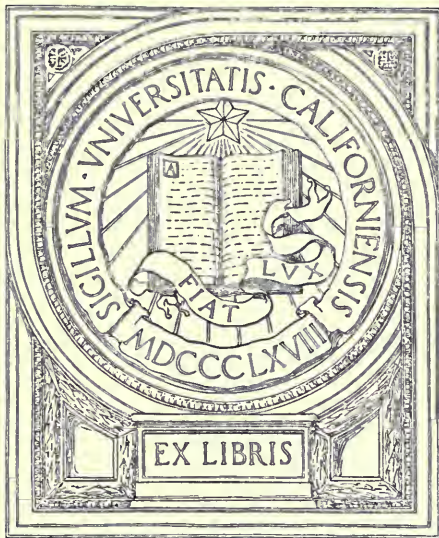




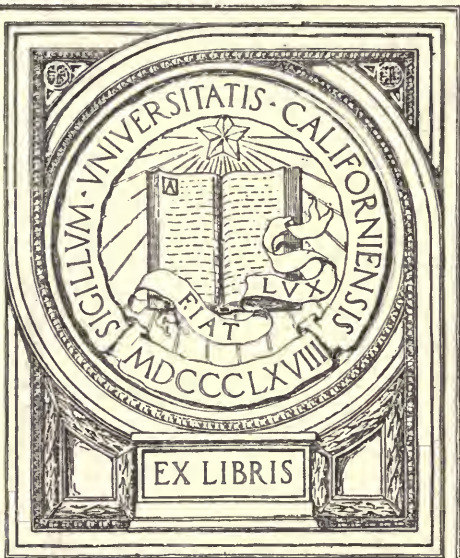
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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER III. TO
THE UNION.

BY

PATRICK FRASER TYTLER,
F.R.S.E. AND F.A.S. "

NEW EDITION.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

JAMES THE FOURTH.

(Continued.)

1497-1513.

	Page
DEPARTURE of Perkin Warbeck from Scotland,	1
Seven years' truce with England,	2
James's progress to Inverness,	3
Attention to his navy,	5
——— to the administration of justice,	7
Foundation of King's College, Aberdeen,	9
Treaty of marriage with England,	10
Lady Margaret Drummond,	12
Marriage of James with the Princess Margaret of England,	16
Rebellion in the North,	17
James's measures regarding the Highlands,	19
Court of Daily Council,	20
Proceedings of the Parliament,	21
Progress of the king to the Borders,	25
Extinction of the rebellion in the North,	26
Embassy from the Pope,	29
Embassy to France,	30
Death of Henry the Seventh,	33
State of Scotland,	34
Naval affairs,	35
Introduction of Printing,	36
Symptoms of war with England,	38
Exploits of the Bartons, and death of Andrew Barton,	40
James's warlike preparations,	44

428733

	Page
Embassy of Dacre and West,	45
Second embassy of West,	47
Reinforcements from France and Denmark,	48
Arran's foolish expedition against Ireland,	50
James assembles his army,	52
His defiance sent to Henry,	53
Preparations of the Earl of Surrey,	54
Stratagems to prevent war,	55
Muster of the Scottish host,	56
Messages between James and Surrey,	58
Surrey's skilful manœuvres,	60
Infatuation of the Scottish king,	61
Battle of Flodden, and death of James,	63
Causes of the defeat,	68
Character of the king,	69

CHAP. II.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1513-1524.

State of Scotland,	71
Coronation of James the Fifth,	72
Surrey disbands his army,	73
Evils of the minority,	74
The queen marries the Earl of Angus,	78
French and English factions,	79
Death of Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen,	80
Intrigues of Henry the Eighth,	82
Arrival of Albany in Scotland,	83
State of parties,	84
Decisive measures of Albany,	86
The queen refuses to give up the king, her son,	87
Treasonable conduct of Home,	90
The queen flies to England,	93
Unfounded accusations against Albany,	96
Home and Angus desert the queen,	97
Henry's intrigues in Scotland,	99
Home and his brother executed,	102
Ungenerous conduct of France,	103
Albany revisits that kingdom,	105

CONTENTS.

vii

	Page
Return of the queen-mother,	106
Murder of De la Bastie,	108
Activity of Arran,	ib.
State of the Highlands and Isles,	109
Violence and ambition of Angus,	112
Mission from Denmark,	114
Truce between England and Scotland,	115
Feuds of the nobles and the clergy,	117
Embassy of Aubigny,	120
Arrival of Albany in Scotland,	121
His upright policy,	122
Thwarted by the intrigues of Dacre,	123
Angus is compelled to fly,	125
Difficulty of arriving at truth in these times,	127
Conduct of Bishop Gawin Douglas,	ib.
Henry's imperious demands,	128
Angus passes into France,	130
Preparations for war,	ib.
Duplicity of the queen-mother,	131
Albany's expedition into England,	132
Observations on his conduct,	133
Difficulties of his situation,	134
His second visit to France,	135
Ferocity of the Border war,	136
Albany returns to Scotland,	ib.
Venality of the Scottish nobles,	139
The Regent assembles his army,	140
The Scottish nobles refuse to fight,	141
Disastrous result of the expedition,	143
Observations on the retreat,	144
A Parliament,	ib.
Albany returns to France,	145

CHAP. III.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1524-1528.

Revolution in the government,	147
Successful intrigue of the queen-mother,	148
Regency of Albany declared to have ended,	ib.

	Page
Coalition between Arran and the queen,	150
Her imprudent conduct,	151
Negotiation with France,	ib.
Venality of the Scottish nobles,	152
Secret agreement between Angus and Wolsey,	ib.
Angus returns to Scotland,	ib.
His attack upon the capital,	156
His recovery of the chief power,	158
Miserable situation of the country,	159
Intrigues of the queen-mother,	160
She loses all weight in the government,	162
The queen is divorced,	165
Marries Henry Stewart,	ib.
Angus obtains possession of the young king's person, . .	167
Tyranny of the Douglasses,	168
Buccleugh attempts to deliver the king,	169
Death of the Earl of Lennox,	171
Parliament assembles,	172
Remorse of Arran,	173
State of the Highlands,	175
Beaton the chancellor reconciled to Angus,	176
Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton,	178
Insolent tyranny of Angus,	179
Plot for the escape of the young king,	180
Its complete success,	182
Despair and indignation of the Douglasses,	183

CHAP. IV.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1528-1542.

James the Fifth assumes the supreme power,	185
His character at this time,	ib.
His policy upon his accession,	186
Proceedings against the Douglasses,	188
Their great power,	189
State of the Borders,	191
Imprisonment of the Border barons,	193
Rebellion in the Orkneys,	194
State of the Isles,	195

CONTENTS.

ix

	Page
Matrimonial negotiations,	196
Institution of the College of Justice,	198
State of Europe,	199
Border war,	201
James's northern progress,	203
Festivities in Athole,	ib.
Negotiations with England,	204
Persecution of the Reformers,	206
Henry the Eighth offers the Princess Mary in marriage to James,	208
Matrimonial embassy to France,	ib.
The Papal Legate Campeggio visits Scotland,	209
James affianced to Marie de Bourbon,	210
Parliament assembles,	ib.
James visits the Court of Francis the First,	212
Becomes enamoured of the Princess Magdalen,	213
Marriage of James the Fifth,	ib.
Returns to Scotland with his queen,	214
Reflections on James's policy,	ib.
State of parties,	216
Death of the queen,	217
James's second marriage,	ib.
Forbes's conspiracy against the king,	218
Conspiracy of Lady Glamis,	220
Negotiations with England,	221
Persecution of the disciples of the Reformation,	222
Martyrdom of Kennedy and Russel,	226
Mission of Sir Ralph Sadler to James,	227
Fails in his great object,	228
James's voyage to the Western Isles,	230
Conspiracy against the king,	232
Parliament assembles,	234
Its wise provisions,	235
Death of the queen-mother,	239
James loses both his sons,	240
Second embassy of Sadler,	241
James disappropts Henry of the interview at York,	242
Preparations of England for war,	243
Defeat of the English at Hadden-Rig,	245
The Duke of Norfolk assembles an army,	ib.
James musters his host on the Borough-muir,	246
Disgraceful rout at the Solway Moss,	250

	Page
The calamity overwhelms the king,	250
Despair and death of James the Fifth,	251

CHAP. V.

MARY.

1542-1546.

