentence against the other. This Makduffe after the land whereof the contention grew was so adiudged, supposing therein the king to be more vniust against him than was cause, and that the king was not so seuerie a reuenger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forsooke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England, before whom he commensed his sute against Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, where was an assemblie or parlement of the nobilitie, after the English manner, amongst whome this Balioll had his place also.

The saieing of the earle of Glocester (as the Scots write, but not like to be true.)

King Edward was no man so to be dealt with.

Iohn Balioll crowned king of Scotland.

1292.

Iohn Balioll dooth homage to king Edward.

So say the Scottish writers, but how trulie, read more héereof in England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchana. li. 8.

The parlement begun and Balioll there summoned or cited, would haue answered by his proctor or attornie: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durst not at anie time redresse, secretlie he still bare in mind, vntill fit opportunitie might answer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himselfe of such disgrace; he returned home with a mind of deadlie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who still bending himselfe on euerie side to satisfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his subiects: and offend the state of the English. Whilest Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his desire, by reason of the wars newlie growen betweene England and France, as after shall appeare. For vpon this occasion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres against the king of France.

Iohn Balioll king of Scots answered a sute comensed against him in the parlement of England as an inferior person should.

King Iohn Balioll incontinentlie herewith became repentant, in that he had indangered himselfe thus by dooing his homage; and therevpon sent his ambassadors to king Edward, as then soiourning at London, to renounce his act touching the same homage, alledging

Iohn Balioll repenteth him.

alleging that for somuch as it was doone without the aduise of the three estates of Scotland, it was of no strength in it selfe, and not méete to be obserued being doone by force for which cause he would renounce his friendship and aliance, aswell for manie other injuries doone vnto him and his; as for that he would séeke to restore his countrie to his former libertie. Which message when none of the better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certeine moonke (or as other haue the abbat of Alberbrethie) caried these letters into England, vpon the receit whereof, king Edward answered the ambassadors (whom he tauñted with innumerable contumelies) that since we perceiue (saith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend shortlie to come vnto him, wherewith the ambassadors departed. Butus (saith Buchanan) could scarselie returne home in safetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than anie iot reuerenced for such an ambassage.

Fr. Thix.

Ambassadors
into England.The league re-
newed betwixt
France and
Scotland.Ex chron. Abin-
don, as I take it.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish his purpose against the Scots, found means to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the same peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in mariage vnto king Edward his sonne. Neuerthelesse (as saith the Scotish chronicle) he purposed (when he had wrought his will once against the Scots) to inuade France as fiercelie as before, notwithstanding anie bond of amitie or mariage by him contracted. After this, he procured the friendship of Robert Bruse, and vpon promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the same Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all such castels as he held in Scotland. John Balioll the Scotish king, vnderstanding that king Edward minded to make a conquest vpon him, sent William bishop of saint Andrews, and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, with sir Iohn Sowlis, and sir Ingram Vunfraiule into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordinglie was doone: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldest daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Aniou, brother to king Philip, was promised in mariage vnto Edward Balioll, the sonne of king Iohn, which Edward should inioy lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the summe of fiftéene hundred pounds sterling, in places not of the demesnes belonging to the crowne, as Ballieuille, Dampiere, Harecourt, and Horneie, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Kidion, Maldeseie, Cuningham, and the castell of Dundee, with the appurtenances in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiso, that if those seigniories and places exceeded the value of fiftéene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then should the surplusage remaine to the K. of Scotland: but if the same amounted not to that summe, then should the said king make them good, and supplie the same with other rents in Scotland, or otherwise, as should be thought méet. And further, the said summe of fiftéene hundred pounds in yearelie rent was assigned as it were the dower of the said ladie, to inioy to hir selfe during hir life after hir husbands deceasse, if hir hap were to suruiue him.

Pector Boetius.
Abindon.

1295.

The gentlemen
of Fife, and
Louthian sent
to Berwike to
defend it
against the
Englishmen.English ships
taken at Ber-
wike.
Berwike be-
sieged.

In consideration whereof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king Iohn in name of the mariage monie, the summe of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turnois. The charter conteining the articles, couenants, and agréments of this mariage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king Iohn to the said bishop of saint Andrewes, & the other his associats, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Iulie the same yeare. Shortlie herevpon, king Iohn was aduertised that king Edward purposed to come and besiege Berwike; wherefore by aduise of his nobles he sent the most part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwike, to defend the towne against the enimie, if he came to besiege it. The Englishmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but also with a great nauie by sea towards the said towne of Berwike. Of whose coming the Scots being aduertised, came forth against those that approached by sea, tooke 17 of their ships, and chased awaie the residue.

King Edward rather prouoked than feared with this misadventure, came with a farre greater puissance than before, to renew the siege: but when he perceiued his purpose tooke

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King Iohn
driuen into the
castell of For-
faire.

for his refuge the castell of Forfaire. Herewith Iohn Cumin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was sworne his liege man.

John Balioll
king of Scot-
land resigneth
all his right to
king Edward.
A charter.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same Iohn Cumin, king Iohn with his sonne Edward came to Mountros, where perceiuing himselfe vnwiselie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kingly abilitiments, and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there vnto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterlie renouncing the same both for him and his beires for euer. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king Iohn, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might be deuised, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne.

Homage of the
barons of Scot-
land to king
Edward.
Fr. Thin.

After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he caused them to be sworne his liege men, and to doo homage vnto him as to their soueraigne lord and supreme gouernor. Which William Dowglasse (a man of noble birth and famous for his déeds) refused to doo, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the inner parts of the countrie.

The holds of
Scotland deli-
uered into
king Edward
his hands.

These things doone, and order taken in each behalfe as was thought requisit for the quiet kéeping of the countrie, he sent king Iohn and his sonne Edward Balioll vnto London, where they were kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the said king Iohn to returne into Scotland: but leaning still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he should attempt anie new rebellion after his departure; which after was deliuered at the request of the pope. King Iohn vpon his returne into Scotland, perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the administration of the Scottish dominion, and finallie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inheritance and lands there, where at length falling blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed out of this world in the castell Galliard, leauing those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceasse.

John Balioll
kept as pri-
soner in Eng-
land.

He returneth
into Scotland.
He renounceth
the administra-
tion of Scot-
land.

He returneth
into France,
and deceaseth
in castell Gal-
liard.

King Edward
his purpose to
inuade France.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had he not bin staid through the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasurer. Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ships, he passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots would not stur, sith they had of late sustained so manie ouerthrows and sore losses one after an other by the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that by no kind of prouision it may anie long time be suerlie defended. For those people that be oppressed by anie tyrannicall seruitude, will not faile to séeke to deliuer themselves from the yoke of that importable burden when soeuer oportunitie of time and occasion serueth. Therefore the lords of Scotland hauing knowledge that king Edward was passed ouer the seas, they got them all together straightwaies, and assembled in councell at Striueling, where by generall agrément, twelue noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better prouide to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernors, Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisdom and singular knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war. This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countrie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so

Hugh Cressing-
ham regent of
Scotland.

King Edward
burdened by
the Scottish
writers of ty-
rannie.
The Scottish
lords assemble
at Striueling.
Twelue go-
uernors elected
in Scotland.
Iohn Cumin.

well

well defended. In that season also, the fame of William Wallase began to spring, a yoong gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowlege in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallase of Cragle, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his comming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon threé or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

William Wallase beginneth to wax famous.

Sir Andrew Wallase knight father to William Wallase.

When the fame therefore of his woorthie acts was notified thorough the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And herevpon a great number of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chieftaine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scottishmen as gouernour vnder Iohn Ballioll, to deliuer his countrie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuerthelesse, this William Wallase by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them foorth of all parts of Scotland, leauing neither temporall nor spirituall person of their blond within that realme. For shortlie after, by publike authoririe, he receiued the armie that Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constrained those Scots that fauored king Edward, to obeie his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

Abbeies of Scotland in Englishmens hands.

This doone, he passed foorth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castels within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castels of Forfair, Dundée, Brechen, and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallase now ioifull of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefest capteins and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone foorth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adioining, came suddenlie to the said castell, & tooke it, not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne soldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberden. The towne he found in maner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so stronglie garnished with men and munition, that considering it might not be woone without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallase his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble capteins vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Castels woon by William Wallase.

Dunoter woon by William Wallase.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland.

Wallase in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the comming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie shuld not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to doo. Heere incountring with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a verie woorthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the foresaid Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riner, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies héere at Striueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortlie after vpon his returne thither, was rendred vnto him by those that were within in garrison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onelie receiue them into fauour, wherevnto he granted. By which meanes, sundrie other castels were yélded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Striueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallase. The castell of Couper rendred to Wallase.

was thought requisit) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithfull friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Dearth in Scot-
land.
The Policie of
Wallase to re-
lieue the peo-
ples lacke in
time of dearth.

Afterwards perceiuing that through scarcitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and herevpon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to sojourne there the most part of the winter, in susteining the whole number of his men of warre on such prouision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countrie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournie, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberden and other) for that they disobeyed his commandements set foorth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countrie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeyed, so that hauing got together an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting and spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastle. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, loden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchiued iournie. They entred into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, lining still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Disobediencie
punished.

Wallase inua-
deth Northum-
berland.

Fr. Thin.

K. Edwards
message vnto
Wallase.

The answer of
Wallase to K.
Edwards mes-
sage as the
Scots doo write.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had doone in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallase, sore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in such cruell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue doone, if he had béene at home himselfe. Wallase herevnto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his interprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had doone for the conquest of Scotland, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne natie countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole indeuor to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries doone to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadors to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Easter in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armor against him.

Wallase entred
England with
an armie of
30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmoore, double in number to the Scots, to gine them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, haning no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time; who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed foorth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saieng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor inough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to kéepe together in order of battell, and so preseruing them from the deceitfull malice of their enimies, brought them backe into Scotland with lines and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this iornie.

Wallase is
enuied.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he tooke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renownmes, such as were farre his superiors in birth and lineage, that fauor which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins bloud, and Robert Bruse.

King

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(which are more vncerteine than the wind) to follow thée, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne." All these words Iohn Maior supposeth that Robert Bruse did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. "The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kingdome; for my birth and fortune neither did or could deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the negligent slouth of thée (to whome the right of that diademe doth apperteine, and who doth greedilie hunt therafter) made my citzens (perceiuing themselues destitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather butcherlie torne, than in honest seruitude to be oppressed) to séeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had obteneid for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so euillie striued against me, refrained themselues for comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds (which till their land) foorth to the battell, at which time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of cōmon sort. Trulie if the princes had not béene impediment thereto, I could haue brought foorth to fight a hundred thousand bold and chéerefull souldiers. But now in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the kingdome, I gine thée faithfull warning, especiallie to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more regarded the gloriè of their countrie, than of secret malice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken the field, what hate soeuer they had conceiued against me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of England, they are not bound to kéepe it: in a wicked promise no oth is to be performed. I am now wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to line in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued countrie. Wherefore imbrace you this thraldome (which is so much estéemed of you) to whome filthie seruitude with ease séemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie with danger: for I had rather choose willing death with frédome (in which I meane to spend my blond) than to doo as you haue doone, because the loue of my countrie shall not depart from my hart, before the life of my bodie depart from his office." Which being said, Bruse burst foorth in teares, considering the nobilitie of the mind of Wallase, although perhaps he nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doubting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the crowne. This being thus doone, they both depart to their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee bishop of Rosse) this good was wrought to Scotland (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirke) that Wallase partlie by the bitterness of his woords, and partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw Bruse from the English, to take part with the Scots.)

1298.

Wallase renounceth his office.

Philip king of France.

A truce.

Scottish ambassadors sent to pope Boniface.

But notwithstanding all these valiant spéeches of Wallase, when he considered the infortunat discomfiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had béene committed to his hands, touching the gonerance of the realme, and went into France, as saith Lesleus. But Iohannes Maior saith; that he neuer came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that chieflie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassadors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie before married his daughter, requiring that there might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted. At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next following.

The Scots in the meane time sore oppressed by reason of long warres, sent ambassadors to pope Boniface, in presenting a verie gréeuous complaint vnto him, for the great affliction doone to them by king Edward, who was fullie bent by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquer their realme; and therefore they besought him to constreine king Edward by vertue of his prerogatiue, which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of England, to stand

to

to his order in deciding the right concerning the liberties of Scotland, which might no other waies be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people through blind desire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is said) after he had by good and delibérat aduise heard the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of their countrie, against K. Edward and his fautors. ¶ But for this matter, looke in the English chronicles, where it shall well appéere, that the pope by these letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his superioritie ouer Scotland.

The opinion of the pope.

The Scots somewhat recomfórted héerewith, shortlie héerevpon chose Iohn Cumin to their gouernor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised, sent foorthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed through the countrie to saint Iohns towne, with great damage of those that were adiudged rebels to king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner vnto Forthrie, at this season was subiect to the Englishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of preseruing their goods or liues. Iohn Cumin therefore, desirous to redresse this beanie miserie and lamentable case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser fellow with him in the administration of the warres against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, setteth in hand to reuenge the iniurious dooings of the enimies, chasing out of the realme all such officers with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in anie roomes within the bounds of Scotland; and such as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not sparing to put them vnto the sword in all places, where he might find them.

Iohn Cumin the yoonger elected gouernor of Scotland. An armie of Englishmen sent into Scotland.

King Edwards officers chased out of Scotland.

King Edward sore kindled in displeaure with these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same into Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie stout and valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Confraie. This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, tooke small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided his armie into thrée parts, euerie part conteining ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe foorth to forraie the countrie, and to meet altogither at Roslin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. Iohn Cumin and Simon Fraser being aduertised héereof, gathered their powers together, to the number of seuen or eight thousand men, and determined to trie the chance of battell with one part of the English armie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the vpper hand of one of the thrée parts, the other two would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish capteins resolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remember how they were to fight in defense of their wiues, their children, their goods, and liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

Scotland againe inuaded.

Radulph Cō-fraie. I remember not that anie of the English nobilitie bare this surname in those daies, wherefore I thinke it was the lord Iohn Segraue. Iohn Cumin and Simon Fraser.

With which words the Scots were so imboldened, that minding either to dié or to win the victorie, they gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enimies, that the first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouerthrowen and vanquished. But scarselie had they gathered the spoile, when an other part of the Englishmen came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the other before: neuerthelesse, the Scots encouraged with their fresh woone victorie, got themselues spédilie into arraie, & receiued their enimies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the vpper hand of these also. But scarce had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand readie to charge them, being now sore infeeble, what thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former incounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the valiant presence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed foorth on their enimies with such earnest forwardnesse to receiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands, had they not béene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chase.

The first battell of the Englishmen ouerthrowne.

The second battell ouercome.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearsed, vpon saint Mathewes day, in

The third battell of the Eng-

lishmen vanquished at Roslin.

1302.

The matter is amplified by the Scots to the uttermost.

The great preparation of king Edward to invade the Scots.

The Scots withdraw to their holds.

The English armie passeth through Scotland from the south parts to the north.

K. Edward sendeth vnto Wallase.

Wallase refuseh the offers of K. Edward.

The castell of Sterling rendered.

This Vthred the Scottish bookes name Olises.

The castell of Vrquhard taken by force.

The beginning of the name of the Forbesses.

in the yéere after the birth of our Sauour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & throughlie appointed for warre, should be thus in one day vanquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fanour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long inioy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoigns, Irishmen, and such Scots as tooke his part, and hauing all his furni ure and purueiance readie both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to invade the Scots on ech side. The Scots perceiuing they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrêw to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a messenger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he should haue at his hands great lordships and possessions within England, to mainteine his port as was requisit to a man of verie honorable estate. But Wallase refused these offers, saieng that he preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland, before anie possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The castell of Sterling at the same time was in the kéeping of onê sir William Vthred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie summons or other meanes, till after three moneths siege he was constreined to gine it ouer vnder these conditions; That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuerthesse king Edward caused the said sir William Vthred to be conueied to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeeres after.

Sundrie other castels were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within anie of them, slaine without mercie or ransome. Amongest other, the castell of Vrquhard in Murrey land was taken by force, and not one left alieue that was found in the same (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with child, was in that respect preserued. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Englishmen tooke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saned, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where she was deliuered of a son, that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruse, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to dōo héerein, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had béene ginen to them in reward of their manhood, shewed in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it to kéepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largeness and fertilitie) than the other of Vrquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfied, and no man should séeme to haue wrong in being deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he slue a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the surname of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots liuing together with Englishmen,

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Cumin discloseth the conspiracie.

Robert Bruse is examined. He denieth his writing.

Robert Bruse dooth flee.

He commeth to Louchmaben. Robert Fleming.

A seruant of Cumins taken with letters on him.

Cumin was at the friers in Dunfrise.

be great, if the Bruse once attained the crowne: and herevpon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, conteining the couenants of the conspiracie, signed and sealed with Bruscs owne hand and seale. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret wise to king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruse and his maister, according to instructions giuen him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the first gaue light credit either to the writings or woords of the Cumin, supposing that the same proceeded onelie through enuie, which he bare towards the Bruse, euer dreading lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruse once attained anie authoritie within the same. Yet at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Bruse himselfe, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand? Bruse stoutlie denied that he was priuie to anie such deuise or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to prooue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forfait all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he coniectured at the first how this accusation of Cumin was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiselie: but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruse should escape that danger, to accomplish that wherevnto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Bruse was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the waie in most speedie wise, wherevpon he causing a smith to shoo threé horsses for him, contrarilie with the calkins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horsses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horssmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruse hasted foorth with such speed in his iournie, that the seuenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid, or (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a woorthie yoong gentleman, vnto whome (they musing what he meant by his sudden comming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumin, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumin, signifieng by the same, that if Bruse were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortlie such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against K. Edward, that it would be much adoo to appease it.

These letters being found about Cumins seruant, through means of yoong Fleming, the Bruse after he had apposed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumin was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first slue this fellow that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers church there he found Cumin. And reasoning the matter therè with him, for that he had vsed him so euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after some multiplieng of words together) Robert Bruse plucked foorth his sword, and stroke the foresaid Cumin a sore blow in the bellie, and therevpon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, Iames Lindseie, and Roger Kirkpatrick,

who

who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church in such hast, demanded of him what was the matter: I trow (said he) that Cumin is slaine. Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted so high an enterprise, and left it doubtfull? And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cumin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie deaths wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian. And for that he answered how he trusted to doo well enough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they gaue him threé or foure other wounds so grieuous and deadlie, that fourthwith vpon the same he yeelded vp the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the same time was William Wallase taken at Glaskow by the means of sir Iohn Menteth and others, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promised by king Edward to such as could helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in sundrie great townes there for a spectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puissant champion William Wallase, praised amongst the Scottishmen aboue all other in that age, for so much as he would neuer yeeld or consent to acknowledge anie superioritie in the Englishmen ouer his countrie, no not when all other had submitted themselues to king Edward as his liege subiects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when he was yoong and went to schoole, he learned by heart two verses of his schoolemaister, which euer after he bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them, (when a toy tooke him in the head) as followeth.

Cumin is slaine.
1305.

Wallase is taken.

Wallase is brought to London.
He is put to death.

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruili, sub nexu viuito fili.

Iohn Fourdon.

My sonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thrals arrest.

Iohn Maior.

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie (saith Iohn Maior) composed a whole booke in vulgar verse, in which he mitred all those things vulgarlie spoken of this Wallase. But I doo not in all points, saith the same author, gine credit to the writings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was most woorthie) by reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

BRUSE.

BUT now touching Bruse; after he had slaine Cumin (as before is mentioned) he purchased an absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he might then through authoritie obteine some aid to resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward, he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that tooke his part in the beginning, as shortly after well appeared. For when he should assemble an armie against a power of Englishmen that were sent against him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get together anie sufficient number to resist his aduersaries, though with those few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so incountring with Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the English armie at Meffen the 19 day of Iune 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke vpon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor shranke greatlie from him.

Absolution from Rome.
Robert Bruse is crowned king of Scotland, the first of that name.

Iohn Maior.
King Robert is discomfited at Meffen.

Odomare de Valence after he had obtained this victorie against king Robert, banished the wines of all those that supported the same Robert, by means whereof, manie ladies and

gentlewomen

King Robert
eftsoones dis-
comfited in
Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The miserable
state of K.
Robert in the
beginning of
his reigne.

The earle of
Leuenox and
Gilbert Haie
faithfull ser-
uitors to king
Robert.

King Roberts
wife taken.

Nigell Thomas
and Alexander
brethren to
king Robert
are taken and
put to death.

King Roberts
good hope in
time of extreme
aduersitie.

His inuincible
heart and vn-
daunted sto-
mach.

King Robert
getteth ouer
into the Iles.

King Robert
purchaseth aid
in the Iles.
He winneth
the castell of
Carrike.

gentlewomen were constrained to flee into woods, and other desert places, to eschew the crueltie of their aduersaries. King Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cumins and other such Scots & Englishmen as were assembled in those parties readie to pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Messen; for he was put to flight after the same maner, though he lost here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Buchan lib. 8, which is also called Dawkie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruse had so hard a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cumin, slaine in the church by him, and his friends. Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so desolat and vnprouided of all friendship, that he was constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his companie, and there lined on herbs and roots oftentimes for want of other food.

Whilest he remained in this estate of aduerse fortune, there were two that shewed themselves right trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the rest, the earle of Leuenox, and Gilbert Haie: for though either inforced by persecution of enimies, or constrained through some other necessitie, they departed sometimes from his presence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their souereigne lord and onelie king, readie at all seasons to serue and obey him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie, did clearely forsake him; so that sometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no person lightlie vsed to resort. His wife & queene fled to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William Cumin earle of Rosse, who deliuered hir to king Edward, by whose commandement she was committed to safe keeping at London, where she remained till after the battell of Bannocksborne. His brother Nigell was also taken, and so afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome some were executed at Carleill, and some at Berwike. Nigell was taken at the castell of Kildrome whither he fled, and came to Berwike. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Locreis, and carried to Carleill, and so behedded. Io. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallie the most part of all such as had aided him before, and were now shroonke from him, were within one yeare after, either slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends murthered and slaine to his vtter discomfort and ruine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued euer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enimies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof to the former estate. As for the paines which he tooke in lining barelie for the most part by water & roots, & lodging oftentimes on the bare earth, without house or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same gréeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no iniurious mischance of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of Scotland, the better to auoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartilie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got support of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer vnto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he slue all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in couert and secret corners, hearing of these his dooings,

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sessions, at length was (through suspicion conceiued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the dooings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioising in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would reuolt wholie from the English obeisance: and herevpon purposing with all spéed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died shortlie after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie dooth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The crueltie of king Edward as is noted by the Scottish writers.

Edward of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshanks. Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yoong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was woone by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be doone with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinentlie, without respect to their yoong yéeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie. After his deceasse, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succéded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprise, called a councell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to doo their homage vnto him, as to their superior lord and gouernor: but yet diners disobeyed his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his care to lewd counsell, not without the great grieffe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnaruan returned into England, and in the meane time Iohn Cumin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enimies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horselitter to be caried foorth with the same against his enimies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cumin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberden, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie thervpon restored to his former health, haning at that time also taken the castell of Aberden, which he vtterlie destroyed, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

Iohn Cumin discomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour. 1309.

Fr. Thin.

Donald of the Iles discomfited by Edward Bruse.

Argile subdued by king Robert. This was in 1309, as Iohn Ma. saith. K. Edward commeth into Scotland. Anno 1310 as should séeme by Ioh. Maior.

In the same yere Donald of the Iles came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against K. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruse the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obeisance, but also tooke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortlie after he deceased. In the yéere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where ioining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise woorthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

A sore dearth.

In the same yeere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarsitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie laie vttilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were

driuen

drinen awaie, as booties taken by the enimies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constrained to eat horsse, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yéere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this cutring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yéeres before, by the outragions force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Ianuarie next insuing, King Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Perth, sleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scotish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir Iames Dowglasse on Feastings euen, in the yéere 1313, when they of the garison were ouercome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excessiuelie taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yéere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murrey, wan the castell of Edenburgh. In which yéere also, Bruse wan the Ile of Man; John Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yéere Edward Bruse besieged the castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, what by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proued vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scotish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of purueiance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finallie Edward Bruse, perceiuing no meanes wherby to atchine the enterprise, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well inough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, insomuch as at length he sought to trie him another way fourth, which in the end tooke better effect than was likelie it would haue doone, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good doone, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured within twelue moneths next insuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwiselie made, as most men iudged: for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet hée would not go about to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid hée might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent fourth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and alies, to haue men of warre taken vp and reteined to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to folow to the vtter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselues of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scotish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were

1311.

Castels recovered by king Robert. King Robert inuadeth England.

1312. *Io. M.*

The towne of Perth recovered, otherwise called S. Iohus towne.

Castels woon. Rokesburgh woone on Shrouetuesday.

1313.

The castell of Edenburgh woone. Striueling castell besieged.

Sir Philip Mowbray.

An vnwise composition.

King Robert offended with his brother.

K. Edward taketh vp souldiers.

Out of what countries K. Edward had aid of men.

either

either subject to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

But the number of naturall Englishmen excéded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie what of one and other, contened (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horssemen, beside cariage-men, coistrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre excéed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number together, not for that England it selfe is not able to set foorth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient prouision, or else they will not streine themselues thereto. Neuerthelesse, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wines, their children, and whole houshold-meinie with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt together, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, tooke no héed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be already in his hands; insomuch that at his comming to the borders, he tooke aduise with his councell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or deuise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled *A summarie of the writers of great Britaine*, was named Robert Baston, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his dooings by good & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and throughlie exercised in wars, came foorth against his enimies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike araie, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannocksborne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little hee doubted the puissance of his enimies, least they shuld haue him in contempt, it is vncerteine. Indéed there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not ieopard himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellowes about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had cast déepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer slightlie with gréene turfes or sods, in such wise that a few footmen might passe ouer well inough; but if anie great number should come preassing together, or that anie horssemen came there vpon, the sods would shrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horsse, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitfals. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannocksborne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to bée máde commonlie

Fame often times excéedeth the truth.

K. Edwards promise.

K. Edward thinketh himselfe sure of victorie.

Robert Baston a Carmelite.

Iohn Ma. hath in his booke 35 thousand. King Robert his comming toward the battell.

The opinion of expert warriors of king Edwards.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Englishmen.

Bannocksborne.

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them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subjects as alies to the Englishmen, with full purpose vtterlie to extinguish the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant themselues in their seates and roomes, as in possessions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing woords and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their harts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choise and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherevpon to hie at home in their countries.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against iniurious inuaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finallie, the more to stirre their harts to doo valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to atchiue, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approoued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie vndertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a péece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to encourage his people.

Fr. Thin.

* But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth spéech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruse, further saieng, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he vttered these woords, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was ouerweared before he had shaken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the coronels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinit riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superioritie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

The exhortation of king Edward.

Fr. Thin.
Iohannes Maior maketh K. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himself. Jo. Maior forgot that guns were not yet inuented.

* Besides which (as séemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these spéeches to the armie. “If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. . We are in preparation & number of souldiors farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse péesces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doo want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clokes like vnto the wild mounteine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall ioine, will soone subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subjects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue ouercome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruse (nourished by my good father) to the end that he might receiue woorthie punishment for his wickednesse.

His

His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aline) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdome. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure foorth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men." (Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuerthelesse, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoo, by reason of the vnrule multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horssemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the midst of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & James Dowglasse, capteins of verie approoued valiancie, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Katerans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietie and circumspection, to qualifie his hastie and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftéene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie chéerefull countenance amongst them, so farre foorth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceiued in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succéed.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie aforesaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came foorth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard [admonishing them valiantlie to take in hand the defense of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defense, his owne house and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patrimonie, children, and wines of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which deface or spoile it, are to be punished with perpetuall fier, and they which do preserue it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And héerewithall this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preservation and libertie therof, none should refuse anie danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which doone, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse.] Incontinentlie whervpon, the Scottish armie fell on knées before it, deuoutlie commending themselues to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knées, thought verelie they had yélded without stroke striken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forward, they began to be somewhat doubtfull. And herevpon rushing together, at the first ioining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arraied on the vtter skirts of the English wings, sore annoied the Scots, till finallie Edward Bruse came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horssemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once in shocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one vpon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recouerie. Neuerthelesse the Scots in maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enimies,

K. Edward a good mathematician by *Maiors* hyperbolicall *spécches*. Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels. The appointing of the Scottish battels. The first battell.

The second.

The third.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie bearing a crosse. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus episc. Ross. li. 7. pag. 244. saith, it was Mauricius the abbat a man of singular pietie and puritie of life, such vertue they can find in their cleargie.*

The first ioining.

Thirtie thousand English horssemen ouerthrowen in trenches.

Fr. Thin.
Nothing omitted for the glorie of their nation, since valure is commendable in all men, but most in a king.
Et virtus in hoste laudatur.
King Robert killeth an Englishman.

were néere at the point to haue beene vanquished. [During which conflict saith Buch. this happened (which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in hattell, and as brought no small benefit to the perfection of their businesse) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and kéeping the first order in the arraie) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Bruse with his speare. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English aduersarie, ouerthrew him by the force of his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so left him dead. Wherevpon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings persuasion) fall vpon their enimies in such sort, that they séemed to haue had the victorie of the aduerse battell of their enimies: had it not béene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruse (sending out certeine light horssemen) did soone repress: whereby the Scots encouraged, made their partie good, rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots deuised, and an error by the English therof conceiued, did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power assembled in the field. For that denise in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in this sort.]

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maisters, friends, & counciemen stood, put on shirts, smocks, and other white linnen aloft vpon their vsuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their speares, and to other such stanes as they got in their hands, placed themselues as well as they could in arraie of battell, and so making a great muster and shew anew, came downe the hill side in the face of their enimies, with such a terrible noise and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with vncerteine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming downe the hill vpon their faces, supposing verelie it had beene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw themselues vneth able to susteine the violent incounter of the Scots then present. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquished: on whome the Scots followed with insatiable ire, and slue them down on all sides where they might ouertake them. Sir Iames Dowglas with foure hundred chosen horssemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all spéed, to trie if he might ouertake him.

The Englishmens hearts begin to faint. The Englishmen put to flight.

Dowglas (according to his charge) followed him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, laie in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the castell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftéene earles in his companie, was by the same earle of March conueied into certeine vessels, lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst by the shore into England, to shew an example of the vnstable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike sometime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was constrained before the euening of the same day, to saue his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers affirme) amongst whome was the earle of Glocester, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, sir William Wepount, and sir Walter Rosse. The spoile was so great of gold, silner, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse monie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this mortall battell, was so displeasent to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him in England, that he reioised little of all the gaine got by so famous a victorie. He caused his bodie to be buried right honorable in saint Patriks

King Edward escapeth.

The vnstable state of worldlie puissance.

The number of Scots slaine.

Sir Giles Argentine slaine.

church,

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*Buchanan.*John Mentith
made capteine
of Dunbriton
castle.

* About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so small a course of yeares) happened a thing not vnwoorthie the reporting. For Iohn Mentith, which before **betraied** his déere friend Wallase to the English, being therefore (as of right he ought) **extremelie hated** of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gardianship of the castle of Dunbriton: which fort (after all the other castles before said were recouered to the Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few others) that remained in the hands of the English: and because this fort was by nature inexpugnable, king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraie the castle into his hands, promising great recompense therefore. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means would agré, vnles K. Robert would gine to him the earledome of Lennox for his reward. Wherevpon the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein, (though in déed he vehementlie longed for the said castle) because he did not thinke the obteining thereof to be of such good vuto him, as that he would therefore offend or loose the earle of Lennox; who had in all his calamities béene the most certeine, and almost the onelie friend of the king: which doubt, when the earle vnderstood; he foorthwith came vuto him, willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; whervpon the bargaine was concluded betwéene Iohn Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was most solemnelie confirmed.

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his enter-
ance into Dun-
briton castle.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this castle (according to compositions) as he was in the wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a certeine carpentar called Rowland came thither secretlie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake to the king, for he would discouer a great matter touching a treason that was deuised and prepared against him, by the capteine of Dunbriton. Which pardon obtined, he opened vnto Bruse, that below in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number of English inclosed, which at dinner should either take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he had obtined the castle. Wherevpon the king nothing abashed, but kéeping on his former determination, & being (according to appointment) receiued by the said Iohn Mentith in the castle of Dunbriton: after that he had searched all other places, and was courteouslie inuited to sit downe to dinner; answered that he would not eate, vntill he had looked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse, and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the smith was absent and caried the key away with him. But the king not waiting for the comming of the smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar doore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which, the armed men were brought foorth before the king, who being seuerallie examined, confessed the whole matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in the hauen to haue caried the K. prisoner into England, if they had taken him alieue. Wherevpon the rest being punished, Iohn Mentith was onelie cast into prison, & reserued from further paine: because the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so dangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith had manie beautifull daughters married to men of great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this Mentith was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruse, vuder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

1314.The crowne of
Scotland in-
tailed.
Margerie the
daughter of
king Robert
by his first wife.

Immediatlíe after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by consent of the thrée states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the beires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vuto his brother Edward Bruse, and to the beires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such beires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the beires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further décréd, that if the king were in his minoritie, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then thé gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to Iames Dowglasse.

The second
marriage of
king Robert.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vuto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortlie after Elizabeth the
daughter

daughter of the earle of Vlster, on whome he got a sonne named Daud, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Mauld. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named Iohn: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the mariage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, aswell townes as baronies, sundrie new prerogatives and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie the townes of Perth, Dundée, and Aberden.

The issue of king Robert by his second wife.

Liberties by king Robert.

1315.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they tooke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an ouerthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruse, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iournie in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and ioining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he tooke the towne of Vlster, and slue a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruse was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and procéedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the gréeuous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they séemed to passe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they dailie sought how to make themselues strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enimies were about to get foorth of their hands.

The lords of Ireland require aid of king Robert.

Vlster.

Edward Bruse proclaimed king of Ireland.

The English men passe little on the popes commandements.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the English armie, being dailie refreshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast-away, he left sir Iames Dowglasse gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittels & other prouisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constreined to eate horses and other such lothsome meats, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approched within a daies iournie of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vnwiselie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the ouerthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is vncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staid till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourtéenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Sée more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passeth ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruse is slaine in Ireland.

Sée more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, eftsoones to inuade Scotland: and herevpon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue doone some great feat. But sir Iames Dowglas the gouernor, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thrée notable capteins on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne capteine of Berwike, with sir Iames Neuill, and the third sir Iames Dowglasse slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should doo anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way foorth the Englishmen commonlie were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore

K Edward
sendeth a nauie
into Scotland.

therefore a fléet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and tooke manie rich booties from the inhabitants néere to the shore.

Englishmen
discomfited.

William Sin-
clare called
K. Roberts
bishop.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties doone by the Englishmen, came foorth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such invasions: but when he perceiued that the enimies were of greater number than he was able well to incounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thrée score armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enimies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first incounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their botes lieng at Dunbrissell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the botes being pestered with ouer great number, sanke with them before they could get to their ships. K. Robert euer after customablie called this Wil. Sinclare his owne bishop, for the noble prowes which he shewed in this enterprise.

Robert Ste-
ward borne.
1318.

Berwike re-
couered.

In the same yeere Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruse was borne, which Robert after the death of K. Daudid le Bruse was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, the second day of Aprill recouered the towne of Berwike out of the English mens hands, which they had held for the space of twentie yeeres before. It was taken now by practise, through meanes of one Spaldein an Englishman, who for his labour had certeine lands giuen him in Angus, which his posteritié inioieth to these daies.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

* Trulie it were a woonderfull processe to declare what mischiefes came through hunger and other misfortunes, by the space of 11 yeeres in Northumberland; for the Scots became so proud after they had gotten Berwike, that they nothing estéemed the English nation. But (amongst other things by the Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de Gardonne came with 160 men, to driue awaie the cattell pasturing by Norham, which the people of the towne perceiuing, ran foorth and incountered with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them, had not Thomas Grey capteine of the castell, séeing them in some ieopardie, issued foorth with 60 of his souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their horsse. The which Grey had beene twice before besieged in the castell of Norham, once almost by the space of a whole yéere, and another time by the terme of senen moneths, in which he behaued himselfe like a woorthie gentleman, in that his enimies got none aduantage of him, although that during the siege, they had erected manie fortresses before the castell, to annoie such as were within: of which forts they made one at Vpsitlington, and one in the church of Norham, the castell whereof had beene twice teinted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Persie and Neuill (being great succourers of the marches) rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of Norham castell was taken in the time of this Grey on saint Katharins euen, which the Scots kept not but thrée daies, and their purpose in winning the same did vtterlie faile them.)

Fi. Southwell.
The Scots enter
further into
England thā
they were ac-
cusioned, euen
vnto Wether-
bie (as *Fourd.*
saith.)

After that the earle of Murrey had recouered Berwike, he and the lord Iames Dowglasse in the moneth of Maie inuaded England with a puissant armie, passing further into the countrie than the Scots had béene accustomed to doo before time, burning as they went forward the townes of Northallerton and Burrowbridge; and comming to Rippon, they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein; but compounding with them that kept the church against them for a thousand marks, they forbare to burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried here thrée daies, they departed thence, and went to Knaresburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came backe into Scotland with their spoiles and prisoners without anie resistance. [This castell of

Fr. Thin.

Knaresburgh

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Conspiracie
of the lords
against king
Robert.

proud presumptions, when more opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselues how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkeling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, insomuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

A palmer ta-
ken with wri-
tings on him.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastilie sent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but streightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castels, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwike, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named sir William Soulis, and caused him to be conueied to Perth (committing the said William Soulis (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straherne, to perpetuall prison) where shortlie after he called an assemblie of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioine with them therein, he refused so to doo, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorablie manie yeeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chiualrie.

The lords that
had conspired,
are committed
to ward.

The black
parlement.
1320.

Dauid Aberne-
thie loseth
his head.

Among other
were these,
Gilbert de
Malet, Iohn
Cogi knights,
and Richard
Bron a notable
warriour.
Iohn Maior.

Execution
without respit.

In déed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saned his life, but for that he minded to doo iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to procéed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought foorth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delaie that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kiusmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuouslie, in comparison of them for whome they now made sute; and therefore he bad them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was doone incontinentlie without anie further respit.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Maxwell, with Walter Berclaie shiriffie of Aberdene, Patrike Gram, Hameline Neidrinton, and Eustace Rathre, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straherne & William de Soulis were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchquhanes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being ginen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of Iohn Quincie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Reth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the sée apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to ceasse from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as

A legat sent
from Rome to
the Scots.

were surmised that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made héerevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland; that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie procéed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, séeking to conquer that realme without anie iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the loftie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were anie thing woorthie to be reformed on their behalves, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [sauing (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

The answer
made to the
legat.

Fr. Thim.

Shortlie after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and wasted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemoore. Howbeit it should séeme by that which Richard Southwell writeth héereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iourne, but that he appointed the earle of Murrey to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Dowglasse, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on ech side, the one of them passing foorth towards Hartilpoole and Cliueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, hauing no captaine amongst them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had doone, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

King Robert
with an armie
in Scotland.
Ri. Southwell.
1321.

The bishop-
rike of Durham
burnt by the
Scots.

Richmondshire
redcemed from
spoile with
a summe of
monie.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repared vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoeuer the matter went, king Edward sore griued in his mind with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, what on horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to preuent him, and thervpon in the octaues of the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, he entered into England with an armie néere to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that sometime belonged to him at Rosse, and Allerdale, and spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding his fathers corps was there interred.

The duke of
Lancaster
disloialtie.

King Robert
inuadeth
England.

The abbeie of
Holme burnt.

From thence he marched forward, destroieng and spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so kéeping vpon his iourne, passed Doden sands, towards the abbeie of Fourneis: but the abbat méeting him on the waie, redéemed his lands from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chéere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and marching forward vnto Cartmele beyond Lenin sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a priorie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they also burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke moonks, and a house of preaching friers. Héere came to them the earle of Murrey, and the lord James Dowglasse with an other armie, wherevpon marching further southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis, and burnt that towne also, the house of friers minors onelie excepted.

Fourneis ab-
beie.

Leuin sands.

The towne of
Lancaster
burnt.

Preston in
Anderneis
burnt.

And thus being foure segre miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homewards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other booties which they had gót in that iourne, comming to Carleill on the éene of saint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the space of five daies, they wasted and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which doone, on saint Iames euen they entred into Scotland againe, haning béene within England at this time thrée weekes and thrée daies. Immediatlie héerevpon, to wit, about the feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcastell, and desirous to be reuenged of such iniuries doone to his subiects, entered into Scotland, and passing foorth till

K. Edward
raiseth an
armie.
He entered
Scotland.

he came to Edenburgh, through want of vittels and other necessarie prouision, he was constrained to returne home within the space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forts, wherevnto the Englishmen might not come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue themselues therewith. But in their returning homeward, somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Driburgh, with diuerse other religious houses and places, not sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

The abbeies of Mewrose or Melrose & Driburgh burned. King Robert inuadeth the north parts of England, approaching almost to Yorke. K. Edward is put to flight. The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell. Riuale abbeie.

Yorkeswold wasted by Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles.

A prouiso.

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an Englishman, of whome the Hamiltons are descended.

Fr. Thin.

In reuenge heereof, king Robert shortlie after entred with a puissant armie into England, spoiling & wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of ground betwixt the abbeie of Biland and saint Sauour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refused not to giue, though in the end he was put to flight with his whole power, and chased with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie were taken prisoners, as Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Sowlie, with others. This battell was fought in the yéere of our Sauour 1323, 15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archangell. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbeie of Riuale, aduertised of this ouerthrow, fled and got him into Yorke, leaning his plate and much other stufte behind him for want of cariage in that his sudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found, and tooke awaie with them. And from thence they passed forth into Yorkeswold, spoiling and wasting the countriemen vnto Beuerleie, which towne for a summe of monie they were contented to spare, and so then they returned homewards, entering againe into Scotland on All soules day, which is the second of Nouember, after they had remained within England at that time the space of a moneth and foure daies.

Shortlie after, king Robert sent an ambassador to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accomplished with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that succession failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, so that a doubt should rise, who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they should not onelie remooue and exclude all such as went about wrongfullie to vsurpe the crowne, but also to defend and mainteine the true inheritor to the vttermost of their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receiued the sacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas (then) they had the popes consent héere to, neither he, nor anie of his successors héereafter should dispense with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void and of none effect.

In this yéere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcastle, there to treat of some agrément of peace. For the king of England came Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke, the lord Hugh Spenser the yoonger, and foure other persons sufficientlie authorised. And for the king of Scots came the bishop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and foure other persons likewise of good calling. After much talke, in the end they agréed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yéeres, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feast of saint Barnabie next insuing. About this time also, or not long before, an Englishman descended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named Iohn Spenser; insomuch that fighting together about the same words, Hamtons hap was to slea this Spenser, & therevpon knowing there was no waie but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with all spéd into Scotland, where he was receiued of the king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

The

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Thomas Randall and to James Dowglasse.

They invaded Northumberland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 1327.

King Edward the third cometh with an armie against them.

things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, earle of Murrey, and to the lord James Dowglasse, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble valiancie in those daies greatlie renoumed. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting & spoiling the countrie on ech side. [And incountring with an assemblie of the English at Darlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horssemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their comming into Northumberland; they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without soiorning here or there, the Englishmen might not come néere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies foorth. But comming to the riuier of Tine, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horsse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constreined to incampe there for the space of thrée daies, in great scarsitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carleill (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horssemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their dooings. [Vpon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yérelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokesbeie after diligent search, brought word to the king therec^f:] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine; not past sixe miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had séene and learned of the cnimies dooings.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The Englishmen sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

King Edward right ioifull of the news, causeth his armie to be diuided into thrée battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enimies laie. And comming about noone daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, what with the heighth of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riner, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to choose foorth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some enen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to doo, alledging that sith the Englishmen were three to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen for their owne defense.

The Scots dislodge.

The English armie raised.

Thus were they incamped néere together either in sight of other for the space of thrée nights, euerie day shewing themselues in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horssemen, which on either part now and then came foorth and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceiued how they were gone, and there vpon sending foorth light horssemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same riner, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie herevpon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots

with

with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, Iames Dowglasse tooke aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

He chose fourth two hundred of perfect good horssemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed sliue by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the mooning of the horsse féet, some chanced to awake that lay aslépe. But yet yer the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue beene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enimies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglasse yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this brunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, tooke better heed after to their watch.

An enterprise exploited by sir Iames Dowglasse.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightéene daies, till at length the Scots priuile in the night conueied themselues away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had doone sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglasse at a certeine houre the same night, but whither they intended to go, it was vnknowne, saue onelie amongst the capteins. Herevpon the English doubting least the Scots minded to gine them a camisado that night, placed themselues in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselues to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 20000 paires of hieland shooes, which are made of the gréene hides of beasts vntanned. Also they found thrée hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreouer, they had left behind them fise hundred dead carcasses of beasts & shéepe, which for that they could not driue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found fise Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trées, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgians. The enimies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his councell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

The Scots secretly returne home to their countrie.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare died Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruse the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfirmling in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert wan the castell of Norham, and shortlie after besieged the castell of Alwike, where were slaine William de Mountalte knight, Iohn Clapauen, and Malisius de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that K. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it frée as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part,

1326. as Io. Maior saith, but that cannot be, if she died the same yeare that the Scots were besieged in Stanhop parke. Norham castell woone. Alnewike besieged. Ambassadors sent from K. Edward for a peace.

and

A peace concluded with England in the year 1328, after the account of them that begin the year at Christmas.

lane, or rather Ione, the sister of king Edward, married to David Bruce prince of Scotland.

The death of king Robert. 1329.

King Robert tasted both prosperous and aduerse fortune.

[* Sic.]

The fame of king Robert.

His praise amongst the enimies.

A question proponed to an English herald by king Edward the third.

The heralds answer to the question.

The herald is scorned.

The heralds excuse.

and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages doone to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this finall agrément and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Iane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in mariage with Dauld Bruse the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwike within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Iulie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the seuenth day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was gréeuously vexed with a leprosie, which thus finallie made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knowen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not béene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recouerie: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie exceptéd) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the vttermost of his* power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beléued would succéd by the gouernment of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole indeuors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

His fame therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst his owne people, but also amongst strangers, insomuch that his due praise was not wanting, no not enen amongst and in the midst of his verie enimies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, after much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by, commanding him to declare which were the thrée most worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of this matter, staid a space, in which meane while all the companie were quiet, longing to heare his answer therein, both for that they knew his skill was such as was able best to giue sentence in such a matter; and againe, for that manie of them thought hée would haue numbred some of those that were there present amongst those three. But the herald did not onelie know all the noble men within the realme of England, but also all such strangers as had in anie wise excelled in Martiall prowesse, hauing all their acts and valiant dooings in fresh memorie, and therevpon boldlie vttered his mind as followeth.

“The first, most woorthie and valiant chieftaine (said he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie the emperour: for he subdued thrée kings and thrée realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was sir Giles of Argentine, who in thrée sundrie battels against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of their principall capteins with his owne hands. The third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king of Scotland:” whom the herald had no sooner named, but all those that were present, with scornfull laughter began to ieast at the heralds presumption, for that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at the heralds request, the king commanded them to be still. The herald then began againe thus: “I beséech your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to take my words in good part: for

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few words) to be: that he was euerie way a most woorthie person, and that there were few to be found (from the former heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so was he in peace most temperate & inst. And though his vndiuided good successe and perpetuall course of victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or rather weried with his misfortunes) were verie great, yet he séemeth to Buchanan to be farre more woonderfull in his aduerse fortune: whose valure of mind was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much as weakened) by so manie euils as happened vnto him at one time; whose singular constancie appeared by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were at one time vexed with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselve was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Bruse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of euils, that he was drinen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did or said anie thing vnbeseeing the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselve, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enimies with continuall hatred. For when he had recouered his former estate, he so lined with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembred himselve to be a king ouer them, and not an enimie vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselve towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and prouided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subiects did not so much lament his death, as that they were depriued of so iust a king and godlie father.)

Sir Iames Dowglasse then chosen as most worthie to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the bolie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclare and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed foorth till he came to the citie of Ierusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might denise. This doone, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turkes, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he tooke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was drinen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granado, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglasse, to make his manhood and prowesse the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enimies, with prosperous successe; till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) hée waxed negligent, and tooke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enimies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglasse, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, as it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotichronicon. He might haue beene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had béene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

There is no bodle but hath his shadow, no rose but hath his pricke.

Hyperbolicall commendations.

The valiancie of Iames Dowglasse shewd against the Turkes.

Iames Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

Iames Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine. How often Iames Dowglasse had got the victorie.

DAUID.

BUT now to procéed in order with the historie, yee shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarce seuen yéeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yéere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minoritie, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yéeres in the latter end of K. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadors immediatlie after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie inough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of thrée yéeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if necessitie so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Victone (a towne in Galloway) woord was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of théeues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whervpon sending foorth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not faouering anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saieng, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreouer, for the better prooffe of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stollen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne pursse. Finallie, such punishment was exercised against théeues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Manie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuerer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might bée cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund or idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meanes he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slouthfull roges and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilest such streict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorised and assigned: it fortunéd that a carle of the countrie, bicause he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: neuerthesse, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search and triall, who had the plow irons, that finallie the truth came to light, wherevpon for his craftie falsehood the partie gilty was hanged, as he had well deserued. The gouernor himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had béene brought vp in slouthfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that hée might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offenders, which would not submit themselues to his commandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, tempered with much mercie ministred vnto them.

1331.

Earle Thomas
Randall go-
uernor of
Scotland.Ambassadors
sent into Eng-
land.A truce for
thrée yéeres.Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.A meane to
haue iustice
executed.Punishment
of théeues.A laudable
ordinance
against vaga-
rant Persons.Vpight
iustice.Iustice tem-
pered with
mercie.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken : as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side : and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a purseuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which followed the said purseuant at the heeles, and without respit hanged them vp on gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yeres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theeues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enimies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of England : for the singular manhood and high prowess of this earle was by him and other his nobles sore suspected.

Stubborne rebels sharpelie punished.

K. Edward enuieth the felicitie of the Scots.

K. Edwards purpose to destroye earle Thomas (as the Scots doo write.) But this is a kind of practise amongst men to forge slanderous reports to bring princes in contempt.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be doone by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more inféebled, and as it were made open to receiue displeasure at his hands. For king Dauid was yoong, and manie of his nobles bare small good will either towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Herevpon he deuised, which way he might best destroye earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchiue anie luckie enterprise against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch him by poison : and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat : finallie he found none so fit for his purpose, as a moonke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart : for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypocriticall cowles.

A moonke sent into Scotlād to polson the gouernor... The fittest instrument to bring such a thing to passe.

This moonke, fullie instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and feining himselfe to be a physician, got credit within a while amongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, set foorth his cunning and practise to the vttermost, declaring what notable and most desperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer : namelie he bruted it abroad, that for healing of the stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernor was sore vexed with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuelish enterprise.

The gouernor is poisoned.

The moonke fleeth.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe : for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter so with words, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that persuading him to keepe such diet as he prescribed, and héerewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorously poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not slea him out of hand, but by little and little waste his entrails, that the moonke might haue leasure to escape home into England, yer it were perceiued what he had doone. He therefore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waie, and returned most spédilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernor féeling himselfe tormented dailie woorse and woorse in his stomach and wombe, and hearing that the moonke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortlie after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the venem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remooue it.

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within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finallie he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Edward Balioll cometh into England. The promise of the Balioll to K. Edward. K. Edward dooth agrée to aid the Balioll. The English writers speak but of two thousand, or 2500. at the most. *Ric. Southwell. Fr. Thin.*

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his sister. Heerewith he appointed foorth six thousand men well apparelled and araied for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arriual there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchquhanes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Persie and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferres, Iohn Mowbraie] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when K. Robert le Bruse recouered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the Balioll to assist him in that enterprise: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capteins, wherevpon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboord, and sailing foorth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land néere the towne of Kingorne, and shortlie after, incountring with Alexander Seiton, they slue him, and put his folkes to flight.

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland. Alexander Seiton is slaine.

The earles of Mar and March gather their people.

Balioll verie ioifull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Iohns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and basted toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to doo with men of warre, but to chastise a number of théeues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both together in Stratherne, that they might iointlie set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll séeing the matter brought so far foorth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auáile him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Duplin néere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fíue miles from thence, at Othirardour.

Edward Balioll at Duplin.

The negligence of the Scots.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither tooke héed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselues, but fell to singing, dansing, reuelling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion héereof, determined to assaile them the same night in their campe; and therevpon causing his people to make them readie to aecomplish that enterprise, in the dead of the night he issued foorth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the foord, where one Andrew Murrey of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to shew them the waie. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Héere at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asléepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sléepe without all defense. And therevpon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, weltering together in their owne blond. And if it had not béene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The earle of Mar is slaine in his bed. Sée more héereof in England.

The great slaughter of Scots. Sixtéene thousand saith *Ric. Southwell.*

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the bloud and murder of them, so that they saued none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable

innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselues together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselues euerie mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, Alexander Fraseir knight, William Haie constable of Scotland, with all his linage so wholie, that had not his wife as then being great bellied, beene afterwards deliuered of a sonne, all his surname had béene vtterlie extinguished. [Wherevpon saith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, and Doncan Makduffe despairing of good successe, sware fealtie to Balioll.] There were slaine also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with manie of his surname, Dauid Lindseie of Glenneske, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathaquhen, Thomas Haliburton, and Iohn Skrimgeour knights, with manie other ouerlong to rehearse. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirtéenth day of August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Balioll had atchiued this victorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies vnto Perth (otherwise called saint Iohns towne) and giuing assalt thereto, quicke-ly entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of March that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past fiue miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and towne, came with his people arraied in good and perfect order vnto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Englishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But hauing lien there a certaine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such advantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the assalt, he must needs haue entered, he suddenly raised from thence, and departed, to the vnspeakeable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish nation. The siege being thus raised, there came dailie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Balioll, offering him their aid and seruice as his loiall subiects, towards the atteinig of his right to the crowne.

The earle of Mar was not slaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but now in the morow following as saith Southwell. Noble men slaine at Duplin. Fr. Thln.

The earle of Fife taken.

1332 H. B.

Perth woone by the Balioll.

Perth besieged by the erle of March. He raiseth his siege.

HEREVON, perceiuing his power sufficientlie increased, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last before remembred, and receiued there the same time the homages and fealties of a great companie of nobles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assembled. King Dauid being not past nine yeares of age, to auoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as destitute of succors, by aduise of his counsell, was conueied ouer into France with quéene Iane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie receiued by Philip king of France the sixt of that name, so that they remained there with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king Dauid, vnderstanding that K. Edward le Balioll sojourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he hauing as then no great companie about him.

Edward Balioll crowned king of Scotland, not the 24 of September, but the fourth of October, as Ri. Southwell. saith. King Dauid is conueied ouer into France. Ri Southwell.

Saint Iohns towne besieged.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertisement, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled together vnder the conduct of the lord Eustace de Makeswell, and inuaded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus besieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constrained the aduersaries to lenie their siege. Wherevpon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murrey, with the lord Andrew de Murrey, and the lord Archembald Dowglasse, with an armie assembled in all spéd, entered into Galloway, dooing all the mischief they could deuise, with fire & sword, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they slue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

Galloway inuaded.

Salnt Johns
towne fortified.

Salnt Johns
towne woone.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the kéeping thereof, whilst he with an armie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduersaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had béene slaine at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindseie, Iames and Simon Fraseir wan S. Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whither that is to be intended after the first besieging thereof, or now after their last comming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was woone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murrey of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were sent to the castell of Kildrummie; there to remaine vnder safe keeping; but Andrew Murrey for his treason afore committed, was beheaded. The towne being thus woone, was deliuered to the kéeping of Iohn Lindseie. But Buchan. out of an other author supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succéed.

Fr. Thin.

The battell
discomfited
and put to
flight in An-
nandale.

And therevpon Iohn Randoll the earle of Murrey, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, the brother of Iames Dowglasse latelie slaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraseir and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same [and William Dowglasse lord of Liddesdale to Maufet] against the Balioll, who being aduertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where incountring together, after cruell fight & great slaughter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the woorst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horsse without a bridle, and rested not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slaine sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, sir Iohn Mowbraie, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruse earle of Carrike, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and saned by the helpe of the earle of Murrey, for that they had submitted themselues to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the atchiuing of this victorie, Andrew Murrey a man of great puissance and possessions was chosen to be gouernor, as colleage and associat with the earle of March. These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to inuade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defense of that towne and castell; [Alexander (as saith Buchan.) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the castle and borders ajoining.] Shortlie after, the new gouernor Andrew Murrey was taken prisoner at Roxburgh, by reason that hauing put his enimies to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bridge without the castell, he pursued ouer rashlie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yer he might be rescued. [At which time also William Dowglasse lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had doone manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countrymen would not ransome him, but to his further grieffe had slaine his sonne within Berwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had doone to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

Andrew Mur-
rey chosen
fellow gouer-
nor with the
earle of March.

Fr. Thin.
Andrew Mur-
rey the new
gouernor is
taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirat
taken.

William Dow-
glasse of Lid-
desdale taken
prisoner.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chiuallrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglasse was sonne to sir Iames Dowglasse, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king Dauid: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such

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of their countrie: [at what time K. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglasse the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yoong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from K. Edwards armie, fullie resclued to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Archembald
Dowglas pur-
poseth to giue
battell.

Yet were there sundrie prudent councellors in the Scotish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enimies at that present, considering the huge number of practised souldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriours on his side, hauing few with him saue yoongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had béene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and therevpon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselues with meat, drinke, and sléepe for that night, and to prouide themselues readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arraied his people in order of battell. The vauntgard was giuen to Hugh, lord Rosse, hauing with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and Iohn Fraseir, and Iohn Murrey lieutenant to the earle of Murrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grieuous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindseie, with whome were ioined Alexander Gordon, Reinold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with Iames, Iohn, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The appointing
of the Scotish
battels.

The pollice of
the English
men.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to incounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue somewhat baoue, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they haning once got, boldlie turned themselues to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had béene alreadie theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they inforced themselues with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so slue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scotish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had beene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ransome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtéene thousand men, amongst whome were these as principall: Archembald Dowglas the gouernour, Iohn Steward, Iames Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruse earle of Carrike, Andrew, Iames, and Simon Fraseir. This battell was fought on Magdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

The Scotish
armie put to
flight.

The great
slaughter of
Scots.

The number
of Scots slaine
at Hallidon
hill.

1333. H. B.

Buchanan.

*Feries.

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo doo abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison dooth gather together by the feries*, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Magdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwike was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceiued, or mistaken herein: I baue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agréeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Magdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Wals. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the ninetenth of Iulie being saint Margarets euen. But now to procéed. The place where this battell was striken, is called Hallidon hill.

Immediatlie vpon this ouerthrow of the Scotish power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike

Dunbar captēins of Berwike, despairing of all support, yéelded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liēs and goods saned, and to become subiects to king Edward. Herevpon, when they had receiued their otbs, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build vp againe the castell of Dunbar vpon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. K. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leauing behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whome for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the a duise and counsell of them he might rulē the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll herevpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castels of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement; five of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king Dauid. For Dunbreton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumirald, Lochleuin by Alane of Vepont, the castell of Kildrummie by Christine Bruse, and Vrquhart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the kéeping of one Iohn Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king.] These captēins would by no means neither yéeld themselues nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the vttermost for the behoofe of their so- uereigne lord and maister king Dauid.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further vexing the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without dooing anie thing in the matter where- about they were sent. Shortlie after was a parlēment called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising thereby solemne otbs, neuer to remooue anie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had giuen Iohn Mowbray, brother of this Alex- ander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Mowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Mowbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll; by reason whereof, Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbray, and by new sentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritor thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. * Balioll (faououring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing profited therein by their speches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbreton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adioining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of Dauid Bruse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and fensing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force, if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men; changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (wherof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cumin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortlie after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not

The towne of Berwike yéelded to K. Edward on S. Margarets day, as *Ri. Southwell.* saith.

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, five onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlēment at Perth.

Strife betwix Mowbray & Beaumont. *Fr. Thin.*

1534.

Fr. Thin.
Iohn Maior.

onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enimies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forsaking the Balioll, ioined himselfe with Andrew Murrey gouernor of Scotland (for Daud Bruse) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although doone at seuerall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murrey besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might fréelie repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot, (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cumin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yeere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Newcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grieuouslie wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as K. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

1334.

*Scala chron.**Scala chron.
Iohs Maior.**Scala chron.*

The castels of
Rothsaie and
Dunnone de-
liuered to the
Balioll
Fr. Thin.

Robert Ste-
ward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin
besieged.

Alane Vepōt
and Iames
Lambie cap-
teins of Loch-
leuin.

A deuise to
drowne the
castell.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obeisance, had the keies of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the kéeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as dailie submitted themselues vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king Daud, to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fiftéene yéeres, was conueied [with bote and horsse, by the helpe of William Hariot and Iohn Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbreton, where he was ioifullie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castels as were kept by his enimies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yéere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be woone without long siege, he appointed sir Iohn Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yeelded. There were left also with him, Michaell Hariot, Daud Vemis, and Richard Maleuill, with diuerse other. These capteins aduising the place and site of the castell; lodged themselues within the churchyard of saint Serfe, beside Kinrosse, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Vepont and Iames Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

The enimies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue woone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtill sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trées, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riners and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir Iohn Striueling, capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime quéene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Vepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine souldiers with him,

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mens' hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruse earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome Iohn Maior calleth Carucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale.] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murrey returneth foorth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obedience of king Dauid.

The earle of Atholl fleeth into the mounteins. He submitteth himselfe.

Sir William Dowglasse, and Andrew Murrey ransomed. The earle of Murrey and Robert Steward elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darsée.

About the same time, the earle of Murrey returned foorth of France, and landed at Donbrinton, where he was most ioifullie receiued by the said Robert Steward. Shortlie after the said Steward, and the said earle, hauing [with them a great power of their friends and alies [as Godfrie Rosse, and others] came into Clidesdale, Ranfrew, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murrey, they reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Ranfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murrey also, to reuenge the iniuries doone by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberden, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie tooke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durst not come foorth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came foorth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king Dauid. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king Dauid, as he had béene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dowglasse of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murrey, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie after they had béene kept there by the space of thrée yéeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edenburgh, they found the lords assembled in councell, at the which Iohn Randolph earle of Murrey, and Robert Steward, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time reuolted from the king of England, submitting themselues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skillfull warrior, Laurence Preston, Iohn Herring, and Iohn Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

* After this, Iohn Randolph, and Robert Steward, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat Dauid Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streict, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yéeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to Dauid Bruse, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wheréunto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruse. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglasse latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enimies egerlie reuenged the long lothsomnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murrey, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowglasse, and Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglasse did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no sooner delivered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Steward fauored Cumin, and almost all the other tooke part with Dowglasse. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeiné rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a manie of an hundred and foure score ships; sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the townes on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who alter accordingle, with Godfrie of Rosse, & Alexander Mowbraie, with other, came to the king of England.]

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England. A nauie sent into Scotland. Shipwracke. K. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Pr. Thin. Scala chron.

The same time, whilst the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Namure (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited on the Burrowe moore, beside Edenburgh, by the power of the gouernours and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglasse, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Pictland hils to the aid of the Scots; whilst they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had woone the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place; and drew towards Edenburgh: neuerthesse kéeping themselues in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were drinen vp thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir Daud de Anand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horsse, that the axe staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be séene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Namure, named Guy.