State of Scotland at the death of James,	253
Henry the Eighth's project for a marriage between the infant queen and Prince Edward,	ib.
His intrigues with the Douglasses and his Scottish prisoners,	254
State of parties in Scotland,	257
Cardinal Beaton's attempt to be regent,	259
Earl of Arran chosen regent,	260
Arrival of Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Scottish prisoners in Edin- burgh,	262
Their intrigues detected by Cardinal Beaton,	263
Imprisonment of Beaton,	ib.
Henry's foolish conduct,	265
Efforts of the Catholic party,	267
Meeting of Parliament,	269
The Bible communicated to the people,	271
Arrival of Sadler, the English ambassador, in Edinburgh,	ib.
The Cardinal recovers his liberty,	273
Scottish ambassadors sent to England,	274
The Earl of Lennox returns to Scotland,	275
Arran recants his Protestant opinions,	277
Beaton's able policy,	278
Mission of Sir George Douglas to England,	279
Treaties of peace and marriage,	281
Opposed by Beaton,	282
Arran's double conduct,	283
Beaton gets possession of the young queen,	284
Treaties of peace and marriage ratified,	285
Unpopularity of Arran,	287
Reconciliation between Arran and the cardinal,	288
Henry resolves on war,	289
Lennox joins the English party,	ib.
Arrival of the French fleet,	290
Unpopularity of the English party,	291

CONTENTS.

xi

	Page
Fine trait of the Scottish merchants,	292
Seizure of Lords Maxwell and Somerville,	ib.
Meeting of Parliament,	293
French ambassadors introduced,	ib.
Strong feelings against England,	294
Act against heretical opinions,	295
Base conduct of the Douglasses,	296
Beaton's cruelty against the Reformers,	298
Wishart's and Brunston's plot for the assassination, or seizure of Beaton,	299
Great invasion of Scotland by the Earl of Hertford,	300
Retreat of the English,	302
Lennox and Glencairn, the only peers in the English interest,	303
Glencairn totally defeated,	305
Junction of the Catholic and Protestant parties,	306
Deprivation of the Governor Arran,	307
State of the Highlands and Isles,	ib.
Disturbances in the Lowlands,	ib.
Earl of Lennox's expedition against Scotland,	308
Beaton labours in vain to reconcile the Scottish and English factions,	311
Double conduct of the Douglasses,	312
Miserable condition of the country,	313
Battle of Ancram Moor, and defeat of the English,	316
George Douglas continues his correspondence with Henry the Eighth,	318
Mission of Cassillis to England,	319
Proposals of Henry through Cassillis,	320
They are rejected,	ib.
Cassillis's proposal for the assassination of Beaton,	321
Mission of Forster into Scotland,	323
Arrival of Lorges Montgomerie in Scotland,	325
Henry's negotiations with Donald lord of the Isles,	328
Hertford invades Scotland,	329
His dreadful ravages,	330
Parliament at Stirling,	332
Brunston's intrigues with England,	334
Lord Maxwell imprisoned,	335
Failure of Lennox's attempt on Dumbarton,	337
Proposals of James Macconnell lord of the Isles, to Henry,	338
Progress of the Reformation,	339
Arrival of George Wishart in Scotland,	340

	Page
His history, . . . . .	. 341
His preaching, . . . . .	. 342
His friends, . . . . .	. 343
His journey to Edinburgh, . . . . .	. 344
He is seized by the Earl of Bothwell, . . . . .	. 346
His trial and condemnation, . . . . .	. 347
His execution, . . . . .	. 348
Its effects, . . . . .	. 349
Beaton's progress into Angus, . . . . .	. 351
The conspiracy against him resumed, . . . . .	. 352
Assassination of Beaton, . . . . .	. 355
Observations, . . . . .	. 356

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. On the authenticity of the Chronicle, entitled a "Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland," . . . . .	. 359
B. On the trial of Lady Glamis, . . . . .	. 368
C. Battle of Flodden, . . . . .	. 373
Historical Remarks on the Assassination of Cardinal Beaton, . . . . .	. 376
Additional illustrations from the Hamilton MSS., . . . . .	. 391
Impolicy of Henry the Eighth towards Scotland, . . . . .	. 393

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

JAMES THE FOURTH

(CONTINUED.)

1497—1513.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VII. Henry VIII.	Lewis XII.	Ferdinand and Isabella.	John II. Emanuel.	Maximilian.	Alex. VI. (Borgia) Pius III. Julius II. Leo. X.

THE departure of Perkin Warbeck from Scotland, was followed, after a short interval, by a truce with England. It was evidently the interest of Henry the Seventh, and of James to be at peace. The English monarch was unpopular; every attack by a foreign power endangered the stability of his government, encouraging domestic discontent, and strengthening the hands of his enemies: on the side of the Scottish king there were not similar causes of alarm, for he was strong in the affections of his subjects, and beloved by his nobility; but grave and weighty cares engrossed his attention, and these were of a nature which could be best pursued in a time of peace. The state of the

revenue, the commerce and domestic manufactures of his kingdom, and the deficiency of his marine, had now begun to occupy an important place in the thoughts of the still youthful sovereign: the disorganized condition of the more northern portions of his dominions, demanded also the exertion of his utmost vigilance; so that he listened not unwillingly to Henry's proposals of peace, and to the overture for a matrimonial alliance, which was brought forward by the principal Commissioner of England, Fox bishop of Durham. The pacific disposition of James appears to have been strengthened by the judicious counsels of Pedro D'Ayala, the Spanish envoy at the court of Henry the Seventh: this able foreigner had received orders from his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, to visit Scotland as the ambassador from their Catholic majesties; and on his arrival in that country, he soon acquired so strong an influence over this prince, that he did not hesitate to nominate him his chief commissioner for the conducting his negotiations with England. A seven years' truce was accordingly concluded at Ayton, on the thirty-first of September, 1497,* and in a meeting which took place soon after, between William de Warham, Henry's commissioner, and D'Ayala, who appeared on the part of James; it was agreed that this cessation of hostilities should continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of the survivor. Having accomplished this object, the Spanish minister and his suite left the Scottish court to the regret of the king, who testified by rich presents the regard he entertained for them.†

This negotiation with England being concluded,

* Rymer, vol. xii. pp. 673, 678 inclusive.

† MS. Accounts of the High Treasurer of Scotland under the 31st of October, 1497.

James had leisure to turn his attention to his affairs at home; and, although in the depth of winter, with the hardihood which marked his character, he took a progress northward as far as Inverness. It was his object personally to inspect the state of these remote portions of his dominions, that he might be able to legislate for them with greater success than had attended the efforts of his predecessors. The policy which he adopted was, to separate and weaken the clans by arraying them in opposition to each other, to attach to his service by rewards and preferment some of their ablest leaders—to maintain a correspondence with the remotest districts—and gradually to accustom their fierce inhabitants to habits of pacific industry, and a respect for the restraints of the laws. It has been objected to him that his proceedings towards the highland chiefs were occasionally marked by an unbending rigour, and too slight a regard for justice; but his policy may be vindicated on the ground of necessity, and even of self-defence.

These severe measures, however, were seldom resorted to but in cases of rebellion. To the great body of his nobility, James was uniformly indulgent; the lamentable fate of his father convinced him of the folly of attempting to rule without them: he was persuaded that a feudal monarch at war with his nobles, was deprived of the greatest sources of his strength and dignity; and to enable him to direct their efforts to such objects as he had at heart, he endeavoured to gain their affections. Nor was it difficult to effect this: the course of conduct which his own disposition prompted him to pursue, was the best calculated to render him a favourite with the aristocracy. Under the former reign they seldom saw their prince, but lived in gloomy independence at a distance from court, resorting thither only on

occasions of state or counsel; and when the parliament was ended, or the emergency had passed away, they returned to their castles full of complaints against a system which made them strangers to their sovereign, and ciphers in the government. Under James all this was changed. Affable in his manners, fond of magnificence, and devoted to pleasure, the king delighted to see himself surrounded by a splendid nobility: he bestowed upon his highest barons those offices in his household which ensured a familiar attendance upon his person: his court was a perpetual scene of revelry and amusement in which the nobles vied with each other in extravagance, and whilst they impoverished themselves, became more dependent from this circumstance upon the sovereign. The seclusion and inferior splendour of their own castles became gradually irksome to them; as their residence was less frequent, the ties which bound their vassals to their service were loosened, whilst the consequence was favourable to the royal authority.

But amid the splendour of his court, and devotion to his pleasures, James pursued other objects which were truly laudable. Of these the most prominent and the most important was his attention to his navy: the enterprises of the Portuguese, and the discoveries of Columbus, had created a sensation at this period throughout every part of Europe, which, in these times, it is perhaps impossible for us to estimate in its full force. Every monarch ambitious of wealth or of glory, became anxious to share in the triumphs of maritime adventure and discovery. Henry the Seventh of England, although in most cases a cautious and penurious prince, had not hesitated to encourage the celebrated expedition of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, settled at Bristol; and his unwonted spirit was rewarded by

the discovery of the continent of North America.* A second voyage conducted by his son Sebastian, one of the ablest navigators of the age, had greatly extended the range of our geographical knowledge; and the genius of the Scottish prince catching fire at the successes of the neighbouring kingdom, became eager to distinguish itself in a similar career of naval enterprise.

But a fleet was wanting to second these aspirings; and to supply this became his principal object. His first care was wisely directed to those nurseries of seamen, his domestic fisheries, and his foreign commerce. Deficient in anything deserving the name of a royal navy, Scotland was nevertheless rich in hardy mariners, and enterprising merchants. A former parliament of this reign had adverted to the great wealth still lost to the country from the want of a sufficient number of ships, and busses, or boats, to be employed in the fisheries.† An enactment was now made that vessels of twenty tons and upwards should be built in all the seaports of the kingdom; whilst the magistrates were directed to compel all stout vagrants who frequented such districts, to learn the trade of mariners, and labour for their own living.‡

Amongst his merchants and private traders, the king found some men of ability and experience. Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, the two Bartons, Sir Alexander Mathison, William Merrimonth of Leith, whose

* Mr Biddel in his *Life of Sebastian Cabot*, a work of great acuteness and research, has endeavoured to show that the discovery of North America belongs solely to Sebastian and not to John Cabot. From the examination of his proofs and authorities, I have arrived at a totally opposite conclusion. The reader who is interested in the subject will find it discussed in the Appendix to “*A Historical View of the Progress of Discovery in North America*”; in which the subject is fully treated.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 235. “*Asent the greit innumerable riches yat is tint in fault of schippis and buschis.*”

‡ M^cPherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

skill in maritime affairs had procured him the title of “king of the sea,” and various other naval adventurers of inferior note were sought out by James, and treated with peculiar favour and distinction. They were encouraged to extend their voyages, to arm their trading vessels, to purchase foreign ships of war, to import cannon, and to superintend the building of ships of force at home. In these cares the monarch not only took an interest, but studied the subjects with his usual enthusiasm, and personally superintended every detail. He conversed with his mariners—rewarded the most skilful and assiduous by presents—visited familiarly at the houses of his principal merchants and sea officers—practised with his artillery-men—often discharging and pointing the guns, and delighted in embarking on short voyages of experiment, in which, under the tuition of Wood or the Bartons, he became acquainted with the practical parts of navigation. The consequences of such conduct were highly favourable to him: he became as popular with his sailors as he was beloved by his nobility; his fame was carried by them to foreign countries; ship-wrights, cannon-founders, and foreign artisans of every description, flocked to his court from France, Italy, and the Low Countries; and if amongst these were some impostors, whose pretensions imposed upon the royal credulity, there were others by whose skill and genius Scotland rose in the scale of knowledge and importance.

But the attention of James to his navy and his foreign commerce, although conspicuous, was not exclusive; his energy and activity in the administration of justice, in the suppression of crime, and in the regulation of the police of his dominions, were equally remarkable. Under the feudal government as it then

existed in Scotland, the obedience paid to the laws, and the consequent increase of industry and security of property, were dependent in a great degree upon the personal character of the sovereign. Indolence and inactivity in the monarch commonly led to disorder and oppression. The stronger nobles oppressed their weaker neighbours; murder and spoliation of every kind were practised by their vassals; whilst the judges, deprived of the countenance and protection of their prince, either did not dare or did not choose to punish the delinquents. Personal vigour in the king, was invariably accompanied by a diminution of crime and a respect for the laws; and never was a sovereign more indefatigable than James in visiting with this object every district of his dominions; travelling frequently alone, at night, and in the most inclement seasons to great distances; surprising the judge, when he least expected, by his sudden appearance on the tribunal, and striking terror into the heart of the guilty by the rapidity and certainty of the royal vengeance. Possessed of an athletic frame, which was strengthened by a familiarity with all the warlike exercises of the age, the king thought little of throwing himself on his horse, and riding a hundred miles before he drew bridle; and, on one occasion it is recorded of him, that he rode unattended from his palace of Stirling in a single day to Elgin, where he permitted himself but a few hours' repose, and then pushed on to the shrine of St Duthoc in Ross.*

Whilst the monarch was occupied in these active but pacific cares, an event occurred which, in its consequences, threatened once more to plunge the two countries into war. A party of Scottish youths, some

* Lesley's History, Bannatyne edit. p. 76.

of them highly born, crossed the Tweed at Norham, and trusting to the protection of the truce, visited the castle; but the national antipathy led to a misunderstanding: they were accused of being spies, attacked by orders of the governor, and driven with ignominy and wounds across the river. James's chivalrous sense of honour fired at this outrage, and he despatched a herald to England, demanding inquiry, and denouncing war if it were refused. It was fortunate, however, that the excited passions of this prince were met by quietude and prudence upon the part of Henry; he represented the event in its true colours, as an unpremeditated and accidental attack, for which he felt regret and was ready to afford redress. Fox, the Bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged, made ample submissions; and the king, conciliated by his flattery, and convinced by his arguments of the ruinous impolicy of a war, allowed himself to be appeased. Throughout the whole negotiation, the wisdom and moderation of Henry presented a striking contrast to the foolish and overbearing impetuosity of the Scottish monarch: it was hoped, however, that this headstrong temper would be subdued by his arrival at a maturer age; and in the meantime the English king despatched to the Scottish court his Vice-Admiral Rydon, to obtain from James the final ratification of the truce, which was given at Stirling, on the twentieth of July, 1499.*

In the midst of these threatenings of war which were thus happily averted, it is pleasing to mark the efforts of an enlightened policy for the dissemination of learning. By an act of a former parliament, (1496,)†

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 728.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 238.

it had been made imperative on all barons and freeholders under a fine of twenty pounds, to send their sons at the age of nine years to the schools, where they were to be competently founded in Latin, and to remain afterwards three years at the schools of "Art and Jury," so as to ensure their possessing a knowledge of the laws. The object of this statute was to secure the appointment of learned persons to fill the office of sheriffs, that the poorer classes of the people might not be compelled from the ignorance of such judges to appeal to a higher tribunal. These efforts were seconded by the exertions of an eminent and learned prelate, Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen, who now completed the building of King's College in that city, for the foundation of which he had procured the papal bull in 1494. In the devout spirit of the age, its original institutions embraced the maintenance of eight priests and seven singing boys; but it supported also professors of divinity, of the civil and canon law, of medicine and humanity; fourteen students of philosophy and ten bachelors were educated within its walls: nor is it unworthy of record, that its first principal was the noted Hector Boece, the correspondent of Erasmus, and a scholar whose classical attainments and brilliant fancy had already procured for him the distinction of professor of philosophy in Montague College at Paris. Scotland now possessed three universities: that of St Andrew's, founded in the commencement of the fifteenth century; Glasgow, in the year 1453; and Aberdeen, in 1500. Fostered amid the security of peace, the Muses began to raise their heads from the slumber into which they had fallen; and the genius of Dunbar and Douglas, emulated in their

native language the poetical triumphs of Chaucer and of Gower.*

It was about this time that James concluded a defensive alliance with France and Denmark; and Henry the Seventh, who began to be alarmed lest the monarch should be flattered by Lewis the Twelfth into a still more intimate intercourse, renewed his proposals for a marriage with his daughter. The wise policy of a union between the Scottish king and the Princess Margaret had suggested itself to the councillors of both countries some years before; but the extreme youth of the intended bride, and an indisposition upon the part of James to interrupt by more solemn ties the love which he bore to his mistress Margaret Drummond, the daughter of Lord Drummond, had for a while put an end to all negotiations on the subject. His continued attachment, however, the birth of a daughter, and, perhaps, the dread of female influence over the impetuous character of the king, began to alarm his nobility, and James felt disposed to listen to their remonstrances. He accordingly despatched his commissioners, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Bothwell his high admiral, and Andrew Forman apostolical prothonotary, to meet with those of Henry; and, after some interval of debate and negotiation, the marriage treaty was concluded and signed in the palace of Richmond, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1502.† It was stipulated, that as the princess had not yet completed her twelfth year, her father should not be obliged to send her to Scotland before the first of September, 1503; whilst James engaged to espouse her

* Memoirs of William Dunbar, p. 45, prefixed to Mr Laing's beautiful edition of that poet.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xii. pp. 776, 777, 787.

within fifteen days after her arrival.* The queen was immediately to be put in possession of all the lands, castles, and manors, whose revenues constituted the jointure of the queens-dowager of Scotland; and it was stipulated that their annual amount should not be under the sum of two thousand pounds sterling. She was to receive during the lifetime of the king her husband, a pension of five hundred marks, equivalent to one thousand pounds of Scottish money; and, in the event of James's death, was to be permitted to reside at her pleasure, either within or without the limits of Scotland. On the part of Henry, her dowry considering his great wealth, was not munificent. It was fixed at thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid by instalments within three years after the marriage.† Besides her Scottish servants, the princess was to be at liberty to keep twenty-four English domestics, men and women; and her household was to be maintained by her husband in a state conformable to her high rank as the daughter and consort of a king. It was lastly agreed, that should the queen die without issue before the three years had expired within which her dowry was to be paid, the balance should not be demanded; but in the

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 765, gives the dispensation for the marriage. It is dated 5th August, 1500.