Iohn Fourdon.

William Dowglasse commeth to the succour of the Scots.

Daud de Anand, a Scottish knight.

Hyperbole.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselues, at length got to the hill where Edenburgh castle standeth, and there slue their horsse, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselues from the force of their enimies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherewith to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yélded themselues the next day, with condition to haue their liues saned. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell stept foorth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enimies on ech side, long it was yer she might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enimies.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Namure haning yélded himselfe into the hands of the gouernours, was verie courteouslie vsed, the earle of Murrey not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murrey, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. Daud Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murrey one of the gouernours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much aduanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith eftsoones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing

The earle of Murrey is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl revolteth to the Balioll.

is estaones
established go-
uerner.
The king of
England re-
turneth home.
taking the
Balioll with
him.

The earle of
Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
John Maior
lib. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Mur-
rey chosen
gouernor.

The Cumins
put to flight.

The north
parts of Scot-
land reduced
to the obli-
sance of king
Dauid.
The castle of
Dungard
woone.
The castle of
Lochindoris
besieged.

The king of
England com-
meth to raise
the siege of
Lochindoris.

The towne of
Aberden burn-
ed by the Eng-
lishmen.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and tooke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recouered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enimics to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murrey, & William Dowglasse, with other) tooke great despite therat, and raising an armie to restraine his insolent dooings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kildrummie) rose and met them in the fields within the Forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Kildrummie sallied foorth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle Dauid their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bride, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being New-yéeres day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him thrée thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

* This Dauid earle of Atholl was verie inconstant & gréedie of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppresse the giltlesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fansie, without reason.) Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murrey was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murrey, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murrey in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule woorke in the north parts of the realme, against such as faouered not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enimies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obeisance of king Dauid. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was woone, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindoris, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle Dauid. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of fortie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindoris aforsaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Héerevpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he tooke the countesse foorth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murrey, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberden. [Then he went to Striueling, where he stronglie repaired the castle: from whence he tooke his iournie to Botheuill, and there also in winter he made the castle stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittels from Edenburgh, and in one night discomfited William Dowglasse that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortlie lose all the said castels, which he had before with so great care fortified.] His nanie being on the sea at

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hastned to repaire to raise the same siege of Edenburgh, and to rescue their councitmen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Krethtowne not farre distant; betwéene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselues at Galuschell. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

Two armies sent into Scotland. William Tailbot, or rather Tailbois is taken prisōer. Richard Mountfort or Montacute is slaine. The castell of Dunbar is besleged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin. 1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was incountred by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 wéeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Glocester, the lords Persie and Neuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith *Scala chron.*] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without spéed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in iesting and tawuting at the enimies dooings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and also a death in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. *Scala chron.*

The castell of Couper left void.

The castell of Louthian in the hands of the Englishmen.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had deuised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or couert wherof they might approch safelie to the wals: she beholding this engine, merilie said, that vnlesse the Englishmen kept their sow the better, she would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after destroyed it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth through all the bounds of Scotland, with such mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie béene séene nor heard of. The cause of which mortalitie procéeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Preffen: where Robert Maners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeiné displeasent words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselues, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and comming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all their strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edenburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Pendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, haning his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceased not to séeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortlie after he slue the said marshall, and afterward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he persuaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enimies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretlie on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen snorting in sléepe and dronkenesse, before they were able to make anie resistance.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernor.

Not long after, Andrew Murrey the gouernor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our

Sauour

Saujour 1238. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to ceasse his pursute of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must néeds haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to procéed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murrey the gouernor, Robert Steward tooke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Tiuidall also was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, with diners other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruiice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two woorthie capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramseie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in lusting. Wherevpon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwike by all the said parties, where they met with their complices prouided accordinglie. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Grame, if he would not refuse to inst with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordinglie, for in running together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England mooned with high displeasure at these dooings, sent a right valiant knight named sir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saned themselues by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited sir Iohn Striueling, who had with him néere hand fwe hundred Englishmen and Scots, that tooke his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas wan the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought fwe times in one day with sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balioll, and being put to the woorse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enimies, and tooke prisoner their capteine the said sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbreton, there to remaine in safe kéeping for a time. For these and such woorthie enterprises hardlie atchiued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassador to king Dauid, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Rosse, and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray lord of Clidesdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten wéekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they wan. At length when they were in manner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Taie, bringing with him out of France in fwe ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castalgaliard, and two esquiers, Giles de la Hois, and Iohn de Breise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foresaid fwe ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege

1338.

Tiuidall recouered out of the English mens hands by William Dowglas.
Fr. *Thir.*
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

Sir Thomas Berkleie.

The battell of Blackeborne.

Sir Iohn Striueling discomfired.
The castell of Hermitage woone.

Sir Laurence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Sir William Dowglas sent into France.

1339.

The towne of Perth besieged,

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Keith of Galleston.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

Iohn Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
1340.

Scala chrou.

The towne of
Perth rendered
to the gouer-
nor.

1341.

John Bourdon.

of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Mauers, & Iohn Copland, with the garrison of Roksborow, then in the hands of the English, but after woone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the verie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof séemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramscie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enuie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken eftsoones the castell of Couper to the king of Englands vse, but by persuasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it vp againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them foorthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortlie after his comming was rendered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Vitred the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the comming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Handpile, taking vpon him on a day to approch the towne with his ships, and to gine an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be to him againe restored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Drumlie Firth, they escaped verie hardlie from the shore. [The winter after the siege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melrosse, but from thence riding through part of the forrest of Etrike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrosse, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted with William Dowglasse (by couenant) in the kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrosse, halfe ouercome with melancholie against those that first mooned him to this iournie, not succéeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue doone.]

Fr. Thin.

A sore dearth.

In the same yéere (as some doo write) or (according vnto other) in the yéere following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were drinen to eat the flesh of horssees, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing liues withall, yea, insomuch that (as is said) there was a Scottishman, an vplandish fellow named Tristicloke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had béene a wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striuelling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his comming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murrey was made capteine.] Edward Balioll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus dailie fall vnto his enimies, to auoid further danger, after oft remoouing from place to place, at length he was constrained to flie into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Children eaten.

The castell of
Striuelling
rendered.
Alias Rugbie.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Balioll
withdraweth
into England.

The castell of
Edenburgh
woone.
Fr. Thin.

A policie.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was woone by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to prouide a ship, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so comming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of houshold to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp

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A parlement
at Perth.
The bounteous
liberalitie of
K. Dauid.
This Hugh was
grandfather to
Hector Boetius.

the former trouble of war, he called a parlement at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded veric liberallie all such as had either done any notable seruice themselues, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recouerie of the reime out of his aduersaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritor & ladie of the baronie of Balbrid giuen him in mariage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

King Dauid
inuadeth Nor-
thumberland.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after vpon the breaking vp of this parlement, king Dauid raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to Iohn Randolph erle of Murrey as lieutenant generall, he wold not that anie of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, seruing secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iournie.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueieng awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his own

King Dauid the
second time
inuadeth the
English bor-
ders.

Fine Scottish
knights taken
prisoners.

King Dauid
the third time
inuadeth Eng-
land.
Foule weather.

standard to be caried afore him at that time, as he that tooke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to gine the Scots any set batell, but to take them euer at some aduantage, if they straid abroad any where vnwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scottish knights, whose names were Steward, Eglinton, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enimies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redéemed for great summes of monie. At length, king Dauid perceiuing that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iournie his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raie and haile, that they had much adoo to saue themselues from perishing through the vnmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors
frō y^e French
king into Scot-
land.

Ambassadors
from the king
of England
into Scotland.
The king of
Englands
offers.

The Scots
readie to helpe
the French, &
hinder their
neighbors the
English.

An armie
raised to in-
uade England.

The lord of the
Iles slain by the
earle of Rosse.
Fr. Thin.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblahle maner néere hand destroied with the like rage of tempest. Herevpon king Dauid, to the end that his enterprise should not séeme altogether to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either doone or receiued. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore deuising all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king Dauid, that with an armie he would enter into England, and doo what damage he might vnto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constrained to leaue his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king Dauid, vpon condition that peace might be had, to dehuer into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwike, but also Edward Balioll his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warres had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in councell, though some of the wiser sort gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whome he had béene brought vp) and other of the nobles hauing yoong heads, vpon desire to be reuenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold néeds condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Wherevpon an armie was leuied, and solemne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should méet the king at a certeine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Rosse therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slue the lord of the Iles, with seuen of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and therevpon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Rosse [whereby the armie was greatlie diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

King

King Daud, though he was sore displeas'd herewith, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iournie, he let passe the punishment therof till more conuenient opportunitie might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglasse of Lidesdale did earnestlie persuade him, at that time to leaue the iournie, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to doo valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglasse an earle, which William was sonne to Archembald Dowglasse, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; insomuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set foorth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) threé score thousand.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglasse created earle of Dowglasse.

Ri. Southwell

Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King Daud with that his puissant armie, the sixt of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortresse not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the space of threé daies, without giuing thereto anie assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine sir Walter Selbie was taken aliue, but immediatlie by king Daud his commandement, had his head striken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue doone, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie remoored, and went vnto the abbie of Lauercost, which they spoiled; and that doone they departed, and passing by Naward castell, and the towne of Redpeth, kept on till they came vnto the priorie of Hexham, which they sacked; but the towne was saned from fire by commandement of king Daud, who in this iournie appointed to preserue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Hexham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp such store of vittels, as he should prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

King Daud inuadeth England. The fort of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lauercost.

From Hexham, where he laie threé daies, he marched to Ebchester, wasting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and coming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was woonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither yoong nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbeie of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserablie sacked, although it was said king Daud was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise absteine from violating the goods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

King Daud lodged in the manor of Beaurepaire.

The abbele of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and ioining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had latelie sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Daud, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a finall peace might be agréed vpon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Daud contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enimies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into threé battels. In the first was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed Iohn earle of Murrey, and William earle of Dowglasse: in the third was the king himselfe,

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North. A herald.

The appointing of the Scottish battels.

Fr. Thin. himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which **Buchanan** placeth Dowglasse in the first, the king in the middle, and Steward in the third.]

The earle of Dowglas chased.

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglasse departed from the armie to descree the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible :) but entring somewhat vnwarilie within danger of his enimies, he was chased, and that to such disaduantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather five hundred (as some bookes haue) of yoong gentlemen, and such other light horssemen as he tooke foorth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into thrée battels, approched forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Wherevpon Dauid Graham with a wing of five hundred horssemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constreined to flée backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

These two discomfitures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enimies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end, Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiuing their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this flieng backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the discomfiture vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was vtterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a most valiant chiefeine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to doo their indeuours. Neither would he flie after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasent than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

The cause of the ouerthrow.

The Scots discomfited.

King Dauid his valiancie.

King Dauid taken by Iohn Copland.

At length hauing his weapons striken out of his hands, one Iohn Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yéeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his téeth before he did yéeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onelie called Coup-taunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a meere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the rereward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murrey, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancellor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murrife.] There were taken with the king five earles, that is to say, Dowglasse, Fife, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Senescall fled, but after the earle of Mench being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as saith *Scala chron.*) drawne and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be inuincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was striken néere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yéere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English historie.

1346.

Scala. chron.
Nobles slaine
in this battell.
Fr. Thin.
Prisoners
taken.
Fr. Thin.

The Balioll sojourneth in Galloway.

In the yéere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddesdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselues with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and

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countrie, who gathéring the preies, drane them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Norham (sonne to Thomas Greie, that had béene thrée times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Norham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) séeing the commons of England thus robbed (and déeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued foorth of Norham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnexpert in matters of war; who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrike had laied in wait behind Twéed) issued foorth to follow and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in chase of the enemie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Twéed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the successe) forsooke their horsses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a woonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots comming so sore on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

Berwike
woone.

The earles of March, and Dowglasse, after the obtéining of this victorie, came suddenlie in the night season vnto the towne of Berwike, and raising vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas Vaus, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, Iohn Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Mowbraie knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Persie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himselfe in this enterprise, whome Robert Steward the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had doone his dutie in euerie behalfe verie throughlie. The castle of Bérwike, notwithstanding that the towne was thus woone, held foorth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

Berwike wals
raced.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

* The tidings wherof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parlement appointed at London but thrée daies, and with all speed came to Berwike, where he entered the castle; wherat the burgesses amazed, treated with him, and therevpon the towne of Berwike was rede-liuered (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward.) K. Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwike, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, tooke order for the reparing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. [For there the 26 of Ianuarie, the said Balioll haning resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, alledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie néere of his linage: and for that he was of K. Edwards blood of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than vpon him. This Balioll is by no author (as Lesleus saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, against the gouernement & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other authors doo agré. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents vntill the yéere of 1342, at what time he yélded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recouered a good part of England. Wherefore it séemeth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him vnder that title, and maketh Dauid Bruse (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king,

Berwike is re-
pared againe
by king Ed-
ward.
The Balioll
resigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.
Lesleus episcop.
Rosse. lib. cap.
257.

• ' naming

naming also Robert (who succéded after Bruse) the hundred king in order of gouerne- ment; in such sort, that both these writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agréé on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings.] After this, king Edward passing foorth to Hadington, spoiled and wasted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had béene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempest beene sore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish writers) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Candlemas.

Whitekirke
burnt.

1355.

The burnt
Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Dowglas of Niddesdale recouered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Drisdale were in like maner recouered by one Kirpatricke. In the same yéere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwise named the Blacke prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and tooke king Iohn prisoner, with his yoongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king Iohn, the earle William Dowglas, & to the number of thrée thousand Scots, hauing diners knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holieburton, and Andrew Vaus, knights. The earle of Dowglas escaped with life and vntaken, but Archembald Dowglas, son to sir Iames Dowglas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ransome, by reason that William Ramsey of Colluthie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Dowglas had béen some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to doo other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the end it should not be knowne what he was.

Galloway re-
couered.
The battell of
Poitiers.

The French
king Iohn
taken prisoner.

Archembald
Dowglasse
taken prisoner.

A subtile po-
licie.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feast of Christmase, making (as the vse is amongst the Englishmen in that season) a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King Dauid within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwike, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him tuching some agréement to be had for his ransome: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Kirpatricke was slaine by Iames Lindseie, in a castell where the said Iames dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Two kings
prisoners in
England at one
time.

Roger Kirk-
patricke slaine.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next insuing, after king Dauid had béene at Berwike, there was an agréement made for his ransome, wherevpon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agreed that there should be paid for his ransome one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie daies of painment, as was accorded betwixt them. * After he had béene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downé that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of S. Michaell, Dauld king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of siluer: for which, his hostages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was borne of the sister of king Dauid; Thomas Senescall that

King Dauid is
deliuered.

1357.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrife baron of Bothuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Truce for 14
yeeres.

Fr. Thin.

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtéene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diners nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paied, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ransome.] K. David was also bound by couenant of agrément to race certeine castels within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast downe the castels of Dalswinton, Dunfreis, Mortowne, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his coosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was vtterlie reuoked and annulled, and Iohn Southerland the sonne of Iane his yoongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworne to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

Castels raced.
A parlement.

Robert Ste-
ward disherit-
ed of the
crowne.
Iohn Souther-
land made
heire apparant.

The death of
Iohn Souther-
land.

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordeined heire
apparant.
The contri-
bution of the
cleargie.
1363.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
A demand pro-
poned to the
lords of Scot-
land.
Fr. Thin.
1357.

Their answer.

1357.

Quéene Ianes
death.
Fr. Thin.
Iohn Maior
li. 5. cap. 22.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said Iohn, in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuerthelesse deceiued of his hope. For shortlie after his son, being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ransome was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortlie after his deceasse, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordeined beire apparant to the crowne in semblable maner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to gine the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the paiment of the kings ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king David called an other councell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires? [Which thing Iohn Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and doone by the persuasion of Iane the quéene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King David right ioifull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scotish lords would agrée, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Iane the wife of K. David went into England to see hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leauing no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman dooth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsooke hir husband in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she inioyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

Ouid.

Si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlysses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.

According

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*Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.*

* During the time that this Dauid Bruse was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Mortimer, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as it séemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him; whereat the lords disdeining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de Hull, a vallect of Scotland (in feining some matter vuto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so couertlie, and handled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltrée. Wherevpon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorablie buried at Newbotle, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange wondrous.

Sundrie maruellous things were séene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yéere of his reigne, crowes, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought foorth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrarie to their kind.

Yewes barren.

All the yewes in the countrie the same yéere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might

Great raine.

not be destroyed. In the 27 yéere of his reigne, the riuers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of haruest, that breaking foorth of their common chanel, with their violent streame manie houses & townes were borne downe and destroyed. About this time lined diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable,

John Duns.

as Iohn Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Midleton, and William Ocham, with others.

*The assemblie
of the lords
for the elec-
tion of a new
king.
William earle
of Dowglasse
clameth the
crowne.*

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succéed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agréed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, clamed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by inst title vuto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he mainteined that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appéered that the said earle Dowglas purposed to vsurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuerthesse he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey, with the lord Erskine [which three were capteins of Dunbreton, Sterling, and Edenburgh] and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward, assisting his side to their vttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiuing héereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned therevpon his pretensed title, which in effect was of no importance, nor woorth the discussing.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

*He resigneth
his right to the
Steward.*

ROBERT.

*Robert Ste-
ward is crown-
ed king of
Scotland.
1370.*

THEN was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnité, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yéere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yéere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglasse aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to Iames sonne to the earle of Dowglasse aforesaid. ¶ Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue inioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles Iames that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.]

*The first com-
ing of the
Stewards to
the crowne.
Fr. Thin.*

He

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Rosse, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and Daud. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir threé sonnes, Iohn, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to Iohn Dunbar erle of Murrey, and another to Iohn Leon lord of Glames. The earledome of Murrey continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle Iohn & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the iniocieng of that earledome: for leaning a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earledome of Murrey. King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, Iames Lindsey of Glenneske was made earle of Crawford. His wife quéene Eufemie deceased the third yeare after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth Mure [or Moore, daughter to sir Adam Mure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they iniocied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne Iohn, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforesaid, earle of Carrike: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badzenoch. [Besides which hee had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne Daud, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of Iames the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortlie after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto Iohn his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his beires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the beires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yoongest sonne Daud the earle of Stratherne, and to his beires generall either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworne to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemne maner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men euer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chiefly line, that is to say, reife and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell piked, slue certeine of the houshold seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George sore offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to receiue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yéere following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murrey gathered a power of men secretlie together, and comming to the said towne, tooke it, slue all the Englishmen found within it; put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Herevpon the Englishmen shortlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and dooing much hurt vpon the lands of sir Iohn Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir Iohn Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into Eng-

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglases came by the earledome of Murrey.

Eufemie the quéene deceased.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the Mure married to king Robert. Fr. Thin.

The preferment of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

An act for succession of the crowne.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

1370.

Buchanan. The truce violated. Roxburgh surprised by the earle of March.

The Englishmen invade Scotland.

land with an armie, and getting together a great bootie of cattell, returned therewith homeward, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by Iohn Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a sore fight betwixt them; the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncerteine, that sir Iohn Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were five times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enimies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelye discomfited, and their capteine sir Iohn Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof Iohn Maior condemneith and laieth the fault of breach in earle Dowglasse.]

The English men discomfited.
Sir Iohn Lilborne taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Persie erle of Northumberland.

A policie to afright horses.

To reuenge their displeasures, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horssees breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and kéepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue béene assailed by their enimies) perceiuing themselues set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

Tho. Musgraue capteine of Berwike taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

A legat from the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.

Buchanan.

1378.

Berwike taken by Scots. Recouered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Pennire.

The third time that the pestilence cam into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thin.
The English men inuade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to méet with sir Iohn Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Io. Iohnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer awaie with the vpper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the quéene) Buchanan appointeth to the first two yéeres of the king, before the death of the quéene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaineing to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.]

On the 22 day of October, in the yéere 1378, Daud Steward was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir Iohn Gordon, and six or seuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recouered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen smallie reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue doone anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yéere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure doone by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of five hundred men, & stood in a streict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number

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giuen to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dowglasse had got knowledge that the same castell was vtterlie vnprovidid both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglasse and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Heerevpon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters vnto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to vnderstand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should doo his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to doo as he should see cause. Heerevpon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remooue their siege, he would yeeld the castell vnto them, the lines and goods of them within saned. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assalts: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeered, they receiued the castell into their possession, according to the couenant. And so the Scots haning thus woone the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

Sir William
Fetherston.

Buchanan.

It is rased.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchiued this enterprise, appointed the baron of Graistocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it vnprovidid, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to inuade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster hauing the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea what they should doo, entered himselfe by land, and wasting the countries of March and Louthian, came to Edenburgh, and tooke the towne. But whereas his souldiors would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without dooing anie more damage.

The baron of
Graistocke
taken.
Anno reg. 15.
1383. I. Ma.

An armie by
sea and an
other by land,
prepared a-
gainst the
Scots.
The duke of
Lancaster
commeth with
an armie to
Edenburgh.

The English-
men discomfit-
ed in Fife.
The strength
of Tiuidale
recouered.
The earle of
Dowglas de-
ceaseth.

His nanie being as then arriued in the Forth, taried behind, first burning the abbeie of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their capteins landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, set vpon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yeere the earle of Dowglasse recouered all the strengths of Tiuidale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham vnto those daies. This earle of Dowglasse, one of the most valiant personages in those his dales, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglasse, shortlie after he had atchiued this enterprise, and was buried in the abbeie of Melrosse.

James earle of
Dowglasse.

The Scots
inuade Nor-
thumberland.
1385.

John de Vian
admerall of
France.
200. Buchan.
26 barons, 800
men of armes
or knights.
J. Furdon. I
doubt whether

After his deceasse, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earledome of Dowglasse, a verle fierce and hardie knight, the which shortlie after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Newcastle. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where he found the lord Iohn de Vian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arriued in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and fine hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 hagbutters (as Belenden saith) and two hundred with crosbowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yeere aforehand, and had

had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swoords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglasse was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in conncell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all spéed, that ioining with these Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglasse, and March, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all together, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, tooke the castels of Warke, Fourd, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwike and Newcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field néere to the castell of Rockesburgh, purposing to haue assaied the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agréé in whose name it should be kept if it were woone, they left that enterprize. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, wherevnto the Scots would not agréé.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterprize, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did woonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carleill, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rocksburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next insuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming foorth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboord to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Mers and Louthian, putting all the townes, countries, and houses vnto vtter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appéere.

In the yeere next insuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Steward earle of Fife, with Iames earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokerimouth in such spéedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of thrée dales, got a rich bootie together, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iournie, there was a charter found of certeine lands giuen by king Athelstane, in this forme: *I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als faire, als euer yaj mine waire, and yarto witnesse Mauld my wife.* ¶ By tenure of which déed it may appeere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few woords barielie expressed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

In this last iournie against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bastard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie,

there were any hagbuts vsed in those daies, though guns were somewhat before that time.

The earle of Fife. An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England. Castels woone.

The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agréé.

They inuade Cumberland.

The Frenchmen returne into France.

King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387.

An armie of thirtie thousand Scots inuaded England by the west marches. Cokerimouth taken vpon the sudden.

The forme of an old déed of gift.

The true meaning of min in old time.

William Dowglas honored for his high prowesse.

valiancie, shewed as well in certeine approaches made vnto Carleill, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him woorthie of some high aduancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marlage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as hir match in those daies was not to be found: [with whome for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Niddesdale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not ouercharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, vpright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against threé thousand Englishmen, of whome two hundred he slue in the field, & brought fise hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

1388.

Irishmen fetch preies in Galloway. William Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fise hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon saith, Carlingford besegged. The craftie dealing of the townesmen. The Irishmen assaile the Scots in two seuerall places.

The Irishmen put to flight. Carlingford woone by assault.

The Ile of Man spoiled. Englishmen burne in the Mers.

Two armies of Scottishmen assembled.

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland inuaded. Northumberland inuaded.

Ten thousand

In the yéere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched awaie great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men together, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townesmen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to gine a great summe of monie to haue their towne sauéd: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselues into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Steward of Durisdeir, who haning the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afore the towne.

Neuerthesse, the said Robert and William receiued the enimies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This doone, they tooke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hauens and creeks there on that coast, and fraughting fiftéene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Mers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towers and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberden: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all spéed, to reuenge those iniuries doon by the Englishmen. Héerevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftéene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of Fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Walcop. The other contéining like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them Iames Lindseie earle of Crawford, Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey, and the lord Haie the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie [both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fife spared neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Newcastle. Here the earle of Dowglasse chose foorth ten thousand

of

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causing them to gine ground, they had woone the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Herewith also came the earle of Dowglasse, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

* The said Dowglasse the yoonger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grieuouslie wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserablie wounded also. At what time a priest (which had faithfullie assisted this Dowglasse in all distresse) did (now the bodie being faint and decaied) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglasse lieng in this estate, his neere friends (Iohn Lindseie, Iohn and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutlie answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismaied) that he was verie well; for said he, I doo not now die in my bed (by sluggish destinaie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue doone. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Wherevpon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowen; then they erected his standard, crieng (as the maner is) A Dowglasse a Dowglasse. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a ioifull assault vpon the enimie; that forthwith they drane them from the place of the battell. For at the verie name of Dowglasse, not onelie the common people, but Iohn earle of Murrey (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

Finalie, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & borne down. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is euer scene, though the more part in deed were taken with their lines saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Persie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne. [But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransome did build the castle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day doo inioy. There was also taken besides the two Persies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, Iohn Lilborne, William Wauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, Iohn Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) aboue an eighteene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scôdish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglasse himselfe was thrise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous grieffe for the losse of so woorthie a chiefeteine, than ioy for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied vnto Melros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbeie church there. And because this earle Iames had no heires of his bodie begotten, his coosine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepborns (of the which this Patrike Hepborne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king Daud the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yoong gelding vabroken, the which plaieng the vnrule iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there

gave

Patrike Hepborne releueth the Scots at point to be overcome. The valiancie of the earle of Dowglasse. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan.*

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberden, as saith *Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lesleus lib. 7. pa. 263.* calleth him William Louardie archdeacon of saint Andrews, kinsman to Dowglasse.

This Dowglasse was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his brest, and in the thigh with seuerall arrows, and had a deadlie blow on his head being vnconueied.

Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. The English men put to flight. Rafe and Henrie Persie taken prisoners.

Fr. Thin. Other persons taken.

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin. There were slaine but five hundred Englishmen as *Hector Boetius* saith.

The death of Iames earle of Dowglasse.

See more of this matter in England.

Archembald Dowglasse succeded Iames the earle of Dowglasse.

gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman lept to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horsse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certeine lands in Lowthian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right woorthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterborne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the fift of August, in the yeare 1388.

* Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Matthew Redman gouernor of Berwike, whom Iames Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did vehementlie follow by the space of threé miles. At the last, Redman perceiuing that he was not by flight able to escape. (and déeming it better to hazzard his life, than otherwise to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horsse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betwéene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yéeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the borderers, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day dooth continue betweene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie doo not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitutions of things and iniuries doone by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceiued by his prisoner (on his promise) dooth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be séene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the deseruers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not affoord them good report or interteinment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made directlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so néere vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcastle (to ioine with Persie at the battell of Otterborne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortlie after which, he tooke his iournie towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterborne battell towards Newcastle) that Persie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Newcastle, to consult what he should doo against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to séeke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had broght thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horssemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all spéed) hée should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second batell. With which spéeches they persuaded themselues of an easie conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murrey (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be doone with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransome) but it would seeme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equall number to themselues) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were ouercome, and they (being now their

The first advancement of the Hepborns. The earles of Bothwell.

1310.

12. kal. Aug.

Buchanan.

1388.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

Lindseie had a halberd, and Redman a sword with a buckler which he caried at his backe.

Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 14.

The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

Io. Ma. saith if they breake promise, the picture of him is tied to a horsse taile and drawn about the borders of the countrie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Maior writeth, that some say they tied these prisoners fast with ropes, li. 6. c. 4.

their prisoners) recouered from them, that yet they should still remaine ~~prisoners vnto them~~ as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus doone, they left the prisoners in the campe, with a small gard which should execute a present renenge vpon them, if they did at anie time sceme to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obtained) afresh descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former conflict: at what time it was also commanded that euerie one (as he did approach the enimie) should blow the horne he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as lowd as he could, which sound being of it selfe terrible, was in the eccho (by reflexion of the hilles) so multiplied, that it forced the enimie to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entred into the battell (as saith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March encouraged his soldiers with these words. "We haue this night (most noble Scots) sustained the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honor obtained against those valiant princes) should now feare this sillie priest. Trulie there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two strokes, bicause the leader will flie at the third, and all the flocke will follow, since the shéepeheard stroken, the shéepe will be dispersed. But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be ouercome, then shall we most shamefully loose the glorie which we before haue honorable gained by this nights trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs such valiant hearts (as the preseruacion of honor requireth) we shall easilie teach this mitred priest, that it had béene farre more honor to him, safetie to his, and most commoditie to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct vnbrideled and negligent scholers, than with sword to enter battell against growne and bearded souldiers."

This being spoken, and the English now come to the point to ioine with the aduersarie, the Scots began the alarms with their hornes, wherevpon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnaccustomed to them in such multitude) remembring that they must fight in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kinred latelie slaine (a spectacle to discourage most valiant hearts) and somewhat abashed at the chéerefulness of the Scots standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and suffered the Scots to returne without anie other pursute against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindaeie (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Newcastle) chanced to be seene and knowne by Redman (his yéelded prisoner) he was most courteouslie (after congratulation of amitie betwéene them) suffred to depart frō Newcastle to Scotiand.)

In the yéere following, a parlement was holden at Perth, in the which demonstration was made by king Robert, that forsomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through féeblesse occasioned thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme, it was necessarie that some gouernor shuld be chosen; wherfore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, considering his eldest sonne Iohn earle of Carrike (by reason of a stripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horse of sir Iames Dowglasse of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might sturre no way fourth abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Fife was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common consent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as saith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Persie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Steward the Scottish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, hée withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of

The maner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horne about their necks like hunters, and in the battell encourage themselves to fight with that, *lo. Mj. li. 6. ca. 4.* which I suppose was also the maner of the English (as may be by manie substantial reasons approved.)

A parlement at Perth.

Robert earle of Fife is chosen gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland inuadeth Northumberland.

the

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He is slaine by
the lord Clif-
ford.
Duncan Ste-
ward inuadeth
Angus.
Fr. Thin.

said lords in that iournie) to fight with him in a singular combat: before the day came appointed for them to make triall of the battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dowglasse, and vpon the bridge of Danzke, met with him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and stay of the whole iournie. Moreouer, shortlie after the coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward] sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother afore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie shiriffe of the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist him from spoiling the people, whom he miserablie afflicted; howbeit these his insolent dooings were not long vnpunished. For the earle of Crawford being sent against him with an armie, caused him to disperse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being apprehended with the most part of his said companie, they were punished according to their demerits.

The north
parts of Scot-
land sore dis-
quieted by two
clans.
Wild Scots
called Kate-
rans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.

At this time also the most part of the north countrie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans of those Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inhabit the hie.-land countries, the one named Clankaies and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with continuall slaughter and reife. At length it was accorded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls of Murrey and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, against thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe swords to the vtterance, without anie kind of armor or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both these clans right ioifull of this appointment, came to Perth with their number, where, in a place called the North inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought according as it was agréed, and that with such rage and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life, after he saw all his fellowes slaine, lept into the water of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There were 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded and that verie sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they should fight the battell, one of the clans wanted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld haue supplied it, was priuile stolen awaie, not willing to be partaker of so deare a bargaine. But there was a countrie-fellow among the beholders, who being sorie that so notable a fight should be passed ouer, offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill vp the number, though the matter apperteined nothing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man (as saith Buchanan) séemed to be a saddle-maker, who for halfe a French-crowne, and his diet during his life (if he were victor) tooke the matter in hand, in which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, himselfe making vp the number.] This battell was fought thus betwéene the two clans, in maner as is before remembred, in the yeere 1396.

A desperate
fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second yéere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wherin, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduancement of the common-wealth, the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that was then about eightéene yéeres of age) duke of Rothsaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the first dukes that had béene heard of in Scotland, for till those daies there was neuer anie within the realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer good successe to the maisters.] During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and combats put in vre, and exercised betwixt Scots and Englishmen, for prooffe of their valiant actiuitie in feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But amongst the residue, that was most notable, which chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scottish, and the lord Welles English.

1398.

The first dukes
that were
created in Scot-
land.
Fr. Thin.

Iustes and com-
bats betwixt
Scots and Eng-
lishmen.
The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Wel-
les of England
iusted for life
and death.

It was agréed betwixt these two noble men, to run certeine courses on horssebacke, with speares sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed for these iusts was London bridge

bridge, and the day the thrée and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of saint George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came redie to furnish their enterprize, and being mounted on their mightie coursers, they ran togither right egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted, yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of falling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Dauid sat without moouing, cried that the Scottishman was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt beside his horsse, and verie nimblie mounted vp againe into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great woonder of the beholders. This doone, he tooke another staffe, & so togither they ran againe right fiercelie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the grieuous fall.

The lord Welles borne out of his saddle.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, hee founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of S. George, which they did vnto our time, not without singular commendation of the said earle. After this, he remained thrée moneths in England, in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotland; highlie praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them. Not long after, one sir Robert Morlaie an Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his manhood in singular battell, with whome soeuer would come against him: he vanquished one Archembald Edmounston, and Hugh Wallase: but at length he was ouercome by one Hugh Traill at Berwike, and died shortlie after vpon displeasure thereof conceiued.

Praise of the earle of Crawford. Sir Robert Morlaie.

In the same yéere, Richard king of England, married Isabell daughter to the French king, and soone after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the crowne, so that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and shortlie after constreined to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth of prison disguised in womans appareil, and came into Galloway; where he fell in seruice with a Scottish man named Makdonald. But at the last, being bewraied and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by him interteined: neuerthelesse, knowing himselfe deposed from his roiall estate, he gauè himselfe wholie to contemplation, till finallie he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the same towne, as the same Scottish chronicles vntrollie doo report. But to the matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard was deposed, was crowned king of England at Westminster, the thirteenth day of October, in the yéere 1399.

K. Richard of England goeth into Ireland. K. Richard is deposed.

He is adiudged to perpetuall prison. He escapeth forth of prison. K. Richard dieth at Sterling and lieth buried there. Henrie the fourth king of England is crowned. 1399. *I. Ma.*

1400

In the yéere next insuing, that is to say, 1400, king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marié (as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie, & with all speed went about to consummate the mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the couenants concluded, concerning the mariage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was alreadie doone to the breach thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth yer it were long. Shortlie after he fled into England, leauing his castell of Dunbar well stuffed of all things necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Maitland. But when Archembald Dowglasse came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the castell rendered into his hands,

The occasion of the falling out betwixt king Robert and the earle of March.

The earle of March flieth into England.

The castell of
Dunbar seized
to the kings vse.

this Robert Maitland obeied the kings commandement, and deliuered the house to the said Dowglasse.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
writeth vnto
the earle of
March.

Sent letters
also vnto the
king of Eng-
land.

George earle of March informed héereof, procured all his friends to conueie themselves into England, and determined with himselfe to doo all the displeasure and mischiefe he might inuent against his owne native cuntry. King Robert sore dreading, least by this earles procurement some trouble might hap to follow amongst his subiects [did (first confiscating his goods) send] an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure of the same, not ouelie to pardon him of all offenses committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies foorth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the earle of March refused this offer, the same herald according to instructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie king of England with other letters, earnestlie desiring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdomes.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of March
enter into
Scotland.
Fr. Thin.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their subiects, without anie further tracting of time. For shortlie after, Henrie Persie, surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got together a great bootie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine besiege the castell of Hais or Halis, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for (to haue returne of the booties taken) Archembald earle of Dowglasse] hauing assembled a power of men, came with the same towards the enimies, immediatlie wherevpon they fled to Berwike, and left all their bootie behind them, which being recouered by the said earle of Dowglasse and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edenburgh, where he shortlie after being taken with an hot feuer departed out of this life, leaning behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high prowesse and noble valiancie shewed in manie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie atchiued for the wealth of his cuntry. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, the grim Dowglasse.

The deceasse
of Archembald
earle of Dow-
glasse.

Henrie king of
England in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was called likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dowglasse; for his eldest sonne William Dowglasse died in the yéere before his father. Shortlie after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without dooing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie castels or strengths, but onelie to put foorth a banner of his armes as he passed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nunrie there, & shewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of thing to be doone preiudiciall to the same. The like gentlesse he vsed towards them of the Holie rood house, at his comming to Edenburgh, wherein he likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Iacke Straw and his complices, he shewed such fauour towards them at this present. To be briefe, it should appéere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were inforced, more thorough counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in returning backe againe, without dooing them anie further iniurie.

Fr. Thin.
The death of
quéene Anna-
bell.

The insolent
outrage of the
duke of Roth-
saie.

[In the yéere after, or thereabout, died Walter Traille bishop of saint Andrewes, and the] Scottish quéene Annabell Drommond, after whose deceasse hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaiie, that vnder hir government had bene well and vertuouslie brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of insolent outrage, séeking to defile wines, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his sonnes youthfull nature to rage after that man-

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Adham Gordon.
Men of name
slaine.
Prisoners
taken.

Buch. 1401.
1402. *H.B.*

The castell of
Cockclauis be-
sieged.
A composition.
Fr. Thin.

A conspiracie
against king
Henrie by the
Persies and
other.

Shrewesburie
field.
The earle of
Dowglasse at
Shrewesburie
field in aid of
the Persies.

He led the
fore ward
there.
He is taken
prisoner.

The earle of
Dowglas infor-
tunat in battell.
His surname
Tinneman.

The earle of
Northumber-
land fled into
Scotland.

Adham Gordon: also Iohn Leuinston of Kalender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Galloway, the lord Saulton, Iames Dowglas maister of Dalkeith, and his two brethren Iohn and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Rood day in barnest, in the yéere 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Persie verle proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclauis in Teuidale, and laied siege to the same, but Iohn Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of thrée moneths [or (as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies] the castell should be then rendered into their hands. When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclauis had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauing of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to ieopard the liues of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the saning of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselve to doo what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there néeded no power to be leauied for the defense of Cockclauis. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied together to haue destroyed him, but amongst the residue, the Persies were as chiefe.

They fought together at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Persie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scottishmen on the Persies side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwike rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the fore ward on the Persies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, thrée gentlemen arraied in the kings cote armour; and finallie when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Massie, and Pottoke, with senen hundred other souldiers and men of war (as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtéene hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doo record) vsed the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Dowglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had séene him doo so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him woorthie of all honor. The earle of Dowglas yet was verie infortunat in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Homildon he lost one of his eies, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow

bishop

bishop of saint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his ease and in good suertie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaië was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so gréeuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being now sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so excused the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had béene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised (if it might please the king to come vnto Edenburgh) he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murther. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the most part he euer soiourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sicknesse, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edenburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughtie persons, & such in déed, as for their heinous acts and vngratious conditions deserued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuerthelesse by vntrue suggestions and forged accusations, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as giltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could be deuised; yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death: but for somuch as the duke had all the realme vnder his obeisance, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compasse also to haue the life of his second sonne (named Iames) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Wardlaw the bishop of saint Andrews, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince foorth in the same to passe into France to K. Charls the sixt, deliuering him also a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vnwares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclare, the second earle of Orkeneie, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, tooke the ship that was appointed for them at the Basse, where he laie at anchor, and loosing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not awaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But how soeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightéene yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scotish toong they be written.

THE TENOR OF THE SAID LETTER AS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE SCOTISH TOONG.

“ROBERT king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitee, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit sike things had bene vncerteine to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemie with most awfull incursions in our realme: yet we found mair humanities and plasures than damage (by thy cumming) to our subdittes. Speciallie to Iame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis fairfore, while wee are on life, but aye luyf and loif thee as maist noble and woorthie prince, to ioys thy realme.

The death of the duke of Rothsaië commeth to the knowledge of his father. The duke of Albanie excuseth himselfe.

The king commeth to Edenburgh.

Giltierse persons condemned.

The suspicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king sendeth away his sonne the prince.

Iames prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H.B. 1404.

realme. For þocht realmes and nations contend amang themselfe for conquests of glorie & launds, ʒit na occasioun is amang vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to contend amang our selfe, qubay sall persew othir with maist humanitee and kindnesse. As to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occurres at thy pleasure. Forther by-cause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preseruing our children fra certeine deidlie enimies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constreined to seeke support at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasioun of enimies is sa great, that small defense occurres against þame without they by perserued by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruersit malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samine may be wroucht be motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hynesse full of monie noble vertues, with sike puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto : we desire thy humanitee and support at this time.

“ We traist it is not vnknownen to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne Daudid is slaine miserablie in prisoun be our brothir the duke of Albanie, quhome wee chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, beseekaund thy hienes thairfore to be sa fauorable, that this bearer Iames our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to liefe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knawaund the vnstable conditioun of mans life sa sodanlie altered: now flurisaund, and sudenlie falling to vtter consumptioun. Forthir beliefe well, quban kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people, ar euir flowaund and mair inconstant than wind. ʒit quen princes ar roborat be amitee of othir vncowth kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to eiect thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Forthir gif thy bienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbid) to obtemper to thir ovr desires; ʒit we request ane thing quhilk was ratifijt in our last trewes & conditioun of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of England and Scotland sall staund in manner of saufe conduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gracious God conserue thee maist noble prince.”

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to staie this Iames prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreover, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, aswell the vnderstanding of toongs as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be vsed of such a personage, wherevnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of actiuitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be briefe, it appeered in all his behaiour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had béene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in mariage with a woman of so meane degré (to the disparagement of his bloud) as was quéene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he tooke it) was the onelie cause why aswell forraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in contempt. He tooke this matter so sore to hart, that within thrée daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, now increased by melancholic, which had vexed him a long time before: He died at Rothsaiie in the sixtéenth yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Pasleie,

Iames the prince of Scotland staid as prisoner in England. His bringing vp. An happie captiuitie. His instructors in the toongs. His training in warlike exercises. His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father K. Robert.

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, *Buch.*

1408.

His buriall.

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Donald subdued Rosse.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
cap. 258.

The earldome of Rosse transferred from the line of Walter Rosse to the Stewards.

The earle of Mar.
The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull victorie.
The number slaine.

1411.

Donald of the Iles fleeth.

1412.

Donald of the Iles submitte himselfe.

Fast castell woone.

1410. *Buc.*

The bridge of Roxburgh broken downe.

1411.

The first beginning of the vniuersitie of S. Andrews.
Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law.
Fr. Thin.

by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to doo him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were froward spéech, wherewith he tooke such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Iles he came into Rosse, and subdued the same at his pleasure. * The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honor of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this maner. Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular prowesse shewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honor into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Rosse, (slaine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obtained the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Rosse; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Iles. This Alexander ioined himselfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and beire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Rosse vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortlie after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the erldome of Rosse by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Rosse, and brought it to his subiection.) But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murrey, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purposing to burne Aberden.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not staieng for more aid that was comming towards him, set on the enimies more rashlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discrétie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed arraie of battell, as had béene requisit. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flée to the next mounteins, as glad to be seuered the one from the other. There was slaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Makclane, and Makinthos. On the earle of Marres side, there died Alexander Ogiluie shiriffe of Angus, with senen knights of name, and diners other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This battell was stricken on saint Iames cuen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enimies, in fléeing all the night long after the battell towards Rosse, and from thence with like spéed he passed ouer into the Iles.

In the yéere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iournie into the Iles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one morning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast castell, and wan the same, taking the capteine prisoner, whose name was Thomas Holdon. At the same time was the bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglasse of Drumlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yéere (or rather in the yéere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by Iames the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill customes. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

* From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing doone woorthie of memorie, betwéene the Scots and the English, either bicause the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fift reigning in his place,

and being all the time of his gouvernement busied in the warres of France, the English ceased to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durst not mooue anie thing against the English, fearing least the K. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the misfortune of his imprisonment, and seeke to establish him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing doone in that meane time, they were but some few and small excursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Penure in England was burned by Archembald Dowglas, so (to answer the same) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by the English. Besides which there was a certeine exchange of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Mordac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Persie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captine) yet the vnjust deteining of James the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie doone in deteining him. The dooing whereof so litle offended this Persie, that while he lined, he did (with all kind of courtesie) giue witnes of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Constance (wherof the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did stiflie reteine and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuasion of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succéded to none effect: bicause the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the councell of Constance for the election of Martine the fift to the papasie.

Much what about the same time, Iohn Drummond slue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and therevpon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessell wherein he sailed, was driuen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortlie after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the fift king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceased. ¶ We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the fift, at his returning foorth of France, after his first iournie thither (hauing in the same woone the towne of Harfléet, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and incountring with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilist things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Warke, and slue all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riner of Twéed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie recouered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise slue all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yéere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had béene gouernor of Scotland for the space of fiftéene yéeres, after the death of king Robert the third,

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

Warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the fift discomfited by the Welshmen. He subdueth them.

The castell of Warke woone.

It is againe recouered.

1419.

The deceasse
of Robert duke
of Albanie.
Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
from the
French king.

An armie of
Scots sent into
France.
The king of
England me-
naceth the
Scots.

The king of
England
marieth the
daughter of y^e
French king.
The articles of
agrément.

The Dolphyn
of France main-
taineth warre
against the
Englishmen.
Scotish soldiers
arriued in
France.

Chatelon in
Touraine de-
liuered to the
Scotishmen.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 10.
1420. Buc.
1421. N.G.

The battell of
Bauge.

Nic. Cil.

parted out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This dooth Buchanan attribute to the yéere 1420, being the fiftéenth yeere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Vandosme, and chancellor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then sore inuaded his realme. Wherevpon shortlie after by decree of councell, it was ordeined, that Iohn Steward earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Dowglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seuen thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to kéepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumor being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme, caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgonie, vnder certeine conditions and couenants of agrément, king Henrie tooke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agrément, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediatlie descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphyn, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphyn did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seuen thousand well armed men, arriued in France, to the great reioising of the Dolphyn, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finallie, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

* Shortlie after they were imployed in the battell of Bauge. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anion (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Bauge, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that bolie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdom would they shuld haue doone. The which when Clarence vnderstood (either by Andrew Fregose an Italian, or by the Scotish forragers intercepted by his horssemen) he reioised that he had so good occasion offered woorthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising foorthwith from dinner, he commanded his horssemen to arme themselues, with whome he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diadems of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were néere vnto them in a village called little Bauge (amongst whom was Iohn de la Croix) being feared, made their defense in flight; and for safeguard entered the stéeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilest these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (wherein the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flée to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilest the others prepared themselues)

sent

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was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scotchmen that were in service with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the said Iames, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his ransome, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: Iames answered héerevnto, that he maruelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, “but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter doo as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to doo that which I may in no wise performe.”

The answer of Iames the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie tooke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England.

1422.

The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburgh and Berwike besieged.

The dirtin raid.

Mordo Steward earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland.

The repugnant vices reigning in Mordo Steward.

His negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The words of duke Mordo to his son.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdom which appeared to be planted in the head of that yoong prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were beséged, woone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselues to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer néeded to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practise against their enimies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a gréeuous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministred vnto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the sixt of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, whervpon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortlie after was an armie leuied, and siege laied both to Rocksburgh, and to Berwike, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in derision was called The dirtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtin raid.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall vnderstand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his sonne Mordo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yéeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre vnmet thereto, differing much from the wisdom and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so lift vp in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape vnpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

Thus was he still in extremities, kéeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his dooings. Héere to was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, Iames, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, plaid manie outragions parts, to the sore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking hir beside his fist, wroong hir necke from hir bodie euen presentlie before his face. Wherevpon the father somewhat kindled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home yer it be long, that shall chastise both you and me after

after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redéeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in déed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hap of all the Scotish nation. * For calling together a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agréed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Wherevpon they dispatched into England (to execute their denise) Henrie Lichten bishop of Aberden, Archembald Dowglasse (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglasse, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Coruall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Iarraine a Drum, knight.)

Duke Mordo trauelleth for the redéeming of James the first.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 272.

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being sore vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scotishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found means to persuade Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of five thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, tooke the seas, and arriued with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. * With this companie also was sent ambassador, Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdom, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancellorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to asserleine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Wherevpon the earle of Dowglasse was by the king for his further aduancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was soone diminished (as saith Lesleus) by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Vernoile. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Steward, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appéere.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglasse made duke of Touraine.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 270.
1424. N. Gi.

And héere a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan girdeth at the English (as he dooth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter tawnts) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appéereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort. to speake of him (being dead) than he dooth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he doo most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appéereth) before he tooke the later penne in hand (after the ouerseeing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liers, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, euill toonged; and that he can rather prooue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it séemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disprooue men, but with such bitter tawnts, when they but

A digression against Buchanan.

onelie

conelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to doo? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inueie against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disproouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantly (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and déeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Rosse (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed ouer a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius dooth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, & of whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotiæ quædam parùm verè prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the toong and hand doo speake and write, I can not see but that by his distemperat spéeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chieftest part of his booke séemeth to be a stomaching inuectiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, or else he will exclame against them (as he dooth in this place of the battell of Vernoile) that they maliciouslie obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to tawnt and disgrace vs by his cholericke pen, he will séeke a knot in a rush, and make a mounteine of a molehill, in so vehement inuaineng against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awrie out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs? Yes trulie, and that I suppose will be well prooued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And heere remember I praie thée gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not séeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so soone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost thrée leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Vernoile) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter woords to tawnt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his woorke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince whilest he lined) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no senere censurer of other mens writings at this time (wherevnto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other woorks (wherevnto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

Enuie and
discord.

The Scotish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciállie through ennie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alanson enuieng that the Scots should dailie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter destruction. Againe, enen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scotish legher, the one disdainig to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their lines, and much blondshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there

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committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the sixt kalends of Iune following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appeare, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings coronation.]

JAMES.

He is crowned
at Scone to-
gether with his
wife.
1423, *Buch.*
1424, *Lest.*

Andrew Graie.

The surname
of the Graies
in Scotland.
King Iames
kéepeth an
audit.

A parlement
at Edenburgh.
A tax leuied.

The commons
grudge at
paiments.
Bils of com-
plaint exhibit-
ed against the
sonnes of duke
Mordo.

Walter Ste-
ward put in
prison.

The oth of K.
Iames.

A parlement
holden at
Perth.
Duke Mordo
with his sonne
Alexander, and

AND after that, as soone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortlie after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quéene, by duke Mordo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrewes, the one and twentieth day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came foorth of England with this Iames the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and linings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in mariage the daughter and beire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Gowrie and Angus.

King Iames after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Mordo, namelie the chancellor, the treasurer, the clearks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to doo concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceiued by their accounts made; that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fautors, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance; but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all euidences, rols, and charters pertaining to the crowne; and shortlie therevpon called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which, by aduise of the threé estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paiied of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, oxe, and horse, to be paiied for the space of two yeares together. This paiment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the paiment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & tooke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he marled his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bils put vp in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people; for sundrie oppressions vsed and doone by the sons of duke Mordo, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Wherevpon Walter Steward, one of the sons of the said duke Mordo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Basse, there to remaine in safe kéeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiuen of all offenses for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also, K. Iames tooke a soleme oth, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oth by his example did all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Mordo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dowglasse, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great

barons

barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castels and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Mordo was sent to Carlaurocke, and his duchesse was put in Temp-talloun.

diuerse other
péeres of the
realme ar-
rested.

1425.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Steward the third sonne of duke Mordo mooned with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbreton, and burnt it, after he had slaine Iohn Steward of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercelie, that he was faine to flée into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased.

The towne of
Dunbreton
burnt.

And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honors.] In the next yeare insuing, K. James called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead foorth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 19.

A parlement
holden at
Sterling.

1426.

On the morrow after, duke Mordo himselfe, and Duncan Steward earle of Lennox were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his coosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it iustlie happened) by distemperance of grieve discover the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath doone but right and iustice vnto them.) Thus by the attaindor of duke Mordo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Menteith, and Lennox came into the kings hánds. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had béene executed on duke Mordo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanor & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

Walter and
Alexander the
sonnes of duke
Mordo be-
headed.
Duke Mordo
and Duncan
Steward earle
of Lennox be-
headed.
Fr. Thin.

* The parlement being ended, Iohn Mountgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Louchleuine, which was kept against him by the run agat James Steward, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, Iohn Steward of Dernleie (who was maister of the Scottish garrison of horssemen in France, the rest of the formér capteins being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charls, to renew the old league betwéene the two nations, and to concludé matrimonie betwéene Lewes the sonne of the said Charles the seuenth, and Margaret the daughter of K. James, both being yet verie yoong: Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the (1426) he determined (hauing pacified all Scotland betwéene the moun-teins of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inuerness (set in a conuenient place in the furthest borders of Murrey) to be repaired. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement vpon misdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to suppress their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, weretwoont to fetch preies from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers; of which capteins, some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obeie their commandement: with which they ceased not to kéepe the good in danger vnto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 10.

1426.

1428.

had gotten in, and drawn to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders to seuerall prisons: whose euill being throughlie knowen, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them called Alexander Macror and Iohn Macarcture; at what time also he beheded James Campbell (for the murther of Iohn of the Iles) a man déerelie beloued of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted freelie to depart to their owne. The capteins of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison) the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Wherevpon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer, or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to doo, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselues.)

1427.

Alexander lord of the Iles arrested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebelleth.

The towne of Inuernes burnt.

Alexander of the Iles cometh to the king and asketh pardon.

In the yeere next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Iles was arrested by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accused to be a succorer & mainteinér of théêues & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time comming to reforme his former misdemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof insued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortlie vpon his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethrifts, and with the same comming into Inuernes, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, inforcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, wherevpon he fled incontinentlie to the Iles. Finallie hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay daille in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore araie to the Holie rood house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death vnto life.

Donald Balloch inuadeth Lochquhaber.

The earle of Cathnes slaine. Donald Balloch returneth with victorie & spolie into the Iles.

The clans of the Iles submit theselues to the king.

At request of the quéene, the king pardoned him of life; but he appointed William Dowglasse earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that within the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Rosse, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; bicause it was knowne that she sollicated hir sonne to rebell (in maner as is aforesaid) against the king. Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the inuasion of those Ilaudmen, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochtié, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Herewith did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Iles. The king sore mooned with the newes hereof; came with a great armie vnto Dunstafage, purposing with all speed to passe into the Iles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Iles aduertised hereof, came to Dunstafage, and submitted themselues vnto the king, excusing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constreined them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iournie. All those clans vpon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and sworné to pursue the said Donald vnto death.

Donald flieth into Ireland. His head is sent as a present to the king. Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged. Pardons granted by the gouernor are void.

Shortlie herevpon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by oné Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also thrée hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within thrée wéekes space, after his first flieng into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and misuled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indéed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor weaith of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reities, and oppressions,

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vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not gine anie perfect iudgement.)

An ordinance
of measures.

Castels re-
pared and mu-
nited.

Priuileges
granted to the
vniuersitie of
S. Andrews.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 274.

Organs
brought into
Scotland.

A parlement
at Perth.

Bishop Ward-
law inuiceth
against super-
fluous fare.

Vices following
delicate fare.

Order taken
for suppressing
of costlie fare.
Vse of baked
meates in
Scotland
when it began.
The gréedie
appetite of
gluttons neuer
satisfied.

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good townes, to see that inst measures weré vsed by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreouer, he repared and fortified the castels and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted also sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high aduancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall liuings, still as the same chanced to be vacant. [Hauing for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should inioy the roome of a canon in anie cathedrall church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all manner of vertue and good learning increased dailie through the realme during his time, and name-ly musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be vsed in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scottishmen.

Much what about the same time, there was a parlement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect: that "Where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing séemed to be ouerpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his comming, should be of small auaile, and that was, such superfluous riot in banketting chéere, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken vp and vsed after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance vsed amongst the Scottishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then vsed, by receiuing more excesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such dcintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sawces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him foorth of England, they were woorthie in déed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scottishmen themselues were chieffie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yéelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excesse, sensuall lust, slouth, reiffe, and wasting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer foorth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnessee, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should doo the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lessé profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subiects."

By these and manie other the like persuasions, bishop Wardlaw vsed to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Inso-much that enen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be vsed through the realme, licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuerthesse, such intemperance is risen in processe of time following, that the gréedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent féeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gormandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, through which their noise some surfetting, they fall dailie into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes

oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by dailie experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yéere the seuenteenth day of Iune, was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at three of the clocke at after noone, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had béene night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammas, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Roxburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftéene dales together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wasted his powder and other munition, before hée could doo anie great hurt to his enimies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king Iames perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further aduancement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to auoid slouth and idlenesse (the root of all mischief) he brought a great number of cunning craftesmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crow a Bohemian borne, was burnt at saint Andréws, for preaching and setting foorth the doctrine of Iohn Hus, & Iohn Wikcliffe. Iohn Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrosse. [After which, the said king Iames began to take vpon him the person of a priuate man; sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the same time was the abbeie of Charturar moonks founded besides Perth, by king Iames, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scroope and other associats with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the sixt, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolued, promising that if the councell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in leage with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twéed and the Recrosse (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottishmens hands. King Iames haning small credit in such faire promises, perceiued the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the councell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolued, and so therevpon the English ambassadors were dispatched without more talke concerning that matter.

In the same yéere, that is to say, 1433, the king caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancellor William Creichton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the kéepers of the said castell, that they shuld deliuer vp the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The kéepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earledome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yéeres together, to the great defense and safegard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and foreine enimies.

A terrible
eclipse.

Roxburgh be-
sieged.

An huge armie.

Men of occu-
pation brought
into Scotlād to
instruct the
Scottishmen
therein.
Idlenesse the
root of all mis-
chiefe.

Paule Crow
burnt.
Iohn Fogo.
Fr. Thin.
Lestus lib. 7.
pag. 275.

The abbeie of
Charturar
moonks built
besides Perth-
by K. Iames.
The lord
Scroope am-
bassador into
Scotland.
The offer of
the English-
men to haue
the Scots to
ioine with
them in leage.

1433.

George erle of
March arested
and put in
ward.

A parlement
at Perth.
The earle of
March dis-
herited.

The earldome
of Buchquhan
giuen to
George Dun-
lar.

1435.

The death of
Alexander
Steward erle
of Mar.
Leodium

Warres be-
twixt the earle
of Mar & the
Hollanders.

Truce twixt
the Scots &
Hollanders for
tearme of 100
yéeres.

Good mares
brought out
of Hungarie
into Scotland
for brood.

Ambassadors
out of Den-
marke.
Their request.

Sir William
Creichton sent
into Denmarke.
Peace and
amitie betwixt
Scotland and
Denmarke.
Ambassadors
foorth of
France.
The old league
renewed be-
twixt France
and Scotland.
The Dolphin
marieth Mar-
garet daughter
to king James.

Englishmen lie
in wait for the
Scotish fléet.

The English-
men encounter
a fléet of Spa-
niards.

The king yet moued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same too little, assigned foorth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yéerlie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yéere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of Mar departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgognie at the siege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himselfe so manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in mariage the ladie Iacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hée provided him of ships, and made sore warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the woorse; but at length he tooke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being sore abashed, fell to a composition with him, and tooke truce with the Scots for an hundred yéeres. This earle of Mar so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hée brought foorth of Hungarie sundrie great horssees and mares for generation, that by such meanes the countrie might be provided of great horssees of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more méet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiment of such yéerlie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norwaie for the westernne Iles, according to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, vnto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaie. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorablie receiued, and in like sort interteined by king James, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassador frō him, to the king there, who vsed himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, stedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more adoo therof, insued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seuenth, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Manie great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France, and great prouision of ships made for that voiage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fléet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might méet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scotish ships should passe, there appéered on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they

were

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kings chamber,
and slea the
king.

The quene is
hurt.

Patrike Dun-
bar wounded
and left for
dead in the
kings defense.
James the first
murthered.

1437. *Buch.*

1447. *I. Ma.*

1336. *Lesle.*

His stature and
forme of bodie.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
cap. 271.

such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrike Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, dooing most manfullie his vitermost deuoire to haue preserued him from the murtherers bands. Thus was James the first murthered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet throughlie finished.

* Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be woondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) dooth terme to be squared or of euen proportion, as the parts of a quadrangle or inst square doo answer ech other, so that nature seemeth not to haue framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times imbrace iustice more streictlie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealth. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of thre yeres) to haue executed thre thousand persons for their committed offenses. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and swet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appeere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him? Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good schoolemaisters, that it is not casie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie prooued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scottish meeter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpnesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indeuor for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handle-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein; for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end

Buchan. also
saith he wrote
Latine verses
with such good
grace, as the
rudenesse of
that age per-
mitted.

calme the rough maners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and swéete condition of life & maners. Wherefore I may well say; O most happie common-wealth which was gouerned by so woorthie a prince: & may iustlie exclame; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murther take away such an honor, beautie, and piller of the common-wealth. Now, besides manie other things by him doone, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to line at quiet within doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enimies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certeine péeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the same:

*John Maior.
lib. 6. cap. 13.*

Illustri Iacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Factus sum subitò, nuncupor ergo Leo.)

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorowfull for the death of this Iames, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Daud the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne foorth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Mordo to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length atteine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the drawer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoised on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swaie downe vpon the pauement.

The search
made for the
traitors.

The execution
of the erle of
Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceiued, he lined vnder vaine hope to atteine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compasse the means thereo. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawen with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horsse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken foorth, and throwne into the fire flickering before his eies, & then was his heart pulled foorth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophesie
of a witch.

His nephue Robert Steward was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he slue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the déed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised vp in the said cart; and then were thrée persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie stréet of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Clawne also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shamefull kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syluius (being then am-

Robert Steward
executed.
The ordering
of Robert
Grahams
execution.

Christopher
Clawne.

*Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 279.*

bassador

Strange sights.
Figs with heads
like to Dogs,
A calfe with a
head like a colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight.
A sword seene
in the aire.

bassador in Scotland for pope Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, considering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the spéedie reuenge therefore executed by the nobilitie) should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought with greater praise to commend them which reuenged the kings death, than by sharper sentence punish those that had committed such parricide.] In the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At Perth there was a sow that brought foorth a litter of pigs with heads like vuto dogs. A cow also brought foorth a calfe, haning a head like a colt. In the barnest before the kings death, a blasing star was seene with long streaming beams. And in the winter following, the frōst was so vehement, that ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then melted against the fire. A sword was seene gliding vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than woonder of the people.

IAMES THE SECOND.

1436.

Buchan. 103.

The daughter
of the duke of
Gelderland
married to
Iames the
second.

Sir Alexander
Leuington
gouernor.
Sir William
Creichton L.
chancellor.
Disobedience
in the Dow-
glasse.