† At a period as remote as 1281, when silver was far more valuable than in 1502, Alexander the Third gave with his daughter to the King of Norway the value of 9333 pounds of standard silver, one half in money, for the other half an annuity in lands, valued at ten years' purchase, whilst the stipulated jointure was to be ten per cent. of her portion. Henry the Seventh, on the other hand, when it might be thought more necessary for him to conciliate the affection of his son-in-law, gives only 5714 pounds, silver of the same standard, and stipulates for his daughter a jointure of twenty per cent., besides an allowance for her privy purse. [M'Pherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. in Appendix, Chronological Table of Prices.] The well known economy, however, of the English monarch, and his shrewdness in all money transactions, precludes us from drawing any general conclusions from this remarkable fact, as to the comparative wealth of Scotland in the thirteenth and England in the sixteenth century.

event of her death, leaving issue, the whole sum was to be exacted.* Such was this celebrated treaty, in which the advantages were almost exclusively on the side of England; for Henry retained Berwick, and James was contented with a portion smaller than that which had been promised to the Prince of Scotland by Edward the Fourth, when in 1474 this monarch invited him to marry his daughter Cæcilia.† But there seems no ground for the insinuation of a modern historian,‡ that the deliberations of the Scottish commissioners had been swayed by the gold of England; it is more probable they avoided a too rigid scrutiny of the treaty, from an anxiety that an alliance, which promised to be in every way beneficial to the country and to the sovereign, should be carried into effect with as much speed as possible.

The tender age of the young princess, however, still prevented her immediate union with the king, and in the interval a domestic tragedy occurred at court, of which the causes are as dark as the event was deplorable. It has been already noticed that James, whose better qualities were tarnished by an indiscriminate devotion to his pleasures, had, amid other temporary amours, selected as his mistress Lady Margaret Drummond, the daughter of a noble house, which had already given a queen to Scotland. At first little anxiety was felt at such a connexion; the nobles, in the plurality of the royal favourites, imagined there existed a safeguard for the royal honour, and looked with confidence to James's fulfilling his engagements with England; but his infatuation seemed to increase in proportion as

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xii. pp. 787, 792, inclusive.

† The portion of Cæcilia was 20,000 marks, equal to £13,333 English money of that age.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. pp. 825, 836.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 41.

the period for the completion of the marriage approached. His coffers were exhausted to keep up the splendid establishment of his mistress: large sums of money, rich dresses, grants of land to her relations, and needy domestics, all contributed to drain the revenue, whilst her influence must have been alarming. The treaty was yet unconfirmed by the oath of the king, and his wisest councillors began to dread the consequences. It was in this state of things that, when residing at Drummond castle, Lady Margaret, along with her sisters, Euphemia and Sybilla, were suddenly seized with an illness which attacked them immediately after a repast, and soon after died in great torture, their last struggles exhibiting, it was said, the symptoms of poison. The bodies of the fair sufferers were instantly carried to Dunblane, and there buried with a precipitancy which increased the suspicion, yet no steps were taken to arrive at the truth by disinterment or examination. It is possible that a slight misunderstanding between James and Henry concerning the withdrawing the title of King of France, which the Scottish monarch had inadvertently permitted to be given to his intended father-in-law,* may have had the effect of exciting the hopes of the Drummonds, and reviving the alarm of the nobles, who adopted this horrid means of removing the subject of their fears; or we may, perhaps, look for a solution of the mystery in the jealousy of a rival house, which shared in the munificence and disputed for the affections of the king.†

From the sad reflections which must have clouded

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. pp. 43, 44.

† The Lady Janet Kennedy, daughter of John lord Kennedy, had born a son to the king, whom James created Earl of Moray.

his mind on this occasion, the monarch suddenly turned, with his characteristic versatility and energy, to the cares of government.

Some time previous to this (but the precise date is uncertain) he provided the King of Denmark with vessels and troops for the reduction of the Norwegians who had risen against his authority. The Scottish auxiliaries, in conjunction with the Danish force and a squadron furnished by the elector of Brandenburg, were commanded by Christiern prince royal of Denmark, and the insurgent Norwegians for the time completely reduced, whilst their chief, Hermold, was taken prisoner and executed. James's fleet now returned to Scotland; the artillery and ammunition which formed their freight, were carried to the castle of Edinburgh, and a mission of Snowdon herald to the Danish king, to whom James sent a present of a coat of gold, evinced the friendly alliance which existed between the two countries.*

All was now ready for the approaching nuptials of the king. The pope had given his dispensation, and confirmed the treaties; James had renewed his oath for their observation, and the youthful bride, under the care of the Earl of Surrey, and surrounded by a splendid retinue, set out on her journey to Scotland. Besides Surrey and his train, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Dacre, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and other civil and ecclesiastical grandees, accompanied the princess, who was now in her fourteenth year; and, at Lambertton kirk, in Lammermuir, she was met by the Archbishop of Glasgow,

* This expedition of the Scottish ships to Denmark, in 1502-3, is not to be found in Pinkerton. Its occurrence is established beyond doubt by the MS. accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, and by the Historians of Denmark.—Lacombe, *Histoire de Dannemarc*, vol. i. p. 257.

the Earl of Morton, and a train of Scottish barons. The royal tents which had been sent forward, were now pitched for her reception; and according to the terms of the treaty, the Earl of Northumberland delivered her with great solemnity to the commissioners of the king. The cavalcade then proceeded towards Dalkeith. When she reached Newbattle, she was met by the prince himself, with all the ardour of a youthful lover, eager to do honour to the lady of his heart. The interview is described by an eye-witness, and presents a curious picture of the manners of the times. Darting, says he, like a hawk on its quarry, James eagerly entered her chamber, and found her playing at cards: he then, after an embrace, entertained her by his performance upon the clarichord and the lute: on taking leave, he sprung upon a beautiful courser without putting his foot in the stirrup, and pushing the animal to the top of his speed, left his train far behind.* At the next meeting the princess exhibited her musical skill, whilst the king listened on bended knee, and highly commended the performance. When she left Dalkeith to proceed to the capital, James met her, mounted on a bay horse, trapped with gold; he and the nobles in his train riding at full gallop, and suddenly checking, and throwing their steeds on their haunches, to exhibit the firmness of their seat. A singular chivalrous exhibition now took place: a knight appeared on horseback, attended by a beautiful lady, holding his bridle and carrying his hunting horn. He was assaulted by Sir Patrick Hamilton, who seized the damsel, and a mimic conflict took place, which concluded by the king throwing down his gage and calling "peace." On arriving at the suburbs, the

* Leland, Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 234.

princess descended from her litter, and, mounted upon a pillion behind the royal bridegroom, rode through the streets of the city to the palace, amid the acclamations of the people.* On the eighth of August, the ceremony of the marriage was performed by the Archbishop of St Andrew's, in the abbey church of Holyrood; and the festivities which followed were still more splendid than those which had preceded it. Feasting, masques, morris dances, and dramatic entertainments, occupied successive nights of revelry. Amid the tournaments which were exhibited, the king appeared in the character of the Savage Knight, surrounded by wild men disguised in goats' skins; and by his uncommon skill in these martial exercises, carried off the prize from all who competed with him. Besides the English nobles, many foreigners of distinction attended the wedding, amongst whom, one of the most illustrious was Anthony D'Arsie de la Bastie, who fought in the barriers with Lord Hamilton, after they had tilted with grinding spears. Hamilton was nearly related to the king; and so pleased was James with his magnificent retinue and noble appearance in honour of his marriage, that he created him Earl of Arran, on the third day after the ceremony.† De la Bastie also was loaded with gifts; the Countess of Surrey, the Archbishop of York,‡ the officers of the queen's household, down to her meanest domestic, experienced the liberality of the monarch; and the revels broke up, amidst enthusiastic aspirations for his happiness, and commendations of his unexampled generosity and gallantry.

* Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 286-7.

† *Mag. Sig.* xiii. 639. Aug. 11, 1503.

‡ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, sub anno 1503. August, 9, 11, 12, 13.

Scarce had these scenes of public rejoicing concluded, when a rebellion broke out in the north which demanded the immediate attention of the king. The measures pursued by James in the highlands and the isles, had been hitherto followed with complete success. He had visited these remote districts in person; their fierce chiefs had submitted to his power, and in 1495 he had returned to his capital, leading captive the only two delinquents, who offered any serious resistance—Mackenzie of Kintail, and Macintosh heir to the Captain of clan Chattan. From this period, till the year 1499, in the autumn of which the monarch held his court in south Kentire, all appears to have remained in tranquillity; but after his return (from what causes cannot be discovered) a complete change took place in the policy of the king, and the wise and moderate measures already adopted were succeeded by proceedings so severe as to border on injustice. The charters which had been granted during the last six years to the vassals of the isles, were summarily revoked. Archibald earl of Argyle, was installed in the office of lieutenant, with the ample and invidious power of leasing out the entire lordship of the isles.* The ancient proprietors and their vassals were violently expelled from their hereditary property; whilst Argyle and other royal favourites appear to have been enriched by new grants of their estates and lordships. We are not to wonder that such harsh proceedings were loudly reprobated: the inhabitants saw, with indignation, their rightful masters exposed to insult and indignity, and at last broke into open rebellion. Donald Dhu, grandson of John lord of the Isles, had been shut up for forty years,

* The island of Isla, and the lands of north and south Kentire, were alone excepted.

a solitary captive in the castle of Inchconnal. His mother was a daughter of the first Earl of Argyle; and although there is no doubt that both he and his father were illegitimate,* the affection of the islemen overlooked the blot in his scutcheon, and fondly turned to him as the true heir of Ross and Innisgail. To reinstate him in his right, and place him upon the throne of the Isles was the object of the present rebellion.† A party led by the Mac-Ians of Glenco, broke into his dungeon, liberated him from his captivity, and carried him in safety to the castle of Torquil Macleod in the Lewis; whilst measures were concerted throughout the wide extent of the Isles for the establishment of their independence, and the destruction of the regal power. Although James received early intelligence of the meditated insurrection, and laboured by every method to dissolve the union amongst its confederated chiefs, it now burst forth with destructive fury. Badenoch was wasted with all the ferocity of highland warfare,—Inverness given to the flames; and so widely and rapidly did the contagion of independence spread throughout the Isles, that it demanded the most prompt and decisive measures to arrest it. But James's power, though shook, was too deeply rooted to be thus destroyed. The whole array of the kingdom was called forth. The Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, and Marshal, with Lord Lovat and other barons, were appointed to lead an army against the islanders; the castles and strongholds in the hands of the king were fortified and garrisoned; letters were addressed to the various chiefs, encouraging the loyal by the rewards which awaited them, whilst over the heads of the wavering or disaffected, were suspended the terrors of forfeiture and

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 247.

† Ibid.

execution. But this was not all: a parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the eleventh of March, 1503,* and in addition to the above vigorous resolutions, the civilisation of the highlands, an object which had engrossed the attention of many a successive council, was again taken into consideration. To accomplish this end, those districts, whose inhabitants had hitherto, from their inaccessible position, defied the restraints of the law, were divided into new sheriffdoms, and placed under the jurisdiction of permanent judges. The preamble of the act complained in strong terms of the gross abuse of justice in the northern and western divisions of the realm,—more especially the Isles; it described the people as having become altogether savage, and provided that the new sheriffs for the north Isles should hold their courts in Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south, in the Taret of Lochkilkerran. The inhabitants of Dowart, Glendowart, and the lordship of Lorn, who for a long period had violently resisted the jurisdiction of the Justice Ayres or ambulatory legal courts, were commanded to come to the Justice Ayre, at Perth; and the districts of Mawmor and Lochaber, which had insisted on the same exemption, were brought under the jurisdiction of the Justice Ayre of Inverness. The divisions of Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Kentire, and the larger Cumray, were to hold their courts at Ayr, whilst the deplorable condition of Argyle was marked by the words of the act, “that the court is to be held wherever it is found that each highlander and lowlander may come without danger and ask justice,”—a problem of no easy discovery. The districts of Ross and Caithness, now separated from the sheriffdom of In-

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 239, 249.

verness, were placed under their own judges; and it was directed that the inhabitants of these three great divisions of the kingdom should as usual attend the Justice Ayre of Inverness.

It appears, that for the purpose of quieting the lowland districts, the king had adopted a system, not uncommon in those times, of engaging the most powerful of the resident nobles and gentry in a covenant or "band," which, under severe penalties, obliged them to maintain order throughout the country. By such means the blessings of security and good government had been enjoyed by Dumfries-shire, a district hitherto much disturbed; and the Earl of Bothwell now earnestly recommended a similar method to be pursued in the reduction of Teviotdale.

In the same parliament, a court of daily council was appointed, the judges of which were to be selected by the king, and to hold their sittings in Edinburgh. The object of this new institution was to relieve the lords of the "Session" of the confusion and pressure of business, which had arisen from the great accumulation of cases, and to afford immediate redress to those poorer litigants whose matters had been delayed from year to year. The ferocity of feudal manners, and the gradual introduction of legal subtleties were strikingly blended in another law passed at this time, by which it was directed, that no remissions or pardons were hereafter to contain a general clause for all offences, as it was found, that by this form, much abuse of justice had been introduced. A ferocious ruffian, for example, who, to the crime of murder, had, as was generally the case, added many inferior offences, in purchasing his remission, was in the practice of stating only the minor delinquency, and afterwards pleading that the murder was included

under the pardon. It was now made imperative, that before any remission was granted, the highest offence should be ascertained, and minutely described in the special clause; it being permitted to the offender to plead his remission for all crimes of a minor description. The usual interdiction was repeated against all export of money forth of the realm; forty shillings being fixed as the maximum, which any person might carry out of the country. The collection of the royal customs was more strictly ensured: it was enjoined, that the magistrates of all burghs should be annually changed; that no Scottish merchants should carry on a litigation beyond seas, in any court but that of the Conservator, who was to be assisted by a council of six of the most able merchants, and was commanded to visit Scotland once every year. The burghs of the realm were amply secured in the possession of their ancient privileges, and warning was given to their commissaries or head-men, that when any tax was to be proposed, or contribution granted by the parliament, they should be careful to attend and give their advice in that matter as one of the three Estates of the realm; a provision demonstrating the obsolescence of some of the former laws upon this subject, and proving that an attendance upon the great council of the kingdom was still considered a grievance by the more laborious classes of the community. With regard to the higher landed proprietors, they were strongly enjoined to take seisin, and enter upon the superiority of their lands, so that the vassals who held under them might not be injured by their neglect of this important legal solemnity; whilst every judge, who upon a precept from the Chancery had given seisin to any baron, was directed to keep an attested register of such proceeding in a court-book, to be lodged in the Exchequer.

It appears by a provision of the same parliament, that "the Green Wood of Scotland" was then utterly destroyed: a remarkable change from the picture formerly given in this work of the extensive forests which once covered the face of the country. To remedy this, the fine for the felling or burning of growing timber was raised to five pounds, whilst it was ordered that every lord, or laird, in those districts where there were no great woods or forests, should plant at the least one acre, and attempt to introduce a farther improvement, by enclosing a park for deer, whilst he attended also to his warrens, orchards, hedges, and dovecots. All park-breakers and trespassers within the enclosures of a landholder, were to be fined in the sum of ten pounds; and if the delinquency should be committed by a child, he was to be delivered by his parents to the judge, who was enjoined to administer corporal correction in proportion to its enormity. In the quaint language of the act, "the bairn is to be lashed, scourged, and dung, according to the fault." All vassals, although it was a time of peace, were commanded to have their arms and harness in good order, to be inspected at the annual military musters or weapon-schawings. By an act passed in the year 1457, it had been recommended to the king, lords, and prelates, to let their lands in "few farm;" but this injunction which, when followed, was highly beneficial to the country, had fallen so much into disuse, that its legality was disputed: it loosened the strict ties of the feudal system, by permitting the farmers and labourers to exchange their military services for the payment of a land rent; and although it promoted agricultural improvement, it was probably opposed by a large body of the barons, who were jealous of any infringement upon their privileges. The benefits

of the system, however, were now once more recognised. It was declared lawful for the sovereign, his prelates, nobles, and landholders, to "set their lands in feu," under any condition which they might judge expedient: taking care, however, that by such leases the annual income of their estates should not be diminished to the prejudice of their successors. No creditor was to be permitted to seize for debt, or to order the sale of, any instruments of agriculture; an equalisation of weights and measures was commanded to be observed throughout the realm; it was ordained that the most remote districts of the country, including the Isles, should be amenable to the same laws as the rest of the kingdom, severe regulations were passed for an examination into the proper qualifications of notaries; and an attempt was made to reduce the heavy expenses of litigation, and for the suppression of strong and idle paupers. The parliament concluded by introducing a law which materially affected its own constitution. All barons or freeholders, whose annual revenue was below the sum of one hundred marks of the new extent established in 1424, were permitted to absent themselves from the meeting of the three Estates, provided they sent their procurators to answer for them; whilst all whose income was above that sum were, under the usual fine, to be compelled to attend.*