IAMES the first made away through the traitorous practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is specified) his eldest sonne Iames the second of that name being as then but six yeares of age succéded to the crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mother and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being the 102 king of that realme from Ferguse the first. He was surnamed Iames with the fierie face, by reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his cheekes. This Iames at his comming to mans state prooued a stout prince, and married the daughter of the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine, as the Dowglasse, and other, but in the end he subdued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir Alexander Leuington of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and sir William Creichton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the same as he before had doone, the K. being committed to his keeping, together with the castell of Edenburgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in his countries of Dowglas & Annardale, and would neither obeie gouernor nor chancellor, wherby great trouble was raised within the realme. Within a short time also, the gouernor and chancellor were diuided. The gouernor with the queene remained at Striueling, but the chancellor had the king still with him in the castell of Edenburgh; and what the one commanded to be doone, the other forbad: wherby neither of them was obeied, nor anie execution of iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie, reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised without feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing such mischiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernors side, and herevpon with a small companie repaired to Edenburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she persuaded the chancellor to suffer hir to enter the castell, and to remaine with the king; but within thrée daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pilgrimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as if he had beene some fardell of his apparell, and so packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants laid vpon a sumpter horsse vnto Lieth, from whence he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of the gouernor he was ioifullie receiued, commending the queene highlie for hir politike working, in deceiuing so wise a man as the chancellor was. Then raised he a great power of his friends and well-willers, and besieged the chancellor in the castell of Edenburgh.

1437.

A policie
wrought by
the queene.

The king
conueied vnto
Striueling.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene and gouernor. But the earle refusing either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both quer ambitious
in

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number therefore, which should attend vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to vse anie other matter as néed should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance (either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancellor) did fullie approoue, and went with his small vnarmed companie and the chancellor toward Edenburgh.)

The king went with the chancellor to Edenburgh.

The chancellor (as Hector Boetius saith) had caused the number of foure thousand horssemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretlie to be readie that morning about the town of Striueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue vsed anie force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safelie and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised hereof, was grievously displeas'd; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got Iohn Iunes bishop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancellor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the kéeping of the chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

The gouernor and chancellor are made friends.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 294. Buchan. lib. 11.

* During which turmoiles, William Dowglasse (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himselve, disobeyng the rule of the gouernor, & disdainng to ioine in societie of the chancellor) did vew the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they séeke by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the dooing whereof (to the end it might be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselve, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle harts, to rue the afflicted) there arose great enuie against the capteins and leaders of the wicked doers of such spoile, whose euils were now growne to such excesse, as by no means they might be suffered; whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yéeld themselues to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weake could not well find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wiser sort (since their force séemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be seuered) to flie to policie and leaue strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dowglasse by that name of capteine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and fautor of those people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancellor (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Dowglasse) persuaded the whole parlement, that it were more conuenient with faire spéeches to pacifie Dowglasse, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might hinder all the decrees of the parlement: but if hée ioined with the nobilitie, there might be casie remedie found to salue all these present euils. Through which wise and subtill persuasion of Alexander the gouernour, it was décréd amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his woorthie ancestors, by whome the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie singular benefits) hée should repaire to the parlement, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either kéepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if hée would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hée should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had committed anie disordered part, the nobilitie there

there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the woorthie memorie of the déeds doone by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vuto him, of whome there was conceiued a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the aduancement of his name and benefit of his countrie. Therefore if he would come and ioine with them, he should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleaseth him, to the end that as in times past, their countrie had béene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Dowglasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe aduanced and strengthened from and against those intestine euils wherewithall it now fainted. The yoong man (by nature and age gréedie of glorie) being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now déemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that resolution tooke their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancellor when he vnderstood they were on there way, rode foorth of Edenburgh manie miles to méet the Dowglasse, and courteouslie inuited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his waie as he should ride, at which place he was most honourable interteined by the chancellor. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancellor (after hée had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parlement had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obteneid by the bloud of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their déeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would refraine himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remooue from him all such as were giuen to roberie and spoile; that he would hencefoorth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yoong yéeres might be taken for prooffe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like spéeches, declaring the faith of a wel-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edenburgh with Daud his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancellor, more than in times past or then beséemed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernor (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a déepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edenburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him.. Wherevpon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancellor: and at the least (if he would aduenture himself) to send home his brother Daud, to the end that hée might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnduised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation, therefore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongst the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who (bicause they would not

be.

be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humor : whose speaches hée regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approoued wisdom of the chancellor and the gouernor, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horsse, and hastened his iourneie more than he did before, with his brother and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certeine destinie) casting himselfe hedlong into the snares of his enimies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernor (according to his promise) was readie there to méet him, to the end the matter might séeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorablie and friendlie by the gouernor receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sower sawce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yoong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table : but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Daud, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now cntring into his adolescencie or yéers (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancellor (griewing to sée) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hée) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet : for his vncler James Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succéded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and lined but thrée yeeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle James before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided : bicause the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the beires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale ; and Ormont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle James, began to wax vnruilie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasse latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeie the gouernor and chancellor, whervpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

Fr. Thin.

* Againe (hy the mariage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnruilie behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice : but he incountring sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest : which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priuie of their misdemeanor. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one Iohn Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robbrie) did set vpon William Ruwene (shiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a théefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than théeues) the shiriffe recouered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

*Buchanan.
lib. 11.*

1443.

In the yéere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbreton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twice taken within a few daies : for Robert Semplier that was capteine of the inferior castell, and Patrike Galbrith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these

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mand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: wherevpon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntleie escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogilvie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortlie after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Ianuarie, in the yéere of our Lord 1445.

Fr. Thin.
 1445 *Io. Ma.*
 1446. *Lesl.*
Buchanan.
lit. 11.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 279.

* The king thus ruled by the troope of the Dowglasses, the earle Dowglasse sent to sir William Creichton knight, to deliuer vp the castell of Edenburgh. But Creichton (saieng that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to doo therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods fourth. with confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should séeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creichton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and enuie) which Creichton had before caused to be established and proclamed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoeuer did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Wherevpon the Dowglasse (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creichton was reinuested with the honor of the chancellorship, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblowen) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the commonwealth.

Buchan. lib. 11.

James Steward a woorthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Kirkepatrike, two miles from Dunbreton, by Alexander Lilie, and Robert Boid, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his bloud, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) within their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distresse she now rested, and that there was no meanes to relieue hirselle by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horsse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by bote to Robert Boid at Dunbreton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

Buchan. lib. 11.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boid was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardrosse, into the Dunbreton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceit of hir enimies, who (being so deceiued and ouercome with feare & grieffe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (together with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Halis) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Iane Seimer the quéene with him, to whome she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archembald Dunbar (supposing this to be a inst cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Halis the castell of Hepburne, which he tooke at the first assault, by sleaing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglasse, with conuenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

James Steward is banished the realme.
He died.
The quéene died.

Sir James Steward surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quéene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglasse. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortlie after departed this life. The quéene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse

house of Perth the fiftéenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Hir name was Iane Summerset, daughter to the earle of Summerset. James the first married hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Eleānor, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Terueer in Zeland: the fourth, to the duke of Austrich: the fift, to the earle of Huntleie: and the sixt, to the earle of Morton. And by James Steward hir second husband, she had thrée sonnes: Iohn earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Murrey.

1446.

* After the death of the quéene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. ¶ In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Toadune Iohn Leonton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had béene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kindred. Soone after, sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glasgow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in mariage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noblie accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituali and temporall. At hir arriuall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the mariage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, ioifull mirth, and all pleasant interteinment of those strangers that might be.

*Fr. Thin.*1448. *Lesle.*

King James married a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which sir Alexander Leuingston of Kalendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglasse were forfeited and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbreton, and James Leuingston his eldest sonne, Robert Leuingston treasurer, and Dauid Leuingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof; sith enuie euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creichton was also forfeited for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them so to doo. This forfeiture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancellor) caused to be made, and so being the first inmentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

1447.

1448. *Lesle.*

James Leuingston made an oration.

W. Creichton condemned.

The yéere next insuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwike in England: but shortlie after a truce was concluded for senen yéeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars ceasse on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. * This yeere there were manie méetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselues to spoiling of other men; wherevpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieffie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglasse, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntleie, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdom and valure.)

Incursions made.

1448.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

1446.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots inuading England, wasted the countrie, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Héerewith followed dailie rodes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland.

1450.

The Scots inuade England.

chieffie

chiefie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might séeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands councell, an armie was appointed foorthwith to inuade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had beene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scorne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

A knight nam-
ed Magnus.

The earle of
Ormont ge-
nerall of the
Scotish armie.

The English
armie inuadeth
Scotland.

Sir Iohn
Penneinton.

Wallase of
Craggie.

The earle of
Ormont ex-
horteth his
armie.

The battell is
begun.

Magnus is
slaine.

The English
men put to
flight.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglasse earle of Ormont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enimies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riner of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuier called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on ech side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone foorth, were with all spéed called backe to the campe by sound of trumpet, and foorthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir Iohn Penneinton a verie skilfull Warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell or middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselte ruled.

The earle of Ormont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Maxwell, and lord Iohnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scotishmen, and commanding himselte in the battell or middle ward, had scarce set his people in araiie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to doo valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offered them, wherevpon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath inst cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to vanquish their enimies that came thus to brag and threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to sée which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with lowd voice reprooued their cowardise, and with most pithie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerwith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egernesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they draue the Englishmen to breake araiie and to flee: Magnus heerewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appéere, preassed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and séeking to approach vnto him that he might haue wroken his griefe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scotish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part; put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scotishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase veric fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riner, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them

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He enuieth those that bare rule about the king. He seeketh to destroye the L. chancellor.

The Dowglasse constrained to flee out of Edenburgh. He maketh a part.

The earle of Dowglasse presumeth of assistance at the hands of his friends. The Lord Herres his lands spoiled.

The Lord Herres hanged.

The confederacie mistrusted.

The king sendeth for the earle of Dowglasse.

1451.

Earles of the surname of the Dowglasses. The linage and great aliance of the Dowglasses.

don, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Chreichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Orknie seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming foorth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Chreichton, although wounded in déed right sore, and within few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & alies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglasse at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedilie, who being thus to his great gréefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him in that quarell against Chreichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Chreichton, and all other their aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of théeues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord Iohn Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great bootie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglasse of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his roome, and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had béene offered him by those limmers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortlie after by commandement of the earle of Dowglasse he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right déerelie, being spoiled of that he had, and otherwise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meaner sort once complaine for feare of further mischiefe: where the higher powers also sore lamented the great disorders dailie increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, insomuch as it was greatlie doubted, least the earles of Dowglasse, Crawford, Rosse, Murrey, and other of that faction ment to put the king beside his seat. Which dout being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, wherevpon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglasse, willing him to repaire to his presence, sojourning then in Striueling castell, which he refused to doo, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court of Striueling, where the king tooke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglasse purposed to make a prooffe on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In déed by reason of his kinsmen and alies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, vnlesse he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archembald earle of Murrey, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Ormont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Mortoune, that were of his surname and blond, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and linings, all of the same surname, and lincked in friendship and aliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had béene so manie valiant men and woorthie capteins of the Dowglasses one after another, as it had béene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland

bare

bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whome. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasses might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglasses had euer the gouernement of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglasse: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king tooke such indignation, that the earle herevpon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shroue éeuen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which trauelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasses. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglasses friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subiects, setting foorth proclamations against the king and his councell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas:

* And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a woodden trunchion to an horssse taile, they fasten therto the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbear not to traile vp and downe the stréets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and beaue words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of fiew hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclaime the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, periured, and such persons as were to be denounced enimies of all goodnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order doo spoile the countries & possessions of all such as tooke part with the king, and stedfastlie remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselues (as coniured and periured enimies of all vertue) not to depart from thence, before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grieuouslie offended with Iohn the lord of that place, bicause that he with the earle of Angus had seuered themselues from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasses, whose furie (growing still to extremitie) found such support (by the inclining multitudes) that the king was put to his shifts) that he was determind to haue left the realme, and to haue fled by sea into France, had not James Kenedie the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntleie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasses had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, hauing assembled a great power, incountered him at Breithune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleies passage, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongst other the earle of Crawfords brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that Iohn Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell axes, or (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the botest of the fight, & so left the midle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntleie had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said erle of Huntleie had the honor of the field, who neuerthelesse lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntleie the same day before the battels ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Leslies, Iouings, Ogiluies, Grants,

The loue that the people bare toward the name of the Dowglasses.

The earle of Dowglas answereth the king ouerthwartlie, and is slaine.

1442. *Buch.*

His brethren make warre against the king.

Striueling is burnt.

Fr. Thim. Buchan. li. 11.

The king would haue fled.

Cullace of Bannamwin betraieith the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntleie victor.

1452.

Lands giuen
to the earle of
Huntleie.

The earle of
Murrey.

The earle of
Crawford for-
faked.

Lords cited
to appeare.

Writings set
vp in contempt
of the king.

The earle of
Dowglas ma-
rieth his bro-
thers wife.

The earle of
Crawford sub-
mitteth him-
selfe to the
king, and is
pardoned.
He departed
this life.

1455. *Buch.*

1454.

A parlement
The Dow-
glasses forfeit-
ted, or (as I
may say) at-
teinted.

Creations of
noble men.

Dowglasdale
giuen in spoile
to the men of
warre.

The counsell
of the lord
Hammilton.

Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifulnesse of the earle made them to fight more va-
liantlie. In recompense wherof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of **Badzenot &**
Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey burnt the peill
of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntleie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In
reuenge wherof, the erle of Huntleie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands
of the earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edenburgh,
the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be
forfeited into the kings hands. Iames earle of Dowglas, Iames lord Hammilton, the earles of
Murrey, and Ormont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike
proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But
in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasses ser-
uants that were sent priuile to Edenburgh, to vnderstand what was doone there, fastened writ-
ings vpon the church doores, seeled with the Dowglasses seale in this forme. The earle
from hencefoorth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the
same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murtherer,
periured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went foorth against them: but bicause the
time of the yeere was contrarie to his purpose, he could doo no great hurt to his enimies, al-
though he burnt vp their corne and droue awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to
passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the countesse
Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings
agents in that court, the earles sute might not be obtained. Neuerthesse, he kept hir still
in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the
more part of the tearme of two yeeres next insuing, he haried and spoiled the kings posses-
sions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and posses-
sions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortlie after, as the king
passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came
and submitted himselfe vnto him, craning mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and
obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of Iames Kenedie bishop of saint Andrews, and
sir William Creichton; but the said earle lined not past six moneths after, departing this life
by force of an hot ague in the yeere 1454.

The same yeere, the king called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which Iames earle of
Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie
of a pretended & feined mariage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey, George Dowglas
earle of Ormont, and Iohn Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason.
The earledome of Murrey was giuen to sir Iames Creichton, or rather restored to him from
whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas,
who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaid Archembald, though the
right remained in the said sir Iames Creichton. But yet when the said sir Iames Creichton
could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, hee handled
the matter so, that shortlie after it returned againe to the kings hands. Moreouer at this par-
lement, George Creichton was created erle of Cathnesse, & William Haie constable of Scot-
land was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose
titles were as follow; Darlie, Halis, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of
the parlement, the king made a iournie against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small
adoo brought all the castels of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dow-
glasdale, bicause the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile there-
of vnto his souldiors, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Herevpon the Dowglasses being driuen to their shifts, the lord Iames Hammilton of Cad-
zow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be
granted: wherevpon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to
his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power,
he

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The vniuersi-
tie of Glasgow
founded.

1455.

Death of noble
men.

Fr. Thin.

1454.

Lesleus. lib. 3.
pag. 305.

James Kenedie
die archbish. of
S. Andrews,
chefe chan-
cellor to the
king.

The practise
of bishop
Kenedie.

Great power
cause of suspi-
cion.

faction : but the king getting the offender into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glasgow was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeere following, died William Haie earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland : also George Creichton earle of Catnes, and William Creichton chiefe of that familie.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diners times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scotish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrimen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his natiue land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little heed to themselues, and suffering their people to ride abrode to harie the countrie without order ; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scotishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, sleaing diners, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vain sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglasses and their complices : for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloudshed, that the right line of the Scotish kings might be preserued. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English inuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Iohnston and Cokpull, who presented him vnto the king, wherevpon the king after a sort banished him into the monasterie of Lendore, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he lined manie yeeres, and then died.]

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power ; yet he chose this way, whereby the effussion of much blond might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their harts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the K. vsing the aduise of his kinsman Iames Kenedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies foorth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglasses, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king Iames the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglasses, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop Iames Kenedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

The said Kenedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglasses, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same bloud and surname, to reuolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselues vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie ; and so infeebling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that forsomuch as the Dowglasses had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle-marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselues) if they had happilie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinred and aliance, the realme might haue fallen into great perill : for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vttermost parts therof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof insueth ; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie : and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie : for till those countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglasses were once dispatched, and things quieted, King Iames the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlment

trolment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the earle of Orkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice so dylie to be ministred on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rash bush to keepe the cow. In the yéere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the bookes of the acts of parlement is contened. He vsed the matter also in such wise with the principall capteins of the Iles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paieng such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to doo: speciallie Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Rosse, who had before ioined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Dowglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuernesse (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Iles.

Neuerthelesse, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, * whose reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceiued aduerse fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, crauing peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble spéeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vsed to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatall rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should line most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they mooued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwéene both, not vtterlie pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: “for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen foorth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beléeue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) heereafter to become a dutifull subiect and louing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (procéeding from an vnfeined toong) crane pardon from vs whome he hath greuouslie offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoiling) he had iniured: besides which also, he must with some woorthie exploit wipe awaie the memorie and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue dooth more beséme a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to prouide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked wax not so proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and loose gouernement) as the good may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associats, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered-disposition, and from hencefoorth we will so account of him, as his woorks and not his woords shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leauing it in the power of him and his, whether I, he, and they, will héereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable.” Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwéene the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. Bnt the queene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the yoong duke of Summerset, with diners other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for re-

Lawes ordeined.

A generall pardon granted.

1455.

A parlement holden. The Iles & high land quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Rosse, and lord of the Iles.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 11.

Dissention in England.

nenge of his vnclē the duke of Summerset his death; prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king Iames was readie to support the quéene of England, ioined with hir, and past forward into the south parts, constreining the duke of Yorke to flée the realme, and so king Henrie inioiced the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agree- ment with the duke of Yorke his aduersarie; which lasted not long.

The duke of Yorke remembring how readie king Iames was to prepare an armie in sup- port of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Sco- tish subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the bor- ders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king Iames raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, dooing great hurt by destroieng diners townes, castels and peiles in Northumberland, the bishoprike and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanic, but whether to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lesleus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Yorke by the counsell of the earle of Warwike, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent eftsoones to king Iames, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoprike of Duresmē, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yéere next following, at the quéene of Englands desire to support hir against the house of Yorke, king Iames with a great armie entered England, but after that the quéene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Yorke, & got the vpper hand of hir eni- mies, at the same quéenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuerthelesse shortlie after, when the earles of March and Warwike sought still to mainteine their quarrell against the quéene of England, she was constreined to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king Iames to approach eftsoones with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castels of Rocksburgh and Warke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Rocksburgh, laied his armie round ábout that castell, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Héere the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And héere by great misfortune, this woorthie prince Iames the second, was slaine by the slice of a great péece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat néere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from hencefoorth, how such great princes approach so néere within danger of such péesces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yéere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edenburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorow and dolefull mone, than as is séene in a priuat house for the deceasse of the welbeloued maister and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subiects in the campe, he behaued himselfe so gentlie to- wards all men, that they séemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and downe amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had béene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife quéene Marie thrée sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named Iames, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second, named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third

sonne.

King Iames
inuadeth Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 308.
The art of
printing first
inuented.
1458.

1459.

1460.

King Iames
the second is
slaine.

Alias 17.
23. Buchan.
1460.

The buriall of
Iames the
second.
The lamenta-
tion of the
people.
The amiable
conditions of
Iames the se-
cond.
The issue of
Iames the
second.
Iames the
third king of
Scotland.

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The stout stomach of the quene.

Roxburgh castell taken and broken downe.

1461. *I. M.*

1460. *Lesle.*

Warke besieged and woon. Seven gouernors chosen.

ueied by the quene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of hir countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with hir sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecouerable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploie their whole indeuors and forces to the winning of that castell. Whose words so encouraged the capteins and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castell was woone, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the yoong king was crowned at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great reioising of all the noble men, and other being there present in the armie.

This doone, they besieged the castell of Warke, which likewise they tooke, and threw downe, and afterwards the king with the nobles of his realme came to Edenburgh, to take order for the quiet gouernement of the realme. And because the king was yoong, there were chosen senen regents to gouerne both king & realme, as these, the quene his mother, Iames Kenedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was sisters sonne to Iames the first, the bishop of Glasgow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkeneie. These, so long as Iames Kenedie liued, agréed well together about the gouernement of the realme; but within a while after his deceasse, they fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who saieth, that in the second yéere of this kings reigne, there was discord in brewing betwixt the quene and the archbishop Kenedie, who perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood hir in that behalfe, in so much that it was doubted least the matter would haue broken foorth into some ciuill warre, if the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld; and Aberden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who did so much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wise.

The quene mother was appointed to haue the charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alexander duke of Albanie, and Iohn earle of Mar, and likewise of his two sisters; but as for the administration and gouernance of the realme, she should leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkeneie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the same time, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother, Iohn lord of Lorne tooke him, and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle of Argile, taking great indignation with so presumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming against Keir, tooke him, and set his brother at libertie, and brought the offender vnto Edenburgh, where he died in prison. Moreouer, shortlie after Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Rosse, who had serued obedientlie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew to vse his old maners, spoiling & harrieng the whole countrie of Atholl, and tooke the earle thereof, and the countesse his wife captiues with him into the Iles.

To repress his iniurious attempts, the regents together were preparing an armie; but therewith came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the Iles, and other the principall offenders of his companie, were stricken through the hand of God with a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl and his ladie were restored, and those frantike persons were brought vnto saint Brides church in Atholl, for the recouerie of their health, but it would not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a minstrell. In the yeare 1461; Henrie the sixt king of England being vanquished by his aduersarie Edward the fourth, purchased of king Iames the third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horsse to enter into Scotland; and herevpon he came to Edenburgh, and was lodged in the house of the friers preachers, with his wife quene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward. There was also with him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Summerset, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

Donald of the Iles eftsoones rebelleth.

Donald became mad. Hitherto hath Hector Boetius continued the Scottish historie. He was killed 1461.

Henrie king of England by safe conduct commeth into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, might more increase, and be further strengthened:

strengthened: the two quéenes Margaret (of England) and Marie (of Scotland) both French *Buchanan.* (by birth and nature) began to intreat of a mariage (hoping by affinitie to establish that perfect amitie) to be solemnized betweene the daughter of James the second king of Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of England) being called prince of Wales, although none of them as yet was aboue seuen yeares old. Which mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (vnclie to the quéene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quéene of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his ambassador Gruthusius, a noble man and of great iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimitie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king Henrie by the mothers side, that he did déepelie enuie anie good successe to happen to anie of that race, whereby it might increase or florish; and therefore sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off. But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage) was by the aduerse fortune of king Henrie vtterlie disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Henrie being encouraged (by the beneuolence of the Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his wife into France to Reinold hir father, to procure what aid she could of hir friends beyond the seas, to helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourne succéded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from thence.)

The quéene went into France for aid.

The same time; king Henrie deliuered the towne & castell of Berwike into the Scottishmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will, to the end he might haue the more support and fauor amongst them, it is vncerteine by the variable report of writers. Neuerthelesse, shortlie after a truce was taken betwixt king James and king Edward, for the tearme of fiftéene yeares, vpon what conditions or promises made on king Edwards part I find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare 1462, at the citie of Yorke, whither had bin sent the bishop of Glasgow, the earle of Argile, kéeper of the priuie seale, the abbat of Holie Trood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William Crawston knights, ambassadors and commissioners for king James.

Berwike deliuered to the Scottishmen.

A truce for 15 yeares.

1462.

All things in this season were ordered in Scotland by the aduise and counsell of James Kenedie bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage gouvernement of the realme, as well during the minoritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of his father king James the second. Pierre de Brezeie, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great seneshall of Normandie, was sent by the French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thousand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie against king Edward. This Brezeie was one most in fauour with king Charles the seuenth, father vnto the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did suppose) he was appointed by K. Lewes (who greatlie loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the end his life might be put in hazard and aduventure; notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest on the sea, and also of the enimies hands, he wan the castels of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he cast to the ground, and after tooke in hand to kéepe the castell of Anwike; and being being besieged therein, sent for aid to the Scots.

James Kenedie the archbishop governeth the realme.

Monsieur de la Varenne sent foorth of France to aid the part of Margaret quéene of England.

He kéepeith Anwike castell, and is besieged.

George Dowglasse earle of Angus as then warden of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of 23000 men, and comming with the same to the borders, chose foorth of all his numbers fve thousand of the most able horssemen in all his armie, and comming with them to the castell about the middest of the day, tooke the Frenchmen away with him into Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege beholding the maner, and not once making profer to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were, that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise minded, alledging that better it were to let them passe without incounter, sith they left the castell void, than to ieopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not great, yet were they piked and chosen men, able to atchine a great enterprise.

He is rescued by the earle of Angus.

Alias 13000.

After this, the sixtéenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1463, the quéene of Scots, mother to James

1463.

The quene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
borns familia-
ritie with the
quene of
Scots, mother
to James the
third.
Alexander
duke of Al-
banie taken on
the sea.

James the third, died at Edenburgh, and was buried in the college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had founded. This woman, after the deceasse of hir husband James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a married man to keepe hir such familiar companie, as sounded greatlie to hir dishonor: for that she could not within the whole realme find some single man amongst all the nobilitie, with whome she might haue married, & in some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander & infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Albanie, and brother to the king, was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of Iune, as he was returning from his grandfather the duke of Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrews James Kenedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship, with all the goods there in being, at the time of the taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flatlie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie longer concluded betwixt the two realmes.

1464.

King Henrie
returneth into
England.

The duke of Summerset, in hope of great fauor which he should find in England, persuaded king Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie of Scottishmen he entered England, and manie of the north parts resorted vnto him: but at length, at his comming to Exam, the lord Montacute with a great power was readie to gine him battell, and there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke of Summerset and the lords Hungerford and Rosse werè taken and put to death; the duke at Exam, and the lords at Newcastle. King Henrie escaped verie hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a certeine space after, till at length he thought to returne into England in such secret wise, as he should not haue béene once knowen, till he might haue got amongst his friends, which would haue supported him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut him vp in the tower of London till he was at length there made away, as in the historie of England ye may see more at large.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the college of saint Sauour, founded by him within the towne of saint Andrewes in most sumptuous wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all other Scottish bishops, of whome anie writer maketh mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and obserued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to the great weale and commoditie of the poore commons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie buildings and woorks which he left behind him, as a memoriall of his name. [Whereof the thrée especiall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his college of saint Sauour (wherein youth might be trained to learning and religion) the other his sepulchre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie péce of woork, such as before had not béene accustomed for bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of woonderfull burden: all which thrée, the common people affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like charge.] Besides his bishoprike, he held in his hands the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme, which was woorth vnto him eight hundred crowns by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in October and Ianuarie, there were manie edicts made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefelie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also there was a proclamation made, that none of the Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue anie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

1470. Buch.

1468. Lesle.

1469.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.

The mariage
of James the
third.

The king of
Norwaie re-
signeth his
title to the out-
les.

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie, king James the third, being as then about twentie yeares of age, married in the abbeie of Holie rood house néere Edenburgh, the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, which ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares of age, some saie sixtéene. Hir father the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, in name of hir dower, transported and resigned to K. James all his right, title, and interest which he pretended to the out Iles. The ambassadors that were sent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conueie the bride into Scotland, were these: Andrew Busdeir bishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orknie, the lord Anandale chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was now in his absence run into the kings displeasure; whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir husbands

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understanding by his wife that came to him on shipboord before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greatlie, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finallie he went into Italie, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was diuorsed from his wife the kings sister, he begat on hir a sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Kalmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

He goeth into
Italie.
He is mur-
thered.

1468.

The ambassa-
dors sent vnto
Denmarke as
Ferrerio saith.

The ambassadors that were sent vnto Christierne king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andrew bishop of Glasgow, William bishop of Orkeneie, Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of the realme, Martine Wane the great almoner, & the kings confessor, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glasgow, David Creichton of Crauston, & Iohn Shaw of Halie. These ambassadors being dispatched into Denmarke in Iulie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffnen, where K. Christierne then remained, and were of him ioifullie receiued, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his councill about the eight of September, it was agréed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be giuen in mariage vnto K. James of Scotland, and that the Iles of Orkeneie, being in number 28, and likewise the Iles of Shetland, of which there are eighteene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the mariage monie should pay vnto king James, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Iles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those Iles.

The mariage
concluded.
The Iles of
Orkeneie and
Shetland in-
gaged.

1469.

In the moneth of Nouember next insuing, after the mariage had béene consummate in Iulie before, within the abbeie church of Holie rood house (as before ye haue heard) or in saint Giles church in Edenburgh (as other write) the thrée estates were called to assemble in Edenburgh, where the queene was crowned, and the parlement holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edenburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and queene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honorable receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioising of the whole realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and prouide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in lands by yéere: and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainteined. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yéere 1472, who afterwards succeeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne K. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yoong prince being his nephue by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland.

1470.

1471.

The like act
for shooting
was instituted
by king James
the first.

An. 1425.

Iohn Maior.

1472.

The right to
Orkeneie and
Shetland re-
signed.

A blasing
starre.

1473.

A shipwrack.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the se- uenteenth day of Ianuarie, vnto the eighteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the senen starres. A great ship built by Kenedie the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Manie merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen,

Englishmen, among whome was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay vnto his taker one Iames Kar foure score pounds for his ransome yer he could be suffered to depart. The abbasie of Dunfermling being vacant, the couent chose one of their owne moonks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creichton abbat of Pasley thervnto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Minto was preferred by the king vnto the abbasie of Pasley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: bicause the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernors fell to the works of wickednesse, wherevpon dailie much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decaied.

Abbeies giuen
by vnlawfull
means.

This yéere in September, the indulgence of the sée of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same sée erected into the dignitie of an archbishops sée, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that bicause the archbishop of Yorke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primat and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agréed therto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelats sent to Rome about this matter. This yéere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was proroged vntill the twelue day after Christmas. In Ianuarie the parlement was holden at Edenburgh, in which Iohn lord of the Iles and earle of Ros was atteinted partlie for his owne euill déeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Iles.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

Primat and
metropolitan.
Twelue bishops
in Scotland.

1476.

The lord of the
Iles atteinted.

In Maie, in the yéere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Fóρθ, to pursue the lord of the Iles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncler by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was vsed by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Iles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and therevpon in the beginning of Iulie next insuing, the said lord of the Iles came to the parlement vnto Edenburgh, and there was the agréement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knapden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seignorie of the Iles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Iles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

1446. *Lesley*

The king raised
an armie.

The lord of
the Iles sub-
mitteth him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ros, Cantire,
and Knapden.

1477.

An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

The arch-
bishop is not
well handled.
Deprived.

1478. *Lesley*

Put in prison.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yeere sent by pope Sextus into Scotland, to examin by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham archbishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proofes being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismatike, and simoniake, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schews archdeacon of the same sée was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to sée him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried

1478. Lesle.1479.Wil. Schewe
is consecrated
archbishop.The duke of
Albanie im-
prisoned.
He escaped.Edenburgh
besieged.1479. Lesl.Doctor Ireland
sent vnto the
king of Scots.1479. Lesl.1480.Iohn Steward
a prisoner.Was put to
death.A mariage con-
cluded.1480. Lesle.Bishop Spenser
died.1481.King Iames
sent an ambas-
sage vnto K.
Edward.
K. Edward
sent a nauie
into Scotland.Ships taken
and burnt.The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.
A legat inhi-
bited him.

in saint Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passion sunday in Lent, within Holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primat and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yéere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edenburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Auendale, who lost at that siege thrée good knights, the lord of Lute, sir Iohn Schaw of Sauch, and the lord of Cragiwallase, with the shot of a gun, & Iohn Ramsele was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled awaie by sea, and the earle of Auendale entered, and found it void of all things whereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreouer, he had in charge to mooue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortlie after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called Iohn Steward the kings yoonger brother, this yéere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edenburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edenburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in mariage with his sonne Iames the prince, which was granted, and the mariage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainelie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king Iames from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length king Iames and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had beene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie), when he heard that warre would follow, he died through grieffe of mind and melancholie at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds vnto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgognie, nor anie other against the king of France: for if he did, he must néeds support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent foorth a nauie of ships into the Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenwen, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fléet entering the Forth, tooke eight great ships which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blacknesse, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lord of the Iles came with a great companie: and now the king being readie to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king Iames by authoritie apostolike, not to procéed anie further in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king Iames obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent foorth his
nauie

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1482.

that yéere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scottishmens hands the space of 21 eeres.

The king a
prisoner.

The king is
set at libertie.

The archbi-
shop resigneth.

1483.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 323.

1483.

Theyking remaining as prisoner in Edenburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Striueling to visit the quéene and prince, where the duke was persuaded by the quéene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vuto Edenburgh, and to restore the king vuto libertie. The duke accordinglie to the quéenes pleasure comming to Edenburgh, besieged the castell and wan it, remooued the earle of Atholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortlie after, the bishop of S. Andrewes, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prouost of Glenelowden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murrey. This yéere there was great theft, reiffe, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland certeine ambassadors, which were Beroald or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwéene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edenburgh, where (with the French ambassadors) séeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set therevnto; which doone, the Frenchmen (with whome were sent into France diuerse Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and haning imploied his seruice on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiours following the conduct of Beroald Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmont, after king, whose part they tooke against Richard at that time vsurper vpon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmont (when he was after king) did deerelie loue the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused deadlie wars to grow betwéene the king of France and the duke of Burgonie. Wherevnto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgonie, slaine at Nants by the duke of Loraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did applie all his force and denise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succéded happilie vuto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie remooued. But after, when the Neapolitane people did reuolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, ech part studieng to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall capteins of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots, Iohn also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lorges, Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wiselie manie yéeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, wherof manie (for their woorthie exploits) were by the French honorable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had doone) planting themselues in Isubria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill custome of common spéech, they reteine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and vsed, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whome vse of spéech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had

Certeine noble
families in
Italie and
Isubriasproong
from the
Scots.

had their originall from the stocke of the Dowglasses, as the armes of them both doo well witness: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) dooth gouerne the church of Cawalion. Againe, there is another familie of Scots, commonlie called the Scoties in Isurbria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquesdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of Iames Orlando Scot, which we haue heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well aduanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a woorthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he vnderstood there was poison giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court vnto the castell of Dunbar, whereby insued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whome he had againe taken vnto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them, & withal prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being aduertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, inuaded Scotland vpon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Cokpull, Iohnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle of Dowglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbeie of Lundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

Poison giuen.

The king is forsaken. Lords are summoned.

Scotland inuaded.

Earle Dowglasse sent vnto an abbeie.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpon taking a misliking, secretlie departed ouer into France by the helpe of Iohn Liddell, sonne to sir Iames Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and finallie running at tilt with Lewes duke of Orleance, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, Iohn duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king Iames the fift, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murrey, and abbat of Scone. This yeere the lord Hume, Torrekis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parlement. In the yeere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrewes vnto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obtained. And the same yeere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & Iames king of Scotland. Iames king of Scots, haning not long before made diuerse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued therevpon for a truce, which came to passe enen as king Richard wished, so that condescending to haue a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Notingham, the seuenth day of September next insuing.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome.

The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Notingham.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberden, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Oliphant, Iohn Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quitelaw archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king Iames, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Assaph, Iohn duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, Iohn Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, Iohn Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priue seale, Thomas Barrow maister of the rols, sir Thomas Brian chiefe iustice of the common plees, sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard

A peace concluded for three yéeres.

Richard Salkeld esquires. These councellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had together, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thrée yéeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yéere 1484, and to continue vnto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yéere 1487.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

During which terme, it was agréed, that not onelie all hostilitie and warre should ceasse betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enimies should be auoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case vsed. The towne and castell of Berwike to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the sixt. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds and fortresses, during the tearme of the said three yéeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Héerevpon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agrément for that castell, vnlesse the same might be restored vnto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next insuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands aboue the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise abstaining from making anie issues or reisses vpon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recouering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions; notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to doo what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had béene concluded.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should serue either princes in warre.

An article for such as should serue either princes in warre.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

Lorne & Lundaie excepted.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arriue in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & sworne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should inuade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclame him traitor, and certifie the other prince therof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Prouided alwaies that the obtainer of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doo presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enimie, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, comming, or tarieng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues comprised in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portingale, the archduke of Austrich & Burgognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the Freuch king, Iohn king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lundaie lieng in the riner of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agrément. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the suré obseruation, kéeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conseruators on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntleie lord Gordon and Badzenath, Iohn lord Darnleie, Iohn lord Kenedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Haleene, Laurence lord Oliphant, William Lord Borthwike;

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vnto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

The kings answer.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king James, who declared vnto them, that he bare great fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seuen yeates, sith further he could not doe, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects.

His promise.

But he promised secretlie, that when those senen yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other senen yeares, and so from seuen yeares to seuen yeates so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those senen yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had doone.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

1487.

* In the meane time died the quene, a woman of singular beautie and goodnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Orkeneie) and Iohn (borne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland.) Immediatlie after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the thrée estates to assemble in parlement at Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oires should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that shuld be committed for the space of seuen yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right displeasent to manie.

A parlement.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seuen yeares.

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans. The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure. After the deth of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

At the same time, was an ambassador sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scottish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortlie after herevpon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remooued vnto Striueling, leaning his wife the quene, and hir sonne the prince at Edenburgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather vp gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministred either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of deth by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scottish lords against king James the third.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & therevpon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull maner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his vndiscret opinions; to the wronging aswell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halis, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without woorthie deseruing) to the degre of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired together, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered maner of gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child borne to goodnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enter-

prise,

prise, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their natiue countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remooue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloialtie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglasse, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbeie of Lundoris, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprise, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being already schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great grieve) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprise, because it seemed to blm neither godlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the vsing of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agrément with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praieng him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armor against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if hee would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceiued against him might not be qualified by anie maner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the erles of Huntleie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathnesse, & Marshall; the barons, Forbes, Ogilvie, Granth, Fraiser, and others, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thousand men, with the which they were comming foorth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Maxwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the woorsse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left starke naked. ¶ A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what maner of persons they suffer themselues to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantperlors, and such as (being aduanced from base degré vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselues in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yéeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham, earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine neere Striueling, on the seuenth day of Iune, the yéere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

King James gathered an armie.

He sendeth letters to the kings of England & France? Eugenius 8. Buchanan.

The answer of the rebels to the kings message.

They meet in a pitched field. The king is put to the woorsse. He is slaine.

Fr. Thia.

JAMES THE FOURTH.

1488.

The king was
repentant.
The king wore
an iron chaine.
Was giuen to
deuotion.
He was a great
iusticer.

He was learn-
ed.

The nobles
raise an armie
againe.

They were
ouerthrowne.

A. parlement.

A. generall
pardon.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their souereigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of Iune, in the yéere 1488, being not past sixtéene yeeres of age, who notwithstanding that he had béene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuerthelesse afterwards, hée became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take théeues, robbers, and oppressors of his subiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diners other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had beene with him at the slaughter of his father, séeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling against the yoong king, were ouerthrowne at Tolimosse, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kiltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offenses. The king called a parlement at Edenburgh, which was holden the sixt of October, where he being mooned by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue spéciall pardons therevpon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field; appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same maner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had béene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of three yeeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yéeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all such goods as had béene taken from landed men and burgesses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgesses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and giltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the thrée estates granting to gine their seales to testifie the same; with the kings great sealé of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceassing of theft, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yeere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of K. James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which hée was slaine.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 12.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from

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Prouision made for learning. sidering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schoole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made,

1494. Lesle. for the aduancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yéere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.
1495. Lesle.
1492.
The king goeth on progresse.
1496. Lesl. There was shortlie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, wherevpon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had béene preserued now manie yéeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duches of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieng the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortlie after herevpon, the said feined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arriued in Scotland well and honorablie accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attein his pretended right to the crowne of England.

Perkin Warbecke.

Fr. Thin. Buchen. lib. 13.

* After whose arriual he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humbly and vehemently beséeching him, to ransom the kinglie blond from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his councell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemblie bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vnckle Richard duke of Gloucester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vnckle) was preserued by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vsurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forreine countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reserued a line to the scorne of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might mooue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noble borne, whose beire, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grievously assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in anie place, because of the subtiltie of his enimies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuily solliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (she vsing the truth of hir owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enimies, and moued with pitie for the distresse of hir kinsman) did with hir abilitie relieue his necessitie.

But

But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authority could not stretch to the command of his people in that liberall sort as she would) he was drinen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although hee were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding therevnto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had alreadie made some triall by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefits vnto him.

*Leslens lib. I.
pag. 234.*

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not douting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewd to the distressed) wold now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pitie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the néerensse of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdom. Wherefore againe he importunately requireth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in ioining with them determind to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in such subtile wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his councell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputed him duke of Yorke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortlie after, hee married him to his neere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreouer raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns, spoiled houses, and tooke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

*Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleies daughter.
1495.*

*King James inuadeth Northumberland.
1496.*

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sproong dukes doubtfull and vncertaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a taxe leuied then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to repress the enterprise of those rebels. Yet neuerthelesse he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle laie on the borders all that yeere.

1497. Lesle.

*King James returneth without proffer of battell.
A rebellion in Cornwall.*

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded eftsoones the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Norham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishoprike of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Norham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had doone great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king

1498.

*The Scots inuade the borders of England.
The earle of Surreie raised an armie.
The Scots raise their siege.*

James.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hialas an ambassador from the king of Spaine. Commissioners met at Melrosse or Jedworth (as some say.)

A truce concluded for yéeres. The cause why Hialas was sent.

An article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reasoneth with the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Perkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499.

The truce like to be broken.

King James requireth to talke with the bishop of Durham.

James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and tooke diuerse castels and towers, remaining within the countrie the space of six or senen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassador from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas trauelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agréed, that certeine commissioners of both the realmes should méet at Melrosse, where for the king of England, doctor Fox, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scotish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finallie nothing but a truce might be accorded for certeine yéeres, though Hialas did what he possiblie might, to haue agréed them for all maner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, whatsoever the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue béene concluded, because he was chieffie sent for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (estéeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise séeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whome he had cooped one of his owne kinswomen in mariage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constreined to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to kéepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so) called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fanour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and inuaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

And albeit he had married his néere kinswoman, yet might he not kéepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no appéerance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeied his pleasure, departing shortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finallie making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbeie of Beaulien, together with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more méet preie for an emperor, than for souldiors, and therefore vsed hir verie honorable, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the quéené his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

This yéere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was neere at point to haue béene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Norham, did make a fraie with certeine Scotishmen that came riding neere to the castell, as it had bene to haue viewed it. But although they méet no euill, yet diuerse of the Scotishmen weré slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saieng, that there was no more vncerteine thing, than to haue peace with England. And herevpon he sent his herald Merchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong doone to his subiects, by those within the castell of Norham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was doone, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, accomplished the Scotish kings request;

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tertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their horses, and made great bankets to the Englishmen, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the maner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continuë betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seuenth, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they lined in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmarke commeth into Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constreined to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louinglie, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his coosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and persuasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leauing him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

He is restored to his kingdome by the earle of Arrane lieutenant to king James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Iles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeied, & his lawes were as duellie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his councell [as William Elfiustone bishop of Aberden] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

The hie land men obedient to lawes.
1505. *Lesl.*
1504.

Fr. Thin.
A devise to get the king monie.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne curteous & gentle nature he easilie agréed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongst his people, & the deuisers of that ordinance wan passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lowder, and remoouing it to Edenburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Thorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore lost his head [at Edenburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassador this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

1506.

Fr. Thin.

A great ship made.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the rode the seuenth of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Maie, an Iland in the Forth, and was drinen in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and throwne the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge whereof, Andrew Barton tooke manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giving great light in the night season like to the sun beams. A Frenchman named sir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Bawtie, came through England into Scotland to seeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeareth in the skie.
Anthonie Darcie.

This

This yeare Iames prince of Scotland and of the Iles was borne in the abbeie of the Holie rood house; the one and twentieth of Ianuarie; and on the threé and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbeie church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glascow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntleie was his godmoothe. The quéene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sicknesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recouerie of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Ninians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the quéene went thither to visit the same saint.

1507.

Prince Iama
is borne.The King went
on pilgrimage.

Pope Iulius the second sent an ambassador vnto king Iames, declaring him protector and defendor of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword; hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassador, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbeie church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Terueer or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came foorth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Terueer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horssees and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scotish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassador knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The pope de-
clared king
Iames protector
of the faith.Horssees pre-
sented vnto
the king.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by S. Iohns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Lesleie then parson of Angus, went to horsse againe, and came to saint Duthois in Rosse, by that time they were readie to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtith day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadors into France. They tooke ship the senen and twentieth of September. The seuentéenth of Februarie, Iames prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernor.

Peace and
quietnesse in
Scotland.An ambassage
into France.

* About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as saith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongst the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speach he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchumie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing doone, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to recouer the kings fauor) giue out a rumor, that he would (by flieng) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had loosed from shore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to méet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongst whome (for recreations cause) came the king also.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 345.

What need manie woords. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncerteine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pitie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to flie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would flie like Icarus, did now he like Si-

mon

mon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in péesces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this woorthie abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his flieng whole to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not méet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the doonghill (whervpon those birds line) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508.

An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obinie, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in mariage with Francis de Vallois of Vien, and duke of Ango-lesme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for her. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he estéemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduisement taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had désired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succéed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith otherwise some claime might be made in time comining vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who therevpon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord
D'obignie
died.

The lord D'obignie tooke a sicknesse and died therof at Corstorphin, in the moneth of Iune, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Ninians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whome he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and Iune, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

This was the
king himselfe.

Ambassadors
sent.

The archbi-
shop of Glas-
cow died.
A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent foorth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murrey into England. The fiftéenth of Iulie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortlie after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasgow died this yeare in his iournie to Ierusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succéeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Maxwell, and the lord Creichton of Sañchar, where the lord Creichton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Daliell and the yoong lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The ninetéenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places, both of England and Scotland, namelle, the same was perceiued in churches.

Horses sent
vnto king
James.
The archdea-
con of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.
The earle
Bothwell
died.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horsse trimlie trapped with bards of stéele to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned foorth of France in a great ship called the treasurer, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seuentéenth day of October, and earle Patrike succéeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed

out

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mooned aswell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ship of Iulian, haue lost their goods and kinred, as also to permit the heirs of the said Iohn Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power giuen them, onelie to take so much recompense of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they should not vse any of them, vntill we had first (by this Snadone our esquier) laid before your maiestie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the pirasie, the value of the losse, and the cause of our long silence, assuredlie hoping that you will not doo anie thing, in respect of your humanitie and vprightnes, but that which shall be good and iust. The which, if you deeme is yet to be deferred; we require your woorthinesse to consider, that we cannot forsake our subiects, afflicted with so great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to seeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendship, league, or consanguinitie, wherewith we haue been linked. Wherefore, when that same shall happen, we desire your excellencie to take the same in good part (most woorthie coosine and confederat king) to whom I wish long and happie life. From Edenburgh the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540."

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 353.

The king about this time gaue liberall possessions to Robert Borthwike, a notable artificer for making of field peeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he should make certeine great peeces in the castell of Edenburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be séene in Scotland, with this superscription :

Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.)

The king went
on pilgrimage.
A ship with
munition.
1510.

The archbi-
shop of saint
Andrews.

The lord of
Fast castell
went into
Turkie.

Prince Arthur
deceased.
Two scorpions
found in Scot-
land.

Stoope gallant
& sicknes.

Katharine
Gordon.

he Trumbils
with other are
taken by the
king.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage vnto saint Duthois in Rosse, and the quéene remaining at Holie rood house, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptised and named Arthur. Two great ships came foorth of Fraunce to the king, fraught with guns, speares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bastard sonne to the king, newlie made archbishop of saint Andrews, who had béene long in Germanie student there in the schooles with that famous clearke Erasmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by sea into Scotland, and was ioifullie receiued, because he had bestowed his time so well in vertues and learning.

The lord of Fast castell came ouer with him, who had trauelled through a great part of christendome: and moreouer passing into Turkie, came to the emperour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him good interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the lining of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight seuerall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceased. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great woonder, that anie should be séene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sicknesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stoope gallant.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what shée was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorablie manie yéeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember cumming from Edenburgh to the water of Rule, tooke diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Iedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and with about their necks met him, putting themselues in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept

kept in ward, with diuerse other of those countrimen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards: and from thence the king passed to saint Iohns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

The next yéere in the beginning of Maie, the quéene went from Dunfermling toward saint Duthois in Rosse, and was all the way right honorable vsed aud interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Drurie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorable receiued. In the yéere next insuing, in Iune, Andrew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portingals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Howard lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Haward, sonnè and beire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andrew as he returned homewards néere to the Downes, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill; saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselues, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued; and the ship called the Vnicorne, and the barke called Iennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottishmen that remained aline in the same, which were had to London; and staid as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and therevpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might séeme to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enormities chanced betweene the two realmes.

* About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into thrée parts) deerelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awale the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortlie he and his folowers with their kindred and aliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thrée thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen townes before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delaie, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was néerest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might kéepe together: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies haning an eie to sée if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell vnwares into the hands of thrée hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comareh, Heron, and Foord, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chieftest, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England:

but

1511.

An ambassage
from the king
of England.

1511. *Lesle.*

1512.

Two ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

*Fr. Thin.
Buchanan,
lib. 12.*

The king of
France requir-
ed aid against
England.

King James
persuadeth to
peace.

but king James minding to mainteine peace and concórd betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to line in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agrée and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had alreadie sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer herevnto as he thought stood with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoo in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

Fr. Thin.
Lestus lib. 8.
pag. 356.

* Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monasterie of the Dominicke friers. Baiomanie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests liuings (whose reuenues did yéerly excéed the value of 40 pounds) should pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should gine to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which vnto this day is called the Baiomane monie or tax.] John lord Gordon, sonne and beire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntleie, returned out of France, and was married vnto the kings bastard daughter, in Nouember following, in this present were* 1512, of whome the house of Huntleie is descended.

The kings bas-
tard married.
[? sic.]

The bishop of
Murrey came
home.

A yong prince
borne in Scot-
land.

The French
king sept. to
persuade the
king of Scots
to warre.

Fourtéene
prises of Eng-
lishmentaken.

Misrule exer-
cised.

The quéene
brought to
bed of a child.
1513. Lesle.

The league
renewed with
France.
Pursuants
sent into
England and
France.

1513. Lesle.

Doctor West
sent into
Scotland am-
bassador.

1513.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murrey home, hauing béene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in ambassage vnto the king. This yéere the eleuenth day of Aprill, the quéene was deliuered of a yoong prince in the palace of Luithgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the fift prince of Scotland, and of the Iles, that after succéded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to persuade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie prouisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned thrée English ships, & brought senen awaie with him vnto Lieth for prises, in the which were but thrée Englishmen left aline. Shortlie after, maister James Ogiluie abbat of Driburgh came foorth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Iulie brought into Scotland 14 prises of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Drumweidie was slaine in Edenburgh by two persons, which tooke sanctuarie in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the ninetcénth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quéene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the ninetcénth of Nouember. King James sent a pursuant called Vnicorne into France, and another into England called Ilaie, which Ilaie required a safe conduct for an ambassador to be sent from the king his maister vnto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Vpon the said Ilaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogiluie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixtéenth of March next insuing, doctor West came as ambassador into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeiné commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of lune next insuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be doone, as after shall appeere. The king sent Fornian bishop of Murrey into France, to signifie vnto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Male, there came

certeine

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na punitioun suld follow for slaughter, and then vane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthur keepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

“ The great wrongs and vnkindnes done before to vs and our leiges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in vpbearing, mainswering, noundressing of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quaha slue our wardan vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblomen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wines legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androw Barton by your awn commaund, quaha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges vnredrest, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

“ Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissiouners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrate and als shew by vthers vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of commissiouners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and cousings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender consing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & cousing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tine his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quba is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and more kindar than to vs.

“ Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye because of vthers, haue giuen occasion to vs and to our lieges in time by past, nouthur doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destructioun of our nearest friendes, quba mon doo for vs quban it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wranged your sister for our sake incontrarie our writs; and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the cōtrarie. Indeed such it is, we gaue you words as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naughtight haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour peax, that they thought as the papes balines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therevpon we were contented to haue ouerseene our barmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Yorke, your ambassador.

“ And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of peax if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destructioun of our brother and consing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & barmes with out remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of vthers, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

“ Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truist may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue

ordaint

ordaint our herauld the bearer heereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our deerest brother and cousing, the Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Iulie."

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his coun- cell, sent for the herald againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Wherevnto Lion made this answer: "Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth dooings and not saiengs, that is, that you immediatlie should retourne home." Then said the king: "I will retourne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons." And héerewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

The herald is sent for.

The heralds answer.

KING HENRIE HIS ANSWER.

"RIGHT excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearsall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers doon by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore, beene made to you & your councell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and coosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworne betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindnesse, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

"Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, nighnesse of blond, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, speciallie in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, seeke the waies to doo that in our said absence, which ye would haue beene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation heereof, we need none other proofes nor witnesses, but your owne writings heeretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

"Neuerthelesse, we remembring the brittlenes of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie beleeuing so much vstedfastnesse, thought it verie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterprises, haning firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & alies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall councell expreslie excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vn- naturall

demeanor haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

“ And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauatre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceablie suffereth him to continue, wherevnto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: forsomuch as if anie law or reason could haue remooued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue beene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended greifs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassador last sent vnto vs.

“ Whervnto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath beene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heeretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had hertofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he doone now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and alies to prosecute the same; and as ye doo to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembred and acquitted heereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of August.”

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scotish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staid, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king Iames perceiuing all the Englishmens dooings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, haning taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent foorth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the English confines, and first before his maine force was come together, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirtéenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bootie within the Scotish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but yer he could returne he was forelaid [in Broome house, or Broome field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scotishmen to the woorse, and of them tooke and slue manie.

Englishmen
fetch'd a bootie
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

* These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it séemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Wherevpon coming to Limuch, he went to the church to heare euensong; as the maner was. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man séeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew neere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him: “ King Iames sent vnto thée, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou doost despise, it shall succeed ill with thée, and with all such as shall attend vpon thée. Further I am commanded to giue thée intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou doost otherwise, it shall succéed to thy hurt and reproch.” After which thus spoken, he mingled
himselfe

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French ambassador (and certeine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and gréedie of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meanè time, when the English came not foorth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had béene with the Scots) the noble-men of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceipt, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to returno into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the riuer of Till (hauing hie banks) is not passàble, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riner, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these denises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnfoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was gréeuously offended.

Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in yéeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor doo anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie vnfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassador dooth so much vrge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which dooth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauish in powring out the blond of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) dooth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host séeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) bicause that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would soone be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewes doo suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else weried by delaie; what can be doone more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to kéepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by remoouing to giue them cause to folow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than déeds, doo with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castels, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by the

the driving home of so great booties and preies) haue doorte that iniurie to them, as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie yéeres recouer hir former estate? What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiors may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were present séemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Wherevpon he (conceiuing some vnkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) foorthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. "If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countries helpe, and my souereignes honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the ouelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thée, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs." Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (bicause they saw they could not draw the king, to their mind) tooke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (séeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselues with the benefit of the place, and therevpon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king Iames was incamped, and approching within thrée miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king Iames had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet bicause he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselues away, he thought good to kéepe his ground, speciallie bicause all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counseiled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come foorth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & namelie the earle of Huntleie, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Dowglasse had before said] that nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarsitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that

The power of the north countrie raised. The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King Iames was minded to kéepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntleie his counsell. *Fr. Thin.*

His persuasions.

in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his eninies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disaduantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

Foule weather.

And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the foule and cuili weather sore annoied both parties; for there had not beene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not ouelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vexed the Englishmen, as well in their icurnie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Ilaie the night before the battell, contening as followeth.

KING IAMES HIS QUARELL VNTO THE EARLE OF SURRIE.

“WHERE it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our councell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diners times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yer we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide.” ¶ Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doo anie thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious chances.

There chanced also manie things taken (as yée would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showing, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had béene of a bloudie colour.

An hare.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawn with mise. The cloth of his tent of bloodie colour.

The English campe remooued by the earle.

Herevpon the king kéeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to séeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remooued his campe towards the hils of Floddon, where the king of Scots laie incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twisell bridge; the rereward going ouer at Milford, putting themselues as néere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King Iames perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all spéed remooued to the other hill, being gotten thither yer the English men could perceiue him to be remooued out of his former lodgings, bicause the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

The Scots campe remooued also.

Aduantage gotten by the ground.

King Iames his practise.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vpwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king Iames hauing disappointed

the

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reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation: at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and tooke it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was lining long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, nămelie to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to driue foorth the residue of his daies, in dooing penance for his former passed offenses: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

The Scottish men returne home againe. They were reuiled of their owne people.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 13.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, wasting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But nămelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprooued, as cause of all that mischief, which behaued himselfe not as a capteine, but as a traitor or enemie to his countrie. * Vpon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Haward earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

The sauage people reformed themselues.

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order; the Scottish armie was ouercome; and that worthie prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yēere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yēere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, hēe deserued to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reiffe, murther, and robberie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Iles sorted themselues through terror and dread of due punishment to line after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwise of themselues they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrewes his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Iles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilwennie: the earles of Montrosse, Crawford, Argile, Lennox, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell; Arrell high constable of Scotland, Addell, Atholl; and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Elueston, Roos, Inderbie, Saintcleare, Maxwell, and his thrēe brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Borthicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir Iohn Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castell, sir Alexander Seton, sir Danie, maister Iohn Grant, sir Dunkin Cawfield, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Cawell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Ellester, Macke Kene, Macke Clene, with manie others.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 13.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of inst stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogither vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligētie

gentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, inst in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such woorthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe woord vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilest he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (obiected to his father) and sought to win the fanour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had lined long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (woone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

JAMES THE FIFT.

AFTER the death of that woorthie prince king James the fourth, slaine at Branxton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succéded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, hir sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yéere, five moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the quéene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouernement the queene obtained by reason of hir husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Floddon field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

For shortlie after they fell at variance amongst themselues, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had béene slaine at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to Iohn duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blond to the king, and neerest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had béene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortlie after, the said monsieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who therevpon met at saint Iohns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the thrée estates which should be kept at Edenburgh, the thirtéenth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, thorough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance dailie rising amongst the lords & péeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to woonder thereat, and in weieng the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression doone to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sléepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir

An assemblée
at Striueling.
1513.

The king
crowned, and
the quéene ap-
pointed regent.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

A debate.

The duke of
Albanie is sent
for.

Monsieur de
la Bautie is
sent into Scot-
land.

An assemblée
had at Strie-
ling.

The great dis-
quietnesse
relgning in
Scotland du-
ring the mi-
noritie of Iames
the fift.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preied and spoiled others) a great capteine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred théeues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his vnclé Iohn Creichton) taken by wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The king of
England writ-
eth to his sister.

The quéene sent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace. Wherevpon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of oné yéere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne: to haue him gouernor, which was to succéed, if hir son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that mooued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to doo in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himsele an enemie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed tutor
by parlement.

Now shortlie after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edenburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases prouided. Wherevpon, in Aprill then next following, they tooke the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had béene deuised.

1514.

A legat from
Rome.
The quéene
deliuered of
hir second son
Alexander.

This yéere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtith of Aprill was the quéene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andrewes, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quéene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortlie after the quéene called an assemblie at Edenburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agréed. And heerewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Driburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came foorth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next insuing.

The marriage
of the quéene
mother.
The great seale
taken from the
bishop of Glas-
cow.

A peace con-
cluded betwixt
England &
France.

The deceasse
of the bishop
of Aberden.

This yéere, the sixt of August, the quéene married Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, and immediatlie after in saint Iohns towne tooke the great seale from the bishop of Glasgow, that was chancellor of the realme. Whervpon the said bishop got him to Edenburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the quéene and hir new husband; so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongest the nobles and péeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great falt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had béene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yéere, about the twentie fift of October, William Elphingston bishop of Aberden, and lord kéeper of the priuie seale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had béene a faithfull councillor to Iames the third & to Iames the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed the college in the old towne of Aberden, for the increase of learning & vertue, which

hath

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tutor and gouernor to the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to him : his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to others, and namelie to their king and souereigne lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the vttermost of their powers, for the aduancement of his honor, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilst this parlement was in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king should haue béene conueied foorth of the realme secretlie into England : wherevpon he suddenlie departed in the night time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling, where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with the quéene ; which castell, togither with the kings person, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the third day of August : wherevpon he committed them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of the realme, whereof the earles of Eglenton and Montrosse were two. The lord Hume, because he had assisted the earle of Angus and the quéene against the gouernor, was denounced a rebell ; and the earles of Lennox & Arrane, with manie others, were sent to his houses to seize the same into the kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gunpowder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that entered first into the castell were burned.

The king deliuered to the kéeping of certeine lords. The lord Hume denounced a rebell.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England, and sore disquieted the marches, so that no day of truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle marches. The twelfth of August, the quéene, the earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from thence passed to the nunrie of Gaudstreame ; wherevpon aduertisement being ginen to the K. of England, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the lord Dacres, & conueied to Harhottell castell, where she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglasse, afterwards married to the earle of Lennox, as in place conuenient it shall further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to the borders with his Frenchmen, where the sixt of October, the said lord Hume came & submitted himselfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alexander shortlie after did the same, and they were both deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Edenburgh.

The birth of the countesse of Lennox.

The lord Hume submitted himselfe.

The earle of Arranestealeth away.

The lord Hume and other conuicted of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth hir sons pardon.

But the twelfth of October next insuing, the said earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night season, with those his prisoners, stealing their waies on foot. Herevpon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treason by all the states, to lose their lines, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fifteene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like maner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king Iames the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next insuing, came with the bishop of Glascow vnto Edenburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Huntleie.

About the same time, certeine lords tooke part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion ; so that being got into Edenburgh, there was much adoo, & the towne greatlie disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbeie, came into the towne, and tooke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others ; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause : and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and foorthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into
England

England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who tooke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rosseie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

Lion king of armes staid by the lord Humes.

The seuenteenth day of Ianuarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agréed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Planes the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gawin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir Iames Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanor within the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbreton and diuerse other to be furnished, and tooke the castell of Glasgow with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane estoones reuolteth from the gouernor. The earle of Leunox furnisheth Dunbreton.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glascow, where, by the labor of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernor, and tooke a new respit, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. Forman the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edenburgh, and resigned all the thrée benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfirmeling in the gouernors hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifieng of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respit. Forman resigneth his tittle to the archbishops see.

First, the said archbishoprike he gaue to the said Forman with the abbasies of Dunfirmeling, and to maister Iames Hepborne he gaue the bishoprike of Murrey, and benefices woorth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Driburgh he gaue vnto maister Iames Ogilvie; and the bishoprike of Aberden (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gurdon, and to the archbishop of Glasgow called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murrey a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning [and George Dundasse was made prior of the knights of the roads.] And thus he bestowed the benefices which had béene vacant euer since Floddon field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinsmen, that by such liberalitie vsed towards them, all debates and discords might ceasse, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was doone in the moneth of Februarie.

Bestowing of benefices

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited together, receiued into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had béene kept as prisoner in Iusche gaile. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the fift of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fées, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strawen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logiraih by the gouernors commission.

1515.

The earle of Angus and others receiued into fauor.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolued but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor foorth of the realme. But all the lords and states with

The parlement began againe. The king of Englands letters to the lords.

vniuersall

vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

The lord Hume and other arrested and committed to ward.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and Dauid Kar of Fernihurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and therevpon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were conuict of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the théues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Kar was spared.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

* Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times gréeuously afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Iedwoorth was banished beyond Taie. Dauid the yoonger brother, which was prior of Coldingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by Iames Hepborne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, vnder color of a meeting and parlée, wherevnto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yoong gentleman, of a singular wit, and fowlie betraied by those of whom he ought not so to haue bin intrapped.