Such were the most remarkable provisions of this important meeting of the three Estates; but in these times the difficulty did not so much consist in the making good laws, as in carrying them into execution. This was particularly experienced in the case of the Isles, where the rebellion still raged with so much violence, that it was found necessary to despatch a small

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 240-254.

naval squadron under Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton, two of the most skilful officers in the country, to co-operate with the land army, which was commanded by the Earl of Arran, lieutenant-general of the king.* James, who at present meditated an expedition in person against the broken clans of Eskdale and Teviotdale, could not accompany his fleet farther than Dumbarton.† The facility with which Wood and Barton reduced the strong insular castle of Carnburgh, which had attempted to stand a siege, and compelled the insurgent chiefs to abandon their attempts at resistance, convinced him, that in his attention to his navy, he had not too highly estimated its importance. Aware also of the uncommon energy with which the monarch directed his military and naval resources, and witnessing the rapidity with which delinquents were overtaken by the royal vengeance, Macleod, MacIain, and others of the most powerful of the island lords, adopted the wiser policy of supporting the crown, being rewarded for their fidelity by sharing in the forfeited estates of the rebels.‡

A temporary tranquillity having been thus established in the north, the king proceeded, at the head of a force which overawed all opposition, into Eskdale. Information was sent to the English monarch, requesting him to co-operate in this attempt to reduce the warlike borderers, whose habits of plunder were prejudicial to the security of either country; and Lord Dacre the warden, received his master's instructions to meet the Scottish king and afford him every assistance. He repaired accordingly to James's head quarters at Loch-

* Treasurer's Accounts, 1504. March 14.

† *Ibid.* sub anno 1504. April 18, 30; May 6, 9, 10, and 11.

‡ Treasurer's Accounts, 1504. May 7-11.

maben, and proceedings against the freebooters of these districts were commenced with the utmost vigour and severity. None, however, knew better than James how to combine amusement with the weightier cares of government. He was attended in his progress by his huntsmen, falconers, morris dancers, and all the motley and various minions of his pleasures, as well as by his judges and ministers of the law; and whilst troops of the unfortunate marauders were seized and brought in irons to the encampment, executions and entertainments appear to have succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity.* The severity of the monarch to all who had disturbed the peace of the country was as remarkable as his kindness and affability to the lowest of his subjects who respected the laws; and many of the ferocious borderers, to whom the love of plunder had become a second nature, but who promised themselves immunity because they robbed within the English pale, lamented on the scaffold the folly of such anticipation. The Armstrongs, however, appear at this time to have made their peace with the crown;† whilst the Jardines, and probably other powerful sept, purchased a freedom from minute inquiry, by an active co-operation with the measures of the sovereign.

On his return from the "Raid of Eskdale" to Stirling, James scarcely permitted himself a month's repose, which was occupied in attention to the state of his fleet, and in negotiation by mutual messengers with the Lord Aubigny in France, when he judged it necessary to make a progress across the Mounth as far as Forres; visiting Seone, Forfar, Aberdeen, and Elgin, inquiring into the state of this part of his dominions, scrutinizing

* Treasurer's Accounts, August 9, 1504; also under August 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 31. For the particulars, see the entries on this expedition.

† Ibid. 1504, September 2.

the conduct of his sheriffs and magistrates, and declaring his readiness to redress every grievance, were it sustained by the poorest tenant or labourer in his dominions.*

Soon after his return he received the unpleasant intelligence that disturbances had again broken out in the Isles, which would require immediate interference. In 1504, great efforts had been made, but with little permanent success, and the progress of the insurrection became alarming. Macvicar, an envoy from Macleod, who was then in strict alliance with the king, remained three weeks at court: Mac-Ian also had sent his emissaries to explain the perilous condition of the country; and, with his characteristic energy, the king, as soon as the state of the year permitted, despatched the Earl of Huntley to invade the Isles by the north, whilst himself in person led an army against them from the south; and John Barton proceeded with a fleet to reduce and overawe these savage districts.† The terror of the royal name; the generosity with which James rewarded his adherents; and the vigorous measures which he adopted against the disaffected, produced a speedy and extensive effect in dissolving the confederacy. Maclean of Dowart, Macquarrie of Ulva, with Macneill of Barra, and Macinnon, offered their submission, and were received into favour; and the succeeding year (1506) witnessed the utter destruction of Torquil Macleod, the great head of the rebellion, whose castle of Stornaway in Lewis was stormed by Huntley; whilst Donald Dhu, the captive upon whose aged head his vassals had made this desperate attempt to place the crown of the Isles, escaping

* Treasurer's Accounts, 1504, sub mense Oct. -See also Sept. 26.

† Ibid. 1505, Sept. 6.

the gripe of the conqueror, fled to Ireland, where he soon after died.*

It was now proper for the monarch to look to his foreign relations, to seize the interval of peace at home, that he might strengthen his ties with the continent. France, the ally of Scotland, had been too constantly occupied with hostilities in Italy, to take an interest in preventing the negotiations for the marriage of the king to the Princess of England. The conquest of the Milanese by the arms of Lewis the Twelfth, in which Robert Stuart lord of Aubigny had distinguished himself, and the events which succeeded in the partition of the kingdom of Naples between the Kings of France and Castile, concentrated the attention of both monarchs upon Italy, and rendered their intercourse with Britain less frequent. But when the quarrel regarding the division of the kingdom of Naples broke out between Ferdinand and Lewis, in 1503, and the defeats of Seminara and Cerignola had established the superiority of the Spanish arms in Italy, negotiations between Lewis and the Scottish court, appear to have been renewed. The causes of this were obvious. Henry the Seventh of England esteemed none of his foreign alliances so highly as that with Spain: his eldest son, Arthur, had espoused Catharine the Infanta; and, on the death of her husband, a dispensation had been procured from the Pope for her marriage with his brother Henry, now Prince of Wales. It was evident to Lewis, that his rupture with Spain was not unlikely

* Nor whilst the Bartons, by their naval skill secured the integrity of the kingdom at home, did the monarch neglect their interests abroad. Some of their ships, which had been cruising against the English in 1497, had been seized and plundered on the coast of Brittany, and a remonstrance was addressed to Lewis the Twelfth, by Panter, the royal secretary, which complained of the injustice, and insisted on redress. [*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. pp. 17, 18.]

to bring on a quarrel with England, and it became therefore of consequence to renew his negotiations with James the Fourth.

These, however, were not the only foreign cares which attracted the attention of the king. In the autumn of the year 1505, Charles D'Egmont duke of Gueldres, a prince of spirit and ability, who with difficulty maintained his dominions against the unjust attacks of the Emperor Maximilian, despatched his secretary on an embassy to the Scottish monarch, requesting his interference and support.* Nor was this denied him. The duke had listened to the advice of the Scottish prince when he requested him to withdraw his intended aid from the unfortunate Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, the representative of the House of York, who had sought a refuge at his court; and James now anxiously exerted himself in his behalf. He treated his envoy with distinction; despatched an embassy to the duke, which, in passing through France, secured the assistance of Lewis the Twelfth, and so effectually remonstrated with Henry the Seventh and the Emperor Maximilian, that all active designs against the duchy of Gueldres were for the present abandoned.†

In the midst of these transactions, and whilst the presence of Huntley, Barton, and the Scottish fleet was still necessary in the Isles, the more pacific parts of the country were filled with joy by the birth of a prince, which took place at Holyrood on the 10th of February, 1506. None could testify greater satisfaction at this event than the monarch himself.‡ He instantly despatched messengers to carry the news to the Kings of

* Accounts of the High Treasurer, 1505, Sept. 6.

† Ibid. 1506, July 6 and 8.—*Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* vol. i. pp. 21, 30, 34.

‡ To the lady of the queen's chamber, who brought him the first intelligence, he presented a hundred gold pieces and a cup of silver.

England, France, Spain, and Portugal; and, on the 23d of February, the baptism was held with magnificence in the chapel of Holyrood. The boy was named James, after his father; but the sanguine hopes of the kingdom were, within a year, clouded by his premature death.

At this conjuncture an embassy from Pope Julius the Second arrived at the court of Scotland. Alarmed at the increasing power of the French in Italy, this pontiff had united his strength with that of the Emperor Maximilian and the Venetians, to check the arms of Lewis, whilst he now attempted to induce the Scottish monarch to desert his ancient ally. The endeavour, however, proved fruitless. James, indeed, reverently received the papal ambassador, gratefully accepted the consecrated hat and sword which he presented, and loaded him and his suite with presents; he communicated also the intelligence which he had lately received from the King of Denmark, that his ally, the Czar of Muscovy, had intimated a desire to be received into the bosom of the Latin church; but he detected the political finesse of the warlike Julius, and remained steady to his alliance with France. Nay, scarcely had the ambassador left his court, when he proposed to send Lewis a body of four thousand auxiliaries to serve in his Italian wars, an offer which the rapid successes of that monarch enabled him to decline.

Turning his attention from the continent to his affairs at home, the king recognised with satisfaction the effects of his exertions, in enforcing, by severity and indefatigable personal superintendence, a universal respect for the laws. The husbandman laboured his lands in security, the merchant traversed the country with his goods, the foreign trader visited the markets of the various burghs and sea-ports fearless of plunder

or interruption; and so convinced was the monarch of the success of his efforts, that, with a whimsical enthusiasm, he determined to put it to a singular test. Setting out on horseback, unaccompanied even by a groom, with nothing but his riding cloak cast about him, his hunting knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds for his travelling expenses in his purse, he rode, in a single day, from Stirling to Perth, across the Mounth, and through Aberdeen to Elgin; whence, after a few hours' repose, he pushed on to the shrine of St Duthoc in Ross, where he heard mass. In this feat of bold and solitary activity, the unknown monarch met not a moment's interruption; and after having boasted, with an excusable pride, of the tranquillity to which he had reduced his dominions, he returned in a splendid progress to his palace at Stirling, accompanied by the principal nobles and gentry of the districts through which he passed.

Soon after, he despatched the Archbishop of St Andrew's and the Earl of Arran to the court of France, for the purpose of procuring certain privileges regarding the mercantile intercourse between the two countries, and to fix upon the line of policy which appeared best for their mutual interest regarding the complicated affairs of Italy. In that country an important change had taken place. The brilliant successes of the Venetians against the arms of Maximilian had alarmed the jealousy of Lewis, and led to an inactivity on his part, which terminated in a total rupture; whilst the peace concluded between the Emperor and James's ally and relative, the Duke of Gueldres, formed, as is well known, the basis of the league of Cambrai, which united, against the single republic of Venice, the apparently irresistible forces of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France

and Spain. For the purpose, no doubt, of inducing the king to become a party to this powerful coalition, Lewis now sent the veteran Aubigny to the Scottish court, with the President of Toulouse;* and the monarch, who loved the ambassador for his extraction, and venerated his celebrity in arms, received him with distinction. Tournaments were held in honour of his arrival; he was placed by the king in the highest seat at his own table, appealed to as supreme judge in the lists, and addressed by the title of Father of War. This eminent person had visited Scotland twenty-five years before, as ambassador from Charles the Eighth to James the Third; and it was under his auspices that the league between the two countries was then solemnly renewed. He now returned to the land which contained the ashes of his ancestors, full of years and of honour; but it was only to mingle his dust with theirs, for he sickened almost immediately after his arrival, and died at Corstorphine.†

Another object of Lewis in this embassy was to consult with James regarding the marriage of his eldest daughter, to whom Charles king of Castile, then only eight years old, had been proposed as a husband. Her hand was also sought by Francis of Valois dauphin of Vienne; and the French monarch declared that he could not decide on so important a question without the advice of his allies, of whom he considered Scotland both the oldest and the most friendly. To this James replied, that since his brother of France had honoured him by asking his advice, he would give it frankly as his opinion, that the princess ought to

* "Vicesima prima Martii antedicti, Gallie oratores, D^{nus} videlicet D'Aubeny et alter, supplicationum regie domus Magister, octoginta equis egregie comitati, urbuem ingressi snt, Scotiam petaturi."—Narratio Hist. de gestis Henrici VII. per Bernardum Andreani Tholosatem. Cottou. MSS. Julius A. iii.

† Lesley's History, Bannatyne edit. p. 77.

marry within her own realm of France, and connect herself rather with him who was to succeed to the crown than with any foreign potentate; this latter being a union out of which some colourable or pretended claim might afterwards be raised against the integrity and independence of his kingdom. The advice was satisfactory, for it coincided with the course which Lewis had already determined to follow.

Happy in the affections of his subjects, and gratified by observing an evident increase in the wealth and industry of the kingdom, the king found leisure to relax from the severer cares of government, and to gratify the inhabitants of the capital by one of those exhibitions of which he was fond even to weakness. A magnificent tournament was held at Edinburgh, in which the monarch enacted the part of the Wild Knight, attended by a troop of ferocious companions disguised as savages; Sir Anthony D'Arsie and many of the French nobles who had formed the suite of Aubigny, were still at court, and bore their part in the pageant of Arthur and his Peers of the Round Table, whilst the prince attracted admiration by the uncommon skill which he exhibited, and the rich gifts he bestowed; but the profuse repetition of such expensive entertainments soon reduced him to great difficulties.

The constant negotiation and intimacy between France and the Scottish court appear at this time to have roused the jealousy of Henry the Seventh. It required, indeed, no great acuteness in this cautious prince to anticipate the probable dissolution of the League of Cambrai, in which event he perhaps anticipated a revival of the ancient enmity of France, and the possible hostility of James. His suspicion was indicated by the seizure of the Earl of Arran and his

brother Sir Patrick Hamilton, who had passed through England to the court of Lewis, without the knowledge of Henry, and were now on their return. In Kent they were met by Vaughan, an emissary of England; and, on their refusal to take an oath which bound them to the observation of peace with that country, they were detained and committed to custody. To explain and justify his conduct, Henry despatched Dr West on a mission to the king, who resented the imprisonment of his subjects, and declared that they had only fulfilled their duty in refusing the oath. He declined a proposal made for a personal interview with his royal father-in-law, insisted on the liberation of Arran, and on these conditions agreed to delay, for the present, any renewal of the league with France. The imprisoned nobles, however, were not immediately dismissed; and, probably, in consequence of the delay, James considered himself relieved from his promise.

The death of the English king occurred not long after, an event which was unquestionably unfortunate for Scotland. His caution, command of temper, and earnest desire of peace, were excellent checks to the inconsiderate impetuosity of his son-in-law; nor, if we except, perhaps, the last-mentioned circumstance of the detention of Arran, can he be accused of a single act of injustice towards that kingdom, so long the enemy of England. The accession of Henry the Eighth, on the other hand, although not productive of any immediate ill effects, drew after it, within no very distant period, a train of events injurious in their progress, and most calamitous in their issue. At first, indeed, all looked propitious and peaceful. The Scottish king sent his ambassador to congratulate his brother-in-law of England on his accession to the

throne;* and the youthful monarch, in the plenitude of his joy on this occasion, professed the most anxious wishes for the continuance of that amity between the kingdoms which had been so sedulously cultivated by his father. The existing treaties were confirmed, and the two sovereigns interchanged their oaths for their observance; † nor, although so nearly allied to Spain by his marriage, did Henry seem at first to share in the jealousy of France which was entertained by that power; on the contrary, even after the battle of Agnadillo had extinguished the hopes of the Venetians, he did not hesitate to conclude a treaty of alliance with Lewis the Twelfth. All these fair prospects of peace, however, were soon destined to be overclouded by the pride and impetuosity of a temper which hurried him into unjust and unprofitable wars.

In the meantime Scotland, under the energetic government of James, continued to increase in wealth and consequence: her navy, that great arm of national strength, had become not only respectable, but powerful: no method of encouragement had been neglected by the king; and the success of his efforts was shown by the fact that, the largest ship of war then known in the world was constructed and launched within his dominions. This vessel, which was named the Great Michael, appears to have been many years in building, and the king personally superintended the work with much perseverance and enthusiasm. ‡ The family of

* *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 572.

† *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. xiii. pp. 261, 262.