The duke of Albanie visiteth the borders. Another parlement. The duke of Albanie second person of the realme.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Iedwoorth with a great companie of men, & staid the great robbing & reauing, which had béene vsed on the borders, & left there good wardens to kéepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another parlement was holden, in which it was décréd, that the gouernor should be déeméd and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Orkeneie, which was alleged to haue béene first married to their father the duke of Albanie, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Wherevpon this Alexander made protestation to be beire to his father; but they were afterward agréed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made bishop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths: but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernor asketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Bautie made warden of the marches.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edenburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbreton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Steward in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bautie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fées thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subiects.

1517.

Ambassadors from France.

An ambassage into France.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edenburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishōp of Dunkeild, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thirtéenth of Maie, went a shipboord, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor tooke ship at Newmarke beside Dunbreton the seuenth of Iune, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agréed, that he should haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilst he was absent. Also he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bautie lieutenant of the borders.

The gouernor goeth into France.

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Monsieur de la Bautie slaine by the lord of Woodburne.
Fr. Thin.

ing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came foorth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [vpon the castell of Hume] the ninetēth of Ianuarie.

A parlement called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

The earle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France.
Capteine Moores.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not séeming to passe much thereof, tooke George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, bicause of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreouer, for due punishment of the murther of the foresaid de la Bautie, there was a parlement called the ninteenth of Februarie next, in the which, Dauid Hume lord of Woodburne, and his thrée brethren, William Cockborne & Iohn Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of Monsieur de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediatlie after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillerie, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keies of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The master of Hales was also sought for at that time, that hée might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of Dauid Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorouslie. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capteine Moores a Frenchman sent foorth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his kéeping, which accordinglie he did, the same béeing deliuered vnto him.

1518.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill vsed at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberden a builder.

The earle of Lennox, who had béene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce, came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, bicause the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselues euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and thervpon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of Iune, maister Gawen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and clearke of the register, was preferred to the bishops sée of Abberden that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Gawen founded an hospitall in Abberden, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of twelue pore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with senen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall ypholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowme; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buidings.

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothés and the lord Lindsey.

The seuentēth of Iune, there rose great stur in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothés, and the lord Lindsey, about the inioieng of the shiriffewike of Fife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbre-

-ton.

ton. About the beginning of August, the quene remaining in Edenburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a clearke as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, bicause the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the quene and hir husband.

1519. *Lesle.*

1519.

A mad man.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pase vpon the seas to watch for his comming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was remooued foorth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin eftsoones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

The king of England seeketh to keepe the duke of Albanie foorth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Herevpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, bicause of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof insued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murthered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the sixt of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Orkenie, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelates. And in the towne of Glascow was the bishop of Glascows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglenton, and Cassels; the lords Rosse, Sempill, the abbat of Pasley, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the commonwealth.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

In December, monsieur de la Faiot, and a French clearke called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencieux, came from the kings of France and England, with an ambassador also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England: who comming to Edenburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancellor & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie neerer than to Linlithgo. The ambassador therefore tooke in hand to persuade, that an assemblee might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Neuerthelesse, the said ambassadors went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancellor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlauerok, reproouing them sharpelie for their demeanor, and for taking their answer of the chancellor, so that they were not a litle afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which otherwise than in woords it should appere he did not.

Monsieur de la Faiot.

The peace proclaimed.

In Ianuarie, about the keeping of a court at Iedworth, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Kar the lord of Fernihurst; in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men: but the lord of Sesseford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelso with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the Mers men left sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his

1520.

Varlance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernihurst.

owne men about him, so that with much paine he was horssed, and escaped in great danger vnto Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Rafe Kar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalitie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Iedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, thrée miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglasse, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and Iames Beton the chancellor, who were also there. But now by the comming of these succors, which entered by force at the neather bowe, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, sonne of the earle Eglenton, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight; the earle of Arrane, and the chancellor, were constreined to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. [To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Marnocke (which is the castell of Cuningham) but they shortlie returned backe without dooing anie thing against them.]

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord
Humes head
taken downe.

The one and twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and Daud Hume of Woodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Tolbuith, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe beside the place where they were fastened on a iauill, and this was doone in presence of the prouost for the time being. The next day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chancellor, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and causing solemne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that owght those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that present.

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.
1521. Buch.

The prouost &
bailiffes of
Edenburgh
deposed.
A parlement
summoned.

1521.

In Nouember, the duke of Albanie arriued in Scotland on the west parts, at an hauene called Grawrach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the thrée and twentieth he came to Edenburgh, accompanied with the queene, the archbishop of Glascows chancellor, the earle of Huntleie, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their comming thither, the prouost and bailiffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their roomes. Then was there a parlement summoned to be kept at Edenburgh, the six and twentieth of Ianuarie next following; and on the ninth of Ianuarie, a generall summons of forfaiture was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edenburgh, wherin were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehousie, Iohn Summerwell of Cawdstreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appeerance in the said parlement, to be tried for sundrie great offenses by them committed.

Gawin Dow-
glasse bishop of
Dunkeld fleeth
into England.

The earle of
Angus feareth
the sentence of
forfaiture.

He and his
brother ba-
nished.

Maister Gawin Dowglasse bishop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning clearke, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelue bookes of the *Aeneidos of Virgill* in Scotish méeter, and compiled also *The palace of honor*, with diuerse other treatises in the Scotish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of forfaiture to be laied against him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Wherevpon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglasse should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleasure: and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yéere following.

The

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to and fro) it was decreed by common consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders from the inuasion of the enimie, & (the more stronglie to repell the English force) it was concluded, that the children of such as were slaine in that expedition, should be freed from all charges or troubles that might light on them during their minoritie: and further, that the wiues of all such which had anie lands (during their lines & fell in that conflict) should after the death of their husbands kéepe the same for the terme of five yeeres.)

The duke of Albanie raiseth an armie to inuade England.

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great preparation that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise an armie of foure score thousand men to inuade Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme, willing them to raise all such power as they could make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of Scottishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water of Eske ouer against Carleill: and perceiuing that the English armie came not then forward, he did what he could to persuade the noble men to enter into England: but as they were in counsell together about that earnest motion made to them by the duke, a certeine graue personage said to them in this maner.

The words of a councillor.

“ My lards, hither we be come by the commaundement of my lard gouernor duke of Albanie, and albeit we be readie to defend our awne natie realme, contrarie the inuasioun of our auld enimies of Englaund, yet neuerthelesse it séemeth not guid, nor for the wéele of our realme of Scotlaund, to passe within Englaund with our armie to inuade the same at this time. And the earnest persuasions quhilk the gouernor makes to vs to doo the same, procédes alanerlie for the pleasure of France. It appéereth to be sufficient inough for vs so lang as the king our souereigne lard is within age to defend our awn realme, and not to inuade: otherwise, we may put the haile countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tintsall: for king Iames the fourth brought the realme of Scotlaund to the best that it euer was, and by the war it was brought to the woorst almost that might be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte, quhilk Scotlaund sare laments. Wherefore by mine aduise, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him the cause why he wauld persuade vs to inuade Englaund.”

The earle of Arrane declar-eth to the gouernor the mind of the lords.

The dukes answer to the earle of Arrane.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for them all, and said: “ My lard gouernor, by your will and commaundement, héere is assembled the maist of the nobilitie of Scotlaund with their power, vpon a pretense to enter within Englaund. My lards héere wauld know the cause and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it should well satisfie their minds.” The duke studied a little space, and said: “ This questioun wauld haif bin demaunded yer now; for well you know, that I for veric lufe I beare to the realme of Scotlaund (of the quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife passed the seas from the noble realme of France, into this realme of Scotlaund. And great cause there was for me so to doo, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuisioun, by reason whereof, your realme was like to haue bin conquered and destroyed. And also the king of Fraunce, by my suites and intercessioun, will ioine with you in aid against the English natioun: and when this warre was determinate in the parlement, you made me capteine, authorizing me to inuade Englaund with banner displaid. Then was no demaund made of the cause or quarrell, and that I haif doone, is by your assent and agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer your demaund, me thinke you haif inst cause to inuade Englaund with fire, sword, and bloud, gif ye be not forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonor and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of Scotlaund is our inheritaunce, as a portioun of the world allotted to our natioun and auncestors whome we succéed. Then where may there be better warre, than to maintaine this our naturall inheritance? Is it not dailie séene, the great inuasiouns that the Englishmen on vs make, the great man-slaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they doo dailie? Is not this one cause

of warre? To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie seruice of chivalrie, and the dutie naturall of the communalitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs doone by that nation to vs and our predecessors. For séene the begining of our habitatioun in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enimies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce lost our souereigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quhilk was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine; than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I wauld that you suld couragiously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged."

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernor, saieng: "My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he striks the strake, we can warke na meracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power sall increase dailie, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he sall) yet haue we not woon the field, for readie coming is the earle of Shrewesburie sa mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send or bring another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reasoun whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that flée are woorthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndoone. I say, while the king is within age, we aught to mooue na weir, least by weir we may bring him to destructioun."

Then said the valiant gouernor: "Héere is an puissaunt armie of Scotlaund, gif we re-
turne, we sall incourage our enimies. Therefore séene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my
counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends
to doo against our reime." To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe
certeine daies after. After this conférence had betwixt the nobles and the gouernor, the
quéene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the procéedings and determina-
tions, sent woord to the gouernor, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace
had; and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernors
campe, vpon pledges, whervnto the gouernor condescended. Héerevpon, the lord Dacres,
warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Musgraue] came vnto the gouernors
campe, and thither also at that time was the quéene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth
of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the
duke and quéene should send ambassadors into England, to treat and conclude a resolute
peace.

In the moneth of October next Insning, there were thrée ambassadors sent into England,
according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreame conditions
proponed on the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted; as being
contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen tooke the mat-
ter. And so those ambassadors returned without agréement or conclusion of peace: where-
vpon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Nor-
thumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortlie after, he began to make
sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtined it: and then was the earle
of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquesse Dorset warden of the east &
middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west
marches.

About the sixt day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the
duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to
the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie to serue the
French

1522.

The replie of
a wise coun-
cellor.The gouernors
words to the
presidents
replie.Means made
for peace.The lord Da-
cres,The earle of
Northumber-
land made lord
warden.The earle of
Surreie.The lord
marquesse
Dorset.The lord Da-
cres.

The duke of
Albanie goeth
ouer into
France.
His request.
His vaine
brag.

1523.

The borders
watched.

French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladlie receiued of the king, his request was onelié to haue fine thousand horssemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almainis, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this vaine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuerthesse, he promised him some aid, wherevpon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders monethlie, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, dailie looking for support from France. Euerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was doone on either part, and diuerse houses were ouerthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nanie of ships in the pase on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at Brest in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Kirkowbre in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilist the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and coming to Edenburgh, burned the towne and the abbeie. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Iedwoorth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselues against their inuasions, they were constrained to returne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
The earle of
Surreie in-
uadeth Scot-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

* In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering néere vnto them, and besetting the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the denise of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quéene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwéene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather méet for companions than leaders in battells; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselues to the quéenes faction.

Wherevpon she (to gratifie hir brother, and to wrest all the gouvernement into hir owne hands) did (dissembling hir gréedie desire to rule) persuade them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and them selues from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the queene did well forsee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against hir husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreamlie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwéene the adioined kingdóms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now mostlie he wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would imbrace, defend, and asmuch as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuade themselues to breake the league with the French, and ioine in anitie with the English; they should shortlie well vnderstand,

that

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Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefest strength of their spéech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors néere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we looke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth foorth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agrément as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwéene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will absteine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blond of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and couenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and iniuries, doo dwell in people, whome neerenesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not vnlike maner of life hath ioined together.

Where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murthred ten as the course of their histories will well prooue.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresée and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disgrément, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new aliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parlement. Vpon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand, that there should not anie thing be doone therein; and therefore sent certeine of the French aid as ambassadors about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriual came to Edenburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch as hearing of the slaughters, murthers and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same doone vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would bée partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reenge of iniuries & wrongs doone to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Herevpon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dowglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldstreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of Dauid Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Warke, which was kept by sir William Lisle capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiors, and great prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

Dauid Car. Warke castell besieged.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thousand men. The marques Dorset appointed to keepe Berwike. Warke assaulted. The Scots and French retire backe ouer the water.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwike, not far distant from Warke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt least the same should haue béene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner harken of Warke, and the same woone likewise as the other had béene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Twéed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued; till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants ment to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a sore and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced that night, so that they

they were constrained to leaue off that enterprize, and to get themselves ouer the rîder againe vnto the armie, leas by the rising of the water of Twéed, they might haue béene cut off by their enimies, before they could haue béene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Sutrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Twéed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had inuaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would méet him in the confines of both the realmes, and gine him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commision to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quéene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuade the dūke to retire home; which he did, so that by hir labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sūdaie, being the one and twentieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surprise the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwike, where yéerlie on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason therof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and tooke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the yoong lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the fift of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Musgraue, & Bastard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entred into the Mers, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortlie compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and séeke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bastard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Musgraue, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seuententh of Iulie, the lord Maxwell, and sir Alexander Iordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displaid banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diners places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and therevpon set fiercelie vpon their enimies, insomuch that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Maxwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse réputed) ceased not to encourage his people: & after that, by the taking of Alexander Iordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recouered in maner all the prisoners, tooke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about thrée hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should susteine such damage, as it had doone by those three last yéeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreouer, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the gardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another

Glendale
burned by the
Scots.

An herald sent.

A truce.
See more of
this matter in
England.

1524.

Scots enter
into England.

Englishmen
inuaide Scot-
land.

Englishmen
discomfited.
Bastard Heron
slaine.

1524.

Four thousand
saith Hal.
The lord Max-
well inuaide
England.

An assemblie
of the lords.

person. The duke of Albanie perceiuing how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouvernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, hée declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he tooke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge séemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he tooke the seas in September, and sailed foorth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of Albanie returneth into France.
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of Iune sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordinglie he did; and being safelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroe him & his: but yer the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine yoong lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh; and thrée daies after, the quéene tooke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edenburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edenburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Maxwell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarie next insuing [and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberden (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and curssing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The earle of Angus cometh into England.

The quéene taketh the gouernment into hir hands.

A parlement summoned.
Fr. Thin.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister Iohn Magnus, and Roger Ratcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quéene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had beene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agréed to take truce to indure for one yéere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, aliance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and bicause of the displeasure which the quéene bare him, there insued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quéene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Gréenewich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their comming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

A truce taken for one yeare.

Ambassadors into England.

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Bicause the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Vpon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie priuat houses in Edenburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of Dauid in the same castell) entered into the quéenes lodging with a great flame, which

Fr. Thin.

1525.

*Lesleus. lib. 9.
pag. 414.*

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The king not
in his owne
power.

The queene
mother in
armes.

earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to gine the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the erle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue beene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appéered, for he willed them by priuie meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Herevpon shortlie after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennox and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displaid, and brought the king with him, although partile against his will.

The great seale
deliuered.

A diuorse be-
twéene the
queene and the
earle of Angus.

The queene and such lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might chance to them if they buckled together in a foughten field, they withdrew themselues to Striueling, and from thence the queene went into Murrey land with the earle of Murrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus tooke vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancellor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselues, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreouer, a diuorse this yéere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of S. Andrews, betwixt the queene, and the earle of Angus hir husband, and then afterwards she tooke to husband one Henrie Steward, sonne to the lord of Auendale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methwen.

1526.

The lard of
Boclough his
enterprise, to
take the king
from the earle
of Angus.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Karres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrosse, the lard of Boclouth, accompanied with a thousand horssemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to doo. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lard of Boclough, to know what his intention was to doo; who answered, that he came to doo the king honor and seruice, and to shew his friends and power as the vse is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Kars, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach néere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Whervnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well inough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Kars, the lard of Sesseford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsbacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennox, the lord Maxwell, George Dowglasse, and Ninian Creichton, tuteur of Sainquhar.

The lard of Boclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to ioining with their speares, they fled, leauing the lard of Boclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselues verie manfullie, and slue the lard of Sesseford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finallie, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Bocloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

The lard of
Sesseford
slaine.
The lard of
Boclough put
to flight.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assisters, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue quailed that had béene attempted for his deliuerance, he thought to assaie the third; and héerevpon, procured the earle of Lennox to assemble an armie, with assistance of the quéene and hir friends, to helpe to deliuer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle of Lennox did so, and came with such power as he could raise from the west parts vnto Linlithgo. The earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of Lennox was gathering men, sent to the earle of Arrane for aid, requiring him to come with such power as he could make, and to méet him at Linlithgo. The earle of Arrane immediatlie héerewith gathered a power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before the earle of Lennox came thither, who shortlie after comming with his people, approched that towne, vnto whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, requiring him to turne and saue his enterprise, assuring him, that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he would not spare him, if he held forward vpon his iournie. The earle of Lennox héerewith answered in a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle of Arrane therefore not staieng for the earle of Angus his comming from Edenburgh, issued foorth of Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incountered the earle of Lennox and his companie, where there was a cruell onset giuen on both sides, but suddenlie the earle of Lennox his companie fled, and he himselfe with the lord of Hunston and diuerse other gentlemen were slaine.

The earle of Lennox gathereth a power.

The earle of Arrane gathereth a power.

The earle of Lennox slaine.

* The death of which Dowglas the king did greatlie lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that was made in that conflict, did send foorth (but all too late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored the Lennox, if by anie meanes he could. After this victorie, the faction of the Dowglasses (to the end that striking a feare in those that were enuious against them, they might make them alwaies to be in danger to them) began to mooue questions and sutes in law, against such as had borne armor against the king: for feare whereof some bought their peace with monie, some tooke part with the Dowglasses, some followed the Hamiltons, and some stille standing in the matter, were followed and called into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of Cassiles (when he was earnestlie pressed by Iames Hamilton the bastard, to yéeld himselfe to the part of the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue this answer, that the old league of friendship, which was betwéene their grandfathers (in which his grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and first named) should not make him now so forgetfull of the honor of his familie, that he would séeme to degenerat from his ancestors, and willinglie grant to be vnder defense (which is the next degré of seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall league and couenant was contented with the second place of honor.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appéered in the law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thither by the king, and not as enimie to the king; and he would (if need required) bring foorth the kings letters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons frowning and fretting against his boldnesse; for the king had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to manie others, to ioine with Iohn Steward earle of Lennox, who séeing the battell at hand, and that he had not time left to call together his friends and followers, did with his present companie (taking his iournie out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Wherefore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause somewhat suppressed) Iames Hamilton the bastard stirred with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aire to dispatch him out of the waie, which he shortlie after did in his returne home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dissemble his conscience or knowledge of this euill (the execution wherof he had committed to his fellowes) was remaining at the day and time of the same murther, with Iohn Areskine, whose sister was the wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

The death of the earle of Cassiles.

But she (as soone as she heard of that déed) did with manie bitter woords lay the fault vnto

vnto him, because by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had almost béene brought to vtter subuersion, had he not left a yoong sonne behind him. This yoong earle, after the death of his father, fled to his kinsman Archembald Dowglasse then the kings treasurer, to whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his familie. This doone, Hugh Campbell was called into law for the said déed, who being manifestlie conuicted thereof, was banished into an other place. Neither did the Dowglasses with lesse bitterness exercise their anger against James Beton, for bringing their power to saint Andrewes, which they spoiled, as after appéereth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing the king with him, arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the king was not willing to come foorth of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue written) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the waie, faining himselfe sicke: but George Dowglas droue and called vpon his horsse verie sharpelie, and constreined him to ride foorth with faster pase than he would haue doone, giuing him manie iniurious woords, which he remembred afterwards, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and shortlie after passed through Fife, searching for the quéene, and the bishop of saint Andrewes; and because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the abbeie of Dunfirmeling, and the castell of saint Andrewes, taking awaie all the moucables which the archbishop had within the same.

The quéene
sought for.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 423.

1526.

* In the north parts also, the two families of the Leslées and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts taking: which enimities did after grow to be the greater, because there were dailie manie slaughters of the nobles & other people committed in Mar; Garreoth, and Aberden, whilst ech faction labored to defend it selfe against the others. For which cause (when the common-wealth was much deformed thereby, and all iustice seemed almost vtterlie ouerthrowne in those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the nobilitie (which were of the kings priuie councill) did not ceasse, vntill they had made vntie betwéene those two families. But in the end (the heire of the Forboises, & the lord Lenturke, hauing by wait killed the noble baron Meldrume, which fauored the Leslées) those buried contentions began againe to be raised from the déad; whose enimities being once againe knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue thereof to the common state) they attempted all possible means once more to quench that deadlie flame, and afresh to ioine their minds together in amitie, with this prouiso, that the murtherers of Meldrume should (for punishment of their offense) be banished into France, where the greatest part of them died, after manie miseries and reproches susteined in their pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnited betwéene the Forboises and the Leslées, was imbraced with such faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with continuall mariages & other courtesies, that it continueth most firme euen vnto this day.

1520.

Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 423,
424, &c.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall disposition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long suffered so to be vsed) did in like sort ouerrun and spoile all things, by reason of ouerimuch libertie. But of all other sturs raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the Makintosches. Of which vnruelie people, the one familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other was surnamed Makintosches after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane Makintosche a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singularitie of wisdom, that with great commendation he did containe all his followers within the limits of their dueties, more than others did. Which constraints (when they could hardlie beare (as loth to liue in order) hauing so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was James Malcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting after the desire to rule) tooke occasion (by the iniurie of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this Makintosche; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he flieth to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcosie) as a sanctuarie or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the Makintosches did pursue him with such

Rothmurcosie.

eager

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chopped off and fastned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure pãrts of his bodie were sent to the townes of Elgin, Foresse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vp publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hector (séeing his men were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Murreie, by whose aduise he goeth humblie and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather to crane the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Murreis certeine reuenge. Wherevpon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murther, & spoile (where-with Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnreuenged with most gréuous paine vpon the said Hector. For in the citie of saint Andrews, sudden death (than which there can be no gréater punishment) was laid vpon him by one Iames Spense a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Murreie had shewed such reuenge vpon the fréends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencatten did from thencefoorth kéepe themselues within the limits of their duetie: vntill that the sonne of Lachlane Makintosche came to mans estate and full age. Which yoong man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed therevnto, that when he was imploied about the common-wealth; all the captains of them (who naturallie speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent woorke-maister to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certeine (not able to susteine the brightnesse of his vertue) did ioine in counsell with such as were néerest of bloud vnto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

1527. Lesle.

Sir Iames
Hamilton
hurt by a de-
esperat person.

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men vnto Iedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the kéeping of better rule: and so on the eight of Iune, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselues, and deliuering pledges for their good demenors. The seuenteenth of Iulie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rood house, at what time, there came a simple fellow (to looke vpon) seruant and horskeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbeie close, strake sir Iames Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie thrée seuerall stripes vp to the haft, and yet the said sir Iames died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the déed without repentance, saieng; “Phy on the feoble hand quilke wald not doo that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to doo.” And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to doo the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to doo that déed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines dailie by the spãce of a moneth, yet would he neuer giuc other answer; and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had béene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of frée will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did affirme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The abbat of
Ferne burnt.

Edenburgh
castell besieged.

1528. Lesle.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edenburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with Iames his brother being within it. But as soone as the queene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be

set

set open, and vpon hir knées besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentéene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistans resiant as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart foorth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wheresoeuer the same chanced to lie.

The king being seuentéene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and aduertised of the kings comming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murrey; till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the sixt of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his vncler by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decree of parlement atteinted, and forfeited for diuerse offenses, and speciallie, for assémbling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had deteined the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

1528.

The earle of Angus forfeited. The earle of Angus atteinted by parlement.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quéenes husband was created lord of Methwen, and made maister of the ordinance. * Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gawin Dunbar, the kings schoolemaister, made chancellor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archembald Dowglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called Iohn Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldlie there protest, that whatsoeuer was therin doon, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. Within a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monasterie of Holirood died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by grieffe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monied, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constandie and Cranstoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

Henrie Steward created erle of Methwen. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.*

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be woone for all that could be doone at that season: in somuch that after Dauid Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. * Before the deliuerie whereof, the king déepelie sware that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and namé of the Dowglasses, so long as he lined and was king.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

Dauid Fauconer slaine. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.*

Wherevpon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a dailie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did vtterlic refuse; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme

to be equall) or that he would not (being then yoong) imbrue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon, since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enimies, & being offended with them for the death of Iohn Steward earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adjoining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approoued experience in feats of warre, and for bis iustice déerelie loued of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were inforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberallie receiued and interteined them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce kéepe all the couenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it séemeth) when Iames Coluille and Robert Carnicruse were remoued from the court (as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasses) their offices were bestowed vpon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouvernement of manie places.)

1529.

The earle of Cathnes passeth ouer into Orkenie.

The earle of Cathnesse slaine.

The blindnes of the Orknie men.

An assemblie of the lords.

King of théues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin.

Banished the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 14.

Iohn Scot fasted fortie daies without receiuing any food.

1231. *Buch.*

1529.

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yéere 1529, the earle of Cathnesse and the lord of Sincler, with a great armie by sea passed into Orkenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of Iames Sincler of Kirkewall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enimies: the earle with fine hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were drinen. The lord Sincler and all the residue were taken. The Orkenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was séene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enimies. In the same moneth on the fiftéenth day, there was a great assemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lard of Hinderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of théues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of théues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuith of Edenburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict, for mainteining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edenburgh castell, and after sent into Murrey land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Maxwell, the lord Hume, the lards of Balglueth, Fernihurst, Pollort, Iohnson, Marke Kar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borderers kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Iohnstone a théefe of noted crueltie, therwith to gratifie the king) began deadlie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kinreds.]

About this season, a landed man named Iohn Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lesleus] who now being returned into Scotland, (bicause it was bruted in other countries that hée had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Dauids tower in Edenburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great woonder of the people. In the summer of this yeare 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had béene forfeited (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Strineling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtined fullie at his hands, bicause he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not béene (as he was indéed) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and

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being in truth but tyrannicall government, since their onelie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

1533.

Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 427, 428.

But because Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the severall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement vsed by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yeere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law; and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the woorser part had vniustlie the vpper hand against the righte; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the vttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs folow, that severall iudges (hauing severall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edenburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke; saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the more explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

Lesleus lib. 1.
pag. 79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom wee call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) dooth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the clergie and secular nobilitie (as a man may tearme them) that the one part of the laitie dooth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to bee doone by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisdom of the temporalitie, obtained by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie. Ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancellor of the kingdom happen to come in place; for then therevnto the Scots giue the chiefest preheminance in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

1532.

Sir Arthur
Darcie sent
to the borders.
He maketh a
rode into Scot-
land

1533.

In the yeere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwike, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places: wherevpon the Scots assembling themselues to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselues to Berwike againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side vpon the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yeere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastle, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries doone, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yeere 1532, vnto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene vsed in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not bee had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

1534. *Lesle.*

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuali peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Steward bishop of **Aberden,**

den, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight [or (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne] the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorable receiued the 25 of March. After they had béene before the kings presence, there wére certeine cômmissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agréed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall hues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world : and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next insuing.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

About the same time were sent into France Dauld Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskin secretarie, as ambassadors to require the duke of Vandosmes sister in mariage for the king : with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuerthesse (as afterwards shall appéere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once séene the ladie, he liked hir not ; & so became a sutor to the French king his eldest daugbter Magdalen, whome he obtained : wherefore the duke of Vandosmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in mariage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadors into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme; and one doctor Magnus, who were honorable receiued in the moneth of Iulie : and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadors at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmés, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

Ambassadors into France,

The king himselfe passeth secretlie into France.

The peace concluded with England.

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders : for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fléece, and shortlie after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michaell. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these thrée orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 439. 1534.

The same yeere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice dylie to be ministred in places where he came, against offenders. Moreouer, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then vsed, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Maister Norman Gorleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of beresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yeere into Scotland, and were receiued.

Iustice ministred.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the fift, emperor) this Charles sent Godescall Erike (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [containing the iniuries doone to his aunt Katharine quéene of England, & to hir daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England : the calling of a generall councell : the overthrow of the Lutheran beresie (to vse Buchanans woord) and for contracting of mariage] the said ambassador did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those thrée Mariés the king would take to wife : which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, hir husband slaine by the Turke : Marie of Portingale his néece by his sister Leonara : or Marie of England his coosine germane by his aunt Katharine. Wherevnto the king answered, that the mariage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncerteine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaie than his carefulnesse (being the onche man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that mariage by manie reasons should be

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14. 1534.

most

most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabell sister to the emperor. Wherevnto for deniall therof, Charles did shortlie make answer (at Madrike) that he was affianced to another.)

1535.

The pope sendeth into Scotland.

1536.

The kings voiage about the Iles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Vandosme.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a sutor for mariage.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

In the yéere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king Iames to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decreed an heretike, schismatike, a wedlocke breaker, a publike murtherer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deprived of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholike princes. In the yéere 1536, the king tooke the sea with fíue ships, without knowledge of the most part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iles; and by storme was drinen to take land at saint Ninians in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Muskelbùrgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell tooke his voiage againe by sea with fíue ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue doone the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he imbarked at Kirckaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortlie after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Boid and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murrey, Lennox, and Cassiles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediatlie after his arriuall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Vandosmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named Iohn Tennent, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had béene maister; and so comming to the duke of Vandosme his place, got sight of the ladie who shuld haue béene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to méet him seuen leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such bartie manner, as if he had béene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue béene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were instes, tourneis, and other princelie pastimes practised and set foorth; in which instes and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he wan passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for mariage to be had betwéene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & faouered aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad héereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willinglie gine him his daughter in mariage. But héere-with he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yoongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sanoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in déed a plesant yoong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Heerevpon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king Iames: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboords of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich ieweis giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plentie of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreouer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of

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consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minoritie were voided and of n^o authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceiued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be mainteined with so ^{small} reuenues, they aduanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrosse, Kelso, Coldingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

1538. *Lesle.*

The king is a sutor for marriage to the dutchesse of Longuile.
Fr. Thib.

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in mariage with some noble princesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinall, & they of France had made bishop of Miropreuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a mariage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented ^{there} with, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Maxwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that mariage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

The mariage solemnized.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of Iune; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbeie of saint Andrewes, being honorablie prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the foresaid mariage with the said ladie in the abbeie church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his queene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the mariage, she conceiued with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore generall processions and publike praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous successe of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders and all other parts of his realme, by exercising of iustice, and traouelling about the same in his owne person through all places (where need required) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and policie vsed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuertheless there were certeine disobedient persons in the Iles.

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king sail-eth northwards to the Iles of Orkenie and others.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good nanie of ships, and in the moneth of Maie went aboard the same in the rode of Lieth, haning with him the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with whome he sailed foorth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberden, Murrey firth, Southerland, and Cathnesse, till he came to Orkenie, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorablie by the bishop Robert Maxwell. Héere they furnished themselues with fresh vittels, and other such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas againe, sailed to the Iles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Clewd of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who sent foorth also a companie to Mac Clewd Haugh; who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

The out Iles brought to good order.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Rosse & Kintaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerse of the Maconiles, such as the lord Olagarrie, Iohn Moidart, and others (who alledged themselues to be of the principall blond, and lords of the Iles) were brought also to the kings presence. From thence traouelling through the residue of the Iles, Maclane and Iames Maconile of Kinter, being the two principall capteins of the small Iles, came likewise to the king who at length landed at Dumbreton, and sent the capteins and ships with prisoners

prisoners to passe the same waie he came round about the coast, so to come to Edenburgh, where the same prisoners being arriued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not suffered to depart so long as the king lined, whereby there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and paiment made to the kings controller in his exchequer for the lands of the same Iles pertaining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging therevnto within the maine land. [In this yéere (saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheranisme; whereof some were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were banished: amongst whom, George Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.]

Fr. Thin.

Whilist the king was in this voiage, the queene was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertised at his landing, hasted with all possible diligence to the quéene, and shortlie after was the child baptised, and called Iames. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quéene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounfiers made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the same. After this the quéene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methwen, where after she had remained a certeine time, a sicknesse tooke hir, of the which shortlie after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Iohns towne, by the toome of king Iames the first. The king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were present at the funerals, which were kept in most solemne and pompous manner.

The quéene deliuered of a sonne.

The quéene mother departed this life.

The same yeare were burnt at Edenburgh for beresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison. The same time there was a graie frier in the citie of Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other summōned; and because they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes. About the same time, Iames Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in saint Andrews. Before his departure, he had prouided successors to all his benefices, first to his archbishops sée, and to the abbeie of Arbroth, maister David Beton, afterwards cardinall; and to the abbeie of Dunfermeling maister George Durie that was archdeacon of saint Andrews. These men, without anie gainesaieng of the king, entered with his good will into the same benefices, immediatlie after his deceasse. This Iames Beton builded a great part of the new college of saint Andrewes, and left great summes of monie and treasure to go through to make an end of the same woorke.

Certeine persons burnt for religion.

1539. Lesle.

The death of Iames Beton archbishop of saint Andrews.

This yeare in the moneth of August sir Iames Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edenburgh, was arrested by David Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to goto ward within the castell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he willinglie obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had doone to the king, speciallie in repairing the palaces of Striueling and Linletgew; as also for that the king had him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuerthelesse, shortlie after he was brought foorth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treason laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next insuing [after that he had liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie iot offended the kings maiestie, and that this death was yet woorthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iustice; because he had often offended the law of God to please the prince, thereby to obtaine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admonished all persons, that (mooued by his example) they should rather follow the diuine pleasure, than vniustlie séeke the kings fauor, since it is better to please God than man.]

1540.

Sir Iames Hamilton arrested.

Sir Iames Hamilton beheaded.
Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 451.

This summer the quéene remaining at Striueling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptised in the chappell of Striueling, and called Arthur: but within eight daies after, the said prince deceased at Striueling aforesaid. On the verie same daie, prince Iames the

The quéene deliuered of another son.
The two young

kings

princes departed this life.

The king and quéene at Aberden.

Capteine Borthwike accused of heresie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 453.

A small portion in déed.

1541.

The king of England sendeth to the king of Scots.

Fr. Thin.

kings eldest sonne being at saint Andrews departed this life also, in such wise, that there was but onelie six houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which caused no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the queene went vnto saint Iohns towne, where she was honorablie receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countrie, and from thence she roade to Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where, by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies, set foorth in the best maner for their pastime. They remained there the space of fiftéene daies, and were highlie interteined by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all kind of sciences in the colleges and schooles, with diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high-praise and commendation of the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From thence the king with the quéene returned to Dundée, where a costlie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had béene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Maie, sir Iohn Borthwike, commonlie called capteine Borthwike, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being prooued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

* The king of Scots hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) tooke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessors before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king Iames his authoritie did séeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was vnder the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length K. Iames did yéeld therevnto; and that the rather, because the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the beires of the Scot Makeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting some practise to be deuised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Dauids, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to méete him at the citie of Yorke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his vnclé; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his councill and prelats [especiallie Iames Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of Aberden (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.)] assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they tooke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staid and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king Iames his predecessor was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowen, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to persuade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had doone within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supream head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like information. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his

great

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should haue woorthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought vp our nephue, to atchine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so vnkindlie vseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armor and warre against him.

“ It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe greefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speach and flattering words, we be indéed so iniuried, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. Words, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath béene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring foorth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put foorth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beléue or gine eare to other, that euer alledged the déeds of the contrarie, being neuerthesse the same déeds so manifest, as we must néeds haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie wales bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

“ And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yéere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same méeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Yorke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the méeting to the aduise of his councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, and according therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadors as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good wòrds, sweet words, pleasant-words, eftsoones proponed by the said ambassadors, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

“ And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and interteined such rebels as were of the chéefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuerthesse, vpon offer made, the said ambassadors to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in spéech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Alleit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of déeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

“ Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit insued, that béing for our part chalenged, a péece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more autentike, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the same was neuerthesse by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeit now, and the value of the ground so litte, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuerthesse by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath béene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

“ After which their recesse, the lord Maxwell warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therwith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraw their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Iulie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subiects

contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had béene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his houshold, with letters deuised in the most pleasant maner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subiects, & to their extreame detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemlie dissimulation, we were not a little mooned, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finallie so extreamelie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the persuasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximitie of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

“ In the meane time of these faire words, the déeds of the borderers were as extreame as might be, and our subiects spoiled: and in a rode made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or ransome, as hath béene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a sursesance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots déeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subiects, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might atteine such a peace, as for the safegard of our subiects we be bound to procure.

“ After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought eftsoones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in déeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an vuele, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, dooth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our armie at Yorke, appointing the duke of Norffolke our lieutenant, the Lord priuie seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our horsses, there to comen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadors of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such conditions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

“ In this communication betwéene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrés of commission shewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficill or hard of our part, but so agréable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephue might haue a méeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: wherevpon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much outward ioy in communication of meeting. They shewed themselues in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioise in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they tooke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agréed.

“ After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a méeting preciselie at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & kéepe. Wherewith when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed:

shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadours to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which maner of procéding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a méeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadors of Scotland vpon prétense to send for a more ample and large commission, agréable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaié of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

“ Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, conteining such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken awaie by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadors, not to excéed the same. And thus, first the ambassadors of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not doo, and at the last might haue concluded a méeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partlie to excuse their king, who should séeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie professe.

“ Then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselues, why they procéded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to discharge themselues, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yéere, without dooing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to doo. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any ransome, contrarie to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staid a great part of our armie alreadie prested; and in our wages to go forward.

“ In this time ambassadors (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a méeting. The communication of méeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine denise onelie inuented for a delaié, which hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weied and considered, doo vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continuallie labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his vnkind and displeasent déeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onlie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

“ We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notablie the last yéere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his reparaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is doone by the Scots, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also doone by them, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our land to be vsurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is doone by them whatsoever their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie doone against vs, and gine such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this mat-

ter,

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For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited as this Ile is : so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissention, that there should be one superiour, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

“ According wherevnto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine tooke first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had thrée sonnes, Lochrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them thrée, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Lochrine that now is called England : vnto whom (as being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doo homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Iland, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superioritie as afore ; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Iland, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude ? Which cannot without continuall strife and variance containe twoo or thrée rulers in all points equall without any maner of superioritie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superioritie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

“ The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according heerevnto we find also in historie set fourth dy diuerse, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will heere omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctlie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and beside that which he writeth of the natures, maners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue béene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present : he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agréable to the diuision afore-said, being in déed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnited vnto the same ; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appéere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for prooffe and confirmation thereof.

“ In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Bren two brethren, the victories of king Arthur ; we shall begin at the yéere-of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred fortie two yeeres past, a time of sufficient anciencie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident prooffe of the execution of our right and title of superioritie euermore continued and preserued hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And héere is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same : and this dominion continued in that state thrée and twentie yéeres.

At which time Athelstane succéded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland, he vnder him, adding this princelie woord, that it was more honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yéeres after that, which was the yéere of our Lord 947, king Eldred our progenitor Athelstanes brother, tooke homage of Irise then king of Scots. Thirtie yéeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Heere was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeeres after the homage doone by Kinald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor.

“ After this homage doone, the Scots vttered some péece of their naturall disposition : wherevpon,

wherevpon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yéeres after homage doone, that is to say, the yéere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward : to whome the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within elench yeeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yéere, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie fiue yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror : and yet after that was for his offenses and demerits deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie : and therefore was ordeined in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordinglie.

“Seuen yéeres after, that was in the yéere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar K. of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seauen yéeres after that, Daud king of Scots did homage to Mathild the empresse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage ; he refused so to doo, because he had before made it to the said Mathild, and therevpon forbare. After which Dauds death, which insued shortlie after, the sonne of the said Daud made homage to the said king Stephan. Fouretéene yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Daud his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reseruatiō of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie fiue yéeres after, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finallie his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

“Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fourtéene yeeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king Iohn, vpon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a maruellous multitude assembled for that purpose. Twentie six yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmase, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeeres. And therefore betwéene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage doone by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yéeres : at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1282, Iohn Balioll king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

“After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moone sedition therefore against them of the house of Balioll, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage ; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie : for within fortie foure yéeres after, which was the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and inioieng the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yéeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1346, Daud Bruse, who was euer in the contrarie faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

“ Within nine yeeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them : when after great victories, Edward Balioll, hauing the inst and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendred clearlie the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Roxburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme : as on the one part by confiscation acquitted, and on the other part by frée will surrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the same to Henrie the fourth : so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iorneie.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie commeth : James Steward king of Scots, in the yéere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the sixt at Windsore, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by Daid Bruse, three score yéeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appéere by storie to haue béene made and doone at times and seasons as afore, so doo there remaine instruments made therevpon, and sealéd with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifieng the same. And yet dooth it appéere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our tresurie diuerse of these instruments, which neuerthelesse were afterward recouered againe.

“ And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, héere is inserted the effect in woord and sentence as they be made, which we doo, to méet with the cauillation and contriued euasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue beene made for the earledome of Huntington, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

THE FORME OF THE HOMAGE.

“ I JOHN N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Edward by the grace of God K. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honor, against all men ; and faithfullie I shall knowledge, and shall doo to you service due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid : as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.’

“ Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriouslie handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath beene in stories written & reported in this matter: For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by 12 competitors (that is to saie) Florentins comes Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia, Willielmus de Vesci, Wilhelmus de Rosse, Robertus de Pinkeni, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Mundeuille, Ioannes de Comin, D. Ioannes de Hastings, Ioannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruse, Ericius rex Norwegie.

“ Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Balioll, according wherevnto he inioied the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the K. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, insomuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended therevpon ; it was then

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to constraïne and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephue his minoritie, being then more carefull how to bring him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receiue of him homage, when he had full possession of the same.

“Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the sixt, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was doone at Windsor by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was thrée and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minoritie of our nephue. So as finallie, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of discontinuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage doone by James Steward, such as the silence in them (had they béene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and prooued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, wherevnto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage doone vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to doo their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, séeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill séed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

“Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minoritie of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yéeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirteene yéere, which thirtéene yéere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuerthelesse we doo not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioise and take comfort in the friendship of our nephue as our neighbour, than to moone matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the woorks of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superioritie may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according therevnto all things gouerned in due order héere, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to doo in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.”

When therefore the king of England had set foorth this declaration of the causes that mooned him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same foorth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voiages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the English ships incountred, tooke 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all spéed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought stood with reason, séeing no war was proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soone, till other articles of agrément might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commission, with thrée thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne
and

Scottish ships
taken.

Sir Robert
Bowes inuad-
eth the bor-
ders.

and to spoile certeine small townes : wherevpon the fraie being raised in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntleie, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediatlie gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight ; sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuerse other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners ; and the said sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Halden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentieth fourth of August.

The earle of Huntleie giueth an ouerthrow to the Englishmen. 1542. *Leslé.*

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norffolke with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots estéemed them, though they were not manie aboue twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water Twéed : but the earle of Huntleie, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Twéed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised héereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme; and came to Sowtraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended : howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue doone, if the time of the yéere and prouision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue béene better aduised, before they had ioined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recouered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horsse, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntleie and others tooke from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riner of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawne home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of barmes doone by the Englishmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and inuade England, himselfe to go therewith in proper person. And héerein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduisement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Murrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were latelie deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie : for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most vncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to constreine the enimie for feare to leaue the inuasion thereof, as presentlie they had doone ; and declared that they were determind to haue glucn battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they haning so inst a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high couragè pressed him to inuade ; yet the approoued wit of his nobles and councellors caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of Nouember, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Norffolke in his returne towards London.

The king breaketh vp his armie.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Maxwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Cassiles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliuer Sincler [the brother of Rosseline Comarch] and the re-

The king goeth to the west borders. 1541. *Leslé.*

Oliuer Sincler.

sidue.

sidue of the gentlemen of his houshold. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Eske. But as soone as the scribe was raised in the countrie, of lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddenlie raised the power the the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselues in sight vnto the Scottish armie.

The lord
Wharton.

The Scottish lords perceiuing the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselues together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth foorth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselues imbased too much, to haue such a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a capteine, but willinglie suffered themselues to be ouercome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrarie, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

The enuie of
the lords a-
gainst Oliuer
Sincler.

The Scots dis-
comfited by
the English-
men.

This rode was called Solowaie Mosse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Cassiles and Glencarne, the lord Maxwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Someruile, the lord Oliphant, Oliuer Sincler, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowaie Mosse, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusall made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his request to invade England. Héerewith such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and therevpon tooke such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenlie from thence to Edenburgh, and after remooued to Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being sore vexed in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to, haue accesse to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted.

The grieffe of
the king for
the ouerthrow
of his men.

Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were brought him that the queene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yoong princesse the seuenth day of December, the which newes he liked veric euill; and added the grieffe thereof to his former displeasantesse, insomuch that he perceiued the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by mariage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some vnkindlie medicine: but howsoeuer the matter was, he yélded vp his spirit to almightie God, and departed this world the fouretéenth of December, in the yéere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie thrée yeere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

The birth of
the Scottish
quéene.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argile, Rothes, Marshall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbeie church of Holie rood house, beside the bodie of quéene Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well-beloued among his subiects. * He was of swéet countenance and courteous speech, graiesh eied, haning a diuine mind in all whatsoever, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certieintie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreséeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that hée was néuer vnprouided against the danger of anie thing, or was drawne from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: whereby he might incurre the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 460.

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The protestants
espied the car-
dinals craftie
iugling.

1543. *Lesle.*
Fr. Thin.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and sharpe scourge, espied foorth his vniust dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to imbrace the gospell, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he remooued the cardinall and his adherents from the vsurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernor and protector of the realme. [And therevpon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the tresurie to account, whereof he reteineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and roome, as next in bloud to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of K. Iames the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which mariage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yeere at Edenburgh, it was agréed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that now there was offered a most readie meane and inst occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloudshed, by the mariage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yéeres of age, with the yoong quéene of Scotland.

The king of
England talk-
eth with the
lords of Scot-
land prisoners
for a mariage
betwixt his son
and their
quéene.

He therefore being resolued fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the erles of Cassiles, and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the senen and twentieth of December they being right curteouslie interteined, he made vnto them an ouerture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of mariage might be made betwéene his sonne the prince, and their yoong queene; promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would doo their indeuor to persuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agréable herevnto.

1543. *Buch.*

Duke of Norf-
folke.

Buchanan.
The earle of
As us sent
houe into
Scotland.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to doo their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: wherevpon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued foorth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernor, requesting effectuouslie, that they might be restored to their roomes, lands and possessions in that realme.

1543. *Lesle.*
1542.

A conuention
of the Scottish
nobilitie.

These lords arriuing at Edenburgh, about the midst of Ianuarie, declared to the goneror their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernor being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edenburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the senen and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next insuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Dalketh: the lord Seton béeing appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had béene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomews day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernor into England. and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie vnto the said gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree vnto the king his masters monitions, traouelling so diligentlie in the matters wherabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement to send ambassadors into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

The cardinall
committed to
ward.

Halding rig.
Sir Rafe
Sadler.

Ambassadors
sent into Eng-
land.

And

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Iulie. In which meane time, such couenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the mariage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parlement. Héerewith also the lord gouernor shewed himselfe to imbrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guilliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie publisht through the realme of Scotland.

The mariage confirmed.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quéene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yoong quéene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be remooued vnto his owne castell of saint Andrewes, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglasse, and the lord Glames, the beire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the thrée estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 465.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelew, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imploied himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Daud Paniter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courteouslie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a valiant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kinred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king sore misliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alianee betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be vtterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the deceasse of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recouer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remooue Arrane and others from it.

The French king misliketh of the match with England.

Matthew earle of Lennox.

The earle of Lennox héerevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by kéeping promise to the English, to conucie the yoong quéene vnto them.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yéeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedie

earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openly protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redéeme his life with the blond of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yoong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vprores by means of the quéenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Limnucho: which yoong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the woorthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in mariage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king Iames, if he had lined, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre vp his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yéeres and more, during the quéenes minoritie, and to the rule and power ouer his eninies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quéene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yoong quéene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of Iames Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernor was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yoong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle of Lennox passeth into Scotland.

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and procéed, tooke his leaue, and with all spéd taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arriual) he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not séeke to make anie new aliance with the king of England.

The earle of Lennox conferreth with the quéene Dowager.

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenlie departed forth of Edenburgh toward the west countrie, highlie displeased (as should séeme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quéene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conueie hir into England.

1543. *Lesle.*

The castell of Edenburgh recovered to the gouernors vse.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Pasleie, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edenburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto Iames Hamilton lard of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennox, with the assistance of the earles of Huntleie, Mont-

rosse,

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he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recouered, and to haue béene maintained therein by his support.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland. French ships arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thencefoorth not to looke for the same anie more at his hands. Héerewith Lennox ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Cassiles, and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell; and Someruile, the shiriffe of Aire; the lard of Drumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yeere was spent in ciuill dissention betwéene them. And héere is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arriued in the mouthe of the riner of Cloide on the west coast, fiue ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of Iames Steward of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Menage, the French kings ambassadors.

The earle of Lennox seized vpon the French ships.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennox therefore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbreton, reteining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue beene imploid to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The earle of Lennox raiseth an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennox cometh to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glasgow.

The earle of Lennox therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith against the gouernor that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Murrey, and Argile, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglasse was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Cassiles, to romaine in safe kéeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennox came vnto Edenburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithquho, from whence the earle of Lennox secretlie departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle.

* When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he (assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especially of the lord Boid) went vnto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enimies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennox had withdrawen himselfe vnto Dunbreton, to gather a greater assemblee, shortlie after to returne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Houstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennox, Ramfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the enent of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennox) more in haste than good spéed. Wherevpon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Wherevpon the battels ioined, the hosts began to fight violentlie, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with gréat slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the incouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enimies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennox there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monniepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the

the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saned manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he vsed (by the persuasion of the lord Boid) woonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he deprived some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the vse and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennox remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from anie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennox, doo afresh stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: where vpon he dooth restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to preuent all his indeuors by wise counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinali) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobilitie of the south parts, and (bringing foorth the hired souldiors) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the enimie. Wherevpon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) inforced the other to yeeld their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennox, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennox (vnderstanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obtaine such euill successe) dooth send the earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell to the gouernor to intreat of peace betweene him and the earle of Lennox, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.]

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretlie conueied from the councell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenesse. The lord Maxwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edenburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their lines (as some supposed :) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for anie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennox by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret Dowglasse daughter to the Earle of Angus, and neece to the said king.

* Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The queene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceived that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling; in which by common consent, the earle of Lennox was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the queene. Whilest the French king was ascertained that Lennox had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddentie committed to prison Iohn Steward lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennox; and deprived the said Iohn Steward of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scotish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes; for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betweene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie

The earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell committed to ward.

Mens opinions for the imprisoning of the earle of Angus. 1544.

The earle of Lennox sendeth to the king of England.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 470.

be of gréatest authoritie and honor. Which in th' end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before with his crosse borne vpright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and primat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glascow should not haue his crosse borne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glascow tooke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Wherevpon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swords) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therwith to be brought to Edenburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honorable entertained and feasted of the quéene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murrey had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murrey did shew an honorable thing not accustomed amongst others. For where he abounded in store of siluer vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupboord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupboord as it were vnwillinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat mooned. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupboord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Muranoe and Venice did not anie way excell these. Truelie this earle of Murrey was honorable, wise, inst, and famous amongst manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongst them. Who shortlie after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the sée of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongst the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honorable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scottish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennox ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had béene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteouslie Lennox had béene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinmouth with their people, arriued in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole nanie conteining aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edenburgh, hearing of their

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennox. The English armie landeth by Leith.

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earle of Argile, whereof he made the one gouernor of the north parts of Scotland, of the Orchades, and Shitland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argile, and the Iles Hebrides. Wherevpon Huntleie with all spéed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to bridle the Glancamerons, the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Kindiardes, with force and authoritie. The capteins or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mackoneilglas, and Iohn Mudiard, who did possesse the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntleie had incamped néere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne possessions: which being defended partly by the west sea, and partly included about with the mounteins, stopped Huntleie, so that hée might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes whereof (these dissessors being banished) the lords Grant and Louet were restored to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarilie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enimies. For at that time both the companies were disposed into such order, that neither partie could absteine from fight. Wherevpon they first discharge their bodies one against another, and their arrowes spent, they after flie to their swords, with which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so great slaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Mudiardes there were manie slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and brought vp in France) with thrée hundred of the blond and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt séemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor spred, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraisers left aliue that was of mans state. But it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they left their wines with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised and restored. Huntleie (greatlie griewing that the Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gathered a power together, and with armes so pursued those factious people, that he tooke and beheaded Ewin Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and put the rest in prison. The earle of Argile discharged the office committed to him as well as Huntleie did and with more happie successe, for all the Iland men humblie submitted themselues vnto him, and deliuered pledges to line quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennox, accompanied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, otherwise called lord of Kilmawse, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montrosse, sir Iohn Borthwike knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, tooke the sea to passe into England, and arriued at Westchester about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the court, he was ioifullie receiued. And immediatlie therevpon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks of yeerlie rent of assise, in consideration of this mariage with the kings néece, and in recompense of lands lost by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the deceasse of Robert Steward lord Obenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

Moreouer, king Henrie being now vpon his iournie towards Bullongne, aswell for the anoiance of his highnesse enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accompanied with sir Rise Mansfield, sir Peter Mewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, master Thomas Brookes, old maister Winter comptroller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William Winter that now is, and sundrie other capteins, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikes, beside the mariners belonging to those ships that were appointed to go forth on this iournie, being in number about twelue or fourtéene saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west parts.

Vpon

Buchanan,
lib. 15.

Buchanan
saith that this
battell as it
was beléued,
was procured
by Huntleie to
destroie the
Fraisers.

The earle of
Lennox goeth
into England.

He marieth
the ladie Mar-
garet Dowglas.

Lord Obenie.

The earle of
Lennox e-
turneth into
Scot and.

Vpon their arriuell on the coast of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernors castell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and tooke the castell of Roseie standing therein (from whence the Ste. wards kings of Scotland had their originall) the capteine they had awaie prisoner with them into England. Here also they tooke two French ships laden with wines, and this doone they entered the Firth of Clide, thinking to find none but their friends in the castell of Dunbreton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the capteine thereof called Houson, to keepe it in the name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennox, were in his absence persuaded thorough practise of the queene Dowager, not only to renounce their promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell; but also to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him prisoner.

The Ile of Bute taken.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with threé hundred men: and so farre forth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennox being entered into the castell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the boord, to be paid to the capteine for his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennox, & such as were with him, perceiuing some treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

The earle of Lennox in danger to be betrayed and taken.

For if they had staid that night, they had béene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbreton, shortlie after that the earle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riner of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displaid, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennox his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, tooke aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to doo.

The earle sore moued to haue béene thus repelled from Dunbreton, and stomaching the matter sore, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood tooke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure score of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of threé men onelie on the English side.

The earle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

This doone, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approched, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboord in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, nameilie of those that aduanced themselues most forward. About foure or five daies after, the earle of Lennox with five hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennox with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennox landeth againe in Argile.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Kinter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, tooke and caried awaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennox, suing to him for assurance. In these exploits the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen score men of the head of Lennox,

Kinter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

that

that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish toongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much available seruice in the streicts, the marishes, and mountaine countries.

*Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 15.*

* During these things, they which had gouernment of Scottish affairs (as the quéene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decreéd that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortlie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Coldingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horsse. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse susteined in the last daies labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwike) suddenlie (vnknowne to the other nobilitie) did flie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue béene betraied to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leane the artillerie at randon. But others (who were more carefull, and would séeme lesse fearefull) doo agréé to stuffe the péeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which denise ouelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked déed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, intreatie, or authoritie, he exclamed with a lowd voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. "Wherefore you my friends consider what you will doo, for either I will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie." When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were mooued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglasse with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horssemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backes. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouslie applied the dastardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

*Sir Peter
Mewtas.*

To conclude, after the earle of Lennox and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Mewtas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his procéedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles iornie, which the king tooke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennox was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

1545.

*Sir Rafe Euers
inuadeth Scot-
land.*

About the middest of Februarie, sir Rafe Eure commonlie called Euers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first vnto Iedwoorth, lodged there that night. And therewithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeie of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and left their beds and all their houshold furniture which they had in store there with them, not hauing time to conueie it awale at their departure, their warning was

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number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the enent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncourse bishop of Rosse departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberden likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancellor of Murreie, vnclie to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglasses.

* About that time, the king of England by prise & preies persuaded the Flemings to take sixteene of our ships harbored in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (where-with they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbad them to fish on their coasts, and did sometime intercept their ships, without further iniurie doone vnto them.)

This yeere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lorges, knight of the order of saint Michaell, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbreton, & came in good order to Edenburgh the thirtéenth of Maie: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michaell, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herwith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approched the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, tooke such direction for the safe kéeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprise, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue beene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

* This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Wherevpon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes wherof comming to Glencarne, he signified the samé vnto Lennox, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortlie obtaine the castell. The king of England reioising of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton together with the cardinall, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laieng present siege to the same, which was stronglie doone, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agréed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorable intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennox to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixteenth of September, thrée or foure hundred Scots, with Maxwell, Lochinuart, and Iohnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king,

Death of bishops.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 479.

1545. Buch.
Monsieur de Lorges sent into Scotland.

Knights of saint Michaels order.
An armie of Scots lieth on the borders.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 480.

Frenchmen and Scots ouerthrowne.

king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Maxwell eldest son to the lord Maxwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parlement holden at Linlithquho, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas bishop of Vtheltree, were forfeited, and all their lands and goods giuen awaie and annexed to the crowne.

The lord Maxwell son taken prisoner.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Iles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, mooned the earle Lennox to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell tooke such effect, that the Ilaud men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partlie for that they were in a manner sworne enimies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partlie for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennox and his house, hauing an ancient bond of aliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Héerevpon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Iles, the next of bloud: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennox, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yéerelie, with certeine rich appareil of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The earle of Lennox procureth them of the Iles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Iles elected, being one of the Maconels.

The first prooffe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Haning instructions thereto from the earle of Lennox, vnder colour of conference for matters touching the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrappe the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yoong boy of that linage to succéed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handeled out of Lesleus.]

Clane Reginald sleieth the lord Louet.

Fr. Thin.

After this, the lord of the Iles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Cassiles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprize so atchiued, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennox and Ormond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to ioine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequentlie the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made readie for that iorneie, the new lord of the Iles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennox, stood the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of the Iles inuadeth Carrike.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departeth this life.

But now to returne vnto the dooings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. Ye shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken vp, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as weré then in the kings wages, they were in all of horssemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, past vp by the water of Twéed, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Tiuidale, the abbeies of Kelso, Melrosse, Driborne, and Iedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of fise score.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest néere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken vp, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, sore indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other,

other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

*Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.*

* Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Maxwell the sonne of Robert (a yoong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing doone woorthie the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leadeth the gouernor about the néere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundée called Toadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifieng of the other tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factious persons addicted to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) vnderstood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselues, and seuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Wherevpon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Rothseie being shortlie deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it séemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinfane Comarch, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (sith manie of both parts would ioine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the woorse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Vpon which occasion the gouernement of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Kinfane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willinglie obeie: as it séemed that they would not; because they tooke it with some grieffe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riner ouer against the towne) did inuade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their denise, they came not in time to doo anie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would séeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flie awaie. But the multitude confused and drinen into a streict, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flie: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and thrée score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) haning heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall
hauing

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The cardinall
of saint An-
drews mur-
thered.

chosen men, entered the castell verie secretlie in the morning, tooke the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that doone, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber doore, they slue him, and seized vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortresse was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stufte of all sorts; apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and silner plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie come.

Sir Iames Leirmouth, prouost of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entred the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, sith they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that mooued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wisehart, fearing to be serued with the same sawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceiued some deadlie hatred against him.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 481.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the seuerall tormentors seuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For Norman & Iohn did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he susteined; when the cardinall had restored to Colwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter wemes; which the king had after giuen to the said Norman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was remooued by the cardinals aduise from the office of the treasurerhip; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, Norman being vexed with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blond or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the seruice of Henrie the second king of France) endeouored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast vpon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after an other) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.]

The same euening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnauis, one of the councill of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Meluins, Iohn Knocts and others, to the number of seuen score persons, entred the castell to their support, taking vpon them to keepe it against the gouernor and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his deere cousine the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and others, by whose aduise he called a parlement, and forfeited them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

1546.

The slaiers of
the cardinall
forfalted.

The castell of
saint Andrews
besieged.

Herewith also he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so stronglie furnished with all maner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Wherevpon, after that the siege had continued the space of threé moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murther, till now they agréed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

The siege
raised.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within.

within the castell, euer since the day in which they slue him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Paslew his brother to the bishoprike of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbeie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinali) to George Dowglasse bastard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next insuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succéded his sonne Edward, the sixt of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortlie after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name, succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strossie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nanie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 483.

1547.

The king of
England de-
ceased.
The death of
the French
king.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sixteene Englishmen, who neuertheless abid threé or foure daies siege, and seuen canon shots, and so yélded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, enen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreouer, at the same time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilist the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prior of Capoa was arriued, and [against the wils of such as were against it] entred into the towne of saint Andrews: whereypon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hasted thither to assist the prior, and so the siege was stronglie laid about the castell there. The prior caused certeine péeces of artillerie to be drawn vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peeces shot plump into the castell, that none durst shew themselues on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be drawn with engins, néere to the verie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were néere hand-filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell downe.

Fr. Thin.
The castell of
saint Andrews
besieged by the
French.

Moreouer, the gallies at an high water approched on the riner side so neere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they sore annoied them within, and slue diuerse. The defendants perceiuing themselues thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put foorth a token vpon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming foorth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quéene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their lines saned with bag and baggage.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor vtterlie refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their lines, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the surrender entring the same, left nothing behind him* that might serue them to anie vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we* set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

The castell of
S. Andrews
yeelded.

[* Sic.]

[* Sic.]

Thus was the castell of saint Andrews rendred the nine and twentieth of Iulie, fourtéene daies after the arriual there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his spéedie dispatch and good successe therein was much aduanced. Shortlie after, the duke of Summerset, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, vnclie by the mother vnto the yoong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subiects,

The prior of
Capoa.

The duke of
Summerset
protector of
England.

minding the aduancement of the yoong king his nephue, thought good with all spéed to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yoong quéene of Scots.

But perceiuing that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he séemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he tooke it) to serue his purpose; and therevpon by aduise of counçell leuiéd an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwike, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, conteining seauentéene or eighteene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Warwike, the battell by the duke of Summerset himselve, and the rere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

He entreth
Scotland with
an armie.

The order of
the English
armie.

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horssemen, and also of harquebusiers, that attended vpon these thrée wards, garded with diuerse péeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Brian, lieutenant of the light horssemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Mewtas capteine of fíue hundred hagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, with a thousand light horssemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Manners, with six hundred light horssemen, attended vpon the rere-ward.

The English
fléet.

The gouernor
raiseth an
armie.

In this order marching through the Mers, and Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Braies, neere to the Forth side, in which riner the English fleet was arriued, and laie before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay néerer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to inuade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemne summons for the leuieng of a new armie foorth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and inabled for the incounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 485.

* For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be vsed in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue sixtéene yeares old, and vnder sixtie, should presentlie (with their armor) repaire to Mussilborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordinglie came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselues at Inuernesse ouer against their enimies.]

The goodnes
of the Scottish
horsmen
feared of the
Englishmen.
The lord Greie
desireth to in-
counter the
Scottish horsse-
men.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horssemen oftentimes would come prick- ing almost within their stanes length of the Englishmen as they marched, whouping and shouting, to the end they might traine them foorth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to prouoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish prickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsmen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he tooke it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of anie kñowledge of the enimie, and séemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horssemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Warwike assisted his request, the duke in the end yéelded thereto. Herevpon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came foorth to offer the skirmish alter their woonted maner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horssemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsmen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian

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themselves, what and how manie discommodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to féele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

“ Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scotish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might chalenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and bée alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for mariage, and vntill such time as she might choose hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should absteine from warre: and that also the quéene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or couenant with the French, or anie other forreine prince touching hir mariage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrie) they would recompense the same by the iudgement of good men.”

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to Iohn his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, bicause they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willinglie incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the quéene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdom into their subiectiō. For the gouernor being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other councillors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, Iohn archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawier, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so puffed vp the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumor) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing spread a feined tale (through the Scotish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnaduised spéed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate procéedings, as after shall appeare.)

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

The purpose of the Englishmen.

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to gine them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the morrow after this great skirmish, raised their field verie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shoot into the Scotish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernor and the Scotish lords, beholding their enimies thus marching forward, thought best to staie their enterprise, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to incounter their enimies.

The ordering of the Scotish battels.

They were diuided into thrée battels; Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen haning got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and hastie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so vp towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to

keepe anie ordinarie marching pase, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English horssemen, and so rigorouslie reincountred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and horsse, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherwith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath béene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Warwike had not béene shewed at that present, according to the woonted valure of his often approoued prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselues againe.

The English horssemen beaten backe.

The valiantnesse of the earle of Warwike.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots aduanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinesses of the English fléet, which from the sea shot so terriblie at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie sore galled and indamaged thereby, but also staid, that they could not come easilie forward. And héere with the English vant-gard encouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Warwike, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Wherevpon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had béene lost, gaue backe, and tooke them to flight; whome the Englishmen followed amaine, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Manie were also drowned in the water of Vndereske, through the which they tooke their flight.

The gallie and pinesses.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chase was past by them: but at length were driuen to make awaie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Graham, the maister of Meffine, the maister of Ogiluie, the maister of Leuingston, the maister of Rosse [the maister of Argendale and Meffane] the lard of Lochinwar, the lard of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zestrie, the earle of Huntleie chancellor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesieus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The earle of Huntleie taken prisoner.

Men of name of Scots slaine. Fr. Thin.

The next day, the English armie remooued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being sore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should well and trulie paie their ransomes, agréed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or else to come and present themselues prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. *The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) renenge old quarels, or else haue vsed extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this conflict with the English.)

The earle of Huntleie entereth bond for his countrymen. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quéene regent was, together with hir daughter the yoong queene. Héere, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile, Rotesen, and Cassiles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Menteith, where they remained in the abbeie of Inch Mahome [deliuering the yoong quéene to hir mother, Erskine and Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they remooued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edenburgh] the English nauie wan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie other exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appéere.

The quéene remooued from Striueling. Fr. Thin. Lesieus lib. 10. pag. 487. Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. The Ile of saint Colmes Inch woun by Englishmen.

Moreouer,

The earle of
Bothwell.

1547.

The English
armie return-
eth home-
wards.
Hume castell
rendred to the
Englishmen.

Fast castell
woone by
them.
Broughtie crag
woone.

The castell of
Milke yéelded.

Fr. Thin.

The church
of Annand
vndermined.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerset, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilst he laie at Leith, offering themselues to be at the king of Englands commandement, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or damage by the English power. The duke of Summerset hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edenburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eighteenth of December homewards the next wale, ouer the mounteins of Soutreie, comning the third day before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within thrée or foure dales after their comning thither, it was surrendred.

This castell being woone, & a garrison left therein to kéepe it, they remoued to Rockesburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous wals of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garrison to kéepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing néere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fléet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to kéepe the same (as in the English historie it may further appeere) and in what sort also all the chiefest lords and gentleinen of the Mers and Tiuidale came in, and submitted themselues to the duke of Summerset, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerset with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the east part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of the councell to the king of England, that Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power inuade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not anie of the west borders nor countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summersets armie, but be drinen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Herevpon, there was an armie leuied, to the number of fíue thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horssemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September; incamped the first night vpon the water of Eske, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortresse of good strength, the wals being foure-teenne foot thicke.

Capteine of this castell was one Iohn Steward, brother to the lard thereof, who vpon the approach of the earle of Lennox, yéelded the house to him, without anie shew of resistance. Wherevpon, Ferguse Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Erske, was appointed with a garrison of souldiors to keepe that castell to the vse of the yoong king of England, and was afterwards confirmed capteine there with fiftie light horssemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerset, & the councell; so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enimies to England, and preseruacion of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vse.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, incamped néere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching néerer to the same, gaue summons vnto the capteine therof, called Lion, of the house of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Maxwell and Iohnstone, and Cokpull (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 489.) being parcell] kept the church and stéeple of Annand, being péeces of themselues verie strong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yéeld, and valiantlie defended themselues. The greatest péeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat onelie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the wals, and vndermine the same, so as the rooffe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the stéeple.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the capteine mooued by persuasion of the earle of Lennox, to whome he claimed to be of kin,

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Now lord
Harries.

The earle of
Lennox in
doubt what to
doe.

The lard of
Drumlanrig.

The earle of
Lennox dis-
sembleth with
dissemblers.
1547. Buch.

Horssemensent
foorth to
scourge Drum-
lanrig.
They harrie the
countrie about
Drumlanrig.

Drumlanrig
pursueth the
Englishmen.

He is put to
flight.

The siege of
Broughtie crag
raised.

poses : who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to assist him, as he looked for, and moreouer, mistrusting the loialties of the maister of Maxwell, and the gentlemen of Nidesdale, meaning (as he tooke it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, stood in perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without atchiuing some enterprise.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lard of Drumlanrig, signifieng, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied onelie with Scottishmen, he would both serue him and honor him in the best wise he might : but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie, he would not onelie refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwise, to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betraied among them, and that there were all the denises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the denotion of the king of England, dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were suborned to betraie him; pretending to them, that he would follow the course of their denises.

But in the meane time he got together the English capteins that were appointed to attend him, and all such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short, for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen : he gaue secret warning to all the capteins & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be readie with their men to mount on horsbacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Maxwell, the lards of Closburne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Nidesdale and Annandale.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horssemen vpon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the capteins of the garrisons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horssemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on ech side, enen hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks, got threé thousand shéepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, beside nine score horsse and mares.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lard of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his eniemies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had kept a stale behind : but now after he perceiued that the most part of the cnimies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & capteins of the English horssemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercelie followed after them with his power, in hope not onelie to ouerthrow and distress them, but also to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horssemen, retiring beyond the water of Nith, and perceiuing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water rashlie to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight : yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodnesse of his horsse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this ouerthrow, and the brute of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernor to lenie his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clidesdale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andrew Dupleie, capteine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege, so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie personages : and among other, Gawen Hamilton, the gouernors kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obeie the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirckowbre, the knights of Loghinwar and Garieis, the lard and tutor of Bombie, the lard of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Nidesdale, and Galloway, cuen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) within two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leaning the countrie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Nidesdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prior of Whiterne.

And after that the forenamed persons had remained for a space at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but especiallie for Iohn Maxwell, & returned home to their countrie, as assured men & subiects to the K. of England. In this meane while, the gouernor hauing held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principali lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of horssemen, and appointed him with capteine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dundée, with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie against the Englishmen, if they issued foorth of Broughtie crag, to atchine anie enterprise anie where néere thereabouts.

The Scots deliuer pledges.

James Haliburton.
Capteine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue of the councell in England, minding to bridle the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselues to the king of England, tooke order [with the lord of Wilton, who (as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of Iune] for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Hadingtou, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with seven hundred English horssemen, beside the assured Scots horssemen, and about foure or fise thousand English footmen. should by the west borders inuade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Louchmaben, and there lodged.

1547. *Lesle.*

Fr. Thin.
Forts built.

1548.

The earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton inuade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilst they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennox. But sith it was perceiued that this was doone, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the least wise to driue time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Maxwell, the lard of Cloesborne, and others the gentlemen assured of Nidesdale and Annandale; it was concluded, that the townes of Morton, Dusdere, and others, néere adioining together in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set foorth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horssemen, the maister of Maxwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton marched foorth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennox (but meaning to intrap him if it were possible,) he was so inuironed by the English footmen yer he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flée onelie with fise persons in his companie. But now the English horssemen being come to Dusdere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, haning passed sundrie great riners, they set that towne on fire.

Maister Henrie Wharton.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dusdere set on fire.

But the maister of Maxwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horssemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horssemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to woorke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come

vnto

vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancestaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lard of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horssemen was aduanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dusdere.

The reuolting
of the assured
Scots.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprize to be suerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field neere to Dusdere, hoising vp a blacke pensill vpon a speares point for a token, reuolted wholie, and ioined themselues to the lard of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horssemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, néere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the English horssemen were quite ouerthrowen.

A false rumor
spred.

The earle of Lennox, beholding the maner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to doo the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horssemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dusdere, came néere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horssemen had beene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horssemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue driuen them through shrinking backe into anie disorder.

The Scots put
to flight.

But such was the violence of the shocke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the English horssemen, that the Scots were therewith put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Maxwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Nith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Christie Irrewing of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hemsfield, & manie other gentiemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennox and the Englishmen returned thither, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staid, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

Dunfreis
spoiled.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this iornie, how the earle of Lennox and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scroope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enimies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staid; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Herewith were letters directed downe from the councell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Maxwels pledge, being one of his néerest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlauerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Lawder and Hadington built, the castels of Yester and Dawkith woone, all the mils burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edenburgh, and other exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expressed.

Pledges exe-
cuted.

1548. *Buch.*

1547. *Lesle.*

A nauie bre-
pared at Brest
in Britaine.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chieflie to command in the same: monsieur de Desse lieutenant generall, monsieur

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1547. *Lesle.**Monsieur de Brezze.**Fr. Thin.*

The yoong quéene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 494.

At his arriuall & conuenient landing at Dunbreton, he found all things readie prouided, necessa^rie for the imbarking of the quéene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iournie in hand. Herevpon she being brought aboard into the kings owne gallie, wherin monsieur de Brezze was also appointed to be aboard with hir, as he that had beene sent with expresse commandement to sée hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Areskine, and Leuingston, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the yoong quéene, as Marie Leuingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Villegaignon shewed such diligence in atchiuing that enterprise, that finally they arriued with prosperous wind and weather in the hauen of Brest in Britaine with that yoong quéene, béeing as then betwixt fíue and six yéeres of age.

* From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept hir right course to the kings palacé of S. Germins in the towne of Laión, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the conning thither of the king, at that time pacifieng the seditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hée gladded all men with his presence, and prouided that there was a large household, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the yoong quéene, which he still increased (as the quéene grew more in yeeres) vntill such time as she might be married.)

The Frenchmen in campe at Muskelburgh.

Sée more hereof in England.

But now to returne to the dooings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Hadington was raised by the English armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen therevpon retired themselues vnto Muskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themselues within the same. And herewith there came to them fiftéene thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwards to assaile them, they found them so stronglie imbattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbare to set vpon them in that ground of so great disaduantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Hadington, and after homewards, hauing furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

The lord admerall of England.

The lard of Dun.

The Englishmen repelled at saint Menets.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

Here is to be noted, that the English fléet entering into the Forth, wa's readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occasions might haue beene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, tooke vpon him to atchine some other enterprises, and first comming to Brent Iland, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the riner; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But Iohn Erskin lard of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterprise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and happie was he that might first get againe to shipboord.

* For Iames Steward, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towné, to whome the neighbors about did also ioine themselues, vnderstanding the cause of that assemble. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this Iames Steward (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enimies, that forthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides thrée hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The earle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen

giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Desse, remaining in campe at Muskelburgh, hearing that the English armie was remoued homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horsmen and footmen being left in Hadington, were readie to come foorth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he tooke aduise, to trie if he might draw them foorth to their losse, and therevpon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Reingraue appointed to choose foorth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with thrée hundred horsmen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This doone, a few horsmen were drawne foorth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsmen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and streight had the French in chase; who retiring, mainteined the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Desse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpēt to the footmen to breake foorth, who together with the horsmen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enimies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

The English men put to the woorse at a skirmish néere to Hadington.

After this, monsieur de Desse raised from Muskelburgh, and coming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarcking themselues in the gallie that yet remained, tooke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chappelle de Biron remained coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approoued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriual of the English nauic & armie to the succors of them in Hadington, monsieur de Mallerie vice-admerall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton afflicted the countries of Tiuidale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partlie touched in the historie of England.

Capteine Bäch.

Monsieur de Mallerie vice admerall of France.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarelling with two or thrée Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Wherevpon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely Iames Hamilton lard of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, with his sonne; and maister William Steward one of the quécens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeours therin, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edenburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Desse, to shew that this variance had not procéded so farre as the brute thereof gaue foorth (for it was rather increased ye may be sure than diminished) vndertooke an enterprise in hand to win the towne of Hadington by a camisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capteins and

The Frenchmen giue a camisado to Hadington, & souldiers

are beaten
backe.

Broughtie crag
besieged by the
earle of Argile.
Alpian Fal.

He raiseth his
siege.
The fort build-
ed by the Eng-
lishmen at
Broughtie crag.
Dundée aban-
doned of the
Englishmen.

The Reingraue.

Dundée forti-
fied by the
Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin.

1548.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 498.*

souldiers then within the towne, yée may read further thereof in the English historie. There were senen score (some say three hundred) slaine in the base court.

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, sithence the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortlie after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he tooke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yéere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundée, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Reingraue with two bands of his Almaines, and monsieur de Etauges with his companie of horssemen were sent before, who comming to Dundée, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staieng till monsieur de Desse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going foorth to view the fort, were in danger to haue beene caught yer they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lanceknights that were there with them (part of Conrad Phennings bands) issued foorth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue béene distressed, if the Reingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troope. To be short, monsieur de Desse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left senen ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundée, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This doone, he returned to Edenburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the cōuntrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

* While these things were in dooing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneigeie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntleie being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle frée, vntill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Vane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntleie was committed to certeine kéeperes, who should carie him from London to Morphet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle dooth there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he had agréed with George Kar, that he should one night priuillie bring to him thither, two of the swiftest horssees that he could get to flie awaie vpon them. According wherevnto Kar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horssees as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The erle prepareth a supper for his kéeperes, wherevnto they were solemnelie inuited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaie the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had plaid inough at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his kéeperes that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreame darke ouer all the element) easilie vnderstand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in good hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnadvisedlie (as doubtfull men are

woont

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taking with him monsieur de Oisell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hasted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certaine capteins with their bands to surueie the house; who at their comming thither, vsed such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enimies that came foorth to giue them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

The castell of Fernihurst woone by the Frenchmen.

Héerewith a great number of Scots haning broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, burst in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had doone them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himselfe to monsieur de Dussac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the prese; but suddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished, smote off his head so inst from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or fise yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots séemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken héere at Fernihurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

The crueltie of the Scots.

The castell of Cornewall woone. Capteine Coblos.

Monsieur de Desse returning to Iedworth, aided by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of aduantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Cornewall (an old house built after the ancient maner of fortifieng) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things woorth the bearing awaie. Also capteine Coblos a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horssemen Scots serning vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horssemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and tooke more prisoners (whome he brought to Iedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent foorth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of horssentien that belonged to monsieur de Etauges then prisoner, and fise hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprise he atchiued in burning townes and villages, and returned without anie great losse susteined at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Iedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field péeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, tooke the castell of Fourd and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countrie thereabouts, situat within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Fourd, which was kept by Thomas Kar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, remoouing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Another made by monsieur de Desse. Fourd castell woone.

Thomas Kar.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certaine light horssemen; but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Iedworth, hauing sore indamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen sore gréeued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Iedworth, should in such wise adresse one enterprise after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoiance, assembled a power together at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Iedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Desse fleeth out of Iedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrosse, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be constreined to giue battell. Which he could not haue doone without manifest losse of his féeble armie, haning not past fiftéene hundred footmen, and fise hundred horssemen able to haue doone seruice: for such was

the

the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie susteined through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Iedworth, that what through sicknesse and hurts receiued in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so féeble, that they were not able to aid themselues; insomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselues happilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed fve and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Basse, néere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant woords to haue persuaded the kéeperes of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yélded the place into their hands. But perceiuing their persuasions would not be regarded, they tooke their course vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized vpon them as a wished preie: and the morrow next insuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Iland foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pioners and the Ilaud against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

After the English nauie was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the queene mother being at Edenburgh, determind with all diligence to imploie all such forces as they might make about the recouering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Heerevpon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, embarked in the gallie of monsieur de Villegaignon, rowed foorth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectuall wise, that approching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

La Chapelle de Biron.

At that présent also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arriued at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horssemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the quéene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got together within Leith hauen all the botes that belonged to all the créekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie sundaie, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the quéene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselues abroad, & the comfortable woords of the quéene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Desse and the other capteins, till they were all set forward.

The diligence of the Scottish quéene.

The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

Villegaignon with his gallies passéd on before to kéepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discovering the vessels at their setting foorth, conceiued streightwaies what was intended: and therevpon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and droue the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strond vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plumpe together, dooing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being slaine with George Applebie esquire, a capteine of an ensigne of footmen sent foorth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Pizoni, that was capteine of the Italians, beside diners other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing,

Capteine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slaine.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was striken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burguenet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desbories, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Inskith recouered by the Frenchmen.

Thus was Inskith recouered out of the Englishmens hands, after it had beene in their possession by the space of sixtéene daies, the more to the high contentation of monsieur de Desse, for that at the same time he stood vpon his discharge and returne into France, being appointed to surrender vp his place to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arriued (as ye haue heard) with commission to receiue the same. So that monsieur de Desse, to end his charge with the glorie of this atchiued enterprise, estéemed it much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he was blowen vp; as in cases of victorie it commeth to passe in them that make a good hand: whereas the vanquished (God wot) are contrarilie qualified.

Monsieur de Desse returneth into France.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scotish lords, determined with a siege volant to kéepe the Englishmen in Hadington from vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after that Desse was departed towards France, monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some Scots incamped at Aberladié, where they began the foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid from thence to Hadington, as before they had doone.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place.

A fort bullded at Aberladié.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increased their numbers of Almaines, and other strangers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while besieged Hume castell. But after they saw themselues disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to haue recouered it, they raised from thence, and spoiled the most part of Tiuidale and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the disloialtie and breach of promise proued in the assured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised, and staid in his dealings, verie honorable and courteous in all his demeanor.

The earle of Rutland.

He was accompanied with capteins of good estimation and approoued prowesse, as sir Richard Maners, sir Francis Leake, sir Iohn Sauage, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wulstrop, & others. He so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the vprores and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces against Scotland were staid, and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the encouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were sofronted and kept in aw by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gained in this season at the Englishmens hands.

The Frenchmen in danger to haue béene distressed.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of vittels vnto Hadington, came so suddenlie vpon the Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether through default of their scouts, or other negligence vsed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue béene vtterlie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought néedfull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken, & slaine the Frenchmen handsmooth (as was supposed) at their pleasure. But the Englishmen enen at their first comming in sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre, sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such cases too late repentance easilie insueth) staid, the better to conceiue of that which they had to doo. Wherby the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies a maine pase, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the troops of the English horssemen almost at their elbowes, and herewith the
battell

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that verie selfe time betwixt the two kings of England and France, through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the commissioners appointed to deale therein, whose names insue.

The names of the commissioners appointed to treat of peace.

First for the king of England, the right honorable Iohn earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and lord priuie seale ; William Paget lord of Beaudesert, knight also of the garter ; sir William Peter knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king ; & sir Iohn Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French toong. For the French king were appointed Francis de Montmorance, lord of Rochpot, knight of the order of saint Michaell, and lieutenant for the same king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Vandosme ; Gasper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon, knight also of the order, and capteine generall of the footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullogne ; Andrew Guillard lord Mortier, knight also of the order, and one of the same kings priuie councill ; and Guillaume Bouchettell lord of Sassie, knight likewise of the order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And for the Scots (as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 506. D. Painter bishop of Rosse.)]

Fr. Thin.

The articles of the peace.

Among other articles comprised in this peace, it was couenanted, that all such forts, castels, and places as the Englishmen held in anie part within the Scotish dominions, should be deliuered and restored to the Scots ; and that the forts of Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Aimouth, which the Englishmen had built and raised out of the ground, should be raced and thrown downe, to auoid all occasions of new controuersies that might grow by reason of kéeping or defending the same : so as the peace now concluded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept and obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scotland, as England and France, and betwixt all and euerie the subiects of the same realmes, both by sea and land. Monsieur de Monrret was sent into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whose means it was proclaimed anon after Easter about the beginning of Aprill, and euerie thing vsed and ordered according to the articles of the agrément concluded.

Monsieur de Mourret.

The Frenchmen returne home.

The marquesse de Maine.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were imbarked at Leith in sixtéene French ships, and certeine Scotish ships, and departed from thence into France. A few there were, as Nigropellice and Saint Falcise, capteins of light horssemen, with others that pased through England, and so home into their countrie. Moreouer the marquesse de Maine, after duke Daumals comming ouer into England about the same time for an hostage, passed afterwards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his sister queene Dowager, and shortlie after returned. They mourned both for the death of their father Claud de Loraine, the first duke of Guise, who deceased the eightéenth of Aprill this preseat yeare 1550.

The death of the first duke of Guise.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 507.

* Now when the French departed out of Scotland, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them ; partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should offer them anie iniurie in the streict of the British sea, and partlie for honors cause to bring them on their iourneie into France. By whose departure Scotland was fréelie deliuered from all forren souldiers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained still in the countrie ; because they had the Ile of Insketh and the castell of Dunbar committed to their charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chappellie, and diuerse other capteins of France, remained also in Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to sée the countrie ; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and beholding the cities, searching the castels, and marking the bulworks of defense) did constantlie affirme, that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie defended. In séeing whereof they consumed the time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of December, in which they all went into France with the quéene Dowager.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the French) with forren nations, which continued three yeares : so was there within the wals and kingdome warre and dissention amongst the Scots ; which was most perillous and troublesome. For they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews and others) did vse all things with extreame crueltie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all things, as though it had béene permitted

vuto

vnto him. For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he permitted the slaughter of William Chreichton to go vnpunished, the same William being slaine in the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight) by Robert Semple: next followed the death of Iohn Maluill an old man of Fife; who next vnto the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chiefest of his familiars. This Iohn had his letters (which he wrote to an Englishman, to whome he did commend a capteine his friend) intercepted. In which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie fault, yet was the author of them punished with the losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death seeme the more vile; because the same was ginen to the yoonger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enimie thereof to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For by reason of this vn-skilfull gouernement of the kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended the common people; the gouernor began to be had in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quéene Dowager accompanied with the earls of Huntleie, Cassils, Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie tooke the sea, and sailing to France landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the prior of Capoa, & Leon Strozzi, sent and appointed with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king then laie, of whome she was right courteouslie receiued, and had such attendance and seruice doone vnto hir, during the time of hir tariance there, as stood with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the high praise likewise of the king and his court in that behalfe.

The quéene Dowager sail-eth into France.

The causes of the quéene Dowagers going into France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, she might renew the old league in France, she might see hir daughter and hir other friends; and procuré the gouernement of the realme to hir selfe. For the ambitious and subtile woman did thinke in hir mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanor would soone be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before hir shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntleie commanded William Makintosche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first depriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earles of Cassils, and others that faored the Makintosche) did so stir them against Huntleie, that a commotion and tumult had béene raised by them, vnlesse the wisdom of the quéene had appeased the furie of their minds.

Buchanan. lib. 15. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 508.

For although the quéene certeine yeares after, had vndoone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Makintosche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Makintosche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwéene Huntleie and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreunged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceit, they apprehended Lanchlane Makintosche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntleie, to make the said William Makintosche out of the waie.

1551. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 508.

Lanchlane Makintosche apprehended.

A little before which, the maister of Ereskine, and Henrie Senclère deane of Glasgow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioising of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuasion of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in detaining their ships and merchandize.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 509.

Thus.

Thus much digressed from the quéene Dowagers going into France, wherevnto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rone, the king did there openlie make shew of hir welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shews, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntleie and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the queene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures séemed the more augmented, in that the yoong quéene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lesleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eie, the king of France, the two quéens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of the citizens most ioifullie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntleie, and the other Scots; that he séemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

*Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 510.*

Now the quéene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of hir comming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Loreine (hir brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chieftest cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to hir rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet she would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would gine it ouer.

*Buchanan.
lib. 16.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 410.*

Wherevpon the quéene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his beires, & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Murreie to the earle of Huntleie (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothseie to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the erledome of Morton, to the sonne of George Dowglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yoong quéene. These things now doone, the French king carefullie receiued the yoong quéene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeers, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to doo, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots gine great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the queene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rosse (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Gawin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbeie of Kiluinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwéene the king of France & the quéene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quéene mother should susteine the parts and place of the queene hir daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, sith the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yéeld therevnto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceit might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassadour to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortlie after, the bishop
of

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he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she tooke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

Fr. Thin. * And here I must not forget what Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yoong quéene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the mariage bed of king Edward the sixt. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that mariage, and the willingnesse of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) bée well answered, as matters that not verie greatlie defend the cause : yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Rosse) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 113.*

When the quéene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, laieth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obtaine the good will of the queene. For he after persuaded hir with manie spéeches, that she shuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scotish nobilitie : which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the cots, which should giue ; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Therewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwéene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Wherevnto the queene both presentlie and wiselie answered, that the cause of hir daughters mariage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnadvisedlie doone of him, to séeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the mariage bed with faire promises and flattering spéeches. Whervnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were inforced to crane aid from the French : for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the yoong quéene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieved that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labor the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to sée if hir trauell and furtherance could doo anie thing with him therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The sixt of Nouember, the queene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing foorth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there tooke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iauelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in black veluet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke veluet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke iauelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iauelins in like maner, well apparelled : which thrée companies of horsmen furnished the stréets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as she passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltam towne end, where she lodged that night : and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentle men there receiued hir : and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aswell for hir selie, and whole traine, as also the prouision for their horsse, was borne

borne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dudleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorable receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntleie, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrosse, about the latter end of December.

* After that the quéene was arriued in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bralles which were risen amongst the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much inpaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Argile, and by the quéenes trauell, the controuersies mooned about the archbishoprikes of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishoprikes of Dunkeld and Brechine, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchechafrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens children, and some vpon such persons as woorthilie deserued them.)

. Doctor Wanthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottish-man borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Iulius the third, deceassed this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (whereto he must néeds aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite depriued of the benefit of sight) coopled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune, the quéene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north párts of Scotland; and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Aberden, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glascow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in lenleng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redéemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Wherevpon, when nothing séemed to want for the setling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by driuing booties of cattell from the borders of England, séeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Iedworth, and remooued such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Wherevpon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betweene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councell kept at Bithquoe, where the Caluinists with their doctrine were condemned and accursed; and all things decreed in the councell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other néedfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

¶ In which meane time, Daud Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie consumed senen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Iedworth: where,

*Fr. Thin.**Fr. Thin.*
Lesleus lib. 10.
*pag. 513.*The archbi-
shop of Arma-
chane.1551.1552.Wrongs doone
are by iustice
redressed.*Fr. Thin.*
Lesleus lib. 10.
*pag. 515.*1552.

when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Rosse, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knighthood certeine borderers, who had deserued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cesfurd and Fernihurst, Andrew Kar of Littleden, Couldinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 516.*

The quéene
mother séeketh
to be gouernor.

1552. Lesle.
1553.

The gouerne-
ment is resign-
ed vnto the
quéene.

In this iorneie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quéene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quéene came to sufficient yéeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wils in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuie bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handeled by hir and others, to whome she committed the dooings therein, that in the yéere following, the gouernor agréed to surrender vp the gouernance into hir hands, hir daughter the yoong queene being not yet full twelue yeeres of age.

The gouernor was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *Quietus est* of all his dooings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernor. And foorthwith the queene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

*Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.
1552.*

* But before the gouernor had consented to the queenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for she well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yoong quéene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yeeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of fouretéene; & the quéene (as it is in other women) at the yéeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yoong quéene chose amongst other (as after shall more appéere) the quéene Dowager to be one: wherevpon, the quéene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yeeres of twelue. Against which the gouernor did stiflie contend, constantlie affirming that the yoong quéene did not excéed the age of eleuen yéeres.

Whervpon the quéene, to take from the gouernor all starting-holes and other shifts, dooth vrge the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yeere in which the Scottish king or quéene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernors to rule vnder them. Which the gouernor perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quéene it did not appeere; sith it séemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaiès héeretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appéered from the Bruses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or doo what he could, the gouernor did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appéere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things doone in this place: which is, that whilst the gouernor & the queene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.*

with

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whom (after his death) the French king was yet so louing (for the singular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Brunstone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

The couenants
and articles are
perfected.

1555. *Buch.*

1554.

A parlement.
Edenburgh
castell deliuered
to the lord
Erskin to
kéepe.

The quéene
made gouernor
by parlement.

The gouernor
made duke.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the couenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quéene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thervpon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edenburgh, the tenth of Aprill next insuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edenburgh vnto the lord Erskin to kéepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agrément made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edenburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agrément had & made betwixt the quéene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quéene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lorrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor
resigned his of-
fice vnto the
quéene.

The quéene
giueth the go-
uernance of
the realme vn-
to the quéene
mother.

Fr. Thin.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the threé estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in which they bound themselues to warrant the queenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbreton (as saith Buchanan] with other things contened in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which doone, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the queene mother, & monsieur Doisell being there present, who receiued the same in the quéenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commision shewed, giuen by the quéene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quéene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorised in the quéenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quéene regent.

Buch. lib. 16.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoritie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (enen in our age) during the minoritie of Charles Iames the sixt, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edenburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quéene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselues. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of Iohn Areskine, which he should not deliuer to anie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 522.*

Buchan. lib. 16.

About this time, the quéene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntleie to apprehend Iohn Mudiard (or Muderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable théefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked déeds: which iournie it is supposed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, wherein he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spred false rumors thereof, laieng all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did onelie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilist the quéene prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison
William

William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yoong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Murreie for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle; for none other cause but for that he would not yeeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him frée and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quéene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge woorthie anie punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he persuaded the yoong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yoong man did accordinglie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yoong and giltlesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transference all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not doone by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtile wit of Gordon the earle of Huntleie, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie persuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Wherevpon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessiue mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his eninies, Gilbert earle of Cassiles. For he, perceiuing by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwéene Scotland and France; did vtterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vnconstantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were emulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that anie domesticall enill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustome the French to shed the Scotish bloud. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Murreie, & other things.

The quéene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Cassils treasurer, & Veilmort a Frenchman controller; also an other Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, kéeper of the great seale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntleie, who was chancellor and then in ward; [and Iames Machill register, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the priuie seale, as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 521. Bonald gouernor of the Ilés.] These mens counsell and monsieur Doisels she vsed principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Murreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Orkenie and Sheatland, and to the earledome of Mar, and of the quéenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five yeares. But yet afterwards the quéene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir fine thousand pounds in monie.

*About the same time Marie the quéene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betweene both nations, and that their commissioners should méet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kinwardie, and Iohn Bellenden of Achnowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Norton, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Norham castell in England, was at that time

Officers are .
changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of .
Huntleie re-
nounced manie .
things.

Fr. Thin. .
Lesleus. lib. 10. .
pag. 522.

1551..

cause.

The law for
fishing.

cause of the making of this law for the commons ; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take awaie anie fish that was taken ; that he should paie the mulct of twentie shillings for the same : beside other punishments of the common law.

Covenants for
seamen.

Further it was agreed, that whosoever by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were drinen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied ; but he might fréelie by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Prouided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriuell ; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France ; being a man greatlie familiar with Iames the fift, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 523.
1555.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie estéeming such wisdomes & learning) made no account of him, although the quéene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor ; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orchades chiefe president, and to the other senators ; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of sutes in law ; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iusticé ; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more bolilie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had beene before.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 524.

The reason is readie ; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men : as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence vsed by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers ; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders : which ministred occasion, that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Maine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence therevnto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkléie of England now knight ; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

1555.

A parlement.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 524.

In Iulie was a parlement held at Edenburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these seeme woorthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants méeting together, should no more assemble vnder a certaine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwéene subjects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 525.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie queene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the cite of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quéene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulat their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to méet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilst the quéene regent did administer the affaires of south Scotland, Iohn Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of Iohn Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle vsed such courtesie and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisdomes in executing of

things ;

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other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, sith the Frenchmen (which were then present with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their own people (with singular commendations to the Scots) the gorgions shew of this Scotland, being a most woorthie signe of the fauour they bare to the queene.] In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bishop of Dunblane, the lard of Lethington, & maister James Macgill : where doctor Tunstall bishop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the queenes comming backe foorth of the north in September next following.

Commissioners sent,

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 527.

A parlement. Gentlemen restored.

A yéerelie tax to be leuied is proponed.

This yéere was a parlement holden, in which the lards Brimston, Ormiston, and Grange, with maister Henrie Balnaues, and others, which were forfalded in the gouernors time, were restored. At the same time the queene, by the counsell of monsieur Doisell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested that a new order might bee made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a yéerelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treasure-house till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when anie great armie came foorth of England to inuade Scotland.

This taxation is not granted. 1556.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance : but the most part of the barons hearing thereof, assembled together in Edenburgh, to the number of two hundred & aboue, and sent the lards James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and Iohn of Wemis in Fife, to the queene and lords, beséeching them not to set such new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare such burdens ; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had doone, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they should alreadie make their last will and testaments : and be past all hope of inioieng their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fall necessitie not to be auoided. * Adding further, that “ their elders did not onelie defend themselues, and their goods against the English, when they were of farre greater power than they now be ; but did also manie times make further inuasion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cause, they being not anie iot now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they wold not, when néed required, bestow their substance and life in defense of their countrie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 16.

“ And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men without substance, or without hope of aduancement, and to such as for monie will dare to doo anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their déepe couetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the déerenes of their countrie, than their owne estate or condition. For will anie man beleue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the defense of their owne ? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense the minds of the common people ; than goods, children, wiues, and temples, will mooue the hearts of the nobilitie ?

“ Wherevnto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the highest good of the kingdome of Scotland, and that the same is of farre more importance than that it should be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yoong queene. Besides which the greater part of men doo suspect and feare, that the same new order for warre is vnprofitable, and such as cannot be performed without some commotion of the Scotish nation, especiallie sith so great sums of monie can hardlie be wroong out by tribute imposed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, least the end of persuasion grow to this point, that it doo not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to kéepe them backe. For if the English, after this example, being a farre richer nation, shall gather a much greater summe : who doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the cōmon people, susteine an armie twise as great as that of the

the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the borders, but rush cuen into the verie bowels of the kingdome of Scotland?"

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deliuer it (saith Buchanan) to common eies & eares. For I doo heare (wrieth he) manie which doo murmur and aske "who shall gather this monie? How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired souldiors, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasurer? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be established for the especiall goodnesse and temperancie of that woorthie princesse (in whose hand the whole gouernment now resteth) dooth incourage vs, that we shall not bee so taxed. But yet when we remember the outward déeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time béene doone; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue alreadie felt.

"But letting these things passe, which perchance we vainlie feare, let vs come to those things in which our ancestors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) against the weapons of their aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in comparision of whome none of the Scottish kings were counted more wise, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his subiects whilest he liued, but also after his death: for when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we should neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For that man (by nature and by vse of long time exercised in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that such as lined in idlenesse and slouth, had their stomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and lecherie did spring vp as it were in vntilled ground, when senere discipline and sparing was quenched, which made them also to be vnpatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their strength being diminished, they should easilie giue place to their enimies."

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if she perseuered in this exaction, left off anie further to pursue this tax, and is (in often acknowledging hir error) said to haue vsed this spéech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not she, were authors and workers of the same. By which words manie supposed that she ment the earle Huntleie, a man of a sharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of prison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit shewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherefore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and paiments of monie: and fearing least hir power being ouermuch increased, that she would abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole gouernment of Scotland into the hands of hir people, it was supposed that he gaue hir counsell answerable to hir disposition for the gathering of monie which she had then in hand, being in déed the part of an enimie to hir, bicause he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribut, nor be so obedient vnto hir as they had beene before. There were also some that supposed this deuise to grow from Dauid Painter bishop of Rosse; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kinreds.

In this yéere, an ambassador of Muscouie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchquane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing lost all his goods by shipwracke, was saued himselfe, and some of his companie, because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might saue their lines. The inhabitants did liberallie interteine this strange man, and brought him to Edinburgh to the queene, who would not permit this new ghest to want anie thing so long as he remained with hir: and further commanded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfullie restored to him againe, appointing moreouer the lord Hume for honors sake to accompanie him to Berwike.

This yéere also in the moneth of Iulie was Hoter Traherne sent ambassador (from Anna duke of Oldenberge, and Delmensore, and earle of Emden) out of east Frisia into Scotland,

1557.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 328.**Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 529.*

to require that the ancient couenant of an hundred yéeres made betweene the Scots and the people of Emden (which by course of some yéeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnelie established, both those nations from that day did line together in mutual & perfect friendship. After this, warres arising betweene England and France, quéene Marie of England, fearing least the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadors to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with hir people méet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 529.*

1557.

The quéene regent desired warres.

An assemblie at Caerleill. The occasion why the quéene regent desired to haue war.

The Scottish lords refuse to take warre in hand. Haimouth is fortified. Inuasions are made into England.

An armie assembled.

The lords doo not consent thereto. The castell of Warke besieged by the Scots. Capteine Read.

The earle of Westmerland gathereth an armie to resist the Scots.

Wherevpon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reid bishop of Orkneie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glasgow, Robert Carnegie knight, senators; and the lord Harries, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whome there was talke for peace, and recompense of such iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the west part on Scotland, and declared to the quéene the warres betweene England and France, desiring hir to make warre vpon the English. Wherevpon the quéene sent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where she opened to them diuerse wrongs doone on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redresse could be got: wherfore she required that warres might be mooned against England in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of Orkneie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that mooued the queene regent to seeke to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperor in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, bicause their quéene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Penbroke ouer with an armie to ioine with king Philips power.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots inuaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power foorth of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scottish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monsieur Doisell perceiued, hée spédily went to Haimouth beside Berwike, and fortified the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England. Wherevpon the Scottishmen in their owne defense were constrained to make warre, and the erle of Huntleie was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inuasions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses, piles and strengths.

In this meane while were the Scottish commissioners at Caerleill; and the maister of Maxwell warden of the west borders, being there with them, with much adoo got away and came home into Scotland. The quéene assembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forward to Kelso in the moneth of October, where the quéene & Frenchmen persuaded them to enter by inuasion into England. But they mening to take further aduise, passed ouer Twéed to Maxwell hugh, where they incamped, and afterward approched the castell of Warke, inuironing the same with a siege for the space of two or thrée dais. Capteine Read at that present had charge of that castell, with thrée or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horssemen, séeming to care little for the Scottishmens forces.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered such power together as he might make, and came to Lowike, accompanied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and others, to succor where most néed should appeare. The Scottish armie, perceiuing the Englishmen thus in a readinesse to resist their attempts, tooke aduise together, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell foorth of the bounds of their owne land, their princesse being absent, and as yet in hir minoritie; considering also that the war was not taken in hand for their owne quarell, but for

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nized betwéene our son the Dolphin, and your queene our déere and swéet sistér and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was so vrged by all parts, as the yoong quéene was vpon that condition left with vs, when she was caried into France, by the consent of our sister the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to the great reioising of all you that yéelded therevnto; where now she hath attained such beautie and number of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature (which she receiued from the kinglie bloud of hir parents) and partlie by the instruction of my wife, that I can hardlie anie longer suffer (in respect of the age of my sonne) that this mariage (which we haue so much desired) should anie longer be deferred. And sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those yéeres, in which he may promise all things that shall be necessarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and sith also we haue determined (if it so séeme good to the quéene hir mother, and to the rest of the parlement of Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands) that the mariage shall publikelie at Paris (on the day consecrated to the thrée kings) with such ceremonies as is requisite, be fullie consummate with the speech of my sonne and of your quéene:

“ We doo by these letters request you, that by common consent you foorthwith send some of your chiefe nobilitie, that maie honor the mariage with their presence, and that (haning publike authoritie therefore) may fréelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

“ The which if you shall doo, I promise that heereafter they shall liberallie vnderstand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receiue all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons mariage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will shortlie prouide) which said cōmoditie shall not onelie now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantlie with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. For sith both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of mariage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one vpon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and ouerthrow our states) maie for euer inioy such quiet as we did neuer hope to doo before this. From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth kalends of Nouember. 1557.

“ Subscription, By the king, HENRIE:
“ A little below: DE LAUBESPINE.”

Vpon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glascow, Robert Read bishop of Orkeneie, George Lesle earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedie earle of Cassiles, James Steward prior of saint Andrewes [the queenes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capteine of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and Iohn Erskine lard of Dun [gouernor of Montrosse] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie quéene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same mariage. Wherevpon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that iournie, and departed in the moneth of Februarie foorth of the rode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, loosing in their iournie one of their ships, with men and horsse before saint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capteine called Waterton in the rode of Bullongne.

The ambassadors themselues neuerthelesse escaped, and comming safe vnto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorable receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and three score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of yéerelie pension, with manie rich iewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and

great

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 533.
Fr. Thin.*

Ambassadors
sent into
France to con-
summate the
mariage be-
twixt the
quéene of Scot-
land and the
Dolphin of
France.

1558.

Two ships lost.

The assigne-
ment of the
Scots quéens
dowrie.

great preparation made for the mariage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Nostre dame, the 24 of Aprill in that present yéere, 1558.

* After the solemnitie of this mariage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councell-house of the French king: at what time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to th' end the husband of the yong queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. Wherevnto the ambassadors did shortlie make answer, that they had no such thing giuen in charge to them. After which, the cardinall said; "We desire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, forward, approoue & worke that this honor (which now we iustlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland." Which request (when it séemed full of impudencie) they supposed best more constantlie and sharpelie to reiect.

*Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.*

Wherefore they answered, that "their ambassage was restrained within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would excéed. But and if they had beene sent with frée libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yéeld vnto the French, ioined vnto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the French that they would not in their demands excéed the limits of modestie."

Whervpon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedie, George Lesle, Robert Read, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also belieued, that James the queenes brother had receiued the same draught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilest he liued, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said héereafter. Thus leauing the Scotish lords ambassadors there in France for a time, we will returne to shew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.]

About Whitsuntide, sir Henrie Persie with diuerse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowes then marshall of Berwike, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed foorth into Scotland, they being in all about senen or eight hundred horssemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and hauing got together a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, kéeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part kéeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled together to the number of two thousand horssemen (or few lesse) and three bands of footmen, hasting foorth to defend the countrie. And perceiuing where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and skirmished with them sharpelie as they were passing through the towne.

*A rode. into
Scotland.
Duns and
Langton burnt.*

The Scotish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmens shot into their battell, and preassed verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horssemen, the which (as ye haue heard) ouer-matched greatlie the English horssemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot, and the more vnto the disadvantage of the Englishmen, forsomuch as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder dankish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But héerewith sir Henrie Lée, capteine Read, and others, being in the battell, behaued themselues verie stoutlie, causing the footmen to staie, and boldlie to abide the enimie: & heerewith procured the horssemen to giue a charge in such

*The Scots as-
saile the Eng-
lishmen at
Swinton.*

such conuenient time, as if the same had béene protracted, it might haue turned verie euill to the English side.

The Scots
horssemen flée.

But now as well the horssemen as footmen plaieng their parts, the Scottish horssemen abiding without the towne in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leauing their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfullie: so that if the Scots horssemen had doone their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horssemen not entring the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen: for those that were in the fore-ward, and were passed by, returned, and comming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

The Scots
footmen slaine.

The lord of
Keith with
others taken
prisoners.
M. Edrington
taken.

Amongest others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Kenedie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken: diuerse of their horssemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whome William lord Keith, sonne to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefest. But this victorie was not atchiued without losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Pell, ensigne-bearer to sir Iohn Markhams band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edrington a capteine of light horssemen was taken prisoner by the lard of Edmonston, at the first charge giuen vpon the Scottish horssemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English capteins before mentioned, the forward valiancie shewed that day of sir William Brereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father sir Iohn Markehams band of footmen, also of Rafe Ellerkar a capteine of horssemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other capteins & souldiers behaued themselues in such wise at that present seruice, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Sir William
Brereton.

The Scots put
to flight at
Grendon.

Moreouer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scottish horssemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed foorth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horssemen: and sir Henrie Persie méeting with them at Grendon, set vpon the Scots and chased them ouer the water of Twisell, vnto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riner of Twéed, passed ouer the same at Chapell Fourd, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwike, that were come foorth to aid the earle, and also by the horssemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the riner before they could get ouer.

The good or-
der of the
Frenchmen in
their retire.

Lög Ednam
burnt.

The lord Greie
of Scotland
taken prisoner.
Cawmils
woone by the
Englishmen.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselues in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, susteining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the erle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doo them no harme, because they kept themselues in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Wherevpon the English horssemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chase of their horssemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen wan the strong pile of Cawmils, wherein were sixtéene Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the lines of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortlie after, there was a sore skirmish at Halidon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to gine libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the cnimies, vsed out of their armor to shoot, bowle, quait, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Aimouth in so secret wise, that they were drawn verie néere to the Englishmen, yer they had anie warning of their approach.

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Sacret, the Gerfalcon, and thrée other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quéene of England in hir warres.

The iournie of the earle of Sussex into the west parts of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Maconell.

There were also beside those seuen ships of war, two vittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall, and one Southweke of Douer was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Now vpon their arriuell in Ireland, the earle of Sussex hauing also prepared thrée other ships, with sufficient and necessarie prouision for his iourneie, imbarked with so manie souldiers as conuenientlie might be bestowed aboard in that fléet, conteining twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie souldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leaning them furnishd with competent numbers for their safeguard; and being got to land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe gouernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

The earle of Sussex burnt the Ile of Arrane.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great store of corne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Sussex his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finallie, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of thrée daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalache, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after went to Cumber, where he likewise burnt and harried that Ile.

Foule weather.

This doone, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Ila and Iureie: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast awaie also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiuing the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saued, as maister Francis Randoll, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Sussex was constrained to returne into Ireland, arriuing in Cragfergus, where he landed with his souldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublin, spoiling the enimies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and bootie of cattell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iourneie.

The earle of Sussex returneth into Ireland.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quéene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: whereof sith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet set downe these od notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eie-witnesses themselues of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namelie capteine Read, capteine Wood, capteine Erington, capteine Gurleie, and capteine Markham; with others, which of their courtesie haue willingly imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I wisht to be resolued in. Which accordinglie (so far as my remembrance hath serued) I haue here deliuered, to the end the same maie gine occasion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture wholie passe in forgetfulnesse.

The ambassadors died almost all.

And now to returne vnto the Scotish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the mariage betwixt their quéene & the Dolphin. After that the same mariage was consummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they tooke their leaue of the French king, the quéene, and nobilitie there, to returne homewards into Scotland: albeit few of them
came

came home, for the bishop of Orkeneie departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fiftéenth of September; the earle of Roths deceased there the ninth of Nouember; the earle of Cassils lord treasurer departed in the same place the fourteenth of Nouember; and the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eightéenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glasgow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lard of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose comming, there was a parlement summoned by the quéene, to be holden in December next.

*Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 538, 539.*

*Thré came
home againe.*

Lard of Dun.

A parlement.

[In August, Archembald Campbell erle of Argile, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland: and in France was aduanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michael. Few daies betweene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whitechurch. To the one did succéed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quéenes benefit. Dauid Painter or Paniter bishop of Ros, & James Steward, whome James the fift (being illegitimat father vnto him) had made abbat of Melrosse and Kelso died also this year. Whose monasteries the quéene did forthwith gine vnto the cardinall Guise: long after which followed also the death of the abbat of Bamtorinoch. At this verie time manie prodigious sights (which I will not here recite, beïng touched by Lesleus) did appeare by a marker of such ominous things, whereof these verses were made:

*Fr. Thin.
Lesleus. lib. 10.
pag. 539.*

Candiã Casa.

Portentum est miseræ gentis, quæ numine læso
Diuisis sacris diuidet imperium.

In September there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France (about the mariage of the queene of Scots to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the Dolphin of France by his ambassadors did vehementlie request, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) should be giuen vnto him by the decree of the states, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the quéene liued. The quéene also iudging it a point of honor, to heape all title of glorie which she could vpon hir husband, as one that by a certeine inclination of mind did vertuouslie fauor him; gaue in charge also to the ambassadors, that they should earnestlie follow the same cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw them the more easilie into hir opinion; she drew the matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the ambassadors with more ample instructions touching the same: the summe of all which was this.

*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 542.*

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and so alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without anie dissimulation, it maie well appeere as well by the couenants established for the mariage, as also by the benefits which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in particularitie vpon certeine especiall Scots, of his owne frée will, almost without the request of anie bodie. And that they should further laie abroad, what helpe the quéene and Scots haue had of the woorthie cardinali of Lorraine, & the duke of Guise the quéenes vnclé. All which the ambassadors themselues (as they haue fullie proued) did well vnderstand.

Secondlie, where the quéene dooth thinke that she is greatlie benefited with manie honors by so great a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a prince hath taken hir into the fellowship of the bolie bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdomé which he hath purchased with his great charge and labor: and that the quéene considering all this (with great grieve of mind) dooth séeke by what meanes she might at least expresse some small token of a thankfull mind for so manie benefits (because if she should not doo some thing, no small blot would sée me to be imputed to the queene and the Scots) it came into hir mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite some part therof, which she could doo (as she thought) if at the least she did but

honor

honor hir husband with the kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the quéene hir selfe dooth earnestlie desire, and dooth courteouslie request all the estates of Scotland, that the same maie be established by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will command some thrée or foure of the chiefest nobilitie honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king & the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king hir husband.

And to the end that this request of the quéene, for the rarenesse of the example, should not bréed anie doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in suspense, it was giuen in charge also to the ambassadors, that they should in manner point with their finger, that manie ages past, the quéene of Naples did not onelie for loue she did beare vnto him, adorne the duke of Anjou hir husband, with the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouvernement ouer the same kingdome. The like whereof was also doone in our memorie by the queene of Spaine to hir husband the archduke of Austricb, & by the queene of Nauarre to the duke of Vandosme.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambassadors should easilie wipe awaie that doubt, if they admonish the Scots that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and néedfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one priuilege, magistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and participation of the administration of all the things in either kingdome. Wherevnto they must further adde that it was so far off, that the English should reape anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) wring from the English all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the English being out of all hope for their queene to haue anie issue by the same mariage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit maie redound vnto them by this signe of a thankefull mind. For it maie so happen, that if the king Dolphin shall féele himselfe increased with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raise vp his father the king of France, that he will not by anie meanes permit the quéene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of quéene Marie, who was not like to liue long being sore troubled with the dropsie.

These things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambassadors (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the states and the quéene regent, with might and maine séeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he should be king during the life of the quéene. For which cause Gillesper Campbell earle of Argile, and Iames Steward, bastard brother to the yoong quéene, being prior of S. Andrews, were named to execute their consent vnto the Dolphin to declare him king, and to innest him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things: by which anie honor or profit might anie waie rise vnto him.

But whilest these men doo prepare all things for such a iourneie, certeine factious persons did beat into their eares, how heauie à iourneie that would bee vnto them. For it would happen, that whilest they were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they should by delaie corrupt, or by absence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the subtile wit of Iames, and the great power and strength of the earle of Argile would be missing in those new things which were in hand amongst these of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and persuading, vntill they had wholie staid them from that iourneie.

During

Well fished to
catch a frog.
Not so likelie
as that lies
drop out of
your pen.

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**Images and
frierhouses
pulled downe.**
Fr. Thin.
Knox being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindseie, the lards of Tulibardin, Dun, Pctarow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgesses of the townes of saint Iohns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Iohns towne, and cast downe the abbeie of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Tullelum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be séene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parts there next adioining.

**The quéene
regent came to
Perth.
Fr. Thin.**
S. Andrews.
Cowper.
Fr. Thin.
**Two armies
were pacified.**
The queene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, haning with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whome also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, Iames prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Cowper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine Iames Steward, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quéene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, ioining themselues with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Cowper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Cowper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quéene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of Iames Steward cardinall, & Iames Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Cowper moore in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staid, & the queene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

**Saint Iohns
towne besieged.**
**Scone abbeie
burnt.**
**The friers in
Striueling de-
stroied.**
**The quéene de-
parted from
Edenburgh.**
The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisters came to saint Iohns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntleie was sent to them from the queene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certaine number of persons of the townes of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbeie of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Lithquo, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be throwne downe. From thence they passed to Edenburgh, where the quéene hearing of their comming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

**The frier-
houses ouer-
throwne.**
Fr. Thin.
Fr. Thin.
*Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 551.*
The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenlie ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Gils church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publike treasure, tooke the keis by force from him, entered the abbeie] the coining house, tooke the coining irons, seized vpon the quéenes moouables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilest these things were thus doone at Edenburgh, Maxwell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edenburgh castell, did priuilie get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and haning speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, shortlie after ioining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doisell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Mourtou, and others. And the lords of the congregation came foorth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them.

But

But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agréed vpon certeine articles, and so the quéene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and foorthwith began to fortifie it.

Two armies
pacified.
Leith fortified.

THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEENE THE REGENT AND THE LORDS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION.

“ 1 FIRST, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the queene: with this prouiso, that the citzens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 553.
Buchanan.
lib. 16.

“ 2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatlie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

“ 3 Thirdlie, that the quéenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered vp againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

“ 4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Pettarrow (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quéenes part.

“ 5 Fiftlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quéene to be lawfull, which before they had gainesaid by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfullie obeie the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

“ 6 Sixtliie, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall persons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioieng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

“ 7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from hencefoorth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

“ 8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

“ 9 Ninthlie, that the quéene regent should faithfullie prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.”]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chateaurault, partlie through persuasion of the earle of Argile his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partlie because he vnderstood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled foorth of France to Geneua for the religion, he tooke part with the lords from that time foorth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrews, and diuerse other his friends. This yeere in Iune, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sauoie and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next insuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quéene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

Duke Chateaurault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufe or Elbufe (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should shortlie be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortlie send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which he brought letters out of France from the king and the quéene, to the prior of saint Andrewes, in which they rather sought to incline his

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 554.

mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would inforce him therevnto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

FRANCIS KING OF FRANCE TO IAMES PRIOR OF THE MONASTERIE OF SAINT ANDREWES.

*Lesleus lib. 11.
pag. 554.*

AFTER that I vnderstood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my coosine) that Scotland did flame in enerio part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonied thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my déere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefits) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bralles; I could not be persuaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quéene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame dooth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering woords of others had intised you to this deceipt, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whose cause (whèn they had discharged themselues thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as ioifull to me, as that which should be most ioifull: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelle deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more déere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeased) all things without anie tumult maie be knit together by the law of good order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be doone by your trauell, I doo admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doo earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foolish dooings, the which shall then fullie appéere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the common-wealths ancient, sound, and hollie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be persuaded that I will shortlie subdue you, and all those which shall cleaue or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration whereof, and the further large expressing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praie God (coosine) to kéepe you in health. Paris the sixtéenth kalends of August.

Subscription, *Francis*

A little beneath that: *De Laubespine.*

With which letters also the quéene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

MARIE QUEENE OF SCOTS, AND DOWAGER OF FRANCE, TO IAMES THE PRIOR OF THE MONASTERIE OF SAINT ANDREWES.

I can not see why Lesleus should call hir Dowager, sith by hir letter it appéereth hir husband was yet liuing, in that she talketh of hers and hir husbands displeasure.

“ I CAN not (coosine) but greatlie woonder, that you which are not onelie néerest to vs by bloud, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelerault, and of manie others, which seemed to

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“Wherefore he would not haue the king or quéene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaie the denises of the papists. From which onelie thing (sith he supposeth the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quéene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein) he will not be withdrawne by the force of anie man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quéene, vntill he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of superstition, and vtterlie pulled vp the roots thereof.”

Crookes had scarce performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but foorthwith alanded at Leith Octauian a Frenchman, with foure troops of souldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of souldiers might be sent ouer, which might with those (alreadie now in Scotland) supplie the number of twentie ensignes: to whome also it were expedient to ioine a hundred horsmen, which number she affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the hauen of Leith, to watch the port. Of all which if the Scots were prouided (by the benefit of the king) and that the comming of hir brother the marquesse of Albufe were hastened, she promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, she did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did dailie send letters and messengers to the Scots, to encourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreouer, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religions cause, to require aid from thence, but their chiefest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lesleus) in England.]

1559.

Leith besieged.

The Scottishmen are vanquished.

During these things, the duke of Chatelerault and the lords of the congregation sent to the quéene (whereof we will speake more héereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the realme. But she would not grant so to doo: wherfore they assembled their whole forces in Edenburgh; and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quéene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued foorth of Leith, and met néere to the abbeie of Holic rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had cntred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to staie the slaughter and pursute.

The quéene came to Edenburgh.

New men sent into Scotland.

In the time of this siege, the yoong lard of Lethington, secretarie to the quéene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quéene and Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Martigues coronell of the footmen. And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quéene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and Iames Steward of Cardonald.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

* The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelue of the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that “they did not séeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would comit them selues to that de-

ceding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather séeme to be drawne therevnto by compulsion, than quietlie led by reason. For if they did trulie & from their heart require that décd. which they séeme in woords, they would discharge those strange souldiers, and méet (as they haue often doone in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by woords and reason is to be decided, and not by swoords, the strength to be compassed." And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, because it is omitted before in the reciting of the things doone in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the spéeches vsed to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edenburgh) did write to the queene much after this maner, "That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent prouoked with no iniuries, did so soone depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the lines of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the laws and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to praie in aid of the whole people.

Buchan. lib. 16.

"Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edenburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters; adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be frée for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buieng & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to doo, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all whatsoeuer remedie that they could. Within thrée daies after, the queene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

"First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie dooth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie, and this present request, or rather commandement dooth well declare, that they acknowledge no other superioritie; and that their demands (or rather threatnings) with what shew of words soeuer they be cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen vnto vs, as no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke of Chastelerault, that he call to mind what he hath promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hearken to the kings commandement; but also woorke, that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether the things which he now dooth, are the performance of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we haue openlie shewed our indeuor to bring things to quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie not resist the pietie due to God, and dooth not fight with their duetie towards their king and queene, and that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouerthrow of their lawes and liberties; and much lesse, somuch as dreame of conquering the kingdome by violence. For to whome, or for whome should I séeke the kingdome, when my daughter dooth alreadie possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifieng of Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, before that they with manie assemblies, and at length with conspiracie among themselues, did openlie shew that they would shake off the lawfull

lawfull gouvernement, and before that they at their pleasure troubled the whole publike state (vnknowledge to vs, who held the place and authoritie of the chiefest gouernor) strengthened their factions with strong cities, and made league and couenants with our ancient enimies?

“ And to omit other things, what cause can they (in the end) bring foorth, whie it was lawfull for them to reteine an armie at Edenburgh, to inuade the gouernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to haue anie other gard about vs? Truelle they séeke this therin, that we should labor to shun their furie (as hitherto we haue doone) by continuall and dailie change of places. Is there anie thing in their letters that mentioned their dutie to the right magistrate? Dooth there he open anie waie for the restoring of concord? Or doo they shew anie token that they would haue these seditions pacified, and that they would all things should be reduced to their former state?

“ Let them cloke this with what colour they will of publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had onelle staid vpon a concord, we haue often shewed them a waie therevnto. Neither are they ignorant that these French had (by the commandement of their king) béene long before dispatched out of Scotland, vnlesse their dooings had béene the cause of their staie. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope; and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies saned sound) maie declare that they will modestlie and obedientlie obeie their superiors: we will refuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to the publike commoditie.

“ Neither are we alone so affected towards them, but also their king and quéene; who hath sent vnto them a woorthie knight of the order of the scallop shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order, with letters and commandements touching the same: whome they did so contemne, as that they would not vouchsafe them answer, no not so much as hearing. Wherefore, ye shall demand, and command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of what condition soeuer, that they depart in sunder; or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together, vnlesse it be by strength of armes.” To all this the next day, which was the thrée and twentieth of October, the nobilitie answered after this order.

“ We easilie vnderstand by your letters and commandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie you be euillie minded against pietie towards God, the publike commoditie of the realme, and the common libertie of vs all: all which things we must & doo defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from hencefoorth we doo suspend and forbid your gouernement, in the name of the king and quéene, or by what other name or title you doo vsurpe the publike administration of the kingdome; as persons certeinlie knowing, that those things which are now doone by you, doo with the mind of those princes fight against the publike safetie of this realme.

“ And as you doo not estéeme vs lawfull subiects of those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike senate or councill: so we doo not acknowledge you for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie sith the gouernement (if you haue anie such committed vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weightie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of the same princes, whose councillors we are borne to be, chiefelie in matters which pertaine to the safetie of all the people. And although we haue determined not to flee anie danger, in deliuering of that towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we beare vnto you, as vnto our quéene mother; we earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beséech you, that you depart from thence; whilst the cause of publike commoditie dooth inforce vs to recouer that towne by weapons.

“ Besides which, we further request, that you will leade them out of the towne with you, within foure and twentie boures; if there be anie which doo challenge vnto themselues the names of ambassadors, either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the affaires. For it is

but

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of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a caléuer shot.

1560. *Lesle.*

The towne
Burnt Iland is
fortified.

An English
nauie.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 563.

1560.

Fr. Thin.

This Lesle is
now called bi-
shop of Ros
and compiled
an historie of
Scotland in
Latine, printed
at Rome.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arriued in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first kenning they tooke to be French ships, but shortlie after perceiuing them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Iland, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcorne in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouses for their defense, as preuenting such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and vsing remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present denise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rodé of Leith, where they cast anchors, the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

* In the meane time, whilest those of the religion had almost destroied all monasteries, certeine barons of Merne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberden. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lesle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntleie. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberden (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to kéepe them from the same, the bishop, & Iohn Lesie (the official of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntleie) did their indeuor, at what time the Leslées put them besides their purpose.]

The queene regent hearing of the arriual of the English, sent vnto the viceadmerall of that fléet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said viceadmerall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put foorth his demand as he was inioined. The viceadmerall answered, that he had beene abroad on the seas seeking after pirats, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arriued there in the Forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in déed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came foorth of France, and also to kéepe them that laie in Inskith from vittels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 564.
Fr. Thin.

* Wherevpon the quéene regent did send Noualle the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lesleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But bicause that she certeinlie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did dailie land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could doo no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vnlesse that they were prouoked therevnto by iniuries offered them.]

A Scots herald
sent to the
duke of Norf-
folke.

About the same time, the quéene regent, hearing that the duke of Norffolke was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when hée was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chester herald, and now Norreie king
of

of armes, was sent vnto the queene, who comming to Holie rood house néere to Edenburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after hee had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their péeces that discharged and shot off the same.

An English herald sent to the queene of Scots.

At his comming to the presence of the quéene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had béene read, he was demanded what credit he had to vtter. Wherevpon he declared, that the duke of Norffolke, being the quéenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quéene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the queene séemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuerthesse she brake foorth and said, that she maruelled greatlie that the queene of England should send hir ships into hir riuér, without giuing hir knowledge aforehand.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verle déed sent certeine of hir ships, with vittels for prouision to be laid within hir townes and castels on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might happilie be driuen into the riuér there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had béene verie vncourteouslie vsed: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had béene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martigues standing by, began to speake verie stout words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was perceiued well inough, that the queene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had doone in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herevnto answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: wherevpon Martigues was commanded to silence.

Martigues a forward captaine, but an vntrue prophet.

All this while the quéene had talked with Chester in the Scotish toong. And bicause he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quéene séemed greatlie to reioise, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the oíher part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brosse to passe through England into France, if she would see him safelie conueied to Berwike, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quéene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his cousine. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not beene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the quéene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like interteinment. But the queene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin in anie wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that shée was not well contented therewith; and so Chester tooke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iournie, at the hands of the Scotish quéene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seuen or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the sixt of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Martigues, coronell of the French armie, issued foorth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called

1560.

An English armie. Lestus lib. 10. pag. 565.

They were backed with 500 pikes which kept aloofe.

called the Halke hill, where a sore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts; caléeuers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued five or six honres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie sent vnto the queene.

The lord Greie being in Muskelburgh, sent to the queene regent, that laie as then in the castell at Edenburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his councill to declare to hir the cause of his coming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of blond. The queene granted herevnto, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but yer he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough on both sides.

Men are sent to speake with the queene mother.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir Iames Crofts to the castell of Edenburgh, to speake with the queene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockehouse at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the queene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whervpon the queene tooke time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The Frenchmen to depart the realme.

The English are desirous to reuenge the injuries doone vnto them.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpetter, or herald (as saith Lesleus) with a letter to monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edenburgh to the queene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlee ceassing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

A trench cast to little purpose.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the southeast side of the towne, and raised a litle mount which they called mount Pellam after the capteins name, and placed their ordnance aloft thereon: but bicause it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scath thereto as they intended. The lord Grele, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege) within the towne of Lestalrike, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demilances and other horssemen laie in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in haies, tents and paulions, vpon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltree, the prior of saint Andrews, the maister of Maxwell, and others. The duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rood house: and with the queene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld; the earle Marshall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister Iames Macgill clearke of the register, the prouost of Dunclas, called maister Abraham Chreichton, and diuerse others.

The castell of Blackenesse wonne.

On Easter écuen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe vp the riner to Blackenesse, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselues before the castell, it was yeilded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and therevpon it was deliuered to the kéeping of Iames Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen,

issuing

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Moreouer, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France ; considering she had the honor to be queene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable queene of the same.

“ Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie therevnto ; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of anie good will : and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had beene doone amisse : and if he called hir to his mercie, she praied them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the queene their souereigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladlie accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatlie (as she said) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine; and subdue the land to their obedience : and therefore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.”

A mistrustfull
mind.

The queene
taketh hir
leauē.

The earle of
Huntleie and
Atholl are at
variance.

The matter is
pacified.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 571.

The castell of
Rosse taken.

The castell is
besieged.

The castell
was restored
againē.

Ambassadors
sent.
Monsieur
Montac bishop
of Valence.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgiue hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladlie seemed to doo : and on the other part, she forgane them with all hir hart (as it appeared) all offenses which they had committed against hir : and thus diuerse of them weeping, she tooke euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leauē of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilest the siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme; and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners and ouerthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made, and armies put in a readinesse to inuade either others countries.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Gallowaie, maister Iohn Lesle official of Aberden, and William Lesle the yoong lard of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house. [During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Sarlalouse, then capteine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excursions intercept manie of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasher, archdeacon of Rosse, tooke the bishops castell of the canonrie of Rosse, and kept the same against maister Henrie Sincler, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Machenzée, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the shiriff Tramercie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was vsed, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Cromercie castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner : and therefore sending for maister Iohn Lesle, official of Aberden, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Murreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recouered his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that their necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp : and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Montac bishop of Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of England, the cause of their comming ; which was, to desire hir to retire hir armie foorth of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agréed vpon. And heerewith they declared that they were sent to the queene, and not vnto the subiects of Scotland : for it was not méet that the king should send to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

The quécnes maïestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecill knight, hir principall secretarie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of Yorke, one of the priuie counsell, with the French ambassadors into Scotland. Whilest they were yet vpon their iourneie, the quéene regent (whome they thought to haue found aline, and to haue vsed hir helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grieuous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of lune, in the yéere of our Lord 1560. * Hir bodie was first conueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe, which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbeie of S. Peter at Rhemes in Champaigne (whereof hir sister was then abbess) in which it was after most honorablie buried.] She was a wise and verie prudent princesse, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept good iustice, and was well obeied in all parts of the realme in Orkeneie, and the westerne Iles. And if she had to hir owne experience ioined the counsell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had béene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Doissell, and Rubée, were adioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who dailie pressed hir to denise new alterations of lawes, impositions, taxations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie misliking they had of hir, who suerlie deceassed, to the great grieffe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more discouraged than otherwise they would haue béene. But neuertheless these foure ambassadors of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themselues, vpon articles proponed as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for the weale and suertie of the quéene of England and hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulie, in the yéere of God 1560, with certeine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof heere insueth.

ARTICLES OF THE PEACE.

“FIRST, it was agréed, that all the Frenchmen should depart foorth of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England till the same ships were returned.

“2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should be throwne downe and demolished.

“3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and race the fort which they had built before the castell there.

“4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart foorth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

“5 Item, that there should be made an act of obliuion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent of the French king hir husband, should forget and burie in obliuion, all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yéere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of August next insuing, in which

An ambassage sent by the quéene of England.

The Scottish quéene mother departed.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.

The praise of the queene Dowager.

The ambassadors came to Edenburgh.

They haue conference. Peace is concluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of the peace.

French souldiers depart the realme.

Leith they should render it.

The fort before Dunbar to be raced.

The Englishmen should depart also.

An act of obliuion to be made.

which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the advise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

A parlement to be kept.

“ 6 Also it was agréed, that there should be a commission sent from the French king and the quéene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

To put awaie the armes and claime of England.

“ 7 Item, that the quéene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutchens.

Possession to be kept with souldiers.

“ 8 Item, it was agréed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inskith, thrée score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to kéepe (as it were) possession to the queenes vse.”

The Frenchmen depart out of Scotland.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Iulie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasgow and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be raced, as by the agrément of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of obliuion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same : it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was doone. And shortlie after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme foorth of the vniuersities of saint Andrews, Aberden, Glasgow, and other parts, to gine a reason of their faith.

A parlement. A confession of faith published. Learned men called.

A disputation. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 574.*

And amongst other of Aberden that tooke vpon them to dispute with Iohn Knox, Iohn Wullocke, and maister Goodman [were Iohn Lesle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberden called officiall ; who shortlie after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quéene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Rosse) Patrike Mirtton the treasurer, Iames Straquhine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue diuine. At what time these Roman prelates behaued themselues so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne ; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

Liuinges bestowed.

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put foorth the prelates, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argile disposed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishoprikes of saint Andrews, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Melrosse, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortlie after, Francis the French king, husband to the quéene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quéene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Orleance (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

The Scottish quéene went into Lorraine.

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 17.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she tooke hir iournie towards Ianuille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasgow, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourneie. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquesse Dalbeuf hir vncles. * Amongst whom there had béene great disputation touching the quéene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, wherevnto hir vueles were verie willing ; although some did séeme to staie the iournie, whose spéches tended to this effect as followeth.

“ That the iourneie was dangerous, especiallie because the quéene of England did not greatlie fauor it ; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obeie the gouvernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eies, of hir father, and of hir mother, whome (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, sith they dailie liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

“ On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall

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others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister Iohn Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thrise demanded, there was after question mooned to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeie him as Christes minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Wherevnto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Wherevnto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessell) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politicall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yoong lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edenburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene, meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister Iohn Lesle officiall of Aberden was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntleie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he tooke ship in the rode of Aberden, and landing at Brule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitric aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

“ * After which (being most courteouslie receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceiued with the flattering words of Iames the prior of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdome, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

“ Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vrge the queene not to yeeld to his cloked words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did fitlie ad to his persuasions, that Iames did rather aspire to the kingdome, than that he fixed his mind and eie vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this Iames should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

“ But if she would not doo so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir nauie should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberden: for by that meanes she

might

Euerie nation is to haue his peculiar gouernement in religion, as is best liking to the godlie disposers of the religion of that countrie, sith “*vulgus monstrum multorum capitum.*”

Ambassadors sent into England.

1561.

Fr. Thin.

This is he which before is called the earle of Murreie that went into France but not rightlie, for he was not earle vntill long after this time.

might prouide, that the settled lords of the religion might soone be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more fréelie and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilst they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedlie the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

“ But now, sith that the Scots doo vnderstand, that their quéene (contrarie to their hope) will returne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the quéene, whatsoever she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decree, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeie their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

“ Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuade the queene in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enimies, and especiallie of Iames Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For Iames Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Huntleie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent foorth with Lesle (as capteine of that iournie) to bring hir safe to Aberden. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will soone be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edenburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men.”

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vtill she returned into Scotland; and further gaue in charge, that letters should be written to the péeres and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, & to be a witnesse of hir good will vnto them. The next day after came to the quéene at Vitrie, in Champaigne, Iames Steward (which is touched a little before) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reuerence doone his dutie, bound himselfe with all fidelitie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willinglie obeie hir, without anie forren powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quéene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, vttering his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quéene to honor him with the erldome of Murreie. Wherevnto the queene did courteously answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this Iames perceiued that the queene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Ianeuille, and there remaining with hir a certaine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receiue the quéene comming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Marshall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quéens comming, assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quéene was preparing to take hir iournie, and to come into Scotland, the queene of England set foorth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & gard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quéene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quéene and hir retinue were safelie landed in Scotland; neuerthesse, the English ships tooke some of the Scottish lords, as the earle of Eglenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staid for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

The quéene also, by the aduise of the K. of France, sent monsieur Doisell into England,

The noble
assemble at
Edenburgh.
Ships wait in
the narrow
seas.

A safe conduct
required.

Certaine ships
taken.

Monsieur
Doisell.
to

to passe through the same into Scotland before hir cōming, there to haue receiued the forts of Dunbar and Insketh, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till hir cōming. But he was staid, and passed no further than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monsieur Rubeie were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the queene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vncles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise; the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

The queene was conueied into Calis.

She taketh hir iourne into Scotland.

The queene arriued at Leith.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir said vueles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf: also monsieur Danuille the constables sonne, and diuerse other. She arriued at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argile, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andrews, and of the burgesses of Edenburgh, and conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood house. For (as saith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enimies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gesse what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their queene offred vnto them (vnlooked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought vp by hir mother (being a chosen and woorthie person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further laid abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preserued in life from the weapons of hir enimies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a woorthie mariage, which in truth was to this queene rather a shadow of ioie, than anie comfort at all. For shortlie after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yoong husband, and of hir old and greened mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtfull possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behavior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanor. Whereby at the first sight, she wan vnto hir the hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir faithfull subiects.]

Costlie iewels.

Hir household s.uffe.

An act made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold worke, pretious stones, orient pearls, & such like, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of houshold; as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rone, and arriued at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the queene of Scots had remained the space of foure or fve daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present, there was an act made by the lords of the councill [in which none of the cleargie (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present] with consent of the queene, that to remouue all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publiclie standing within the realme, at hir arriual in the same, should be made; & that nothing

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for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir houshold, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

An act for the
cleargie.

The prelates agréed for the quécnes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yéeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the priuie councell made an act, and set foorth letters, that all the prelates and beneficed men should be charged to paie yéerelic to the quécnes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to doo with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath béene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelates, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 17.

* Whilest these things were in dooing, William Mettellan the yoonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the queene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the quécne of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserued betwéene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, bicause (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis inscrutabile*, & the mysteries of princes government are not to be laid open to common cies and eares) this ambassador deliuered letters to the queene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quécne of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quécne, to the end that the quécne of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dailie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassador the quécne of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine toong, I thinke it not necessarie héere to repeat: and therefore I doo purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent spéech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiencie therefore consumed with the heat and glorie therof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the tale of such a woorthie prince, consume my credit, in disordering or defacing the maiestie, grauitie, wisdom, and life of hir singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaning the same, we doo in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

Buchan. lib. 17.

The quécne of Scots had a brother called Iohn, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so senere in mind as was Iames the other brother. This Iohn easilie persuading himselfe to obeie the quécne in all things, was the more déere vnto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this Iohn (in absence of the other brother Iames) she did consult to hier a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stur, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretlie set vpon the queene, and by strength haue labored to carie hir to his castell, which was fouretéene miles from thence. All which séemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the queenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spred abroad, these souldiers after
they

they had all night scowred the fields, riding vp and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselues the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iest of others:]

The sunday before Shrouetuesdaie, being the eight day of Februarie (as some write) James Steward then prior of saint Andrewes, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quéene, was made earle of Murreie, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to Iohn Aréskin] by the quéens speciall gift, and was married the same day vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting thrée dales. * In which mariage he did so much exceed, that he greatlie offended the minds of his friends, and ministred matter to his enimies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaued himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quéene of England desirous to haue a méeting betwixt hir and the quéene of Scots hir coosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Yorke, where she would méet hir, to talke with hir of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwéene them, by coniunction and affinitie of blond. And after consultation had with hir councell, the quéene of Scots agréed thereto: and so they were appointed to méet at Yorke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iournie, the quéene of England sent woord to the quéene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iournie staied.

* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quéene, then after went he vnto hir to saint Andrewes, and with manie praiers requested hir that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gawen Hamilton, but he could not obtaine anie thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quéene went to Dunbreton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into hir hands, which was accordinglie deliuered vnto hir.] Shortlie after, the quéene of Scots tooke hir iournie towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striueling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and Iohn Gordon of Finnater, sonne to the earle of Huntleie, met on the calseie of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore Iohn Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and tooke his waie northward: wherevpon followed great trouble shortlie after to the house of Huntleie. The quéene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Murreie, and Morton, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in hir iournie towards the north part, and caused Iohn Gordon of Finnater to be summoned to appéere and answer the law at Aberden, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quéene comming to the towne of Aberden, was honorable receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

* These things thus doone at Aberden, as the quéene determined to go further, she was intreated by Iohn Lesle a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to vouchsafe his house in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie conuenient for the execution of the earle of Murreie, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Wherevpon Lesle, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the queene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betraied the chiefest brother of the quéene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Wherevpon it then ceased,

1562.

James Steward
made earle of
Murreie.
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 17.

The quéene of
England desir-
ous to speake
with the
quéene of Scot-
land.

The méeting
time was dis-
appointed.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 17.

The quéene
made hir pro-
gresse into the
north parts of
Scotland.
Lord Ogilvie
and Iohn Got-
don fight to-
gether.
Iohn Gordon
breaketh pris-
on.

Iohn Gordon
is summoned
by the quéene.
Gordon is ac-
companied
with a great
compane.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. an.
lib. 17.

and the next night was also quietlie passed ouer at Rothimie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quéene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Wherevpon the earle of Huntleie, hauing before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberden, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appéerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quéene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said Iohn Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striueling castell, there to remaine during the quéenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some yoong heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quéenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he tooke it) vpon the earle of Murreie, whome he put most in blame for the rigor shewed against him, but his enterprise tooke not effect. Now the quéene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receiuing of hir and hir traine: but she went vnto Balwanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Tarnewaie, and so came to Inuerness, and there lodged.

Gordon is commanded to Striueling castell. He disobeyed.

The quéene suspected the earle of Huntleie.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntleie, purposing to attend on the queene at Innernesse, caused prouision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quéene suspecting his dealing, least this should be doone vpon some policie, commanded the kéeper of the castell to render the same to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the capteine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne bridge. The lord Gordon & his brother Iohn Gordon of Finlater came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inuerness, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntleie being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuerness was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the kéeper, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

Fr. Thin.

The quéene remained in Inuerness the space of foure or fise daies, where the principall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraisers and Murreies, valiant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntleie had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Héerevpon, they tooke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntleie all this while came not foorth of Strabogie. The quéene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finnater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the kéeper thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to doo. From Bamf the quéene rode to the lard of Geichtis place, called Geicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberden. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorable receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberden.

She came to Aberden.

The earle of Huntleie is sent for.

The ladie Huntleie is sent vnto the quéene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

After this, the lord Iohn prior of Coldingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntleie to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approched. The ladie Huntleie receiued them verie courteouslie, and gaue them good interteinement, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Stratherne, the Merns, and to the shire of Aberden, to come to Aberden quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there fiftéene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntleie sent his wife in message to the quéene and councell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time Iames Hepborne earle of Bothwell, who (vpon displeasure

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New officers.

1564.

Ambassadors
from Sweden.
The bishop of
Rosse went
into France.

The quéenes
progresse.

The earle of
Lennox came
into Scotland.

A progresse.

Lord Darneleie
came into
Scotland.

1563.

A parlement.
Lord Darneleie
is made lord
of Rosse.

The quéene of
England dis-
suaded that
marriage.

Ambassage
sent into Scot-
land.

The earle of
Murreie a tu-
tor vnto the
quéene.

Dispensation
had from
Rome for to
marrie.

Consultation
to stop the
marriage.
Gordon is
created earle
of Huntleie.
Bothwell is
sent for.
Fr. Thin.

Lord Darne-
leie is made
duke of Alba-
nie.

Lord Darne-
leie is procla-
med king.
The quéene is
married.

lor of Glasgow, and the prouost of Corstrophine. In place of the first, maister Iohn Lesle, official of Aberden, was promoted; and in the prouosts place maister Iames Baulfour succéded. There come an ambassador from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the quéene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Iulie, Henrie Sincler bishop of Rosse shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Ianuarie next after. There succéded to that bishoprike of Rosse, maister Iohn Lesle, parson of Ouen, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quéene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badzenocht, to Inuernesse, and to the canonrie of Rosse, and returned through Murreie to Gartleie, Aberden, Dunnoter, and so to Edenburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennox came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honors, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succéded maister William Chesiholme his brothers son. In Ianuarie, the quéene tooke hir iournie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banketted. In which time, Henrie Steward, lord Darneleie, a goodlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennox, came into Scotland, where he came to the quéenes presence in the Weames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quéene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtined of them their consents, that she might marrie the said lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of Rosse.

In the meane time, the quéene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to vnderstand the proceedings in the quéenes mariage with the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblee at Striueling to that effect. The quéene of Scots sent maister Iohn Haie abbat of Balmerinoch into England to the quéene to mitigat hir displeasure towards the lord Darneleie, and to obtaine hir consent to the mariage; who answered, that she ment to send an ambassador of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to hir promise) she sent one. Shortlie after, certeine captéins & men of warre in saint Andrewes, Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, receiued monie about the same time of the earle of Murreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblee at Striueling, the queene séemed not to like of the earle of Murreie so well as she had doone before: wherevpon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andrewes, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the mariage.

The quéene neuerthelesse sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darneleie, being hir coosine in the second degré of consanguinitie, which he obtined, & sent it home shorth after. The quéene was then principallie counsellled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennox, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Murreie persuaded the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to méet at Striueling, where they made a bond to stop the mariage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The queene aduertised thereof, released the lord Gordon foorth of prison, wherein he had béene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntleie. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

In the moneth of Iulie, the lord Darneleie earle of Rosse was made duke of Albanie. And on saturday at euen, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth, before the mariage, he was proclamed king by the quéenes commandement at the market crosse of Edenburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quéene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at fve of the clocke in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Murreie, and their complices, were summoned

to appeare before the queene and hir councell within six daies; & because they refused so to doo, they were put to the horne.

* The king and queene therevpon assemble their power, and by a herald demand the delinerie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as seuered into diuerse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that "they should haue no firme conditions of peace, except the king and queene were made awaie: for so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceits, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the iniuries of priuat persons maie be laied downe by trauell and persuasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appease the displeasure of kings, but by taking them awaie."

Certein lords
refuse to ap-
peere before
the queene.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 17.

Wicked coun-
sell alwaies
woorst to the
giuer.

Vpon which bad speech, the earles of Murreie and of Glencarne (which well vnderstood that the Hamiltons did not seeke the publike commoditie, but their owne priuat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the queens death) did abhor the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and couetous: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saieing that "this dissention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

"To the persuasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which gréedilie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance foresée that the king and queene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatlie, as that it turned to the vtter ouerthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne priuat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies coner their secret vices, we should mildlie interpret their doubtfull faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne euills: so that they did not by them bring vtter destruction to the common-wealth."

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except Iames, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sixtéene horssees remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safelic passe to their owne; did giue place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton.] The queene assembled an armie, and went to Glasgow to pursue them [at what time (as saith Buchanan) the earle of Lennox was made warden of the east marches, and the duke and earles with other of their companie came to Edenburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

An armie ga-
thered against
them.
The lords went
vnto Dunfreis.

The queene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir councell assembled foorth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, she hearing that the towns of saint Andrews, Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselle, and tooke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailzzeis of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

Certeine
townes are
punished.

About this time, the queene tooke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, be-
cause.

cause he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The kéeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quéene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Roths, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lards of Grange, Cuningham; Herdie, Pettarrow, maister James Haliburton tutor of Peteur, and others, hearing of the quéens coming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lords fled into England.

Their conuoiers got their Pardon. The quéene returned againe into Edenburgh. The quéene sent into France for aid.

The lord Heris then maister of Maxwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quéene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lards of Lochinwar and Drunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of good order in the countrie, the quéen returned to Edenburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The queene sent the maister David Chalmer chancellor of Rosse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortlie after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluoiser into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quéene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Maluoiser honorablie at his departure rewarded.

The lords send to the quéene of England.

The quéene of England sent to the quéene of Scots.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle vpon Tine, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quéene of England making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quéens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quéene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quéene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of fiue yeares, and shortlie after he passed through England; and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin. Bucha. lib. 17.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, & Louthian, spending his time in hawking. The queene remained at Edenburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. * About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quéens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was set before the queens: now quite contrarie, the name of the quéene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quéene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of hers and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stampe of the kings name, to vse when need required.]

A parlement. The lords that were exiled are summoned. The king receiued the order of saint Michaell.

1566.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next insuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forfaited. The French king sent monsieur Rambeueullet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quéene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaell. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Rambeueullet returned into France, being highlie rewarded.

They persuade with the king.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed; and the summons also published, the earle of Murreis friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to séeke all the waies and means they could denise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretlie persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king

of

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The quéene
cometh to
Edenburgh.

obtained it, being commandèd neuerthelesse to passe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleasure, which commandement they obeied. The eighteenth of March, the quéene well accompanied came to Hadington towards night: and on the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Muskelburgh, and so likewise did the lords Leuingston, Fleming, Hume, Borthwike, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edenburgh.

Execution
doone vpon the
murderers.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine space, hauing with hir the erls of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Marshall, Southerland, Cathnes, the bishops of saint Andrews and Rosse; the lords Leuingston, Fleming, and diuerse other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for redressing of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortlie brought to great quietnesse. After this, the quéene perceiuing hirselfe to draw neere the time of hir deliuerance, went to the castell of Edenburgh, there to remaine till shée were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot shiriffe, deputie of Perth, & a priest called sir Henrie Yair, seruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being dooers in the slaughter of Daudid, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the abbeie, and the other on the nether bow.

The quéene
agreceth all the
lords.

The quéene
made sute to
the quéene of
England.

In the moneth of Aprill this yéere, the bishop of Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his roome succéded to that bishoprike, a friend and cousine to the earle of Argile called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the quéene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Murreie ioined with ^{the} rest of the councell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edenburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the quéene, who agreed them, and they all remained with hir the residue of the summer. The queene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcastell; shée sent maister Iames Thornton chantor of Murreie, with letters to the queene of England, and also to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects against hir, desiring them not to receiue them within their realmes or dominions.

The quéene of
England hir
answer.

The lord Ruth-
wen repented.

An ambassage
from the king
of France.

Shortlie after, the queene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and message to the queene, promising to cause them to depart forth of hir realme of England: and withall sent vnto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next insuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastell, with great repentance of his former life: giuing God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiuenesse, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thencefoorth the earle of Morton, and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretlie neere to Anwike, and other places of the borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France, a wise aged gentleman, named monsieur la Crocke, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

A prince borne.

In the moneth of Iune, the quéene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approach, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled: and the king hir husband, with the earles of Argile, Murreie, Atholl, and Mar, remained with hir in the castell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the ninteenth day of the same moneth of Iune, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before noone, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioise. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came togither in the church of saint Giles, to giue thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their hum-
ble

ble praier vnto his diuine maiestie, to indue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when soeuer the same should fall into his hands.

The same night at éeuen, there were great fires for ioy made in the towne of Edenburgh, and in all the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified therof. The queene remained still in the castell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till shée had recouered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed vp the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluoisir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quéene, who was conueied by the bishop of Rosse to Allowaie, where he was ioifullie receiued, courteouslie interteined, and highly rewarded. The queene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrew to the quéene with the like message, reioising for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

Here is to be noted, that shortlie after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimoich, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sauoie: desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreouer, she sent Iames Meluine to the quéene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassador Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quéene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiouslie wrought & inamelled, weieng 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quéene accompanied with the king hir husband, the erles of Huntleie, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Meggat land, there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edenburgh, caused the prince to bee conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in kéeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quéene went on progresse into Glen Arkeneie.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Fr. Thin.

I. Stow pa. 1131.
in quart.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the quéene determineth to go to Iedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a iournie into Liddisdale, where he was hurt with a caleeuer by a base théefe. Wherupon with vncerteine life he was caried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quéene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Borthwike, and from thence hauing séene Bothwell, did in short time after retourne to Borthwike, whither shée caused Bothwell to bée brought: after whose comming thither, the quéene fell so grieuouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither unto hir.

Fr. Thin.
Buckan. li. 17.

In Ianuarie the king came to Glasgow, where he fell sicke, and remoouing from thence went to Edenburgh, and the quéene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but hée was lodged at a house within the towne, neere to the Kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murdered, together with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne vp with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the maner thereof, onelie saieng that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a heauie breakefast) by his owne (but vnnaturall and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he séeth due time) gine them their portion with malefactors agréable to their merits.

1567.

The king mur-
thered.

1566. Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was enen at the first vehementlie suspected to be the principall offendor in this most heinous and detestable murther. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortlie after married the quéene. By reason wherof, the suspicion that men bad alreadie conceiued, that she should be also

The earle of
Bothwell mur-
thered the
king.

pruie

priuie to the murther, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottish nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the speedie aduancement of Bothwell, who (as euerie man persuaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murther) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quéene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike castell, eight miles distant from Edenburgh.

The lords get them to armes.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

* Thus leaning the lords awhile at Edenburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things doone by Bothwell & the quéene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from Dauid Richeo hir secretarie, slaine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the queene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murther of hir husband, was forceable taken (as she was on hir iournie) by the earle Bothwell, and caried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorablie interteined. Which fact of his bred great mislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the queene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

This doone, there was a consultation had for a mariage to be solemnized betwéene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diurse had betwéene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemne bands asked betweene the said earle James Hepborne, and the quéene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting therevnto) consummat at Edenburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkenie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edenburghers to mislike of the queene.

Which mariage bréeding some euill opinion of the said quéene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, shee wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue herselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Wherevpon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this mariage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

“First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our mariage (to be consummate) came to their cares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by anie messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) dooth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capteine of the Orcades towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it séemed good to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yéeres of discretion, as wée terme it) in this sort.

“That when he first began to manage his owne affaires (being from the death of his father one of the chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of Scotland; as one borne of a famous familie for his ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this kingdome which he possesseth by right of inheritance. At that time also he did especiallie and altogither consecrate himselfe to our mother, whilest she had the gouvernement of the realme.

“In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie perseuere, that although the greater part of the nobilitie, and almost all the townes were fallen from hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet hée would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a person that could not be woone by anie promises or benefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his liuings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but that he wuld rather suffer his principall house, which was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull and pretious store of furni-

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them not to succeed after his mind, at length, shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled to the benefit of violence, and vsed force (to the end his attempt might not want due effect.) to bring me vnder his gouernement.

“ Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue their drifts (in attempting great things) vntill they haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse. in spéedie obeieng of my commandements, had not issued from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire to shew his obedience and good will towards me: neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable countenance (which we are accustomed to vse to the more woorthie persons, to the end to win their minds to be more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised his stomach (more than anie others) that he would promise to himselfe anie larger good will to procéed from me towards him, than he had before.

“ But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his purpose, and kéeping all his counsels secret from me, did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe with such spéedie diligence, that (vnknownen to me) he obtained of the péeres of the realme (in the assemblee of the parlement héere) a writing with all their hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same. In which writing was contened, that they did not onlie assent vnto the mariage; but that they also further promised to spend their life and goods (offered to all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they would be vtter enimies to all such as should labor to hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose consent in this sort, he had persuaded the said nobilitie, that the same was not doone against my mind and consent. At length, when he had purchased this writing from them, he began by litle and litle (with earnest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

“ First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enimies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being obiected or willinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after hauing conuenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set vpon me with a strong band, as I was coming from séeing of my déere sonne, and with great spéed caried me to Dunbar.

“ Which euill déed how gréuouslie we tooke (especiallie doone by him, from whome all our subiects neuer looked to haue such things to procéed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of his conditions in my spéech vsed to others, and of his vnthankfulnessse to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers therevnto were more mild, and tempered with gentler spéeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

“ As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castels, he humblie craued pardon therefore (in that he was inforced therevnto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs. Wherevnto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so gréuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpassed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

“ But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murther of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enimies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and spéeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresée and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now grown to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quéenes vnchangeable fauour towards him. Which certeintie of hir fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuade hir selfe to receiue him into the mariage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obeie hir as long as he lined, in such sort as he did before. Whervnto he added the delights of such spéeches as that matter required.

“ But in the end, when he saw that we could not be mooned therevnto, either with praiers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had doone with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we leaue to the consideration of the king, the quéene, our vncles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene all these to haue vowed themselues to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a preie for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

“ Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did still vrge the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawen to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a little pacified mine anger, & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

“ And further, how greeuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not invred with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue vnmarried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equali them in bearing labor, and were able to bridle the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our conning into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne subiects to take armes against vs.

“ For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserue the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would inforce me to mariage, that our people could not abide a forren prince, and that amongst our owne subiects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did wring from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of mariage.

“ Which

“ Which doone, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuasion obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this mariage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quéene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to ioine importunat praiers to his persuasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence inforce vs to set end to the woorke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination. In which matter I cannot dissemble, but that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either I would or had deserued.

“ For he was more carefull to satisfie them; by whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought himselfe to haue obtained his purpose (though he did both deceiue them and méé) than to gratifie me, or to weie how méet it were for me, being brought vp in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which, neither he nor anie man liuing, whilst I did line, could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which thing trulie, though we doo acknowledge our error, yet we willinglie desire, that the king and quéene his mother, our vnclé, or anie friend of ours, doo not expostulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vnto his charge.

“ For sith things be now so ended, as that they cannot be againe vndoone, we take all things in the best part: & as he is in déed, so he is to be accounted our husband, whome from henceforwards we haue determind both to loue & reuerence. Wherefore all they which professe themselues to be our friends, must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto vs with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath in manie things behaued himselfe lesse diligentlie, & almost ouer-rashlie, which we willinglie impute to his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we desire the king, the quéene, our vnclé, and the rest of our friends, no lesse to loue and fauor him, than if all things had till this day béene doone after their aduise and determination; in the behalfe of which our husband, we promise that he shall in all things (which shal be required of him hereafter) alwaies gratifie them in what he maie.”

These remedies being found to defend the quéens credit amongst forren princes, other remedies were to be sought for defense of hir owne person against hir owne subiects. Wherefore (after that the earle of Murreie was appointed to remaine as banished beyond the seas in France, whither he tooke his iournie through England) the quéene (deliuered of such a feare as he was to hir, & therefore better able to rule, or at least to make better shift, with such other as were coniured, to vse Buchanans word, against hir) vsed what diligence she might to gather forces, especiallie in the Mers and east of Louthian.]

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had beene broken and disappointed, they marched from Dunbar on saturdaye, the fourth of Iune, first to Hathington, & there resting till the cuen, set forward to Gladismore, and taking there deliberation in the matter; they lodged that night at Seiton, and in the morning marched in order of battell towards Carbarrie hill, and there chose foorth a plot of ground of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, because the power of the lords in number of horssemen, was stronger than the quéens, and of greater experience. There were with the quéene and Bothwell, the lords Seiton, Yester, and Borthwike; also the lards of Wauchton, Bas, Ormiston, Weaderburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with them also two hundred harquebusiers waged, and of great artillerie some field péeces. Their whole number was estéemed to be about 2000: but the more part of them were commons & countriemen.

The earles of Morton, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne, the lords of Hume, Lindseie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Sanquhar; the lards of Drumlangrid, Tulibarden, Grange, and yoong Sesford, were assembled together at Edenburgh with a power like in number to the quéens, but for the more part consisting of gentlemen, although not furnished with anie number of barquebusiers, except a few of the townsmen of Edenburgh, that willinglie ioined with them in that quarrell. Vpon the fifteenth of Iune, they came foorth of the towne, and approched their aduersaries.

The quéens
gathereth
forces.

Carbarrie hill.

The number
of the quéens
power.

The power of
the lords.

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Queis tua maiores superet quum viuida virtus :
 Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit æqua tuis ?
 Vnum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
 Scribere, consilijs multa peracta suis.
 Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda :
 A proavis ne sim degener ipse meis.”]

JAMES THE SIXT.

THE ninetéenth of Iulie, Charles James the yoong prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by Iohn Knox, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commission and procuration, with the quéens priuie seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouvernement of the yoong prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minoritie. The third, to giue authoritie and power to senen other ioining with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone ; that is to say, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earls of Lennox, Argile, Atholl, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuration doo héere iusue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekpreuic printer to the king of Scots, the sixt of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edenburgh, the fiftéenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c : regent vnto the said king.

THE TENOR OF THE COMMISSION, WHEREBY MARIE THE QUEENE OF SCOTS RESIGNETH THE CROWNE TO HIR SONNE, APPOINTETH HIS GARDIANS, AND MAKETH THE EARLE OF MURREIE REGENT.

“MARIE be the grace of God quene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effeiris to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall come, greting. Forsamekle as by lang irkesome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, we are sa vexit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme : and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, in faouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natiue prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabilitie to vse the said gouernament in his awin persoun, during his minoritie, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c : regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

“ And in respect, that our said derrest brother is actuallie furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exerce the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minoritie ; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalouris, James duke of Chatelerauld, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Leuinax, lord Dernleie, &c : Archibald earle of Argile, lord Campbell and Lorne, &c : Iohn earle of Atholl, James earle of Mortoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and Iohn earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis ; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traist consingis and counsalouris foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

“ Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositounis of

of wairdis, nonentressis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eschetis, officis, and vtheris casualiteis and priuilegeis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatouris thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be past through the seillis. And to vse and exerce the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegeis, and commoditeis, siclike as fréelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris vsit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our saidis traist cousingis dois in the premissis.

“ Charging heirfore ζ ow all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist cousingis, regentis foirsadis in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minoritie, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene ζ eiris compleit. As ζ e and ilke ane of ζ ow will declair ζ ow luifing subiectis to our said maist deir son, ζ our natieue prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ζ e and ilke ane of ζ ow maie commit and intrin agains his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuie seill, at Lochleuin; the foure and twentieth day of Iulij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentieth ζ eir.”

THE COMMISSION, AUTHORISING CERTÉINE NOBLE MEN IN THE QUEENS NAME TO RENOUNCE THE KINGDOME TO HIR SONNE, AND AUTHORISING OTHERS TO RECEIUE THE SAME IN HIR SONS NAME.

“ MARIE be the grace of God quéene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiects; quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle as sen our arriual, and returning within our realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue emploijt our bodie, spirit, baill sensis, and forcis, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honorabill estate nicht stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our luifing and kind liegis nicht inioie the quietnisse of true subiectis. In traueiling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa vexit, brokin, and vnquietit; that langer we are not of habilitie be onie meane to indure sa greit and intollerabill painis and traueillis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weriit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be sindrie occasiounis in the meintime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greif.

“ And seing it hes béene the plesour of the eternall God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veseit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succed to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabill decret of the eternall, ains to rander and gif vp this life temporall (the hour and time quhair of is maist vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minoritie, it maie be dowtit greitlie, that resistance and troubill maic he maid to our said son, now natieue prince of this our realme, in his tender ζ eires (being swa destitute of vs) to succed to that rowme and kingdome; quhilk maist iustlie of all lawis apperteneis to him. Quhilk inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud prouidence we mene to preuent, in sick maner, that it sall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinance in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioious, and happie to vs, nor to sée our said derrest sonne, in our awin life time pcciable placit in that rowme, and honorabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and man succed to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sonne, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris freelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thairof, and all intronissioun and dispositioun of onie casualiteis; properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis apperteining, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter sall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said derrest sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possessit thairin, vse & exerce all

thingis belangand thairto, as natine king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessouris, kingis of Scottis, hes doone in onie times bypast.

“Attour, that this our dimissioun maie tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thairof, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist cousingis, Patrike lord Lindesaie of the Biris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and seuerallie, to compeir before sa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vther pepill of our realme, as sall happin to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Striuling, or anie vther place, or placis qubair it sall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie daie or daijs, and thair publikelie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, giding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thairof, all intromissioun with the propertie, casualtie, or vtheris things apperteining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessouris hes béene in times bypast.

“And in likewise be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist cousingis, James earle of Mortoun, lord of Dalkeith, Iohn earle of Atholl, &c : Iohn earle of Mar, &c. : Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Menteith, Iohn maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bischop of Orkneie, the prouestis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and dimissioun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requisit to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establesing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the saidis nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his princelie and kinglie aith detfullie, & lauchfullie as effeiris : and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuming, as becumis subiects to thair natine king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie vther thingis to doo, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be doone, firme and stable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatsumeuer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be doone, in the word and faithfull promis of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publicat at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin ynder our preuie seill, at Lochleuin the foure and twentieth daie of Iulij, and of our reigne the fwe and twentieth 3eir, 1567.”

THE COMMISSION, IN WHICH THE EARLE OF MURREIE IS ALONE APPOINTED TO BE REGENT OF THE YOONG KING, AND OF HIS KINGDOME.

“MARIE be the grace of God, quéene of Scots, to all & sindrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it efferis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle as efter lang, greit, and intollerable panis, & laubouris takin be vs sen our arriuaill within our realme, for gouernement thairof, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelie beene vexit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder sa vexit thairof, that our habilitie, and strenth of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin : thairfore, and because nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the natie prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thairof, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimitit, and renuncit the gouernement, giding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thairof, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect : that in all times heirafter, he maie peciabile, and quietlie enioie the samin, without troubill, an be obeit as natie king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thairof.

“ And

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them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yéeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnméet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the secret iudgements of God. The prooffe of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yéeres of whose age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lesleus.

Robert Steward the first king of that surname, was 57 yéeres old when he began his reigne, in the yéere of our redemption 1370. Iohn Steward son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alone were of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. Iames Steward, the first of the name of Iames, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended unto him : who although he receiued not the crowne at Scone (because he was about eightéene yéeres honorable kept as a prisoner in England) vntill hée was of mans age : yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obtained the kingdome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yéere of our redemption 1424.

Iames the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yéeres old when he was crowned, in the yéere of Christ 1436. Iames the third, and fift of the Stewards, being seuen yeeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yéere that the word became flesh 1460. Iames the fourth, and sixt of the Stewards, being sixtéene yeeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yéere of our saluation 1488. Iames the fift, and the seuenth of the Stewards, being one yéere, fiue moneths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yéere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but seuen daies old, was crowned queene of Scots, in the yéere of Christ 1542. Henrie Steward, sonne to Mathew earle of Lennox, and husband to the said Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yéeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie : for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yéere 1567. Charles Iames Steward, the sixt of the name of Iames, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yéere old, began his reigne in the yéere that God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Meluine (this yéere 1585 in England) did whilst he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following :

“ Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das iura vocatis,
 Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
 Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuns ille Lycurgus,
 Quæ recti é puris fontibus hausta dedit,
 Nobilium regum exemplis obsignat auitis,
 Hic, vbi quid fugias, quídue sequaris, habes.
 Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris !
 Felix cum populo túq;, patresq; tuo.”

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into these heads : that is to say, what crimes be woorthie of that seneré censure of the church by excommunication : how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people : of confession of the penitent : of the offenses which merit publike repentance : of the order to procéed therein : the forme and the order of publike repentance : an admonition to the church : a thanksgiuing for the conuersion and repentance of the censured : the forme of the excommunication : the praier for the obstinate that will not repent after that censure : the praier before the excommunication : the maner to inuocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication : the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church : the forme of the absolution : and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke conteining the

the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by Iohn Knox minister; and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yéere of Christ 1569, being séene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were Iohn Willike, maister Iohn Crage, Robert Pont, Iohn Row, Daudid Lindseie, William Christison, Iames Greg, &c.

On the fiftéenth of December a parlement begun, being holden at Edenburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diners acts and statutes were deuised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quéenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king Iames the sixt. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he tooke vpon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuration aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his vsurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And heereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine receiued by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorised in the same parlement. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the queene at Carbarrie hill, the fiftéenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the deteining of hir in Lochleuin.

A parlement holden at Edenburgh.

An act for the abolishing of the popes authoritie in Scotland.

Moreouer, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the fortresse of Insketh, should be demolished and raced downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one and fortie acts or statutes made and stablished in this parlement, as by the register thereof it maie appéere. * In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to administer law: which he ment to doo, to the end that he might amend and establish such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yéere before. Which matter woorking diuerse opinions in those of the quéenes faction, did cause that Metallane and Iohn Balfurie sought meanes to deliuer the quéene out of prison: Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the yoong king were gone, and the quéene made awaie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did ioine with the queenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntleie refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

The castell of Dunbar and the fortresse of Insketh to be raced.
Fr. Thln. Buchanan. lib. 19.

William Murreie of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being estranged and grieved from and with the gouernor, did not ouelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he shewed great diligence in taking the quéene) but did also draw with him a great companie of his friends intised therevnto with no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby: And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quéenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessitie, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of aduancement, and néerensse of aliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further the cause of the quéenes libertie. In the meane time, whilst the regent was at Glasgow to minister law to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of setting the quéene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quéene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and thrée of his brethren by an other father, with a great troope of women: but none were admitted to see the quéene, saue such as were well knowen or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this houshold companie, there was none that séemed so meet to the queene to execute anie matter, as was George Dowglas the yoongest brother of the regent, being a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be ouertaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quéene to plaie at cards, and to vse hir with other courtleie pastimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fanour him and his enterprises. Wherevpon this Dowglasse (not vnwitting as was thought

thought to his mother) omitteth nothing that might séeme to serue for the queenes libertie : the which although manie there did perceiue & tooke not in verie good part, giving intelligence therof to the regent ; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the kéeperes in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Ilaud. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the kéeperes with monie) consult with the quéene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) being drawn into that faction ; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had béene regent not manie yéeres before) and James archbishop of Glasgow sollicitated therevnto, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quéene : which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Wherevnto the gouernor answered, that it was not in his power to grant it ; that the quéene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by décret confirmed that deed : but he would not ceasse in pleasuring his sister, and such a fréend as the king (his maister) was, to doo all that he might : and further, that he would take order for an assemblie of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Vntill which time the ambassador séemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.]

1568.

The quéenes
escape out of
Lochleuin.

The quéene
gathereth a
power.

The regents
determination
to staie at
Gloscow.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 19.

On sundaie the second of Maie, in the yeere 1568, at supper time, the quéene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the lard of Lochleuin. The lard Seton, the lard of Ricarton, and James Hamilton of Oribiston, were readie to receive hir, and conueied hir ouer the quéenes ferrie, first to Nudrie the lard Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirtéenth daie of Maie being thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord regent was in Glasgow, at what time she thus escaped out of Lochleuin ; and vpon knowledge had therof, ment at the first to haue withdrawn himselfe to Sterling : but suddenlie changing his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glasgow, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if she should shrink backe neuer so little, he should encourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quéenes part) hauing vntill that time woone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decaie of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kinred did) was now content to séeke meanes therefore : for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was posted ouer from them to the quéene mother the regent ; and that contention was mooned about religion : he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged : in which this Robert Boid firme- lie continued vntill the quéenes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had coniured or conspired (to vse Buchanans woord) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hoong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quéene euerie thing that was doone in the same assemblie, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quéenes secrets against his old friends, who with the queene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of light-

nesse

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borsse and guides hasted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farwell. In which iournie he was robbed by théeues: but Iames Dowglasse, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

But now to the dooings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgow, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Draffan was also yéelded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Merus, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselues of vittels for fiteene daies, and to méet him at Beggar the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the southwest parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine théeues, and other disobedient persons. Héerevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched foorth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Beggar. The armie being assembled, contained foure or fiue thousand horssemen verio well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and yoong men that went with the cariage, there were about foure thousand.

The regents iournie into the southwest parts of Scotland.

The castell of Boghall. Skirling castell. Crawford.

Saucher.

Barbacast.

Saint Iohn Sclaghan.

Kenmure.

The water of Ur. Dunfreis.

Hoddomyéldeth to the regent.

The lard of Drumlanrig.

Annand deliuered to the gouernour. Lochmaben.

The castell of Boghall, perteing to the lord Fleming, was surrendred to them. The twelfth of Iune Skirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other vnderstanding therof, might be put in greter feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendred; it belonged vnto sir Iames Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirtenth of Iune they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendred they spared, because the lord Chreichton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edenburgh. The fouretenth of Iune they came to Barbacast, where they laie that night, and the lard Wederborne was sent to speake with the lard of Louchinware. Wednesdaie the fiftenth of Iune, they marched to a place called saint Iohn Sclaghan, staieng there in trust of the lard of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not: wherevpon, the next daie being the sixteenth of Iune, they rased the house of Kenmure, and an other house also, for that the owners were fréends to the said Louchinware.

The seuententh of Iune they came to a gentlemans house, standing by the water of Ur, where diuerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eighteenth of Iune they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & apperteing to the lord Maxwell, was offered vnto them. Diuerse of the Maxwels, Iohnstons, Yrrewins, Grahams, and Bels, came vnto the regent, and offering themselues to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Maxwell, the lards of Iohnston, Cowhill, and Louchinwar, had béene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Maxwell would haue come in, if the other had not counselled him to the contrarie. The twentieth of Iune they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmish; two or thrée were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was yéelded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lard of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had béene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at senen shillings Scottish, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent foorth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue drawn the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not tarrie it. The two and twentieth of Iune the campe laie still, but the regent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had it deliuered vnto him. Héere he met with the lord Scroope, and after returned to the campe. The thrée and twentieth of Iune they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to Drumlanrig: but some of the Maxwels being closelie hid within an od corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lard of Iohnston, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lowhousie, were taken, but not burnt: because the lard Iohnston had put in suertie to come in by a day vnto the regent. The same daie they tooke great store of cattell, and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they slue two théeues among thrée score others that came and approched verie néere to the armie, as the maner of the prickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentith of Iune they came to Péeples, and the next day to Edenburgh, so ending that iournie; in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidesdale, Gallowaie, Niddesdale, Annandale, & Twéedale. Much a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Two houses of lard Iohnston taken by the regent.

Great trouble in Scotland.

* Whilest these things were thus in dooing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was persuaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie doone vnto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chieflie the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was spéedilie and soundlie to be preuented, least it might créepe anie further. By which and other persuasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were doone, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 19.

Touching which matter, although it appeered grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in vre a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forren iudges and kings who were their enimies, and first persuaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same séemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that inforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agréé who they should be, sith the chiefest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iournie vpon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Metellan with him (fauoring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were James Dowglas, Patrike Lindseie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fermlindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnaue, lawiers of the college of iudges. To whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotish historie: with whome the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horsse, tooke his iournie into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Yorke, to the assemblie appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Sussex, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not vnto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind them) with manie words open the iniuries which the Scotish subiects had doone vnto their queene, and required of the queene of England, that either she would persuade hir vnkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them therevnto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbitrators)

arbitrators) did contend (sith nothing was doone but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemblie of parlement, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndoo the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things doone at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that inforced them so seuerelie to pronounce against their queene; the regent answered that he did chieflie flee that matter, least he should be driuen to accuse his queene and sister. Which he denied to doo, not willing to laie abroad to forren nations hir wicked deeds, as Buchanan tearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be inforced, vnlesse the queene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie prooue, that the queene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Wherevnto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request vnto their queene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the queene of England all the state of their dooings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would doo all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie sent Metallan (a man before suspected, and that did after ioine in conference with Iohn Lesle bishop of Rosse) to the court of England, associated with Iames Macgill. Now after these men were come to the queene at London, it was thought most conuenient by hir and hir councell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intrated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was doone at Yorke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were dooing at London, the queene of Scots did by Iames Balfure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hirs and Bothwels friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vrging him to tell the cause (which being vtold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that mooned them to doo those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the queene of England) made a long protestation how vnwilling he was to accuse the queene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their witnes in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the queene of England required, that the queene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause whie the reuengers of the kings death had taken armes against the queene; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed doone. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the queene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the queene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answeere all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusors might be brought out. Wherevpon the accusors being present, and saleng that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the queene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the councell brake vp without anie finall sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the queene of Scots followers. For Iames Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernor) being griued with
the

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wanted men of the kings blond to supplie those places. For at that time were lining Iohn Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of Iames the first; and the vnclie by his fathers side: Iames Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Dowglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings blond; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so neere of blond appointed therevnto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to Iames the third, which were not made in respect of blond; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, Iohn duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yéeres of Iames the fift, and confirmed in the same by publike decree of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of néereneesse of blond. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue Iames Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of Iames the first, Robert his vnclie ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted therevnto for neereneesse of blond? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his children to his gouernment; who in the end famished Dauid the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the yoonger sonne Iames, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had lined and béene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, dooth remember vnto vs manie things (though what soeuer was then doone, is no prooffe that it was well doone) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the emptio place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernement (obtained by force) and the quéene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauor which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our cuntry lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but dooth see how uniuert it were. For what can be more vnrightfull, than to commit yoong, weake, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which dooth dailie either looke or wish for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies béene at dailie and deadlie warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by neereneesse of blond against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yéeres of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the bloud of hir sonnes.

Wherfore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enimies doo, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not doo) against a child, which deferreth effect of their hope
of

of gouvernement? If this example séeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some néerer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this latelie doone, that he knoweth not that Galeas Sfortia (growne to descretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vnele Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to vtter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloudshed was that in the end purged?

Now, sith these did not feare to doo such euils to their neerest blond, by the onclie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise woorthie persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doo know? Whose vnskilfull gouvernement they haue tried with manie slaughters? And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murther of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilest he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doo now séeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the swéet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the quéene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vniust thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassador, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassador had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were doone, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especiallie the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for hir maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edenburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hée was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had doone in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, Iames Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the quéene of Scots authorised with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obeie anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon souldiers, to make them readie, if néed required, to the vttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemblie of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agréement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefest gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agréed; but if he denied that, he shuld come in vaine: all which he promised to doo, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine

Buchanan
lib. 19.

maine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin ; with further notice, that if anie of the said part would so doo, they should also be receiued on the same couenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntleie refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edenburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies ; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the couenants might be established by all their consents, for which he praied day till the tenth of Maie : and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots : all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion ; and that (if he were frée) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Maxwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edenburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntleie was more hardie dealt withall, bicause that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemblie at saint Andrews, -whither the earle of Argile first came : with whom there was no extreme dealing, bicause he ceased to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their yoong yéers. But when the cause of Huntleie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults doone to him, or to the king : but that hee neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries doone to any other. And if Huntleie, or his friends that folowed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischiefe, whether all they which tooke part with Huntleie shuld also be pardoned ; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things séemed indifferentlie well pacified.

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene ; either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne ; or admitted to line priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilest these things were in dooing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Mettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling ; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend Iames Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them ; for Balfurie by his friends soone obtined pardon ; and Mettellan being led to Edenburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell : to whome certeine horssemen were appointed kéepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble yoong man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Kircadie, capteine of the castell of Edenburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Murreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Mettellan, which he did accordinglie. Wherevpon Mettellan was caried by Kircadie into the castell, to the great mislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the déed to Kircandie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Kircadie : in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of the gouernour had not before béene sufficientlie knowne.

1569.

Rebellion in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & West-
merland.

In the yeere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England ; but by the good diligence and prouident circumspection of the earle of Sussex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by such direction as was giuen by hir maiestie and hir councell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the leading of
the

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put him in safe kéeping, considering the amitie that was betwixt the two princēs, the quecnēs maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

1571. *Buch.*

1570.

The earle of
Murreie lord
regent slaine.
Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 20.

But shortlie after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithquo) was wickedlie shot in with an harquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other vse.]. * But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Kar also of Fernihirst entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was doone before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Besides which, the capteine of the castell where Mettellan was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Mettellan at libertie: who upon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres mooued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him therefore. After which, there was an assēblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

At what time Thomas Randolph, being sent thither ambassador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose message was to demand, the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassador the deceased gouernour had before refused to heare at Striueling. Wherevpon, sith all things were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parlement for the choosing of a new regent, Randolph which had béene in Scotland some yéeres before, because he seemed best to know the men and their conditions of Scotlaud, and bicause he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held déere and well estéemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had béene vnto the Scots, he shewed that she would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than she had defore doone. After which he remembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a little before: all which he well knew was not doone by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therefore his queenes fauor was not diminished to them, but that the same good will did remaine to them now, as ample as euer it was. And where she was grieuouslie offended (and that without hir desett) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such euils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdooing of a few.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet anie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselues for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then doo by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did cōteine admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most nécessaire for the présent state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone dooth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equali & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and ores, that peace and quiet maie be bolilie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie
gouernement

gouvernement ouer this nation, it is inst and méet that they obeie their princes ; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them ; sith peace, concord, amitié, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and dooth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blond, a fault which God of all others dooth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their cnimies, and is the preseruer of iustice : whose chiefe part consisting in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced : when contrarilie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement : sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soeuer they flée for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen thercvnto : for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and Iames Dowglasse, brothers of the slaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vnwoorthie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished : for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murther : for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had alreadie taken armes with violence to defend that déed which they had alreadie doone ; and that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assemblie of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiors did soone agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Morton did dissuade them from it : whereof the first would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater assemblie of the nobilitie : and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, wherby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murther. Wherefore their faults were to be diided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be doone or changed vntill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assemblie or parlement appointed.

Vpon which persuasion the companie was dissolued, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemne this delaie, as mooued thervnto : because that the other would saie that all things were doone at the becke of the kings enimies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerse faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) Iames Hamilton) morgaging his lands to Iohn Summeruill of Caninethame) borrowed monie thereof : with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiors) being warned before, that they should alwaies be readie at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enimie, the earle of Murreie : neither after that time did the queenes faction cease from méeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fiftéenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton dooth Buchanan alwaies terme those that tooke the queenes part) to devise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boid did write vnto earle Morton, that they would willinglie (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thervnto) consult with the other nobilitie about the

same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edenburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so persuaded, they would willinglie come to Lithquo, to Faukirke, or to Striueling, there to meet with them. Wherevpon, the earle of Morton, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Kar wrote to Limuch (to vse Buchanans woord) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the queene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if she did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subiects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned queene, & would ioine themselves together, because aid would shortlie come out of France vnto them.

On the fift nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their denise by a sudden tumult that was raised therevpon. Wherefore the next day after the archbishop of saint Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of the queenes faction, especiallie the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume, Seton, and Metellan, met at Edenburgh: in which the earle Morton was accompanied with a small traine, vntill the earles of Glencarne and Mar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Argile, whose power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to persuaide to ioine with the rest of the faction, but he returned without dooing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men) through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue things long deferred, that more conuenient meane might be had in that troublesome state of the kingdome, for the innouation of things. The greatest thing doone in this assembling, was the argument for the choise of a new gouernor, which (as it seemeth) came to no effect. Now when all these assemblies tended to little purpose, those of the queenes faction returned to sowe sedition by procuring English warres, thereby to draw the common-people to assist their part. Wherefore they send the capteine (that before had doone the like) afresh at this time to execute the same, who left nothing vndoone that might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction doo reproch the queene of England, and slander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and followers of the English; further threatning abroad in euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the French and Spanish, if the lord of the congregation praied in aid of the English. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbreton, Veriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the queenes faction, with manie large promises: by meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assemblie of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemblie was made of the queenes faction, they began there openlie to treat of those things which before were whispered in secret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at least wax cold in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making warre vpon the English. After which consultation, they determined to go to Edenburgh the third ides of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought they might easilie bring about, by reason that William Kircadie was gouernor both of the castell and towne, against which denise the citizens did yet contend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the queenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they persuaued the citizens to deliuer vp the keies of their towne, which they most wiselie refused.

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The earle of Lennox sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

The duke retirith to Glasgow.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennox into Scotland.

The earle of Lennox with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennox and sir William Drurie ride to Striueling. The castell of Glasgow besieged by the duke of Chatelerault.

He breaketh vp his siege.

of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here-I passe ouer, referring you to the said historie.

. But now about the same time, the earle of Lennox, haning got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwiké towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtéene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, séeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was slaine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edenburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennox was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the quéens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safegard of the yoong king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennox home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselues from Edenburgh to Glasgow, where they besieged the castell by the space of fíue or six daies, vntill the earle of Lennox approched thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennox was recouered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horssemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Drurie; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iournie, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to sée the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Austell capteine of fiftie lances, William Gurleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horssemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horssemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Maners, capteine Brikwell, capteine Caruill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Erington, Iohn Constable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Capteine Erington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diners; as maister George Deuereux, sir Ierome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Gawdie, maister William Drurie of Suffolke cousine to the generall, maister Greuill, brother to sir Fulke Greuill, maister Conweie, brother to sir Iohn Conweie, maister Edmund Verneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennox himselfe with sir William Drurie and the horssemen ouertooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such spéed in their march, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Murreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrée, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of the kings side: who receiued the said earle of Lennox, and the Englishmen verie courteouslie. From Edenburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faulkirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennox, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Drurie and the horssemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glasgow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lard of Minto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightéene persons in all; and yet they kept it fíue or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaieng (as hath béene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great dänger to haue béene taken, if they had not béene the more spédilie relieued. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennox with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaic, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After

After that the earle of Lennox and his friends were thus come vnto Glasgow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinred and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennox and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Drurie, generall of the English there. This doone, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

A muster of
foure thousand
Scots.
See more here-
of in England.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was capteine, haning vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peeces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselues in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saned. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and herevnto they were sworne. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next insuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yeelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yeelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diners other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Roplocke, the abbat of Kilwinnings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Cliddesdale.

The castell of
Hamilton be-
sieged.

It is deliuered
to the English-
men.

The lord Sem-
pill taken.

The castell of
Hamilton
blowen vp and
raced.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus woone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The earle of Morton went with them; but the earle of Lennox and the other earles and lords with their companies tooke their way towards Glasgow, and from thence euerie of the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortlie after, there was a conuention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other conuention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

The towne and
palace of Ha-
milton burnt.

A conuention
of the lords.
The earle of

Lennox made
regent.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntleie tooke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the queene of Scots that remained still in England, and therevpon in hir name summoned a parlement to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentieth of September then next following. Vnto the which parlement, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being aduertised, caused a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntleie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntleis comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no neerer than Brechine.

The earle of
Huntleie.

A parlement
proclamed by
both the fac-
tions at one day
and place.

The earle of
Huntleie com-
meth no neerer
than Brechine.

Wherevpon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Dowglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horssemen to haue taken him vpon the sudden in the towne of Brechine, before he should haue anie warning of their comming, the regent following alter with an armie. But Huntleie hauing warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his footmen were so put to their shifts, that they were driuen for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechine: the earle of Huntleie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being strictlie besieged,

The earle of
Huntleie
escapeth.

and the earle not kéeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yéelded themselues and the castell vnto the regents mercie.

Execution.

The castell of Downeyéelded.

They were in all about thrée hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had beene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthie to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the seruants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yéelded it to the regent after thrée daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his seruants called Iohn Moone, with letters into England, directed to the quéene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enimies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiuing of their letters to be conueied also, and herewith discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed vnto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretlie receiued being found vpon him, and the matters aforesaid proued against him, he was by law executed.

Commissioners sent into England.

Pasleie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Pasleie.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and Iames Macgill, clearke of the register, were sent into England commissioners vpon the kings partie; the bishop of Rosse, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Leuingston, appointed for the quéene then being in England. In Ianuarie following, the regent then being at Edenburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Chateleraults sonnes, entred the house of Pasleie, then being kept by the seruants of the lord Sempill: and seizing vpon all things which they found as stood with his pleasure, he fortified the house with mén, munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Pasleie, or neere thereabouts. The regent aduertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all spéedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to aduise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yeeld the house, so manie of them as had not borne armes before that time against the king and regent, should haue their liues saued, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Pasleie is surrendered to the regent.

Herevpon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them hauing not serued in anie iournie or exploit against the king before that time, would néeds yéeld; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselues. Wherevpon they were readie to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agréed to surrender the house, and yéelded themselues, vpon such condition as the regent had prescribed: wherevpon fiue of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capteine Iohn Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said Iohn Hamilton was executed.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassils.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasgow, and for that Gilbert Kennedie with the erles of Cassils & Eglenton refused to shew themselues obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgow, and with the same marched towards Vrwin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassils countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent foorth his brother to offer his submission. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to answere such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The earles of Cassils and Eglenton committed to ward.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglenton, and Robert Boid leuied their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance giuen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agréeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbreton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwéene

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well touching the murther of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late regent.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath béene said) and before the regent declared, that one Iohn Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with thrée others to the murther of the king. And as touching the murther of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Therewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had beene forfeited afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next insuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

The archbishop of saint Andrews executed.

A parlement summoned.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue béene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lard of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was reuolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate stréet, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quéenes part were forfeited. This being doone, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued foorth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

The castell of Edenburgh kept by the lard of Grange against the regent.

The lard of Carmichell.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certeine stuffe come foorth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lard of Carmichell with his houshold seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being fíue miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flie, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men béeing slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortlie after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

The earle of Huntleie and lord Hume put to flight.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and comming, sallied foorth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horssemen that should haue succoured them. About the fíue & twentieth day of Maie following, capteine Cullen issued foorth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuier of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

The earle of Morton put to the worse.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprise, aduertised the regent therof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his comming thither, Cullen had met with a bote vpon the water, wherein were aboard fíue and twentie shot, whome he tooke prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edenburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Drurie passing foorth of Leith towards Edenburgh, accompanied with sundrie capteins, and other gentlemen for his conuoie thither, they within Edenburgh perceiuing them comming, imagined that they were come foorth to offer a skirmish, wherevpon they issued out of the towne and castell to incounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Drurie, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, tooke in hand with great diligence to appease them : and at length procured them to agrée vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staid in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agrée whether companie shuld first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow : the abbat of Kilwinning being slaine, with diuerse other ; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners : amongst the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased & constreined for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards behéaded.

A skirmish.
The abbat of
Kilwinning
slaine.
The lord Hume
and capteine
Cullen taken.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all spéed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith [whose capteine was Patrike Lindseie] intrenched round about, being estéemed a plâce of great importance, standing both in the face of the enimies, and so readie to annoie them, and also seruing well to preuent them of such succour as they looked for dailie out of France. In this meane time, the lard of Grange, then capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his dooings, should depart out of the towne. Wherevpon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and tooke with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie : and comming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer : and so they remained at Leith, seruing against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expenses.

Fr. Thin.
Leith fortified.

A proclama-
tion.

After this, the lard of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being aduertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to vndertake the challenge : but the regent granted it to the lard of Garlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Wherevpon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed ; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lard Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

The challenge
of the lard of
Grange.

The lard of
Garlisch.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one Iohn Chesholme, who was sent with monie to the lard of Grange for the paiment of his souldiors : he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and thrée hundred caleeuers. Vpon his entering into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith : wherevpon he landed at Brent Ilaud, and afterwards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two clifs of a rocke, not farre from the quéenes ferrie : but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie about two moneths, vsing sundrie meanes, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

Iohn Chesho-
holme.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentieth of August next insuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof ; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed daie did assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrosse, Eglenton, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methwen, Sempill, Ogil-tree, and Cathcart, with manie lards and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

A parlement
summed.

When he had taken his place, he vttered a certeine speech as had béene taught him, touch-
ing,

The duke of
Chatelerault
forfalted.

ing the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house : and this doone, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Moreouer in this parlement, the duke of Chatelerault with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntleie, the lard of Grange and sundrie others were forfalted. This parlement continued by the space of senen daies : at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lard of Bouclugh, the lard of Ormiston, and diuerse others, to the number of threé hundred horssemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

Fr. Thin.

The regent hearing a great vprore raised within the towne [in which George Ruthwen was slaine] and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherein he lodged was beset on ech side, he defended the same against the enimies for a good space : but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had béene vnderlaid with some barrels of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if he yéelded not as some told him : and the enimie, to increase that doubt, crieng still ; Blow vp the house, what shuld we stand longer about him ? at length he was contented to yéeld to the lard of Ormiston, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest capteins had yéelded themselues before his face. He yéelded, with condition to haue his life saned : but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue comming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capteine Cauder with a pistolet shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The earle of
Lennox taken
in his lodging.

The earle of
Lennox
wounded.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lard of Bouclugh, tooke the same lard prisoner, he yéelding himselfe vnto him : and likewise the earle of Glencarne tooke his kéeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers : but Claud Hamilton, with others their companie, hauing first gotten all the horssees that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was comming, shifted for themselues, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he vsed these woords (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of
Lennox his
woords before
his death.

“ My lords, it is not vnknown vnto you all, that my comming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne séeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chieflie mooued me heerevnto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant ; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vnckle the good earle of Murreie, late regent : whose mischéuous and diuelish denises if in time you doo not preuent by your wisdoms and discretions, they wiil procure the finall ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my blond, and haue plaid the last part of my tragedie, and now I féele death to draw néere at hand.

“ Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almightie God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yéeres, wholie to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vnrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my déere wife, now being in England : vnto whome I beséech God to be a comforter,

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THE
ANNALS OF SCOTLAND

IN SOME PART CONTINUED

FROM THE TIME IN WHICH HOLINSHED LEFT,

Being the Yeare of our Lord 1571,

UNTILL THE YEARE OF OUR REDEMPTION 1586,

BY FRANCIS BOTEUILE, COMMONLIE CALLED THIN.

SOCRATES (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselie (as one in all his life wholie ginen to serch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre foorth as it concerneth the thing doone, must needs be true that the same was so doone in that order, as it was openlie sene to be doone. Wherby might be concluded, that in chronicling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: bicause we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement. For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saieing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowe in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbear to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saieing of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those
for

for soundest which time trieth to be most true; and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publikelie doone; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth; and not that perpetuities or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onelie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, bicause the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publikelie doone, and that they are publikelie doone that sort to anie action in the common-welth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicause that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had bene sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especiallie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this beanie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind bairad boldly run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curiouslie carping at my barrennes in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselues, beside manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to
breake

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thenes? Shall none write histories but Cæsar, Livie, Sabellicus, Paulus Iovius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their trauell to the world bicause they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Cheeke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of supplieng of things requisit for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue beene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speches, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue alreadie consecrated my selfe, whatsoever I am, haning long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to prouide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence

telligence thereof, but onelie culled foorth such matter as both the time wherein we live, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and challenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this sand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposed in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

FRANCIS THIN.

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The quéenes part warned by the watch of Edenborough castell.

They which lide in ambush pursue those that came forth to set vpon the kings part.

A conflict betwéene the Gordons and the Forboises.

The Forboises disagree among themselues.

Arthur Forboise.

Adam Gordon disappointeth the vnion of the Forboises.

Arthur Forboise slaine.

The Forboises put to flight.

now shewing themselues out of the vallie to rescue their fellowes put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceiued by the watch of the castell of Edenborough, foorthwith it gaue the appointed signe, whereby those on the quéenes part (before that they came neere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, bicause they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whence or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recoile of the quéenes part, the few horssemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were inforced (with all the speed that might be) to flie vnto the citie, the next waie that euerie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capteins and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Whilist these things were thus slowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deadlie food of long rooted betwéene them. These two were of the sier-names of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first lined with great concord and amitie amongst themselues, and by the kings sufferance had manie years gouerned the people adioining vnto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselues, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with another, dailie impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt anie open warres the one against the other; rather lining in secret emulation, than open enuie, bicause they had (in waie of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families together. Among these Forboises there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse readie hand to performe his deuse) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermost, from the first time of these discords. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to vnitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compass (as by anie possible meanes he would leaue no stone vnturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in those parts whatsoever, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

For furtherance of which vnion, when daie and place was appointed to assemble the Forboises together, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntleie (deusing by all policie he might to hinder the same, and haning priuie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemblie of the Forboises) to breake off their vnion. And although there were two troopes of the Forboises, which presentlie appéered in their sight, yet before they could ioine their strengths, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one armie (not readie to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise; who being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his death did so amaze the other, that foorthwith the rest were soone ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best shift for himselfe. In which vnhappie conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manie others taken and reserued for ransome. Whervpon the residue (fearing more crueltie should be vsed vpon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time present) withdrew themselues from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the renenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wise

suppression of reuenge grew not without inst cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further vrged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great belled wife and the other of his children.

The house, great belled wife, and children of Alexander Forboise burnt.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardlie escaping from his enimies hands, hastned to the court, from whence (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releued. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as faouered and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to associat themselues to the part of the Forboises. These thus confederat and come together to the rest of the Forboises, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, so aduanced the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie fensed against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to inioy the place of a capteine, whome the rest might follow, sith all the principals and heads of the families were almost yoong men, and scarce one better than others in degre of calling. Wherefore the assemblie being drawn into diuerse companies (for they were inforced to follow seuerall leaders) Iohn Keth with five hundred horssemen departed to his house not far from theuse. Alexander Forboise with his retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberden, to expell Adam Gordon from thense, and to repara his armie in the iourne.

The Forboises receiue aid from the king.

The Forboises follow seuerall leaders. Iohn Keth departed. Alexander Forboise goeth to Aberden.

Adam Gordon (not sleeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboises, and vnderstanding the approach of his enimie so neere with so small companie) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to seme the greater. Shortlie after, in a field next adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betweene them. In which the kings foqtmen (appointed to the Forboises) desirous (more hastlie than wiselie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their companie) they were put to fearfull flight by the bowmen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but mostlie taken and reserued as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Forboise taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe against his enimies in the same conflict, to the perpetuall glorie of that house.

The Forboises ouerthrowen besides Aberden.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north parts, the queenes faouers were highlie encouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Iedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vnwalled and vnfensed, but onelie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of the queenes faction. Neere vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernherst, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lidesdale, Euian, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robberie and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war frèche without restraint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Teuiot (aswell by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for these things were by vse made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families defamed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (sith this poison had crept almost ouer all the land) but certeine of the next English pale (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined together; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and twentie harquebushers, chosen out of the cheefest souldiers, to be assistant vnto them.

Iedworth defended from assault.

Thomas Car. Walter Scot.

Buchan. li. 20.

The inhabitants of Iedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering wherevnto all this

this preparation tended) with speedie & fearefull messengers signifie vnto Iohn Areskine earle of Mar & regent, the present danger wherein they stood, craning some succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them, which forthwith was granted accordingly. Wherevpon Walter Car of Stefford, being called before the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure & experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the countries adioining, for that season assembled themselues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie with them at Iedworth. At what time also to strike more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and certeine horsmen (wherof he brought part with him, and part he gathered out of the marches adioining) were at the same time comming to Driburge with the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the queenes faction trusting to their owne strength consisting in multitude (for they were in number thrée thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw towards the towne, to preuent the comming of such succours as both were promised, looked for, and then almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie before suspected, he hastened the people with more speed to follow them at the hées, and by continuall shot weried the taile of his aduersaries with often assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car sent to defend Iedworth.

William Ruthwine with a power comming to Driburge.

Walter Car ioineth with William Ruthwine.

The queenes faction flie awaie.

Ruthwine with his armie commeth to Hawike.

The queens faction ouerthrowne and dispersed at Hawike.

Walter Car also ioining vnto him and to his complices the townes men (readie to defend their titles, their goods, their wines, and their children) tooke the direct waie towards his enimies, to the end the better to suppress them and their vnited force. Which when the aduerse part perceiued, forthwith they retired to places of more defense, lest they shuld encounter their enimies with doubtfull battell; and least being set vpon before and behind, they might be suddenlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne themselues, either to escape, or to preuent the approaching enimie. At what time such as sought after spoile, and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine, being now by that means defrauded of their preie, when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and the kings part readilie and stronglie come forth to battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his owne house, as it was néerest to the place where they then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any occasion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would make vpon them) they also followed after the others, raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with the rest of their followers and companie of footmen, hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow, which would staie the following of the enimie.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportunitie of time, did before daie so speedilie lead his armie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his enimies, before they could by anie means be certified of his comming. Whose speedie and vnlooked for approach did strike such extreame feare into the hearts of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that euerie one should shift for himselfe as well as hée might. Wherevpon suddenlie bringing forth their horses and footmen, and following the course of the next riuier, they attempted to withdraw into places of more safetie for themselues, and further from their enimies. But the horssemen of Ruthwine speedilie following at their hées, so preuented their denise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Vpon which the footmen being thus left to the spoile and preie of their enimies, did (for their more safegard) hide themselues in a little wood adioining to the said riuier. In which, being on euerie side beset with the force of their aduersaries (fullie determined to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholie yéeld themselues with submission to their courtesie. Whervpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their number was ouer great to be caried about from place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suffered harmelesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture

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dors into Scot-
land.

of Scotland, sent their ambassadors into the realme, to see what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minoritie; hoping either to set a finall end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minoritie passe anie further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Drurie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the queene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassador out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

An abstinence
of warre for
a time.

These much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and ioining together concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectually therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betweene the parties of the king and queenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue vntill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be set downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadors returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Drurie and maister Randolph into England.

Sir William
Drurie and
maister Ran-
dolph go into
Scotland.
The death of
the earle of
Marre.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sicknesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus saith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit*) being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situat foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erledome succéded Iohn erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which Iohn Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Murrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this Iohn, which succeeded him in the earledome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglasse now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which decessed Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore vtroque pium:
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,
Rebus in ambiguis suspicione fidem,
Si quis ob has dotes, sæuis iactata procellis,
Figit in illius patria fessa pedem:
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter crit:
Illud & proprium est, longæ quòd in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.

Earle Morton
made regent.

Vpon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succéed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had doone before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whose election, the two princes, the English queene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadors to the regent and states of Scotland. Which ambassadors were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Veracke for France. But as monsieur de Veracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and vpon the sea in his iourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could atteine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongst the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which

Maister Henrie
Killigrew sent
into Scotland.

being

being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come foorth of England from that prince, whome religion, blond, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolute themselues, that both the affection, aswell of the yoong king, and of the imprisoned quéene, should referre themselues to the queene of England, to make a finall conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Wherevpon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwéene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In Februarie following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Iohns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the quéene of England should by hir ambassador, set a quiet end and order amongst them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglie, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edenborough: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Lidington, the lord Rastalrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons méetelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anie peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned quéenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.

An assemblie
at saint Iohns
towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue beene credible informed, there was a parlement called at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of Ianuarie, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Cassels, Eglinton, Mountrosse, and yoong Marshall, for the earle Marshall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindseie, Glames, Simple, Boid, Maxwell, HERRIS, Graie, Olliphant, Sincleir, Forbois, Cachart, Ochiltrée, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borows of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glasgow, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountrosse, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Boid, Simple, and HERRIS, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Orkeneie, the abbats of Aberborth, Dunfirmiling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie ile and Portiniake, which were also adioined vnto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

1573.
A parlement
at Edenbo-
rough.

THE ARTICLES AND ACTS OF THE PARLEMENT HOLDEN AT EDENBOROUGH THE
25 OF IANUARIE.

“ 1 THE approbation and ratification of the regiment.

“ 2 Annenst the true and holie kirke, and deiering of the true ministers & members thereof.

“ 3 That nane of the aduersaries and enimies of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.

“ 4 That sike of the disobedients as shall be receiued to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrées and execution of the councill of Trent.

“ 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet vaile during the kings minoritie.

“ 6 Annenst recouering of the iewels, housholdstufte, munition, and moueables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoofe.

“ 7 A declaration, that all things doone in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and vnder color of quhatsoever other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.

“ 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maiestie of England, for the

the defense of forren inuasion, for the cause of religion ; and that others professing the true religion, may be drawne into the same.

“ 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annenst masse and gleibis.

“ 10 Annenst the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet buls or prouision to benefices with antedats.

“ 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie counsell, made in the reigne of the quhene the kings mother, annenst the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.

“ 12 Annenst execution against persons excommunicat.

“ 13 Annenst the reparation of parish kirks.

“ 14 Annenst procéding in cause of diuorse.

“ 15 Annenst the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.

“ 16 A confirmation of the infeffement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgow. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise giuen to the regent, touching the receiuing to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaieng of pursute of the murther of the kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought good to be followed ; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.”

Skirmishes
about Eden-
borough.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said fiftéenth of Ianuarie. For Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from sallieng out of the castell gate, where capteine Craiford, and capteine Hume laie with their bands to keepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired vnto a posterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and fet water at their pleasure : which being espied by their enimies, capteine Michaell and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thrée daies after such his approach, destroyed their well, and inforced them to kéepe within the wals of the castell : at what time the regent aduanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulworke or spurre of that castell to the west part : and from thense, to saint Cutberts kirke : so that with the water lieng on the southwestside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poore dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house : although men, women, and children did dailie frequent and passe the stréets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this : that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) aboue six persons, and within the castell but three, with as manie hurt betweene the tolbooth and the spurre of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thrée trauerses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell : at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fensed with a rampier forced of turffes, fagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

An abstinence
of war granted.

During which dooings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentieth of Februarie : in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre
with

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serue the same for a receptacle of foren forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my souereigns; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perilous a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoofe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, houshold stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoofe of the king your souereigne and his regent in his name, immediatlie after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obeie, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, councell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your liues, &c: otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the vttermost, and holden as enimies to hir maiestie, your owne souereigne, and countrie. Giuen at Edenborough by me sir William Drurie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this fife and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573."

This letter by the lord Grange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their bloud, did vtterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselues. Wherewith the English generall greatlie grieued, did incontinently redeliuer such answer to the said lord Grange as wrought an vtter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie therevpon against the castell. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his coming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in fife seuerall places, where were fife seuerall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Drurie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carie, the fourth was called sir Hemie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, wherof fiftéene hundred were English, and the other five hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie péeces of artillerie conteining six canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six sacres. Whilest the armie without was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other souldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castillians, but mostlie after that the pioners and laborers had finished the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not vntill the seuentéenth daie of Maie following. In which siege on the said seuentéenth daie of Maie, the castell was most roughlie assailed by thirtie shot of canon discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dauids tower, that the force of the English canons was casie to be then and long after seene therein. Which assault continued vntill the one and twentieth daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterie began not againe as before against part, but wholie round about on ech side of the castell. For vntill then Dauids towre was onelie the marke of the enimie: but after that daie they laid out their power in euerie place, offending and defending ech others soldiors, as well within the
castell

castell as within the mounts and trenches in that sharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Wherevpon the diligence of the English began to be so great, that they forthwith displaced the ordinance in the castell, and stroke one of their greatest péeces inst in the mouth : whereby the same was broken, and the castillians force somewhat abated.

After this on the six and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, there was a fresh assault giuen at seuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defense or blockehouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith vpon the entrance therin was the banner of the generall displaid and set vp, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the vse of one of their great péeces, that their walles were battered, that some of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them : yet would they not yéeld, neither did anie whit begin to despaire of kéeping the castell, or repelling the enimie ; vntill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that these gaue the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make shew of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell ; to the end that such as laied batterie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselues, and lesse suspicion of the aduerse part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band, ouer hastilie putting themselues in aduerture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and drinen to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding, the castillians (perceiuing their chieftest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatlie reioising of this small victorie ouer those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a drumme demand parlee : which they obtained with truce of peace from that daie, vntill the eight and twentieth of Maie next following. For which cause the lard of Pittadrow, was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lard of Grange, capteine of the said castell, with Robert Meluine ; all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William Drurie, & such other persons as were chosen to accompanie him about the same. In the end, vpon much conference had betweene the Scottish lards and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth daie (in which the truce ended) deliuered vp into the hands of the said sir William Drurie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time ; during whose abode in the castell, he set vp and spread his ensignes and banners vpon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

This doone, the generall (after quiet possession had, not determining to reteine it vnto his mistresse vse, sith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as tooke his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuer ouer the same castell to the vse of the yong king of Scots ; for which cause not meaning vtterlie to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vse of the soldiers, leaning the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell, it was agréed ; that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should wholie haue inioied the full spoile by the space of thre daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which should be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide anie long siege, but must of necessitie yéeld it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile giuen vnto the souldiers vpon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William Drurie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were deprived of water, bicause the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals ; & the other well without could not serue them, bicause there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnknowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre, out of which they were woont to haue a pint a daie for euerie souldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie,

Secondlie, diuerse persons were sicke, especially thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had béene poisoned by some of their enimies.

Thirdlie, diuerse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anie rest, being so plied and daille wearied with batterie.

Fiftlie, diuerse of the souldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixtlie, some were no souldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the horssemen daille and nightlie watching and riding, which held and tooke from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes mooned the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixtéenth daie of Iune following, the prisoners were deliuered by the said sir William Drurie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, vnto the regent; and that doone, the same daie sir William Drurie departed with his power to Berwike. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Kircawdie lard of Grange, and capteine of the castell of Edenborough, the lord Hume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington secretarie, the lard of Pittadrow constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Grange, with others. But yet the priuat souldiers & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenborough woone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as manie thought it tooke the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not béene woone at any time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the falser, in that the common sort doo imbrace it, for that they iustlie incline to common fables. For this castell was not surnamed the maiden castell, bicause it was neuer taken by force; but bicause the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appeare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof; of which there be diuerse opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Ebrancus king of Britaines, called also in British Castle mynid Agnes, the castle of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castell of virgins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. “ Chrutnæus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum vrbem & Agnedam postea Ethinburgum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puellarum castro, vbi regis & nobilium Pictorum filia dum nuptui darentur, seruari, & præceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit.” A little before which, the said Lesleus writeth that Fergusius died “ Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum 305,” & that “ Hoc tempore Esdadus Britonum & Chrutnæus Camelonus Pictorum imperium tenebant.” Now this king Chrutneus that built Agueda, lined before Christ three hundred and five yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Ebranke lined nine hundred foure score & nine yeares before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lesleus hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he appointed Edinburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares wasted and vtterlie decaied, the same was afresh erected by Chrutneus, and after repaired by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, vntill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not bicause it was neuer woone by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agueda, bicause it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the comming of Christ so called

*Humphred
Lhoid. in breu.
Brit.*

*L. Stow.
L. Stow. lib. 2.
pag. 94.
Camdenus in
Scotia saith ab
Ebranco Britan-
no aut ab Hetho
Picto Edinbur-
gum deducere
quid aliud est
quàm serio inep-
tice?*

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I. Stow.

interteined in England, as both hir birth in respect of hir kinglie blond, and hir calling in respect of hir place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, she was on the two and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the mariage of hir sonne Henrie Steward lord Darneleie vnto Marie Steward queene of Scots) commanded by the queene of England first to keepe hir chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where she remained vntill the two and twentieth daie of Iune next insuing; and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the priuie counsell and vice-chamberleine to the queene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towre of London by water; in which place she remained prisoner vntill that hir sonne the said Henrie Steward was miserablie and traitorouslie slaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as some affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentieth of Februarie one thousand five hundred three score & six. In which yeare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth, the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the towre and set at libertie, who still remaining in England did (as before is said) in the threé score & second yeare of hir age, and in the sixt yeare of hir widowhood, surrender hir soule to God, being most honorablie buried & answerablie to hir calling in the great chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seuenth king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapell standing on the right & the southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before whose death hir sonne Charles Steward earle of Lennox (hauing before married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Candish, by whome he had issue Arhella) did also depart this life. Ouer the bodies of both which persons, Thomas Fowler executor to the said ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the said ladie erect a costlie and statelie toome of rich stone and curious workemanship, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring hir nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the toome is set downe

“*Memoriæ sacrum.*”

“*Margaretæ Dowglasæ, Matthæi Stuarti Leuinia comitis vxori, Henrici septimi Angliæ regis ex filia nepti, potentiss. regibus cognatione coniunctissimæ, Iacobi sexti regis auia, matronæ sanctiss. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, incomparabili P.*”

Obijt Martij decimo Anno
Domini 1577.”

On the right side of which toome is this ingrauen.

“*Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu
Regibus ac proavis nobilitata suis:
Inde Calidonijs australibus, inde Britannis
Aedita principibus, principibusque parens:
Quæ mortis fuerant soluit lætissima morti,
Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*”

“*Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to Iames the sixt now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yoongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intoomed.*”

On the left side of the toome is this ingrauen.

“*This ladie had to hir great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to hir grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, to hir vnclé king Henrie the eight, to hir coosine germane king Edward the sixt, to hir brother king Iames of Scotland the fift, to hir sonne king Henrie the first, to hir grandchild king Iames the sixt; hauing to hir great grandmother and grandmother two queens both named Elisabeth, to hir mother Margaret queene of Scots, to hir aunt Marie the French queene, to hir cousines germane Marie and Elisabeth queens of England, to hir neece and daughter in law Marie queene of Scots.*”

At

At the foot of hir toome is this writtèn.

“ Here lieth the noble ladie, Margaret countesse of Lennox; daughter and sole beire to Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus, by Margaret queene of Scots his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie the seuenth, which bare vnto Matthew earle of Lennox hir husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters.”]

Which honourable toome, with these superscriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is shewed) countesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to declare in this place, what became of both the said earledoms, as well in hir life, as after hir and hir sonne Charls his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the mariage of hir son Henrie lord Darneleie, which was solemnized the nine and twentieth daie of Iulie 1565, to Marie queene of Scots, did gine the said earledome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the said queene Marie, to dispose as fell best vnto hir liking. Wherevpon the said queene bestowed that honour and earledome vpon Archibald Dowglasse cousine to the said ladie Margaret: who being exiled, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after the slaughter of Matthew earle of Lennox (husband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Lesleus, was inuested in Charles Iames the sixt king of Scotland, beire in blond to the said Matthew earle of Lennox, father to Henrie lord Derneleie (that married the queene) father to the said Iames the sixt. Wherevpon the yoong king, mindfull of the aduancement of his vnclè Charles sonne to the said Margaret, did innest the said Charls with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male; by reason whereof the said earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leaning the title and succession of the earles of Lennox to an other place following (sith I am entered into the discourse of such of the earles & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For although the same matter would more aptlie haue béene placed before at the end of the historie of Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the beginning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle: yet sith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the historie; and the same also at that time passed the print (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I will here (hauing so good occasion therfore) intreating of the toome of his wife (whose charge also wanted not in erecting of this toome of hir slaine husband, and for that this dooth also touch some part of hir epitaph) insert the same in this place after this maner, as it is written vpon the statelie toome of the said Matthew Lennox, and now standing in the chapell within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox.

“ Lo here a prince and potentate,
 whose life to vnderstand,
 Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,
 though from his natie land
 His enemies thrice did him out thring,
 he thrice returnd againe,
 Was lawfull tutor to the king;
 and regent did remaine:
 Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
 the right for to defend,

Till enmies old through tyrans trackt,
 did worke his fatall end.
 Lo thus respects the death no wight,
 When God permits the time,
 Yet shall the vengeance on them light
 that wrought that cursed crime.”

Besides which also on the same toome are these heroicall verses set downe name, his descent, his mariage, his issue, his offices, and such other matters him, as followeth.

“ Behold herein interred is,
 Matthew of Lennox earle,
 Who long of late in Britaine soile,
 did liue a pearlesse pearle.
 And as he was of roiall bloud,
 by roiall progenie,
 From Stewards stocke of ancient time,
 princes of Albanie :
 His fortune was euen so to match,
 with passing vertuous wight,
 Whose race deriued from famous kings,
 of wide renowned might.
 His mother queene of Scotland was,
 and eldest daughter deare,
 Of Henrie seuenth English king,
 a princelie mirror cleare.
 Hir father earle of Angus was,
 she ladie Margaret hight,
 The onelie beire of Angus lands,
 and all his fathers right.
 Thus did king Brutus blond conioine,
 for both by grace diuine
 Are come of Northwales princes hault,
 which were of Troians line.
 And diuerse goodlie imps there were,
 that issued from them twaine :
 Charls James now king, and *Charls the earle
 of them dooth still remaine,
 King Henrie father to this king,
 their first begotten sonne :
 Oh cruell fates ! the which so soone,
 his vitall thred vnsponne,
 By whose deuise the grandsire came,
 lord regent in this land :
 And noble bare the regall sword
 of iustice in his hand.
 Whereby he did in tender age
 of the kings maiestie,
 This realme protect with fortitude,
 prudence and equitie.
 But now dame fame with flickering wings
 withouten anie let,

* This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the toome which his grandmother the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned who liued after the death of this Matthew his grandfather.

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The kings of
Scotland take
on them to
rule the realme
without pro-
curators being
within age.

Lesleus li. 8.
pag. 295.

king tooke vpon him to rule the realme by himselfe & by such curators as he shuld appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfth yéere of his age thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie by himselfe, and such as he appointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancestors had doone before in their yoong yeares; notwithstanding the opinion of manie of the better sort of the presbiterie, which mainteine that he cannot absolutelie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the customes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of fíue and twentie yeares. But we find in their owne histories of Scotland, written euen by men of best iudgement, that Iames the second of that name king of Scots, did in the fouretenth yeare of his age, in the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, put Alexander Leuinstone knight from his regentship, and tooke vpon him himselfe the absolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Lesleus. “Gubernatoris cancellarijque concilio & iussu factum est, vt omnium ordinum comitijs Striueling indies diceretur. An. Dom. 440, mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est constitutum, vt rex suum regnum lustrans, contentiones sopiat, causas decidat, controuersias dirimat, reliquáq; reipublicæ negotia præsens procurer. Multi nobiles sese comites itineris adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, vt aliorum seruituti se premi diutius non sinat: sed vt omni iugo excusso, ipse sibi reipublicæ gubernandæ partes assumat. Is iuuenili quodam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effluere liberalissimè patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regnum solium præceps irruit, ac vt publicis comitijs solus præesset, omnes ordines Striuelingum vocat, 4 Nouembris 1444.”

After which, about fíue yeares following, the same Iames, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the ninetéenth yeare of his age, and the twelfth yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntleie, and George Lesle a baron earle of Rothseie. Iames the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixtéene yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score & eight, administred the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. Iames the fift the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fíue hundred twentie and eight, in the seuentéenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftéenth yeare of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentship, and tookè vpon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand fine hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whilest she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both-parts, at what yeates the kings of Scotland may assume to themselues the gouernement of the kingdome, after that they haue attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and vnfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue doone in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

THE PROTECTORS, GOVERNOURS, OR REGENTS OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE KINGS MINORITIE OR HIS INSUFFICIENCIE OF GOVERNEMENT, OR DURING HIS ABSENCE OUT OF THE REALME.

Conanus.

CONANUS was gouernour vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seuen: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and flieng to Yorke, where

where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouvernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. "Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optimè administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, losina eius frater suffectus est."

Cadallus lining about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Cadallus. Gillus (the bastard of Euenus) hauing slaine the sonne of Euenus, and vsurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6, pag. 92. "Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur."

Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen Argadus erle of Argilo. gouvernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iustice of Scotlând to him and his beires, which function at this daie the earles of Argile doo inioie by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Mordacke and Conrade were made gouernors of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. "Senectutis tandem tædio illius (which was Elphine who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, senen hundred thirtie and thrée) vires ita debilitatæ sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus præstans quædam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldo Argadium; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Couano Morauiam."

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrews, &c: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure score and thrée, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not knowen to whome the kingdome did apperteine, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balioll, Bruse, Hastings, and others) agréed amongst themselues, and chose six regents or gouernors of the same, vntill a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fiffe, Iohn Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other thrée were Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir Iohn Cumine, and Iames high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernor of Scotland by Edward the first, Hugh Cressingham who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his absence, whilest he was busied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselues at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seuen, at what time also Andrew Murreie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the king.

William Wallace after manie worthie exploits doone in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernor of the realme vnder Iohn Balioll, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernor of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernor, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first kiug of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and fife.

Iohn Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernor, was chosen to be gouernor for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties,

berties, which being knowen to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroied it. Whervpon Iohn Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow with him in the administration of the wars against the English, and discomfited the English in the yere of our Lord God one thousand thrée hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Odomare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Odomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence.

Odomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, vnclie to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe bloud, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and foure, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred & two, tooke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruse being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of Iune in the yéere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and six, at Mefen discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Odomare de Valence, who after banished all those which anie waic tooke part with king Robert Bruse. But in the end Robert Bruse recouering himselfe & more aid, draue all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yeere of Robert Bruse, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruse being fallen into extreme sicknesse, whereby he could not wéeld the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, cōmitted the administration of the relme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to Iames Dowglasse knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruse, whose death happened in the yéere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Daid his sonne came to the crowne, being but seuen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minoritie and insufficiencie of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betweene England and Scotland. Shortlie after which the gouernor died of poison at Muscledborough, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yeare of king Daid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, Iohn erle of Murreie, and Thomas, both being persons woorthie of such a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemblie of parlement of the three estates of the réalme, in which in the said yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and one, and the second yere of the reigne of king Daid, these two, Patrike earle of March and Daid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Marre were chosen gouernors of the relme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the relme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and two was slaine sléeeping in his bed at Duplin neere to the water of Erne, by such as followed and tooke part with Edward Balioll attaining the crowne, and expelling Daid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Marre, and ioined in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortlie after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rocksborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sicknesse, and was buried in Rose Markie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglas.

Archibald Dowglasse, after the decease of Andrew Murreie, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whilst king Edward did besiege Berwike, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remooue his siege of Berwike. Afterward this Dowglasse was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the

yeare

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was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of foure yeares, vntill about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home Iames the right king of Scots, who had béene eightéene yeares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scotland, by the name of Iames the first: at what time the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the hands of the said Mordacke the gouernor, & Henrie bishop of saint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of Iames the first conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had issue two sons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander
Leuingstone.

Alexander Leuingstone knight was made gouernor the daie after that Iames the second was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but six yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Leuingstone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Creicton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of Iames the second, they both (through dissention which had long continued betwéne them about their authorities) were put from their offices, remooued from the king, all their friends banished the court, and they themselues commanded to appéere before the king: which bicause they refused so to doo, they were both proclamed rebels and put to the horne.

William Creic-
ton.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to Iames the second, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of Iames the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thrée score (when Iames the third hir sonne was but seauen yeares old) the nobilitie assembled at Edenborough to prouide for the administration of the realme, because the king was so yoong. Wherevpon there were senen regents appointed for the gouernement both of the kings person, and also of the kingdome, which were Marie the quéene his mother; Iames Kennedie bishop of S. Andrews, being sisters sonne to Iames the first, the bishop of Glascow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkenie. These so long as Kennedie lined, agréed well together about the gouernment of the realme; but shortlie after his decease, or rather before, they fell at square, which we will more largelie touch hereafter when we haue a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thrée score and six, and in the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Iames the third, who being buried in the college of saint Sauior which he founded most sumptuouslie in the towne of saint Andrews, did in his life time besides his bishoprike hold in his possession the commandrie of the abbeie of Pettinwen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the granitie and wisdom of which bishop occasioned Lesleus in his commendation to set downe these few words.

“ Hic (which was this bishop of saint Andrews) prudentia consilióque ita valuit, vt quicquid latebat in republica insidiarum, apperiret, vnde meritò potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopum Douglassij superbiam fregisse, ac furorem retudisse. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio insigniter polita, & sumptu magnificè instructa, omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari possit; sepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquódque eiusdem fuisse pretij vulgi sermone celebratum est.” After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Iames the third, being in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred thrée score and two, there was discord kindled betweene quéene Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Kennedie, who perceiuing that the woman did wholie séeke to vsurpe the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood it in that behalfe, insomuch that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken foorth into some ciuill warre, if that the bishops

of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, with certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought so effectuouslie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The queene mother was appointed to haue the charge and custodie of the kings person, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and Iohn earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and gouernement of the realme of Scotland, she should leaue it to the péeres, wherefore by common consent there were elected as gouernors the bishops of Glasgow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the seuenth king of England was (after the death of hir husband Iames the fourth, and in the minoritie of hir sonne Iames the fift, being but a yeare and six moneths old when he was inuested with the kingdome) made regent of the realme, which she should gouerne by the counsell of Iames Betune archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Arrane, but shortlie after they falling out amongst themselues for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

Iohn duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and gouernor of the realme, as he which next of blond to the king, and néerest to the crowne) was by vniuersall consent at saint Iohns towne admitted to those offices accordingle, hauing the same confirmed vnto him by a parlement holden at Edenburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and thirtéene, and the first yeare of the yoong king Iames the fift. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and fouretéene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fve hundred and fiteene, and in the third of Iames the fift, on the seuentéenth of Maie, he arriued at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouernor, who was honorable interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edenburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edenburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouernor, the scepter and sword being deliuered vnto him, and an oth by him to the lords, and by the lords to him giuen, that ech of them should be faithfull to ech other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and seuentéene, as saith Lesleus, committeth the gouernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least anie euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edenburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthwéene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke hauing thus beene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and twentie, remaining still gouernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand fve hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelwe yeare of the reigne of king Iames the fift, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the quéene, the mother of Iames the fift, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentith of Iulie) find meanes that the yoong king came from Sterling vnto Edenburgh: thrée daies after which the quéene tooke the whole gouernment vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Edenburgh with the king, making the lord Maxwell prouost of Edenburgh. Then the quéene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie councill, to take on them the gouernment of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberden & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane

and Leneux, to whom the quéene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be doone. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus in the end fullie getting the whole gouvernement into his hands.

Archibald
Dowglas.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunbane was dead, and the quéene gone vnto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and five, being about the thirteenth of Iames the fifth) tooke the whole gouvernement vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, remoouing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncler Archibald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Leneux who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwéene the queene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, and the sixtéenth yeare of the same Iames the fift, was atteinted by parlement holden at Edenburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuentéenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeate of his said gouernment. Wherevpon the yeare following, this Archibald came vnto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

Iames earle of
Arrane.

Iames earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of Iames the fift) being but seven daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that Dauid Beton, fauoror of the French causes had without all reason vsurped the gouernment, vnder the pretense of a deuised will and testament of Iames the fift, in which testament he was appointed gouernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quéenes consent a gouernor to the person of the yoong quéen, which was the lord Leuingstone capteine of Lithquo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second ycre of quéen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaell. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thrée, being about the twelfe yeare of quéene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of gouernor, and the quéene tooke the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: wheréupon the gouernor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quéene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinall of Loreine and the duke of Guise his brother, touchiog whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: "Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the queene of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Franciæ, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisium eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem reginæ matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c." This duke had issue Iames Hamilton earle of Arrane after Iunatike, and one Dauid Hamilton.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.

Marie dowager
of Scotland.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to Iames the fift, and mother to the yoong quéene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quéene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same yoong quéene, which office this regent tooke vpon hir hauing the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and three score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of queene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: "Fuit autem corpus in Gallia postea transuectum, primùm ad monasterium Feckamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius piè tunc præerat, delatum, honorificè condebatur."

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 169.

Iames Steward.

Iames Steward bastard sonne to king Iames the fift king of Scots, and base brother to Marie queene of Scots now liuing and imprisoned, being prior of saint Andrews and earle of

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common thing: for there were three great persons in short time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Murreie and Leneux regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and innested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

The originall of the office of the chancellor.

Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 204.

This officer the chancellor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, conestable, marshall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in the historie of Scotland in these words: “Fœliciter rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: intêrque cœtera municipalium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruarunt, nihil pene immutatas, regionum magistratum indicumque, quos licet mundiûs, magisque Latiné vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conestabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorumque ministrorum aulæ annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cœteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribusque soluendum foret, instituit.” This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confessor, seemeth also to me couertlie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customes from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I doo not suppose, because the Romans had but little dooings amongst them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilest they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it may be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies beene in league euer since the time of their king Achaius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ senen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leaning that to be as it will (sith it is no dishonor for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall customes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer so ordeined by Malcolme amongst the Scots, was such an officer as was vsed amongst the Romans, touching the cause of whose name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called “Cancellarius à cancellando, cuius officium est rescripta, vel responsa imperatoris, & mandata inspicere, mala scripta cancellare, & bene scripta cum signaculo suo signare, & sigillum eis imprimere.” Of which word chancellor is risen this name, “Archicancellarius quasi princeps cancellariæ,” as is noted by Azo in summa.

This officer taking his name of *Cancellando*, (that is of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings,) did vse to adnull all writings, as we at this daie doo obserue in our chançerie, by drawing certeine strokes or lines made crosse one upon an other ouer the writing, in forme of woódden latices, in Latine termed *Cancelli*, which are either such latices as we at this daie, and of antiquitie vsed in windowes, or such as were made to compasse about the iudgement seats. For thus said the ciuilians touching that; “Cancelli sunt ligna inter se modicis interuallis in transuersum connexa, quibus tribunalia, scænæ & fenestræ muniti consueuerunt.”

consueuerunt." And Cicero saith in his first booke *'De oratore;* "Forensibus cancellis circumscriptam sententiam, &c." From which word *Cancelli*, is deduced this word *Cancellare*. For thus doo some write thereof: "Canello verbum videtur esse deductum à Cancellis, in quibus vt transuersaria nectuntur ligna, ita cum scripta expungenda sunt, transuerso calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod propriè illinere, seu allinere est, vel litura:" whervpon thus writeth Q. F. Horace the liricall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie:

" ——— incomptis allinet atrum
Transuerso calamo signum, &c.:"

as who should saie, He dooth cancell and blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer an other like latices, the ciuilians fullie agreeing to the same and saieng, that "Cancellare est scripta transductus lineis instar cancellorum delere." Beside which this word *Cancellarius* is also by some (whose curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken scarselie for good Latine, and therefore saie that this officer more purelie ought to be called *Scribarum præfectus*, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his historie of England, setteth downe these words: "Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minùs Latina longo vsu non item ratione iam primùm in consuetudinem quotidiani sermonis venisse, sic vt velimus nolimus ea interdum vsurpare cogamur, cuiusmodi sunt dux & comes, olim officij tautu at summæ nūc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro scribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto:" and Leland calleth the chancellor *Archigrammateus*. Besides which there be some in our age, who searching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancellor to be deriued from the Saxon toong, as it were a cleare or shining person or one excelling other men: compounding that word of these two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere dooth after the Saxon signifie in Latine *Præeminens* or *clarus*, and that part chance must note to vs a man. But how aptlie and truelie the same may stand to make the etymon of chancellor, I leaue to others to consider. This thus said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort.

In the moneth of Iulie there was a parlement of the nobilitie assembled, where Robert Steward great vncler to the king was created erle of Leneux, being girded with the sword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, sonne of Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, wherof we haue before intreated. But ouerpassing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scotish soile, though not of the Scotish persons, and remember to speake somewhat of the dooings of Steward, coronell of the Scots, which serued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaued himselfe right valiantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hottest in those low countries betweene the states and king Philip (at what time the archduke Matthias was generall for the noblemen or states, and Iohn duke of Austria, the base sonne of Charles the fift, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of those parts for the same king Philip) the states gathered a puissant armie of all such nations as were then in seruice with them (as English, Scots, Germans, and their owne countriemen) vnder the conduct of the countie Bossue, with whome duke Iohn of Austria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to set end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countrie: it happened that on the first of August, in this yeare that the armie of the duke of Austria coming to visit the armie of the states (which laie then incamped in the field called Reminant) that in the armie (as I said before composed of diuerse nations both footmen and horssemen) there was amongst others one companie of Scots vnder the leading of Steward their capteine and countriman, who being with his companie called forth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the streict on the left side, when the English should keepe the like streict on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the states, they were intrcrepted.

Gl. in l. si quis, libertatem de pot. hered.

1578.

Robert Steward created earle of Leneux.

The tragicall historie of the ciuill warres of the low countries, li. 4. fo. 31. Church yards choice.

tercepted by the English, who interteined them with such sufficient skirmish, as that they forced Don Iohns men to gine ground and retire towards the strength of the Scots (which the same Steward had in charge) and that so farre, that in the same action the English brought themselues betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who mistaking the companie, and supposing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they laie such a volée of shot, that it made them to loose more ground than euer the enimie could haue doone.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and being now fighting vpon the retreict came forward with great force and furie, hauing a new supplie of numbers of fresh souldiors to succour them. All which notwithstanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the streict which they had in charge, vntill such time as certeine Englishmen (that were left within the closes to discouer the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entred the streict vpon the Scots. Which thing was in deed verie true, for enen at that instant the fire was seene to arise in the village, and the whole forces which were to enter betweene the water and the English companies, retired themselues to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight vpon the retreict, the lieutenant of the English was likewise driuen to the same: which if he had not doone, the enimie had cut betwixt him, his companie and the trenches. This being well perceiued by capteine Liggins, he presentlie aduanced himselfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the succour of the lieutenant, to preuent the enimie, and to ioine with the forces of the same lieutenant, all who being gotten together doo retire to the church, and perceiuing that the enimie came on appase, the lieutenant of the English leaueth capteine Liggins to a reasonable ground of strength to interteine them, when he himselfe rideth backe to fetch releefe for capteine Liggins his retreict.

The enimie seeing the streict of the waie, and that their other forces preuailed more on the other streict forsooke anie longer to attempt the same against the English, and retired themselues all they might on the side ouer the closes, to ioine them with their other forces, which had enen now passed the streict which the Scots had in gard, who all together made hast vp to the hill, and so to the burnt house, then fired by the Scots, at that instant forsaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obtained victorie against the Spaniards, by valiant resisting & pursuing the force of the enimie. At what time also maister Norris coronell of the English and the forenamed maister Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obtained by the men of these two nations of England and Scotland. But leaning the Scots reioising of this good successe in those low countries, we will call backe our pen and resalute the countrie of Scotland, at this time in some ciuill dissentions amongst themselues, whereof these manie yeares, since the gouernment of this yoong king, it seemeth to me that it hath not long bene free.

In the forenamed moneth of August, there grew secret dissention amongst the nobilitie at home, which still continued & fed the former vnkindlie fire of contention betweene the two factions of the yoong king, and the imprisoned queene: by occasion wherof the realme was diuided into three parts, some following the king, some standing on the queenes side, & some assisting neither of both, all which by some were termed by three seuerall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, consisting of such as remained indifferent on both sides, neither seeking to vphold the one or to suppress the other. Amongst which on the kings part were manie earls, lords and bishops, as Dowglasse erle Morton admerall of Scotland, Dowglasse erle of Angus, Dowglasse earle of Buquhane, Areskin earle of Marre, Steward earle Bothwell, Cuningham earle of Glenkarne, Lesleh earle of Wrothouse, Montgomerie earle of Eglington, Steward earle of Orkeneie, and Steward earle of Leneux, all which were in house with the king, and attendant vpon his person, with whom were confederat the lords Boid, Ocheltree, Ruthwen treasurer of Scotland, Harris, Maxwell, Lindseie, Semple, and others.

Besides these, bishops and abbats, that is to saie, Patrike Adamson archbishop of S. Andrews, Cuningham (kinsman to the erle of Glencarne) bishop of Aberden, Boid (of bloud and kindered with the lord Eoid) archbishop of Glasgow, Dowglasse bishop of Man-
naw,

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imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned queene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staid at Phaltzburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Veldtzens; in which citie, his cofers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found; and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enimie to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safe conduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bauier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorable dismisse the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, and conueieng him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horssemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine toong vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was doone to the said bishop, in that his deteining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie seeke anie renenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfullie and *Verbatim* set downe in this sort.

THE TESTIMONIALL LEFT BY THE BISHOP OF ROSSE WITH THE DUKE OF BAUIER.

“Nos Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauia, &c: testamur hoc scripto palàm & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cùm in hisce periculosis & motuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbendam pacem publicam, aut noxias dissentiones sub quouis pretextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinaut aut patiantur; præcipuè cùm nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quàm facilè aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauaria, comésque Veldentzia, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteiniensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exequeretur significauit. Post factam retentionem celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc appulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiae instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missæ fuerant, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cùm mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis bisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, ut extirpata hæresi, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuratione Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cùm plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus à papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspensionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tam in religione, quàm politicis perturbare, & suspensionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minùs quàm ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominùs celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quàm præcedentibus suspensionibus imminetium

tium periculorum non diutiùs nos detenturos conclusit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut structione dissentionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi, sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possumus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundo, quod polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarúmque familiarum nomine, neq; per nos neque per alios, vlla via ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctissimæ inter ordines coniunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuriâ accepimus: cùm præsertim eius celsitudo, non modo liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcirco sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarúmque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos & ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroborationem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelsteni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

*Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.*

This Lesle being yet lining, and (as I vnderstand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancellor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both inioied honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was vexed with vniust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Goodwine, & then by the Norman bastard surnamed the Conqueror, which slue Harold and obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did priuillie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuouslie molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and drane them into the mouth of the riuier of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be séene, & at this daie called S. Margarets hauen (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith she was woonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Vpon which déed William the Conqueror, being more gréeuouslie mooned than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindseie, Vaus, Ramseie, Louell, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to crane aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie doo at this daie in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crichton, Fodringham, Giffert, Manlis, Brothike, and others; amongst whome Bartholomew Lesie descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare veric famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edenburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sproong and flourished manie worthie persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enimies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdom shewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewes the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, “ Vt (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saith) à quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frāgere, & sub iugū fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus : eiusdem stirpis comes Rothesium, multique alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primū, ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fifa, Augusia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijsque prouincijs munificē cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent.” Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rothos now liuing called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowrike, the same earle of Rothos being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leaning that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Bauier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threē score and nineteene, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to Iohn the eldest brother of Matthew Leneux, sometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorablie receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneux) the title of that earldome of Leneux, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneux, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should séeme by taking the earldome from Robert Steward to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestoweth vpon the said Robert Steward as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneux vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneux, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie yoong gentleman dooth most honorablie possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which dooth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being such an honor as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentiful in that region : for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose norished at anie one time (when that title was rifest amongst them) threē persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to saie somewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vsed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being Iohn, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor so called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these spéeches : “ Verūm quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarētur nomini inesse nescio quid ominis infausti, quòd reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderētur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerūt. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contusa fuerunt, vt (quòd regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifensi fratri suo regni gubernationē dedere cogeretur.” Which Iohn as before is said, hauing now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome : for he created Dauid his eldest sonne duke of Rothseie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albanie, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these words : “ Tertio plus minus anno” (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand threē hundred foure score and thirreene)

Lesleus lib. 5.
pag. 211.

The lord of
Obignie made
earle of Le-
neux.

Robert Ste-
ward made erle
of March.

The first erec-
tion of dukes
in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 264.
To which king
Iohn of Eng-
land and
France, he
might also haue
added one of
his own coun-
trie of Scotland
Iohn Balioll the
king, who was
as infortunate
in his govern-
ment as anle of
the other.
Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 263.

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number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare vpon his vpper garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posie, *Distantia iungit*: signifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king, with a iust counterpeise against the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Leneux lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowlege by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightéene; which I will not refuse to doo in this place, following the same course which I haue obserued before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A CATALOG OF ALL THE DUKES OF SCOTLAND BY CREATION OR DESCENT.

Dauid Steward
duke of Roth-
seie.

DAUID STEWARD (eldest son of Iohn Steward earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leauing the name of Iohn when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parliament, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred foure score and eightéene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothseie, when he was about eightéene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentieth daie of October one thousand thrée hundred three score and eighteene, made duke in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred fourescore & eightéene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances doo gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred fourescore & thirtéene. He married Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Steward
duke of Al-
banie.

Robert Steward second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth Mure or Moore his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteth, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred fourescore and eightéene, and the eight yeare of the gouernement of Robert the second, aduanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other Dauid as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend Dauid the duke of Rothseie, and committed him to streict prisonment in Faulkeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is mo're spoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdacke
duke of Alba-
nie.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of Iames the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie yoong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & thréescore, was with his brother Iohn earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée score and thrée, being the third yeare of Iames the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of Iune, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of Iames Kennedie bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtéene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and ninetéene, falling in the sixtéenth yeare of Iames the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edenburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished,

nished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie receiued, and there marièd the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortlie after dieng, and the duke perceiuing himselfe not to be so well vsed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Wherevpon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, comming (without anie resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of Iames the third) as far as Radstrag, or Rastalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the queene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the three and twentieth yeare of Iames the third; this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edenburgh: wherevpon the earle of Angus and Bucquaine forsaking the king, tooke part with the duke.

*Lesle. lib. 8.
pag. 319.*

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith that he tooke a little bote and so escaped into France; where he was honorablie interteined by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did inuade the kingdome, & was put to flight: wherevpon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: “*Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit astans, particula cuiusdam hastæ traicitur, breuëque post moritur,*” about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thrée. He left two sonnes behind him, Iohn duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orchardie, which Alexander was after bishop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone.

Iohn Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thrée: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, wherevnto I refer thée; and therefore omit to talke anie further of him in this place.

*Iohn duke of
Albanie.*

Iames Steward (eldest sonne to Iames the third) being duke of Rotheseie, is by some termed prince of Rotheseie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth daie of March, being about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of his father Iames the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the sixtéenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capteine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there slea him; wherevpon this Iames duke of Rotheseie was presentlie made king by the name of Iames the fourth.

*Iames Steward
duke of Rotheseie.*

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to Iames the third, king of Scotland, and brother to Iames the fourth, was duke of Rotheseie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. “*In studium incubuit rex*” (which was Iames the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) “*sedulò, vt Alexander dux Rothoseiæ & Iohannes comes Marriæ sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissimè imbuerentur, tantòque sumptu*

*Alexander
duke of Rotheseie.*

sumptu pro rãtione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnificè a-
rentur." He died the fiftéenth kalends of Ianuarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand
fue hundred and fiftéene at Sterling.

Henrie duke
of Albanie.

Henrie Steward lord Derneleie the eldest sonne to Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, was
brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie
the queene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Rosse, in the yere
of Christ one thousand fue hundred thréscore and fue by the same quéene, about the
thré and twentieth yeare of hir reigne: shortlie after which he was in the Iulie follow-
ing created duke of Albanie; and on saturdaye the eight and twentieth day of the same
moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the queenes commandement, at the market
crosse of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth daie of
the same moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood house, at fue of the clocke in the morning:
which honor he did not long inioie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one
thousand fue hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and
false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his
owne ouerthrow, and that by such as moued him therevnto) he was miserablie slaine in a
house within the towne, néere to Kirke a field.

Amies Steward
duke of Le-
neux.

Lodowike
Steward duke
of Leneux.

Amies Steward lord of Obigneie in France, sonne to Iohn Steward brother to Matthew
Steward earle of Leneux, being first by Iames the sixt of that name made earle of Leneux,
was after by the same king made duke of Leneux; who being dead, hath left a yoong
sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this daie liuing, inioieng the title of his
father, and called duke of Leneux. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue
béene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

THAT DIUERS OF THE SCOTS HAUE OBTAINED THE TITLE AND HONOR OF DUKES IN FORREN COUNTRIES.

As it is honorable to anie man to be aduanced vnto anie title of honour in his owne
countrie, either for desert or fauor; whereof yet parcialitie maie most commonlie be the
furtherer: so is it far more honorable and remooued from all suspicion of vnderdeserued fauor,
to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie cause in a forren countrie; because princes
(whose hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subiects, in whose faithfull hearts their safetie
is principallie inclosed) do not commonlie without singular desert aduance strangers to them
by birth in an other nation, & not their natiue subiects, for that they are people, to whom
without an especiall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and
much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the same being an argument of worthie de-
sert, either for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for the valour of seruice o-
f the aduanced, when anie one is adorned with anie such title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit in
this place to obscure the glorie of the Scots (who might impute the same to be maliciouslie
doone by me) and to omit such of their nation as haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren
countrie, especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small, as not exceeding the figure of foure,
and therefore in some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer in silence: yet cari-
eng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waie pretermit what they iustlie deserue, I
will faithfullie set downe what I find recorded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald
Dowglasse
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald Dowglasse was created duke of Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare
of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentieth and thrée as some saie, or one thousand
foure hundred and six as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reason
I cannot reconcile these defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrarietie
of bookes) Charles the seuenth of that name king of France, sending ambassadors into Scot-
land, to renew the old league betwéene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to
crane aid against the English, there were ambassadors and other noble men sent likewise
into

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gospell, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embrasing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be doone by them in the territories of the aduerse part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselues against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied nécelle in bloud to the imprisoned quéene, and to the yoong king of Scots, and supported with other princes purses, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded; entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphinée, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the staieng to appease the same new iasurrection, emploieing all his gathered forces therevnto, and encountring with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the vtermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not foorth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therin. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the support of the alies and friends to the king, but altogether by the vnited strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselues of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same daie wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were Iohn Durie, and master Walter Bancanquell. In which discourse betwéene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manie others fell foorth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

THE EXAMINATIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE EARLE OF MORTON BEFORE HIS DEATH,
BUT AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION.

FIRST he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his ouerthrow, in considering the estate whervnto he had béene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioise and be of good comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, bicause he was persuaded that all worldlie honor is but vanitie, and the broken réed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate whervnto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, bicause he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, séeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortalitie, & the euerlasting ioy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings * death or murther; he

he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for *Dauids slaughter, he came out of Whetherbone to Wnethingham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murther, but he would not consent therto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, laieng the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they vnderstood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Leneux; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late convicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murther, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleared of that murther by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murther to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the queenes mariage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therevnto by the queenes owne writing and commandement.

Scott, slain in the yeare of Christ 1570, beginning the yeare at the annuntiation of the virgin. David Riccio the Italian, secretary to the queene, slain in the yeare 1567.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that séeing this murther of the king was one of the most filthiest acts that euer was doone in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto beene opened, neither who was the chéefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie presentlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose companie the king and common-wealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Althiults, if he had anie act or part therein: he answered with good attestation, saieng; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my cares by the common brute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister Iohn Prouandt brought him anie poison; he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Prouandt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; Fie, fie, there is ouermuch filthinesse in Scotland already, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athuile, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue béene ministred, yea if there had béen one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it greeued him that the earle of Leneux knew not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceiued the danger of the kings person. For being therevnto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enimies, ouerthrowers of the kingdom, and enimies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the realme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Leneux familiaritie and his should haue béene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the queene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the queene nor anie in hir name, that euer mooued anie such thing to me, so indirectlie as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had béene for his

profit and honor, &c. And for the more cléere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had beene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to séeke the kings wealth, I had not béene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quéene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quéene of England in all my life. And although they caused the brute to go, that I should haue furnished the quéene of Englands souldiors now last vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtly, being demanded what was his part of the enterprise of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was doone; but being in Lochleuen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to kéepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as frée at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had knowen that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladlie haue gone with him.

Seuenthly, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue doone much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & aduancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indéed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwéene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and follow the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things doone amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowen better, he would haue doone otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eightly, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue doone in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthie of this and more: wherevnto he yéelded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue doone, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indéed, that God hath alwaies doone iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouermuch to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expressed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue doone, for which I beséech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indéed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chieft is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which
trouble

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Fourth I dare not, for then he shall loose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauour againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath doone nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which Iohn Knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a litle before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisdom and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme; and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefits aright, and better in time to come than you haue doone in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospell, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not doo, God shall spoile you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was doone in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had béene doone. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiuenesse of them as I forgiue all men.

Thirteenthlie, being required to declare if hee knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in déed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid Iohn Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest praier, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in déed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praie you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satisfie by long conference, which is too long to reherse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were thrée things chéefelie which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contened in his word, wherevnto it behooued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue beene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Magdalen, Peter, and the théefe, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saieng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the fise bookes of Moses, Iosue, the Iudges; and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I bane found there. I see that the mercie of God is woonderfull, and alwaiés inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I bane offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in

case sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of good courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twice to take paiement for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twice demand paiement of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vttermost farthing that God could crane, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twice to take paiement for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie good.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I doo so. This being thus doone, and he hauing in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Ormeston before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a péece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie conferences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great chéerefulness, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwéene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is frée from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, William you can beare me record of this; who answred, It is true my lord. Then master Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you master Walter on the same condition. After which he said, Iohn Durie, now Iohn I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time master Iames Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternoone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as master Iames Lawson, master Robert Point, Dauid Fargasone, master Dauid Hensa, Iohn Brand, master Iames Garmichiel, and master Iohn Dauison, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Master Iohn you wrote a little booke in deed, but trulie I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgiue me, and I forgiue you: vpon which words master Iohn was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the chéefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after noone, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was iniust report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargasone, Iohn Durie,

Durie, and Iohn Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls kéeper required him that he would come foorth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the kéeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable praier being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directlie to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie vntill his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Naie my lord, I praie you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue doone nothing vpon anie particular quarell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to anie other, I forgiue you and all others as I would you forgauē me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, &c: adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Sure I am the king shall loose a good seruant this daie, and so he exhorted the people, saieing: I testifie before God, that as I professe the gospell which this daie is taught and professed in Scotland: so also now I willinglie laie downe my life in the persecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according therevnto as I ought, yet I am assured that God will be mercifull vnto me: and I charge you all in God which are professors of the gospell, that you continue the true professing and mainteining thereof to your power, as I would haue done, God willing with my life, lands and goods as long as I had liued: which if you doo, I assure you God shall be mercifull vnto you; but if you doo it not, be sure the vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in effect and more ampie before. When all these speaches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable praier was made by maister Iohn Lawson, during the time of which praier, the erle Morton laie groueling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with sighes and sobs, being eident signes of the inward and mightie working of the spirit of God, as all they which were present and knew what it was to be earnestlie moued in praier, might easilie perceiue.

The praier being ended, and sundrie comming to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humblie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the earle continuallie cried vntill his head was striken off, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now whatsoever he had béene before, he constantlie died the seruant of God. And howsoever it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, so he died proudlie; the charitable seruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: insomuch that we are assured, that his soule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praie God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confession and death of the earle Morton, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present thereat, and faouored him in all respects, séeking to cléere him of anie euill imposed against him. In setting downe whereof, I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie in
manner

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The duke of Leneux obtaineth the earle Mortons lands.

negotio in ditionem suam redegit, Rossianis verum recipere hæredē non recusantibus." Thus much Lesle. Moreouer at the same parlement wherein this Iames Steward was aduanced to the earledome of Arrane, the king gaue vnto the duke of Leneux the lands that were belonging to the foresaid beheaded erle of Morton, which lands this duke not long reteining, made ouer his part to the earle of Angus, in recompense whereof, the duke obtined of the king the lordship of Methuen, which came to the kings possession by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan composed these verses following, calling him *Regulum Methueniæ*, in this sort :

“Hic Henrice iaces primæuo in flore, dederunt
Indole cui nullum sæcula nostra parem.
Nemo fuit spes iudicijs cui credula certis,
Sponderet tantum Marte togæque decus.
Nunc pro spe, votis, expectatisque triumphis,
Cura, dolor, lachrymæ, mestitiésque subit :
At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,
Adjice de gazis posthuma fama tuis.”

A declaration of the Scottish faith, published and confirmed by the king.

During these creations of the nobilitie, in a parlement holden in Edenburgh the eight and twentieth of Ianuarie, in this yere one thousand fiew hundred fourescore and one, being the fouretéenth of the kings reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen and purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spirituall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set foorth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yere of Christ one thousand fiew hundred fourescore and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his houshold, with diners others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus & his holie gospell, to their naturall countriemen and to all other realms and nations, professing the same Iesus Christ with them, wish grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

After which title and saluation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forehæad of the chapters following, containeth these heads : First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase and preseruacion of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Iesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be veric God and man, of election, of Christes death, passion, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good works, what works are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall councells, of their power, authoritie and cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whom sacraments apperteine, and of the ciuill magistrat, of the gifts frèelie giuen to the church.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortlie after the agrément therevnto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and vsed through his realme, as appeareth by this following precept, concerning the same.

THE KINGS MAIESTIES CHARGE TO ALL COMMISSIONERS AND MINISTERS, WITHIN HIS REALME.

SEEING that we and our houshold haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to procéed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church: deliuering their names and lawfull processe to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the pain of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our councell, maie take order with such proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holierood house one thousand five hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourtéenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell hervpon, that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before aduanced, as is already set downe in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and ninetén, was now in this yeare vpon displeasure, conceiued against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & inforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had doone before. In whose exile was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of five shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie or England: But as I greatlie fauor not these things, so yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogether condemne them, especiallie, sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summerset, did prognosticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should not long kéepe his head vpon his shoulders, after that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of which propheticall verses, declaring the same, the first verse expressing his name, was as followeth:

“^a Cessabit missa cùm regnat equa marina.”

The other prophesie mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

“^b Æstatis sedes cùm scandis ad alta per ædes,
Pro certo credes quòd caput perdere debes.”

And to proue that Summerset was manie yeares past called in Latine *Æstatis sedes*, I find this matter in Roger Wall sometime an herald liuing in the time of Henrie the fift, who named him accordingly, when the said author excusing himself of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to D. Iohn Summerset to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolemaister and physician, a great learned man well séene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therein, & verie eloquent also, was as this Roger Wall thought, most méet to haue the ouersight of his workes: which matter, as it is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the fift, written by this Roger Wall, I shall not gréue (although they belong not, and be vtterlie impertinent to the matters of Scotland) to set downe, both because I would not maime the author in telling his owne tale, and would a little recreate the reader by the obscuritie of the stile of Roger Wall, with some varietie of other than Scottish matter; for “*Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit.*” These therefore be the words of that writer.

“*Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefeci: ad hoc immensæ verecundiæ terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilijs meis acquiescere*

1582.

The duke of Leneux banished.

A digression touching the duke of Summerset.

^a The mare of the sea, which backward is seamare.

^b Summers seat, or Summerset.

Roger Wall submitth his worke to the censure of doctor Iohn Summerset.

* Summerset:

The commen-
dation of
doctor John
Summerset.

non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorē gloriosum inuenies, qui * Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognomen sortitus est. Hic Tulliani testamenti executor, purpura abisso quibus te vestiatur, bonorum Oratij ministrator, thesauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipsius opulentissimæ imperatricis Rhetoricæ custos, gazarum, & ærarij gemmis pretiosis, quibus ruditatis tuæ tenebras excutiens, ipsum syderea politura perornare poterit, præ cæteris copia pleniori floret & abundat, hic est qui cœli empeirei sitū & mobilitatem, ac vacui, si quid extra ipsum reperiri possit: Chaos & confusionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta syderea, & actam per ipsum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, cursus erraticos in suis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multūm difficiles, elementorum miranda coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impressionum causas & effectus, & quicquid Aristotelicæ demonstrationes seu Hippocratici aphorismi suadere sufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic est quod plurimūm ponderandum existimo, qui regalis pectoris sacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantæque literaturæ imbalsamauit aromatibus, & corpus regium ab ægritudinum incommodis seruauit incolume, qui semper reipublicæ promotor, & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & misera tibi iutumæ consolationis ministrari materiam. Esto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter accingere. Verum quia dum regis assistit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut reipublicæ bonum' promouendo, vel regiam celsitudinem salutaribus exhortando artis salutigeræ consilijs sic sollicitus redditur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam suam sollicitare nolito præsumere, sed vsque ad mansionem suam propriam, quam per signa quæ tibi monstrabo inuenies omni expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris strata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam semitam versus dextram, protensam non procul à quadam capella pulcherrima foundationis regię in honorem sanctorum archangelorū Rapahelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum sanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio sua construxerat, tritura multiplici se ipsum manifestantem ducet. In qua cūm pauperū nudipedum ad suam domum confluentium impressa vestigia perceperis: & eorundem redeuntium pedum calciatorū quos eleemosyna sua iam pecuali pelle vestijt inueneris: & cūm per eandem semitam nudos, esurientes & tristes ad habitaculum suum concurrentes prospexeris, & eosdem per suæ charitatis liberalitatem vestitos, saturatos & gaudentes obuios habueris, scito quoniam hæc est via in tabernaculum ipsius, quem quæris ductrix infallibilis & directissima. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Æstatis sedé velint ostendere, &c." After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of *Aestatis sedes*, in English Summerseat :

“ Fertilis Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce refulgens.
Gloria doctorum genima scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicinæ,
Pectore cœlesti cœlica condens,
Præradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammium ignis in orbe
Aereique sinus abdyta nosti?
Quæ fluit & refluit (piscis opimum)
Oceanum pelagus, quæ pia terram
Numina proficiunt prole feracem
Naturæ probitas, norma, potestas,
Consilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,
Clara luce tua mente coruscant.

Hæc

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like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the porter beleeuing all this to be true, foorthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which doone, the Scot entereth thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiors, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this denise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first woone the market place, and the next daie after the calends of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fensed, and set in such a conuenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and cariage to come to Antwerpe, Mecheline and Bruxels.

Ambassador
from the
French into
Scotland.

1583.

Ambassador
from the Scot
to the French.

After this, much about the beginning of September, monsieur de la Mot was sent from Henrie the third the French king ambassador into Scotland, the outward effect of whose commission was to renew and conclude the old league of amitie betwixt those two nations, as it had béene long continued betwéene them in times past, which doone, he returned, well accepted by his French master. After which in like sort the king of Scots sent the lord Seton ambassador into France to the same king Henrie, which lord came to Paris in the beginning of March, and there remained about six wéekes or more before he could find conuenient passage for him to returne into his countrie, because there was wait laid (as was supposed) to the end that he might haue béene intercepted by some of his enimies, before he should haue attained the presence of the king his maister.

Lesleus lib. 6.
pag. 210.

Creicton a
Scot committed
to prison in
England.

But now, as a litle before I haue set downe the exploits doone by the Scots in the low countries of their owne nation, so I thinke it not amisse to adde to the same somewhat doone by a Scot héere in England, the summe whereof is after this manner. One William Creicton a Scot by birth, and a Iesuit by profession, which name of Creicton first came into Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand threescore and six out of Hungarie amongst others with Agatha, the Mother of Maud the wife to Malcolme king of Scots, hauing trauelled the most part of Europe, had conference with one William Parrie an Englishman, by waie of discourse and argument touching such matter of treason as concerned the death of the quéene of England. After which (Parrie being returned into England in Ianuarie following) this Creicton also, not tarrieng long behind him, did come from the parts of beyond the seas to take his iornie towards Scotland, who determining to passe through England, arriued héere, was apprehended, & committed prisoner to the Tower of London, in such sort as before you haue heard that Iohn Lesle bishop of Rosse was staid by the duke of Bauier vpon suspicion, that the same bishop had dealt with the enimies of that prince against the state of his countrie. The cause wherefore the said Creicton was so committed, was for that he had about him diuers plots for inuasions of this our realme of England. When he was thus prisoner in the Tower, William Parrie was after for the same treason apprehended, examined, committed also to the Tower, and finallie executed on the second daie of March in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred foure score & foure. In the Februarie before which execution, sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir maiestie of England, came to the Tower, examined the said Creicton and dealt with him, to vnderstand if the said Parrie had euer had conference with him in the parts beyond the seas touching that question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maiestie of England or not, the which at that time the said Creicton called not to his remembrance; yet afterwards vpon better consideration thereof it fell into his mind, where, when, & on what occasion such spéech had passed betweene the said Parrie and him. Wherevpon the twentieth daie of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, during the time that Parrie also was a prisoner

in the Tower, this Creicton wrote to maister secretarie Walsingham a voluntarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which being alreadie set downe in the historie of England is needlesse here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing thus said somewhat of this prisoner, we will leaue him still remaining in the same state, expecting some folowing successe of libertie to come to him, and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland, thereof to set downe such occurrences as happened from this time.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwéene the lord Maxwell earle Morton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lard of Iohnstane; the occasion of which new dissention procéded of an old enmitie begun in the time of Dowglasse earle Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurlie burlie the lard of Iohnstane behaued himselfe verie rigorously against the lord Maxwell, in blowing vp with gunpouder the lockes of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Dowglasse earle Morton, continuing betwéene the lord Maxwell and Iohnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, sith the lord Iohnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to incounter with the lord Maxwell. But now the ladie Iohnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of Iames Steward earle of Arrane) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Maxwell earle Morton, hir husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Wherevpon capteine Lamie and capteine Granestane were sent with two companies of hackbuts vnto the reliefe of the lard of Iohnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabouts to assist him with their power: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined with the said two capteins Lamie and Granestane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite contrarie to our determination: so the lard Iohnstane was disappointed of that méeting; for the earle Morton (whose héedfull watch was not idle in learning out the denises of his enimies, a néedfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Iohnstane, and wiselie (as behooued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to incounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischiefe, and to stop their passage, did prepare to preuent all their denises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Maxwell capteine of Langholne with some horssemen and footmen vnder the conduct of Iames Fraiser brother to the lord of Fullorth, which Robert meeting on Cranford mere with the foresaid capteins Lamie and Cranestane, before that they had ioined with the lard Iohnstane, gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enimies, slue Lamie, tooke Cranestane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who sought their lines by the benefit of flieng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Iohnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, vsed the helpe of other meanes when he perceued that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vsed the strength of one element against an other, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all spéed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trées, Duncoll, Cowhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie scrued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Iohnstane, vtterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castels of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Iohnstane, and slue sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Iohnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbié, a brother of the lord Wanefraie, some of the sons of Iohn Iohnstane of Holgill, with others. Which doone, the earle Morton procéded

A contention betwene the earle Morton and the lard Iohnstane.

Ladie Iohnstane hath aid of the king.

Robert Maxwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Cranestane ouerthrowen.

The castels Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

vnto

The lard Iohnstane forced to flie.

The lord Scroope compounded the contention betwéene earle Morton and the lard Iohnstane.

The lard Iohnstane taken.

The king displeased with earle Morton for the cause of the lard Iohnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Maxwels would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

vnto further pursute, and determining fullie to réuenge himselfe vpon Iohnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Iohnstane himselfe to flie his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castell belonging to Edward Yrwine of the Bonshaw, whome the earle pursued, and besieged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castell with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceiued of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parlée, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betwéene them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scroope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Iohnstane. But the coles of inward grieffe being couered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Iohnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst foorth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst, for the lard Iohnstane, he was taken betwéene Tinwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Maxwell comming from the towne of Domfreies to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Traife) being by the earle Morton appointed to incounter with the said lard Iohnstane: which this baron was the more willing to doo, because he entirelie loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus performed and the successe therof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Iohnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partlie by the persuasion & lamentation of the ladie of Iohnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie she ought in respect of hir husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and beanie enimie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the barouies of Poke and Maxwell Hewch with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined neere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deliuered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeeld therevnto: as well for that Maxwell Hewch was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had; and whereof they tooke the name of lord Maxwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Maxwels, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue béene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Maxwels so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were Iohn Maxwell lard of Newarke, and William Maxwell lard of Poke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parlement in Maie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherin he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vuder his gouernment, sith he was not bound therevnto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting foorth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parlement enacted for the reformation of religion,

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nesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dailie increase of all heauenlie sciences, dooth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties roiall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the sauour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh enerio one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the crosse and bolie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chéefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to see God glorified, vice-punished and vertue mainteined within his realme: and the souereigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to apperteine to his highnesse care and solitudine. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their natiue king (by the instigation of sundrie vnquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrew Meluin of a salt and fierie humor, vsurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their natiue king, and not by popular sermons (which hath béene the euersion and decaie of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrie. The said master Andrew being called before his highnesse, presumptuouslie answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or déed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue vsed anie rigor against the said master Andrew, if he had humbly submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offense, and craued pardon: who notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltinesse, being priuie to diuers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth "Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt," which is, that Of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intollerable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his prince, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither doo the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to affirme (as manie doo) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters doo onelie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernors, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitiue church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, depòsed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and

challenge

challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the councell holden at Tirus, and by infinit good reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other seuerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie prooued and verified. But this appéereth at this present to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of beresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched foorth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperors haue vsed: and his maiestie following their example would allow the councell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and beresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controuersies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken anie déepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, ioining themselves to rebels haue trauelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might imbrace anie sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright procéedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decaie; but rather to preserue, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, conestables, shiriffes, prouosts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be doone in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserued in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vsed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them doo amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such maner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretense of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop vnder his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parlement dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parlement. Which act speciallie concerneth the remouing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vsurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of dooing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian prince. The perill whereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties laws, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insueth in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassador of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouosts, bailiffes, and conestable of Edenburgh to make him a banket, that he might be receiued honorable according to the amitie of ancient times betwéene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the saturday by his highnesse, and the banket appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the sundaie in the morning, and presumptouslie determined & agréed, that the ministers of Edenburgh should proclame a fasting vpon the same mondaie; where their

seuerall ministers one after another made thrée seuerall sermons, and inuectiues against the prouosts, bailiffes, and counsell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repaired to the banket at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and persuaded them, and scarselie by his maiesties authoritie could be withholden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obeieng onelie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium* requires towards ambassadors of forren countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble; as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath ioined themselues with his maiesties rebels; and flieng foorth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discovered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in time prouided remedie. The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemblie of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme; where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succéded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

* Which is one
of the estates
of parlement.

This generall assemblie amongst other things, did appoint and agréé with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the *estate of bishops should be maintained and authorised, as is registred in the bookes of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse; vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundée, and Glasgow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, tooke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwriting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdiction, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parlement, without commission obtained from their assemblie: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and counsell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue delected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and counsell, might be authorised in place of the estate: wherby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agréed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue staid from such dailie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemblie was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings through out the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the fast, all
the

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experience, to haue béene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the sollicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to apperteine to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behooueth his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerseers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing accesse to his maiesties parlement and councell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their gréefe vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties fauorable answere therein. The which forme dooth preserue a godlie quietnesse, vnitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuideth the same, and vnder the pretense of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtile dealers to be aduanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to sécke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doo within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the prouerbe saith) “*Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis,*” that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the councell of thirtéene of the most ancient, wise, and godlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblie of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners twice in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the sixt of September, hold their synodall assemblies in euerie diocesse, for the kéeping of good orders therein: and if anie be stubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their deseruings. Neither is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission ordinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrone, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensiuie in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnes estate, councell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemblie, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterprise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, maie be most commodiouslie once in euerie fiftéene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all vnlawfull méetings,

ings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his councell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of stipends: that all things maie be orderlie doone in the church, peace & quietnesse mainteined in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expreslie forbids vnder the paines contained in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & councell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselues for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissiōners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinlie informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituali office; which his highnesse wisheth them faithfullie to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie good and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almightie.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

THE KINGS INTENTION DRAWNE INTO CERTEINE ARTICLES, AND PUBLISHED IN PRINT.

“ His maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sinceare profession of the gospell, and preaching thereof within his realme.

“ 2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiouslie abuse the truth, and factiouslie applie or rather bewraie the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or imparing of his highnesse and counceils honour.

“ 3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all beresie and schisme by that means expressed.

“ 4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of good order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerséeers to the good behauour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

“ 5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblee, shall render accompt of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of liuing shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burthen.

“ 6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their counceils and synods: but if anie of them doo amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

“ 7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or staie anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitiue church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselues onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearefullie of the estate.

“ 8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counceils and synods.

“ 9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble **not anie** generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and **licence obtained** therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an **vniforme** order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

“ 10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his councill, his highnesse deputie.

“ 11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their councill, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his councill prescribe anie publike humiliatiō.

“ 12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall councill, wherin his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

“ 13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their councill procéed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a councill, that both tyrannie and confusion may be auoided in the church.

“ 14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissioners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place.”

These things was the king faine to publish, to staie the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which séemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue mooued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the duetie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to thè other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather bicause the same consisteth of thrée estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement dooth, from whome it séemeth to me that they haue fet their light. Touching which, Lesleus in his Scotish historie lib. 1. pag. 75, vnder the title of *Leges Scotorum*, writeth in this sort. “ Qui verò seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerūt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui léges Latinè scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quòd ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitorū (quæ populari sermone parlamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hîc aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe sit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessariū censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquisitè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberé in publico latis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam.” On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to kéepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdome and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie

The parlement
of Scotland
consisteth of
thrée estats.

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maining long in their custodie) because they were remooued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following as anon shall appeare committed to the charge of sir Aimes Paulet one also of the priuie councell of England, hauing before bene ambassador legier in France, a person descended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whome and vnder whose charge she still remaineth at this present in the said castle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we saie that about the tenth daie of Ianuarie following this discharge of the earle of Shrewsburie, sir Lewis Balentine knight, iustice, clerke, and maister of the ceremonies of the kings house, which office as I haue bene credible informed by a Scot (but how trulie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did inioie, and to whome most of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinitie, consanguinitie, or aliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie yoong gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was sent ambassador into England for the redeliuerie and accusation of the erle of Angus and Marre, and the other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a supposed treason wrought by them against their king, whose redeliuerie was required of the queene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambassage he behaued himselfe before the councell of England so grauelie and learnedlie, that the said earles were sent for from Norwich (where they sojourned before his comming) to Westminster, there to answere to such things as should be laid to their charge by the said sir Lewis Balentine. Wherevpon after that the said ambassador had remained in England at London (honorable interteined and feasted of the nobilitie and others) by the space of seuentene weeks, he was dispatched into his countrie with answer, that hir maiestie would shortlie send an ambassador into Scotland which should fullie satisfie the king. Wherevpon the said sir Lewis Balentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred eightie and five, and so returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie queene of Scots, remaining in the custodie of sir Ralfe Sadler in the castell of Tutburie, committed to the keeping of sir Aimese Paulet.

1585.

After this the queene of England the nineteenth daie of the said moneth of Maie dispatched in ambassage into Scotland, Edward Wootton esquier, a gentleman of good descent, and one whose ancestors had honorable & faithfullie serued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie counsellors, as also in manie ambassages into forren nations: which ambassador being of yeares not much more than the said sir Lewis Balentine, had trauelled the most part of Europe, and had before time bene ambassador for the queene of England into Portingall. This gentleman so sent from the queene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other English gentlemen, departed as is before said from London towards Scotland the nineteenth of Maie, who remaining at Berwike about threë dais, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to passe into his kingdome; which once obtined, he presentlie entred that land on Whitsun eue, being the nine and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Maie, and so came that daie to Edenburgh, being first at his entrance into the Scottish borders receiued by the lord Hume and his retinue, who conueied them to Seton house, where they were interteined by the lord Seton: after which when the ambassador was departed about halfe a mile from the said lord Setons house, he was met with sir Robert Meluin knight, maister William Keth one of the kings chamber; and others, which conueied him that night to Edenburgh. The next morrow (after that the English ambassador was come to the cite of Edenburgh) being Whitsundaie, the ambassador was after dinner brought to the kings presence, where he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambassage, consisting vpon the confirming of the old and concluding of a new league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland; which the king accepting in honorable part, did for that time dismisse the ambassador, vntill the minds & consents of the nobilitie might be vnderstood and had. With which answer the ambassador then satisfied, tooke leaue of the king for that present, and remained still at Edenburgh some fortnight, interteined with sports of delights answerable to the course of the yeere, and the dutie of an ambassage. From
whense

whense the ambassador attending on the king was conueied to Dumfermling, where the king remained some time to repose himselfe, progressing from thence to Falkland, and so to saint Andrews, hauing the ambassador alwaies with him. When the king was come to saint Andrews, the noblemen and states of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement, according to the former appointment.

But whilst these things did thus passe at saint Andrews, the time drew on, when the borderers of both the nations of England and Scotland should assemble according to the custome of the true daies, there to determine for recompense of all such iniuries as each people had offered to other, in conueieng of cattel or other booties from their borders; for which cause there did about the sixteenth daie of Iulie assemble the people of both the borders, and the wardens of the same; at what time the lord of Fernhurst warden of the Scottish borders, and sir Francis Russell knight lord Russell, and sir Iohn Foster knight warden of the middle marches came with their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far from Berwike, and so entred into speech with the Scots of such causes for which they repaired thither. After when the wardens were set vpon the bench to heare and determine the same, there did suddenlie arise among the people a contention, whereby followed at the first some small fraie, which being perceiued by sir Francis Russell, he arose from the bench and called for his horsse, who meaning to appease the matter, went among the prease. At what time a certeine number of shot comming on him, he was suddenlie, but most vniustlie, slaine with a peece amongst the rest discharged against him by a Scot borne about that place (suspected by the most to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurst) contrarie to the nature of such assemblies, where each part shuld labor for quiet, sith publike faith at such times are ginen, that euerie one shall returne home without anie damage or iniurie offered by anie side. The losse of which sir Francis Russell, being a gentleman of great hope, was much lamented of the English, and that especiallie sith his vntimelie death so iniuriouslie (by the earle of Arrane, as the common fame went) procured and so suddenlie performed, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his age, did bereane the realme of England of a goodlie yoong person, well staid in gouernement, bountifull, wise, and vertuous, whose death happening the daie before that his honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the same christian and surname) departed the world, occasioned T. G. first in Latine, and then in English, to set downe certeine funerall and moorning verses touching both the father and the son in these words:

“ En duo Francisci subito occubuerē, simulque
Et pater & natus, Russellæ splendida stirpis
Lumina, quos binos mors abstulit atra diebus:
Londini, comitem prouecta ætate parentem,
Finibus ac Scotiæ natum florentibus annis,
Ille perit morbo, insidijs cadit alter iniquis:
Dum miser occulta traiecit viscera glande
Incauté Scotus, heu fictæ sub nomine pacis.
Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.
Anglia magna tibi est rapti iactura parentis,
Nec lenis est nati, de quo spes optima fulsit.
Quis scit an irati foret hæc vindicta Iehouæ,
De vitijs pœnas dum nostris sumit acerbas?”

The English whereof is in this forme drawne into verse by the first author of them T. G. in this sort:

“ Lo Francies twaine at once
both suddenlie are gone:
Two shining stars of Russels race,
the father and the sonne.

Whom in two daies vntimelie death
 hath from vs caught awaie :
 The earle in London natures debt,
 the father old did paie.
 The sonne his beire, lord Russel hight,
 Of courage fresh and yeares :
 On Scotish borders lost his life,
 whose want now well appeares.
 The father did by sicknesse die,
 the sonne through fraud vniust :
 By Scotish hand with gun was slaine :
 whilst nothing he mistrust.
 The sonne before the fathers death
 not manie hours was slaine :
 Great is thy loss, ô England, of
 these peerelesse nobles twaine.
 Thy fathers worthie vertues late
 knowne well (and long) to all :
 From fathers steps the sonne great hope
 gaue that he would not fall.
 Who knows if God the Lord of hosts,
 this punishment doth send :
 Our sinnes so great thereby to scourge,
 and wicked liues amend ?”

Of which erle of Bedford (hauing occasion to mention him in this place by the death of his sonne) I suppose not amisse to saie somewhat more, especiallie concerning such matters whereof he was a dealer with the imprisoned queene of Scots when she was at libertie and in hir best estate.

In the yeare of Christ one thousand fiew hundred and three score, Francis the French king died at Orleans in the kalends of December. After which, in the yere following, Marie the queene of Scots, Dowager of France and widow to the said Francis, sojourned a certeine time in France about Ianuille and Loreine, where the cheefe part of hir friends & kindred (being of the house of Guise) did remaine, during whose abode in France, and before she went into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and sir Nicholas Throgmorton (ligier ambassador in France for the queene of England) were sent vnto the queene of Scots to conclude with hir, that the agreements and conditions of peace, which were established a little before at Leith should be established by hir consent. Wherevnto for answer she affirmed, that she could not determine anie thing therein, vnlesse that she were present with the nobilitie of hir kingdome, to whom the administration of the realme of Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the English. And that when she was in Scotland, where by Gods good furtherance she hoped shortlie for to be, she should earnestlie trauell all she might for the establishing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now lining was by his godfathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Christ, in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiew hundred threescore and six, being the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same Marie queene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambassador from the queene of England, was sent to the queene of Scots by waie of deputiship to present the person of his mistresse requested to christen the yong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford presented, in the behalfe of the queene of England, one font of gold curiouslie wrought, weighing three hundred thirtie and three ounces, and amounting in value to the summe of one thousand fortie three pounds & nineteene shillings. Thus this much spoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

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together all true christian princis to defend themselves, in case of vtheris inuasioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for selfis, acceptable to God; and wise in the sight of the varld. By this meanes sall our consciencis, honors, and lifis be preseruid, and God and his religioun glorified and aduancid.

“ And sith the queene of England is not anlie a true christian, but also nerest ioinit to vs in nighbourhed, consanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meitest in mine opinioun, that it be our league first & maist abstrictlie maid with hir; for quhich cause I haue maid & set downe a forme of act to be subscribit by you all, quherein ze promes to ratifie and approue in parliament, quhatsoeuer articles I, or anie in my name sall conclude with the queene of England; or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectualing of the foresaid league: But for that the act it selfe vill mare ample informe you, it sal be presentlie read in all your audiencis.”

Vpon this speech, the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to imbrace the league with England, and some desirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue beene established betweene them and the Scots (by most of their former kings, whereof the first was Achaius, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure de lices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing doone in that conuention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the manner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this sort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Mar, with such others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, sent thither the maister of Glames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verle effectualle) returne into Scotland; at whose comming into that their natiue countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioine in one action, for the redresse of such gouernment as was vsed by persons about the king, suspected to nuzzell him in the Romane religion. After this their first meeting, they did by appointment disperse themselues, euerie one to the place of his most strength, and where he could make most friends and followers, appointing a daie to meete againe at Fawkirke, a meete place fensed by nature for the assemblie of an armie. Wherevpon, some departed to Lowthian, some to Domefreis and others to other places. But in short time following they reassembled in October at Fawkirke with such power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thousand persons. The report whereof was brought vnto the king; then remaining at a noble mans house (not far from Sterling, whereas a contract of mariage was solemnized. Vpon which, the king supposing it to stand most for his suretie (iudging these noblemen so assembled to be his enimies) conueied himselfe, and such nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raising power (such as the present state of the time would permit) intending with them to haue subdued the earle of Angus and his companie: For which cause also, the earle of Arrane came from his house to Sterling, and the maister of Grele with commission rode to saint Johns towne to assemble the kings subiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marshall, the lords Hamilton, Hume, Heres, Cambuskeneth, Dri-bourgh, Paislaie, & Coldingham; the lairds of Sefford, Drumlarige, Codentnewes, Wedderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the next morning come to saint Ninians chappell within a mile of Sterling, and presented themselues before the towne of Sterling, before suspition was had of their approach so neere. At what time, being the first of Nouember, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had beene a new towne, to the great terror of their enimies within Sterling: deliuering for the cause of their comming this proclamation following.

THE PROCLAMATION PUBLISHED BY THE NOBILITIE OF SCOTLAND, CONTEINING THE CAUSES OF THEIR REPAIRING, TOWARDS THE TOWNE OF STERLING TO THE KINGS MAIESTIE THE SECOND DAY OF NOUEMBER.

“ WHEREAS the kings maiestie our souereignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderstood to haue beene abused, and his roiall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far aboue the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath beene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or woorthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aspiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and blond creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion: shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but enen the generall points and offices of humanitie vsed amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill foxes and bloudie woolues, by wresting of lawes and other deceitfull practises hath so wasted, torne in peeces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our aucestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spirituall or temporali estate; but the naked shadow & counterfeited maske thereof to our souereignes high dishonor, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie grieffe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, what beartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subiects, what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what dailie hope of increase, what expectation was of his highnesse in forren nations, before the arriual of Obigneie, afterwards called the duke of Leneux; and the entring in credit of Iames Steward, and coronell Steward with their vnhappy companies. But what hath succeeded since no true Scottish heart can remember without extreame dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

“ It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengths of their relms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserue themselves against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgouerned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue beene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusors had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them laie. For the cheefe strength of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bragging of his pedegree by descent from duke Mordacke (one that was beheaded for his treason against his souereigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) Here stands the person of king Iames the seuenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made vnable to punish them, if at anie time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath alreadie doone in that behalfe, seeing vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) cleerelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (proceeding from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings leeges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honor, crowne, and estate in maruellous danger, whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certinelie persuaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnesse in euerie respect, which hath beene these yeares past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seeke for their particular commoditie, the destruction

tion of certeine seuerall persons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

“ The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best prooffe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelitie to their souereigne) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, coosoned, imprisoned, banished, or at the least debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, schooles, and clergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, proceedings, or at the least by laudable custome permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelle meanes to trie and examine the lines, maners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted lines of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or deprived of their stipends. Iesuits, seminarie priests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie councell of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie and faithfull senators haue beene by them deiected. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burowes, by intrusion of such magistrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge themselues of such offices, but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenlie decaie. So as these three pillers (whereby the king and common wealth should be preserued, and vpholden) being wasted and vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie preuent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusors not resting content with the enormities aboue expressed, haue practised, and daille doo practise to turne the happie amitie and loue, which now a good space hath stood betweene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie and hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betweene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our souereigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preseruing his maiestie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

“ To this effect they openlie delt with such persons, as by all meanes sought hir maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie hir maiesties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maiestie, they haue pretended these months past, in great freendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offensiue and defensiue to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue beene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a yoong nobleman, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and good affection to the king and souereigne, and to all Scottishmen in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, euen when as greatest kindnesse and freendship was pretended; which cannot but produce maruellous suspicion and slander, aswell against the king our souereigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonor, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne iustice be not ministred vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

“ Last, which is most of all, and necessarilie craueth present reformation, the foresaid abusors

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The earle of
Angus entreth
Sterling.

The castell of
Sterling be-
sleged.

The king send-
eth to the lords
of the religion.

The answer of
the lords of the
religion to the
kings demands.

principall person, against whome they directed their force, did secretlie without anie other companie flie from thense to Dunbritaine, escaping the hands of the lords of the religion, wherevpon small resistance being made by such as were within Sterling against the assailants, vsing their force by the space of two honres, the earle of Angus and the rest did quietlie enter Sterling and all parts; which being perceiued by such of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothosse, Glencarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the castell whither the other faction did chase them. Now when the lords of the religion (for so they of the presbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten possession of the towne of Sterling, they placēd their ensignes before the foreblockhouse of the castell, and so ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the castell to escape their hands, for they had by strength inuironed the same, and by siege brought it as some said to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittels. Wherevpon the king (after agreement made; that persons on each part might passe betweene to compound the matter) sent fourth of the castell vnto the lords of the religion, the maister of Greie his secretarie and sir Lewes Ballentine, iustice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argile cheefe iustice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Steward, desiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the first whereof was, that his life honor and estate might be preserued; that the liues of Crawford, Montrosse and the Colonell, might be preserued; thirdlie, that all things might be transacted peaceable: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduise and counsell. Wherevnto the noblemen answered, first that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preserue his noble person, his honor and estate, and to deliuer his maiestie out of their hands, who vnder his name had so greuouslie oppressed the church and commonwealth, and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there assembled in the feare of God, and loue to his person and their countrie, wholie to endeouour themselues to shew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and so to shew themselues faithfull and good subiects.

To the second point they answered, that where the lines of such were desired to be preserued, which had disturbed the whole kingdome, and beene instruments of the great confusion in the church & commonwealth, they could doo no lesse in respect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vse all meanes possible to bring them to the triall of iustice, thereby to receiue the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would most humblie craue of his maiestie, that these things might be doone in most peacefull maner in due time required therefore, wherby all his good subiects might be satisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their assistance, with the vttermost of their endeouour, because they were assembled and come thither for the dooing thereof.

The lords of
the religion ex-
hibit three pe-
titions to the
king.

The king
granteth the
requests of the
lords.

Noble men
committed to
custodie.

Besides which at the returne of these commissioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the first was, that the kings maiestie would allow of their intention, subscribe their proclamation (containing the declaration of their cause) vntill further order were established by the estates, and so agree vnto the reformation of the premisses, & that all the common holds & strengths might be rendred into their hands to be kept as the councill of the ancient nobilitie should appoint, who were there in good number assembled. Secondlie, that the said disquieters of the common-wealth might be deliuered into their custodie, vntill they had receiued their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be remooued and an other placed of modest, wise, and godlie men. Which petitions being so to the king exhibited, the first was vpon diuers considerations granted, and the castels Dunbarton & Kinneile were assigned to the custodie of Iohn lord Hamilton; the castell of Edenburgh was committed to sir Iames Hume of Codenknolles; the castel of Sterling was restored to the earle of Marre, to whome the custodie thereof did belong by descent of inheritance; the castell of Blacknesse to the lard of Dalketh; Tantallan and Dowglasse were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the satisfaction of the second request of the lords, the said earles of Crawford, Montrosse, Glenkarne, Rothosse, Arroll, and colonell Steward, the lords Seton, Leuingstone, Greie, Summerwell, sir William Steward brother to the earle of

Arrane,

Arrane, and William Steward capteine of Dunbarton (who had beene taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lords of the religion entered thereinto) were committed to the safe custodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie remooued, & the maister of Glames was appointed by the consent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with such gentlemen as the nobilitie and he should choose of those which are alreadie entred into their places and offices.

The kings gard
remooued and
a new placed.

In the meane time, as is before touched, James Steward earle of Arrane did at the entring of the lords of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flie to the castell of Dunbarton, where he was inclosed, as well by sea as by land, without anie great store of vittels. The bishop of saint Andrews was taken by the scholers of the vniuersitie, and yoong men of the towne aforesaid (as was said) to be presented to iustice into the hands of the lords of the religion; and so all capteins were set at libertie, the banished ministers called home (though manie of them still remained in England) and restored to their former offices, dignities, and livings, and the Iesuits and seminarie priests woonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flie disguised in mariners attire into the parts beyond the seas. Thus the king granting the requests of the nobilitie, and yeelding to the state of the present time, committed himselfe to the protection of these lords of the religion remaining in their custodie, after that they had once cutred the castell of Sterling.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
taken.

The ministers
called home.

The Iesuits
readie to flie
Scotland.
The king in
the custodie of
the lords of
the religion.

Wherevpon much congratulation being made for this returne of those banished lords into Scotland, the queene of England hauing intelligence thereof, did send hir ambassador William Knolles esquire marshall of hir bench into the parts of Scotland, to vnderstand the parts thereof, and of the maner of the proceeding of these noble men with the king: which ambassador after his abode and honorable interteinment in that countrie, returned home in December following. In which moneth there was a parlement called at Lithgo, for the full ratifieng and confirming of the restitution of these lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced both from his earldome of Arrane, and office of chancelorship: and the earle of Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chancellor. Besides which also the custodie of the lunatike earle of Arrane, sonne of the duke of Chatelerault was taken from the same James Steward earle of Arrane, and committed to Iohn lord Hamilton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike earle, sometime remaining in the wardship of the said Iohn Hamilton, before that the said James Steward had gotten the possession of that lunatike earle into his owne hands, out of the custodie of the same Iohn Hamilton.

William
Knolles sent
ambassador in-
to Scotland.

The earle
Bothwell made
chancellor.

But somewhat to leaue the lunatike earle in safe keeping, we will speake a little of this James Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife; who being a woman of delight of change in marriage, was (after the second shipwracke) married to this earle of Arrane; for she being one of the daughters of the earle of Atholl, was first married to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to marrie than to burne (although by the sequele of the same she felt small contentment therein) she bound hir selfe with the knot of matrimonie vnto Robert Steward earle of March and bishop of Cathnesse; but after finding occasion of diorce, the contention and sute whereof continued verie long, from the said earle she was in the end separated; and then the third time bestowed hir selfe in marriage vpon this James Steward earle of Arrane, by whome she had issue diuerse sonnes and daughters, the eldest whereof the king tooke from the font and christened.

James Steward
earle of Arrane
married to the
widow of the
earle of March.

Thus leauing this erle of Arrane for this time, I thinke it not amisse in this place to step aside from the matters of these present times; and herein at the aduancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord chancellor of Scotland, to record some things touching some such persons as haue (to my knowledge by reading of Scotish histories) possessed that office of chancelorship before time, as in an other place before at the mention of an other chancellor I haue discoursed of the originali and deriuation of the name of that office. In which this my discourse of the succession of chancellors, although I shall set downe but few persons in number, & can not make a full continuance of their orderlie succession, from their first institution vnto this daie: yet I suppose it better to mention those which haue come vnto

my hands, thereby to occasion others hereafter to treat more liberallie of such honorable officers, than vtterlie to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulnesse. Which treatise of the chancellors I am the willinger to deliuer, because I haue doone the like (but more amplie) for England, as being better acquainted with our owne than their histories.

THE NAMES AND TIMES OF CERTEINE CHANCELLORS OF SCOTLAND, GATHERED OUT OF THE HISTORIES OF THAT NATION.

William Wood.

WILLIAM WOOD bishop of Dunblaine was chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fine, as some haue (but Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 226. giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand one hundred and three score, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yeere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and foureteene. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancellor.

John Lion.

John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauor with the said Robert the second, married the ladie Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whome he had in franke mariage diuerse possessions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies with the tresse in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was slaine in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw.

Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred and eleuen in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Mordacke, betweene the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and the beginning of the reigne of Iames the first, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred twentie and six) was sent ambassador into France with other noblemen of Scotland, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270. "Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius eius Mordacus regni procurator designatur. A quo Carolus septimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque locum suffectus) per legatos auxilium contra Anglos postulat. Assensus ille est, & eosdem duces (quos paulò ante in Franciam in copijs traiecisse commemorauimus) cum valido militum manu Gallo subsidio remisit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlau episcopus Aberdonensis, vir magnæ inter regni primores singularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui cancellariatus magistratum magna gessit dexteritate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Carolum consolaretur, & certiozem faceret eos, qui Galliam aduenerant, & totius Scotiæ incolas, aded in eius fide & amore perstare, vt se atque bona omnia, pro illius Francorumque salute tribuere ex animo, sunt parati: idque rei exitus probabit." After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long, for Henrie Lichton, who came shortlie in his place of the bishoprike, was with other sent ambassador into England, to fetch home Iames the first, and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creighton.

William Creighton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chancellor to Iames the first, was (in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and three, about the ninth yeare of the same king Iames) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Hales, sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and fve, and the eleuenth of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a

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was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and seuen, forfeited, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglasse (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Dowglasse, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie more speedilie: who being thus dishonorable chased from Edinburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, greuouslie fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earldome of Murreie was giuen to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whom it had beene wrongfullie taken by the iniust sentence of William earle of Dowglasse, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglasse, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not keepe that earledome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendred the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathnesse, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I doo now intreat by reason of this chancellor.

Andrew Steward.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Norwele to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betweene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Iulie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Glocester were come vnto Rastalrig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agrément was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the gouernment of the kingdome for a certeine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the queene at Sterling, the duke by the queenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasgow was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred & thirteene, being the first yeare of king James the fift. This man being of great wisdome, was appointed amongst others to assist the queene in the gouernment of the realme, wherevnto she was for a time aduanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the mariage, performed the sixt of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and foureteene, betweene hir and Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glasgow, at saint Iohns towne, whervpon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the queene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great dissention and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betweene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fve hundred and fiftene, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who submitteth himselfe to the gouernor.

Shortlie

Shortlie following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glasgow the abbeie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murreie a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was (in the yere of Christ one thousand fye hundred and se. uenteene in Maie, when the gouernor went into France) appointed, amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme vntill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand fye hundred and ninetēne, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glasgow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edenburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one staie, or what peace will be long imbraced amongst ambitious minds? sith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fye hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerse of the peeres were come to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they pursued the earle and chancellor so hotlie, that they were both constreined to forsake the towne, and to fie through the north Loch, about the thirtith daie of Aprill. But as the euent of quarels be doubtfull, now vp now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recouered breath, and in Nouember following, did accompanie the regent come out of France to Edenburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agréed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enimies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand fye hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of Iames the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor Iames Beton bishop of Glasgow was aduanced to that sée, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Vpon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fye hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his vsurped gouernment, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great scale, which was deliuered to the messengers: vpon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of diorce sued before him, betwéene the quéene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fye hundred twentie and six, séeke for the queéne and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbeie of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop kéeping in fauor with the old quéene and the yoong king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand fye hundred twentie and nine, and the sixtéenth yeare of Iames the fift, christen Iames the kings sonne borne at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand fye hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not gréeue me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our toong, to depriue the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

« Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublicæ honoribus summáque gloria apud nos quàm diutissimè floruerat, ætate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuis constituebat, vt in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbathiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine præstans David Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbathiam verò Dumfermlingensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impedivit, quo minus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs libere fruerentur:»

*Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 450.*

rentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nonum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, testato reliquit: verùm pecunia illa in alios vsus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat." Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of sant Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow, and the kings schoolemaister, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, writeth: "Non multò post Andreas Formannus episcopus Santandreapolitanus vitâ cessit, huius quàm primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Betonus archiepiscopus Glascuensis, qui quidem archiepiscopatus omniū summa voluntate cessit præstâtissimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quòd recōditæ eruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque grauissimi laudibus præstiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrinâque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij socium, regniquæ cancellarium postea illum coaptauerat."

Dauid Beton (the brothers sonne of Iames Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassador into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentieth yeare of the gouernment of Iames the lift, for to procure the earle of Vandoemes sister in mariage for the king; but the same tooke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hir not. About thrée yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and seuen, and the foure and twentieth yeare of Iames the fift, this Dauid was aduanced to the honor of a cardinall, of which title I doe not at this time remember, that euer I haue read anie other to haue inioied but Walter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth: "Walterus episcopus Glascuensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400, & 1409," whome the Scotish histories make cardinall somewhat before in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassador to renew the league betweene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gaue in commendam the bishoprike of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: "Dauid de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropiensis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Cælio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1388, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiū, anno pontificatus 13." In which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and senen. In which yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassador into France after the death of the quéene, to procure Marie of Lorreine widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guise, to be giuen to king Iames in mariage; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vnclè Iames Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succéed in the same bishop's sée and abbeie, which he inioied accordinglie: who aduanced with these dignities, did after the death of Iames the fift, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritie of the yoong queene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall dissentions betwéene the nobilitie, which ended not vntill this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare. For shortlie after in the said yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalketh vnder the custodie of the lord Seton, smallie fauoring the

French

Two cardinals
onlie in Scot-
land.

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of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the queene mother of Scotland; but before that iournie, whilst he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosh chiefe of the Glenchattins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracie made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succéded to great slaughters, (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Mackintosh) if the wisdome of the quéene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the queene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntleie warilie fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them) returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had beene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quéene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntleie into Heitland to take Iohn Mudriad: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edenburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, tooke awaie the great seale from this earle Huntleie the chancellor, and gaue it to monsieur Rubie a French man, which monsieur Rubie thus made kéeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie queene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntleie then chancellor in ward. But the earle of Huntleie after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancellor. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Orkeneie & Heitland, and the queenes land at Straitsdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scotish histories named still chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the ninetéenth yeare of quéene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie councill. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quéene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: “*Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.*”

Monsieur
Rubie keeper
of the great
seale.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thrée score and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quéene, he was in the faction betwéene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanors also, vpon his comming with an armie to Cornethie in Mar) slaine, and Iohn Gordon his sonne taken prisoner, brought to Aberdine, the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I doo not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to doo; & therefore, & because “*Omne nimium vertitur in vitium*” (whereto the lawiers agréed saie, that “*Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora*”) I will referre thée for the supplement of this title of the chancellors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leaning them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we saie, that as the quéene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quéene of England, by whome she might haue knowledge of such things as were after doone. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quéene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Gréenewich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against

William Keith
sent into En-
gland.

such

such as séemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselues, imbraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whome, one, not of the meanest, the lord Maxwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Ianuarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincluden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike laws appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Maxwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refusall of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edenburgh, where he long remained.

The lord Maxwell heard masse.

These things thus doone in Scotland, the aforementioned maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Ianuarie, with answer that hir maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassador into Scotland, who should fullie satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the full of hir maiesties determination. Wherevpon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quéene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorised, tooke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maister Archibald Dowglasses (one that had beene sometime of the session or parlement of Edenburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, vpon displeasures which the king of Scots conceiued against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so wiselie, that he obtained great fauor after his returne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they had manie times doone before, but especiallie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and three, which I thought to note in this place, because I would not often vse repetition of one thing doone at seuerall times in so manie places) did excommunicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S. Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because they would not in all their actions, support and confirme the doctrine which the presbyterie had established. Which excommunication the presbyterie did the more boldlie, because they were supported by the assistance of the maister of Lindseie, a great enimie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint Andrews:

Maister Randolph goeth into Scotland.

1586.

But the king in the beginning did assist him against them, and the archbishop did in like sort thunder an excommunication against them. Which diuision not being méete to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring the same realme to confusion: for "Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur:" which must néedes be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie anie superiors. In which place, sith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that sée.

A CATHALOG OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF SAINT ANDREWS, COLLECTED OUT OF THE HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND.

THE Scots séeking meanes to rid themselues from subiection of the bishop of Yorke, who was the metropolitane of Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thréescore and fouretéene obtaine of the pope that they might haue a metropolitane sée within themselues, by reason of the continuall wars which was betwéene the two nations; during which they could neither vse appellations to their metropolitane, nor haue other bishops consecrated. Wherevpon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbishoprike in the time of king Iames the third, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus, lib. 8.

pag. 317. “Hoc anno (which was the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée-score and fouretéene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolitanæ ecclesiæ episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a papa efflagitavit, vt metropolitana potestas in dini Andreæ ciuitate figeretur: iniquū esse enim contendit, vt Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo tanquam primate pēderent, cūm propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti & Angli mutuò lacesunt) Scotis ad illum non pateretur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, præsertim in appellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andreapolitano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi mense Septembri dicta est, atque maximā populi nobiliūmque lætitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrantes, illius authoritatem repudiant, regisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authors saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus studeret. Interea præsules Romā mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum suscipiunt.” But in the end they did not preuaile. Graham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews and the first archbishop of that sée, was after his aduancement to that title deprived in this sort. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée score and seuentéene, pope Xistus the fourth of that name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland, which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismatike, simoniake, wherevpon he was deprived of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall prison; in whose place was William Schewes chosen, to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being remooued for his safe imprisonment first to saint Colins Ile, then to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Locheleuine, there in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarffis or Seruianus Ile in Locheleuine after that he had béene thrée yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thréescore and eightene as some haue, or one thousand foure hundred thréescore and nineteene as others haue, in the Holle rood house in Edenburgh, in the presence of king Iames and manie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne of his metropolitan power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being estranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled the same Graham from his archiepiscopall sée. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request of the king resigned his archbishoprike, contenting himselfe with the bishoprike of Murrie.

Andrew Steward vnclē to king Iames the third was vpon the resignation of William Schewes made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambassador to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuileges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king Iames the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betwéene the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, touching both their authorities: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions, it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, vtill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iudges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuen, being about the ninetéenth yeare of Iames the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadors into France.

Alexander Steward bastard sonne to king Iames the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand fine hundred and ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the same Iames the fourth: this man hauing long studied with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was aduanced to this sée of the archbishoprike when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his freends, came foorthwith into Scotland, where he was ioifullie receiued by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred.

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 3. 18.

William
Schewes.

Andrew Steward.
Lesleus.
1483.

Alexander
Steward.

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 353.

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of saint Andrews named to that see by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordingly, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Paslaie, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie queene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie & thre, being the first or second of queene Marie of Scotland. This man coming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whome he was most honourable and courteously receiued. From whence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whome he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seuenteenth of queene Marie, he was with the queene besieged in Leith. After still following the queenes part, he with others meeteth hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred sixtie and six, at Muskelborow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred seuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the sixt, was taken in the castell of Dunbritaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Matthew earle of Leneux, about the murther of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Matthew, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrike Adamson.

Patrike Adamson *alias* Constance succeeded John Hamilton in the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in seuerall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is here to be ouerpassed, and therefore I referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. ¶ Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrews, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassador from the queene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatht his ambassage to good effect. During whose abode there, there was an assemblee holden at Edenborough in Maie, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

THE ARTICLES CONCLUDED IN THE ASSEMBLIE HOLDEN AT EDENBURGH IN MATE.

“ FIRST, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euerie presbyterie.

“ 2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesdaie of October and April.

“ 3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next insuing.

“ 4 All assemblies doo consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie sutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the thre afore specified.

“ 5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

“ 6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldership as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did appertaine onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblee, and not else.

“ 7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

“ 8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them

them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest judgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand vntill the presbyteries be better erected.

“ 9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblie, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblie, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblie, of whome he receiued the same.

“ 10 If he admit or doo any thing without consent of his assemblie, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

“ 11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis*.

“ 12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

“ 13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblie for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblie shall appoint.

“ 14 That no commission giuen by anie in times past before the date of this assemblie shall be vaileable, but such onlie as the said assemblie shall appoint. In which assemblie also it scémeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, wherevpon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.”

THE MEANES TAKEN IN THIS GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, TOUCHING THE BISHOP OF
S. ANDREWS, AT THE DESIRE OF THE KINGS MAIESTIE.

“ If the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblie, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publikelie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremasie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word : and that if he had so doone, it had béene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

“ 2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall assemblie he claimed to be iudge therevnto, and that if he had doone it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behaiour in contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and crane pardon for the ouersight thereof, and promise good behaiour in the time to come.

“ 3 If he will promise to claime no further than he iustlie may by God his word, and according to the last confereñce, and endeuour himselfe in all behaiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderat person, and so serue, as that he may prooue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblie without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.”

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yéeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand therevnto, which doone, the said assemblie at Edenburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maiestie, in adnulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

THE DECREE OF THE ASSEMBLIE AT EDENBURGH, CONCERNING THE RESTITUTION OF
THE BISHOP OF S. ANDREWS.

“ For his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what good will we would obeie his beires so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for good hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building vp of the house of God within this realme, and bicause the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the
time

time of the conference, wherevpon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie good causes were conuenient to be remooued, we will forbear to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoever prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects aforesaid, and vpon good and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaied, vndeducted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Prouiding alwaies he obserue what hath béene promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming."

This doone the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Euers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwike as hir maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Wherevpon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Euers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwike the place appointed where this league should be fullie stablished. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authoritie, appointed to come to Berwike for Scotland. But some delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuses wherewith to interteine time by messengers vsed, at the length commeth to Berwike Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boid, and sir Iames Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensiu and offensiu betweene these two nations: which doone, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftéenth of August, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet bicause they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are méet for the instructions of the yoong Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

“ Sæpe tibi Randolphe iubes me pingere regem,
 Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.
 Accipe: sit primùm veræ pietatis amator,
 Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,
 Pacem amet: & si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,
 Exuat in victos arma, odiúmque simul,
 Nolo nimis parcus, nimiùm sit nolo benignus,
 Vtráque regno æqua est exitiosa lues,
 Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,
 Et se communem ciuibus esse patrem:
 Puniat inuitus, cúm res iubet esse seuerum,
 Publica cúm poscent commoda lenis erit.
 Viuat, vt exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,
 Sit vultus prauis terror, amórque bonis,
 Excolat impense ingenium, corpúsque modestè,
 Luxuriam frænet cum ratione pudor:
 am tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam
 In tabula nostram qui mihi pingit heram.”

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassador sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassador being called **monsieur D'annauall**

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same, still leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please ; for I neither may nor will sit as *Honorarius arbiter* betwéene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yéere of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetic and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lesleus saith three hundred and fíue before Christ, did write *Leges politicas lib. 1.* This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them ; for thus writeth Stanihurst in his writers of Ireland : Fergusius sonne to Fequardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose to haue béene an Irishman, was in the fíue and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned neere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Vpon whose mishap these verses following were made :

“ Icarus Icareis vt nómína fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ.”

Iosina.

Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the first, who florished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, thrée thousand eight hundred twentic and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. did write *De viribus herbarum lib. 1.*

Ethodius.

Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetic and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesleus, but one hundred ninetic and six, as hath Gesnerus, slaine by a musician of the Hebrides, did write *Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.*

Celsius Sedulius.

Celsius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which florished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Gréece, and Asia, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. whome the pope Gelasius woondering at his vertue and writing was woont to call *Venerabilem*, or woorthie reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write *Carmen paschale lib. 4.* which books are intituled *Libri mirabilium diuinorum.* Besides, he penned *Annotaciones in omnes Pauli epistolas*, printed at Basill by Henrie Peter, *Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In æditionem Donati lib. 1. In Prisciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2.* with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonus.

Merlinus Calidonus otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Vplandish (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet Telesinus. This Merline Calidón executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man flourishing about the yeare of Christ fíue hundred and seuentie, did write *De vaticinijs lib. 1.* in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Vister, but Sixtus Senensis in his *Bibliotheca sancta*, Lesleus, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a moonke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbeie he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) together with the abbeie of Fountnesse in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in th' end was reduced therevnto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he lined a most bolie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bouiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of Nouember. ● He florished in the time of Convallus king of Scots, about the yeare

yeare of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, *Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistolarum lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.*

Briget, a most bolie woman, whome the Irish affirme to borne in Limster, but Gesnerus and Lesle with the Scots doo affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Laginensis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Man, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. she florished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred threé score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Convallus king of Scots; some other saie she florished in the yeare five hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ five hundred and eightéene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scotish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that florished manie yerés after this Scotish Briget, writing thus: “Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inseribuntur, quidam cōfundūt: siquidē multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Ficti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hactenùs putantur,” &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen chalenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which veres are thus:

“Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.”

Maidulphus or Maiduldu Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he writ *De Paschatis obseruatione*, whom I take to be Maidulphus, who was notable learned in the Gréeke and Latine, first a schoolemaster, and after abbat of Malmsburie called in the beginning *Maidulphi curia*, or Maidulphsburie, after the name of this Maidulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ senen hundred and sixtéene. Now it is certeine both by our and the Scotish chronicles, that Maidulphus the builder of Malmsburie monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a moonke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to line in the gouernment of Ethsinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred threé score and two, being the thirtith yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write *Contra peregrinos cultus*, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth *Lecturā Kiliani super magistrū sententiarum*, which peraduenture might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Ionas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ *Vitam sancti Columbani* lib. 1. *Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis* lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a moonke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Hua, who flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and ninetéenc, and writ *De locis terræ sanctæ* lib. 1. *De situ Ierusalem* lib. 1. *De pascheta legitimo* lib. 1. *Epistolas multas*. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had manie things which he inserted in his owne bookes. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Yorkeshire belonging to the bishoprike of Yorke, and now at this daie is in English called Cawood.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought foorth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the sixt king of Scots began his reigne) was,

as hath Lesleus, noble borne, who traueiling into strange countries, conuerted manie from paganisme vnto Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Bruschius the famous riner in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: "Florentius Volusenus Scotus scripsit *theologicā orationē siue cōmendationem piam & eruditam*, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem *de animi trāquillitate carmen* ibidem excusum 1543, & Basilix apud Ioannē Oporinuin cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit *aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate*, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillus. Artuillus, or Artuillis a worthie gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person borne in Scotland, florished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ senen hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ senen hundred threé score and two, this Artuillus writ *De rebus mathematicis librū unū, ad Adelmum episcopum lib. 1.*

Sedulius Iunior. Sedulius Iunior being bishop of the south Scots did write *Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti*, and lined in the yere of Christ seuen hundred and fouretéene.

Bonifacius. Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witnessse of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scotish bloud, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to conuert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: "In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hassis, & Austrasionibus ad reetam religionis viam tractis, messen longé copiosissimam collegerat;" after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thense into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ senen hundred fiftie and fiue, who being a moonke of the order of saint Benet, did write; *Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.*

Ioannes Mailrose.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the sixt of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Rosse, and also florished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Gréeke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de sancto Victore, a most notable diuine. Shortlie after which, the said Iohn was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat so worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwéene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie interteined by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe schoolemaister and instructor.

But shortlie after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Malmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholers of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpelie rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with *Pugionibus*, as saith Lesleus. Which Iohn, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authoritie of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordeining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and dooings thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: "Ioannes Mailrosius cognōmine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit *super canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1.*

Claruit

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regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensia lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margarete Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret quene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

Dauid Scotus.

Dauid Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe Dauid Scotus, and next Dauid Presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first schoolemaister at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the fift the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspengensis & manie others doo write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneie which the emperor Henrie the fift made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmsburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke *De regibus*. “At verò Henricus antiquis Cæsaribus in nulla virtute deiectione, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, quæstionemque de inuestitura suo libito recissurus; sed iter illud ad Romam magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporū consummatū, Dauid Scotus Banchorēsis episcopus exposuit, magis in regis gratiam quàm historicum deceret acclinis.” He liued and prospered about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write *Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotiæ lib. 1.*

Richardus de sancto victore.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I doo not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in Iohn Maior and Lesleus) lined in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set foorth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be séene with this epitaph recited by Iohn Maior in his memoriall :

“Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Puluereo hîc tegeris docte Richarde situ:
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec stamina paruo
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
Segnior vt lento sceleratas mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.”

Walter the bastard sonne of king Dauid the first.

Walter the bastard sonne of Dauid the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first indued with the rich canonrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishoprike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrosse, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simplie suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand

thousand one hundred fiftie and thrée, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writeth in this sort: "Gualterus Albanensis monachus scripsit *de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Baleus.*

Thomas Liermant *aliàs* Ersilton being borne in Scotland was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certeine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) fortell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obtined the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fall daie of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and thrée. He wrot *Prædictiones rerum Scoticarum rithmicis versibus*, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed *Rithmicus*, or the Rimer, liuing some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Thomas Liermant *aliàs* Ersilton.

Michaell Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophie, astronomie, and the other mathematicks, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twice mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his *Bibliotheca*, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of Iohn Balioll king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote *In gratiã Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteora lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De cælo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substãtia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & remiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteora lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreuiationes Auicennæ lib. 1. De animalibus ad Cæsarem lib. 1.* whose booke of physnomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by Iohn Baptista Sessa.

Michaell Medicus.

Iohn Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and tearmed the subtill doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minors brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time nor long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length tooke the habit and order of the Franciscans, proouing of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtill disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minors, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of schoasticall matters, he traueled to Cullen, and there vntimelie died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of Iohn Balioll king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283. of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called *Scotistæ* or *Scotists* as all they of an other faction are surnamed *Thomistæ* or the *Thomists*, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulle the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, doo challenge him to be their countiman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers, Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine prooue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countiman. But the Smirnians were so stiffelie bent in proouing him to be borne in their territorie,

Iohn Duns.

ritorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and therevpon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtile and profound clearke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dusked, was a little spice of vainglorie, being giuen to carpe and tawnt his predecessor diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduansing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the bookes which he wrote were these. *Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Cōmentarios Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysicā questionē lib. 12. Quæstiones vniuersaliū li. 2. Quæstiones prædicamētorū lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias eiusdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrāmātum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose works thus further writeth Gesn. “Iohanni Scoto sententiarum interpreti primæuam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cū alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto” (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about thrée hundred yeares before this Duns) “Qui istū multis sæculis antecessit, & Athænis Grecè didicit, accepta referri debeat.” Of the death of this man see Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. *De honesta vita*, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis out of Gréeke into Latine.*

Thomas
Varreie.

Thomas Varreie or Varraie flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at what time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort :

“Musa refert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatum,” &c.

Who being maister and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie estéemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he lined, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William El-
phinstone.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I doo find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he lined, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. “Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit *antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum statuta librum vnum*. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valdè Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340.” Thus much Gesnerus.

James Steward.

James Steward the first of the name of Iames, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his natiue soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue béene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was Iohn Steward, and not Iames. This man in the time whilest he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

Iohannes
Maior.

Iohannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his *Bibliotheca sancta* dooth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Hadington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Hadingtonensis, he did write *Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensa, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Matthæum, Historiarum maioris Britanniae*

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Patrike Hamilton.

Patrike Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephue of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of Iames the fift of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse books, amongst which were these, *De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.*

Ioannes Altus.

Iohannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Eusdan Morphet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which contened one booke; besides which also he did write another booke *Contra Antiscotiton* of this Morphet, & *Epigrammata lib. 1.* He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder Iames the fift.

John Bellendon.

John Bellendon or Ballentine, who florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king Iames the fift, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scotish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Wourā.

John Wouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language *Catechismum fidei lib. 1.* and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots.

John Herrison.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, being the sixt yéere of Marie queene of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, *De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1.* which was written to Edward Seimor duke of Summerset protector of England.

John Makbeth.

John Makbeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabaus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who flourishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, beng the eight yeare of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots, did compose, *De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.*

John Makbraie.

John Mackebraie borne in Scotland, did flourish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixteenth yéere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots. This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same Iohn Makleth before touched, did write *Anglorum ecclesie originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem suae fidei lib. 1.*

George Buchanan.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times maliciouslie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forebare in the highest degré of malice to vpbraid and backebite cuerie person and nation which had offended him, as maie appeare by his immodest spéeches, not beséeming a man of his learning, was schoolemaster to Iames the sixt of that name king of Scotland, of whom liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and ninetéene, I will forebare to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I mislike in him, & therefore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. “Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grāmatices Latinæ Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basilæ anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: *Iephes tragædia*, Lutetiæ apud Vascosanum. *Franciscanus & fratres*, quibus accesserunt varia eisdem & aliorum poemata, Basilæ apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem *psalmorum paraphrasis poetica*, Geneuæ, Argentiniæ, Antuerpiæ impressa in 8 & 10, eiusdem *Baptistes sue calumnia tragædia*, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. *De iure regni apud Scotos* editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. *Psalmi Davidis* ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primùm modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. *Rerum Scholasticarū historia lib. 20.* Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knoles.

John Knoles borne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles Iames, the sixt of that ame king of Scotland, and writ manie bookes in the Scotish English, amongst which we *Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii*

Evangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiæ epistola 1. - Ad ecclesias afflictas epis. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Mariam hist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Buccinæ afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellation a sentētia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ librū unum. He liued in the yere of Christ 1569.

Iohn Langeie a Scot born following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who liuing in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threē score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and Iohn Caluin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospell (the scornfullie termed it) which bookes were out of French turned into Latine, and latē into the Germane toong, printed in 4 at Ingelstade in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and two.

Iohn Langeie.

Iohannes Duræus or Durie whom Gesner calleth Burens, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abt of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought vp in Paris and buan, after which he became a priest, and then a Iesuit, who now liuing did in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled *Infutatio responsionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Carianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei*: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunelius, ‘In clauso Brunello sub signo oli.’

Iohn Durie.

Patrike Adamson lining in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and thirteene, did write certeine verses, whereof this was the title and effect, as hath Gesnerus, *Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustriss. & potentiss. principi Elizabethæ Angl. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter heratam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munitissimam Edenburgi arcem sub fidem eius carmen elegiacum*, which man being now liuing, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrike Adamson.

Patrike Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, did write, *De utilitate & excellentia verbi Dei*, which was printed at Paris by Michaell Fezandate, and Robert Grauson, in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. He writ also *De vulgari sacræ scripturæ phrasi, lib. 1*. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holieghost, which they call irremittible or vnto death: the second booke dooth with great diligence and fidelitie vnfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie euillie vnderstood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Messiline in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

Patrike Cockburne.

Iohn Lesle sometime officiall of Aberden, and bishop of Rosse, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauorer and futherer of the Romane religion dooth yet liue in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles I. the sixt king of Scots, and hath written *Pii afflictis animi consolationes diuinique remediis lib. 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10.* printed at Rome.

Iohn Lesle.

Ninianus Wenzetus, who flourished in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred threē score and one, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, was a fauorer of the popes doctrine, and enimie to Iohn Knox, touching whom I will set down the words of two seuerall authors, whereof the one is Lesle a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: “Hæc res” (which was a disputation in religion) “Niniano Winzeto manam apud hæreticos inuidiam confluit, vnde cum audirent illum” (Ninian Winzet) “iampud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nihilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulctando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, ante Iohan. Scotū typographū bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quæ tamperere cupiebant, præ foribus magistratui occurrentem quòd incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent hæretici, rident Catholici.” On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: “Ninianus Winzetus. Renfrous, S. theologiæ doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi

Ninianus Wenzetus.

Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponæ; abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis prætextu iam in Cæsare aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quærentes ineptissimè quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendū. Accessit velitatio in Georg. Bucchan. circa dialogū, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadii ex officina typographica Daudis Sartorii, an. 1581.”

Adam Blackwood.

Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dumfermeling, was brought vp in Paris, where attaining to manie degrés of learning, is now lining, being aduanced to the place of one of the chiefe councillors of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie works, amongst which are his bookes *De coniunctione religionis & imperii*, *Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciæ*, & *Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis* (after that Charles Iames the sixt, attained to the crowne) *Scotiæ*. Besides which hauing written against the work of Bucchanan intituled *De iure regni*, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Bucchanan.

Andrew Meluina.

Andrew Meluin one of the presbyterie in Scotland, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiew hundred fourscore and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuectiue against the quéene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth “*Vipera cum catulis.*”

James Tirie.

James Tirie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who conning to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluiu; he florished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiew hundred thréescore and one, vnder Marie quéene of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responsio ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

Charles Iames.

Charles Iames the sixt of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yoong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yoongest yeares about the age of seuentéene or eightteene, write a booke of verses in his mother toong, conteining manie matters of sundrie rare inuentions, and of sundrie forme of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lessé honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire thée reader to take it in good part, remembring that “*Ultra posse non est esse,*” sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect whervpon to worke, I can doo no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that “*In magnis voluisse sat est;*” I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue doone maie well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (“*Absit verbis philautia*”) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my fréends. For though I maie séeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, “*Numquàm minùs sum otiosus quàm cùm sum otiosus.*”

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.