‡ Her length was two hundred and forty feet, her breadth fifty-six to the water's edge, but only thirty-six within; her sides, which were ten feet in thickness, were proof against shot. In these days ships carried guns only on the upper deck, and the Great Michael, notwithstanding these gigantic dimensions, could boast of no more than thirty-five; sixteen on each side, two in the stern, and one in the bow. She was provided, however, with three hundred small artillery, under the names of myaud, culverins, and

the Bartons, which for two generations had been prolific of naval commanders, were intrusted by this monarch with the principal authority in all maritime and commercial matters: they purchased vessels for him on the continent, they invited into his kingdom the most skilful foreign shipwrights; they sold some of their own ships to the king, and vindicated the honour of their flag whenever it was insulted, with a readiness, and severity of retaliation which inspired respect and terror. The Hollanders had attacked a small fleet of Scottish merchantmen; plundering the cargoes, murdering the crews, and throwing the bodies into the sea. The affair was probably piratical, for it was followed by no diplomatic remonstrance; but an exemplary vengeance followed the offence. Andrew Barton was instantly despatched with a squadron, which captured many of the pirates; and, in the cruel spirit of the times, the admiral commanded the hogsheads which were stowed in the hold of his vessels to be filled with the heads of the prisoners, and sent as a present to his royal master.*

So far back as 1476, in consequence of the Bartons having been plundered by a Portuguese squadron, letters of reprisal were granted them, under the protection of which, there seems reason to believe that they more than indemnified themselves for their losses. The Portuguese, whose navy and commerce were at this time the richest and most powerful in the world, retaliated; and, in 1507, the *Lion*, commanded by

double dogs; whilst her complement was three hundred seamen, besides officers, a hundred and twenty gunners, and a thousand soldiers [M'Pherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 42.] The minuteness of these details, which are extracted from authentic documents, may be pardoned upon a subject so important as the navy.

* Lesley's *History*, Bannatyne edit. p. 74.

John Barton, was seized at Campvere, in Zealand, and its commander thrown into prison. The sons of this officer, however, having procured from James a renewal of their letters of reprisal, fitted out a squadron, which intercepted and captured at various times many richly-laden carracks returning from the Portuguese settlements in India and Africa; and the unwonted apparition of blackamoors at the Scottish court, and sable empresses presiding over the royal tournaments, is to be traced to the spirit and success of the Scottish privateers.

The consequence of this earnest attention to his fleet, was the securing an unusual degree of tranquillity at home. The islanders were kept down by a few ships of war more effectually than by an army; and James acquired at the same time an increasing authority amongst his continental allies. By his navy he had been able to give assistance on more than one occasion to his relative the King of Denmark; and while the navy of England was still in its infancy, that of the sister country had risen, under the judicious care of the monarch, to a respectable rank, although far inferior to the armaments of the leading navigators of Europe, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Venetians.

It was at this period, that the memorable invention of printing,—that art which, perhaps, more than any other human discovery, has changed the condition and the destinies of the world,—found its way into Scotland, under the auspices of Walter Chepman, a servant of the king's household.* Two years before, the skill

* He printed in the year 1508, a small volume of pamphlets, and soon after, the "Breviary of Aberdeen."

and ingenuity of Chepman appear to have attracted the notice of his royal master; and as James was a friend to letters, and an enthusiast in every new invention, we may believe, that he could not view this astonishing art with indifference. We know that he purchased books from the typographer; and that a royal patent to exercise his mystery was granted to the artist; the original of which still exists amongst our national records. The art, as is well known, had been imported into England by Caxton as early as the year 1474. Yet more than thirty years elapsed before it penetrated into Scotland,—a tardiness to be partly accounted for by the strong principle of concealment and monopoly.

Amidst all these useful cares, the character of the monarch, which could no longer plead for its excuse the levity or thoughtlessness of youth, exhibited many inconsistencies. He loved his youthful queen with much apparent tenderness, yet he was unable to renounce that indiscriminate admiration of beauty, and devotion to pleasure, which, in defiance of public decency and moral restraint, sought its gratification equally amongst the highest and lowest ranks of society. He loved his people, and would, in the ardent generosity of his disposition, have suffered any personal privation to have saved the meanest of his subjects from distress; but his thoughtless prodigality to every species of empiric, to jesters, dancers, and the lowest retainers about his court, with his devotion to gambling, impoverished his exchequer, and drove him in his distresses to expedients, which his better reason lamented and abandoned. Large sums of money also were expended in the idle pursuits of alchemy, and the equally vain and expensive endeavours for the

discovery of gold mines in Scotland: often, too, in the midst of his labours, his pleasures, and his fantastic projects, the monarch was suddenly seized with a fit of ascetic penitence, at which times he would shut himself up for many days with his confessor, resolve on an expedition to Jerusalem, or take a solitary pilgrimage on foot to some favourite shrine, where he wept over his sins, and made resolutions of amendment, which, on his return to the world, were instantly forgotten. Yet all this contradiction and thoughtlessness of mind was accompanied by so much kindness, accessibility, and warm and generous feeling, that the people forgot or pardoned it in a prince, who, on every occasion, showed himself their friend.

It was now two years since the accession of Henry the Eighth to the crown; and the aspect of affairs in England began to be alarming. The youthful ambition of the English king had become dazzled with the idle vision of the conquest of France; he already pondered on the dangerous project of imitating the career of Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth; whilst such was the affection of James for his ally, that any enterprise for the subjugation of that kingdom was almost certain to draw after it a declaration of war against the aggressor. Nor were there wanting artful and insidious friends, who, to accomplish their own ends, endeavoured to direct the arms of Henry against Lewis. Pope Julius the Second and Ferdinand of Spain having gained the object they had in view by the league of Cambrai, had seceded from that coalition, and were now anxious to check the successes of the French in Italy. The pontiff, with the violence which belonged to his character, left no measure unattempted to raise a powerful opposition against a monarch whose

arms, under Gaston de Foix and the Chevalier Bayard, were everywhere triumphant; and well aware that an invasion of France by Henry must operate as an immediate diversion, he exhausted all his policy to effect it: he at the same time succeeded in detaching the emperor and the Swiss from the league; and the result of these efforts was a coalition as formidable in every respect as that which had been arrayed so lately against the Venetians. Julius, who scrupled not to command his army in person, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry the Eighth, and the Swiss republics, determined to employ their whole strength in the expulsion of the French from the Italian states; and Lewis, aware of the ruin which might follow any attempt to divide the forces of his kingdom, found himself under the necessity of recalling his troops, and abandoning the possessions which had cost him so many battles.

These transactions were not seen by James without emotion. Since the commencement of his reign, his alliance with France had been cordial and sincere. A lucrative commercial intercourse, and the most friendly ties between the sovereigns and the nobility of the two countries, had produced a mutual warmth of national attachment; the armies of France had repeatedly been commanded by Scotsmen; and, throughout the long course of her history, whenever Scotland had been menaced or attacked by England, she had calculated without disappointment upon the assistance of her ally. As to the wisdom of this policy upon the part of her sovereigns, it would now be idle to inquire; it being too apparent that, except where her independence as a nation was threatened, that kingdom had everything to lose and nothing to gain by a war with the sister country. But these were not the days in which the

folly of a war of territorial conquest was recognised by European monarchs ; and the gallantry of the Scottish prince disposed him to enter with readiness into the quarrel of Lewis. We find him accordingly engaged in the most friendly correspondence with this sovereign, requesting permission, owing to the failure of the harvest to import grain from France, and renewing his determination to maintain in the strictest manner, the ties of amity and support.

At this crisis an event happened which contributed in no small degree to fan the gathering flame of animosity against England. Protected by their letters of reprisal, and preserving, as it would appear, a hereditary animosity against the Portuguese, the Bartons had fitted out some privateers which scoured the Western Ocean, took many prizes, and detained and searched the English merchantmen under the pretence that they had Portuguese goods on board. It is well known, that at this period, and even so late as the days of Drake and Cavendish, the line between piracy and legitimate warfare was not precisely defined, and there is reason to suspect that the Scottish merchants having found the vindication of their own wrongs and the nation's honour a profitable speculation, were disposed to push their retaliation to an extent so far beyond the individual losses they had suffered, that their hostilities became almost piratical. So, at least, it appeared to the English : and it is said that the Earl of Surrey, on hearing of some late excesses of the privateers, declared that " the narrow seas should not be so infested whilst he had an estate that could furnish a ship, or a son who was able to command it." He accordingly fitted out two men-of-war, which he intrusted to his sons Lord Thomas Howard and Sir

Edward Howard afterwards Lord High-admiral ; and this officer having put to sea, had the fortune to fall in with Andrew Barton, in the Downs, as he was returning from a cruise on the coast of Portugal. The engagement which followed was obstinately contested: Barton commanded his own ship, the *Lion*; his other vessel was only an armed pinnace: but both fought with determined valour till the Scottish Admiral was desperately wounded; it is said, that even then this bold and experienced seaman continued to encourage his men with his whistle,* till receiving a cannon shot in the body, it dropped from his hand, and he fell dead upon the deck. His ships were then boarded, and carried into the Thames; the crews, after a short imprisonment, being dismissed, but the vessels detained as lawful prizes. It was not to be expected that James should tamely brook this loss sustained by his navy, and the insult offered to his flag in a season of peace. Barton was a personal favourite, and one of his ablest officers; whilst the *Lion*, the vessel which had been taken, was only inferior in size to the "*Great Harry*," at that time the largest ship of war which belonged to England. Rothesay herald was accordingly despatched on the instant, with a remonstrance and a demand for redress; but the king had now no longer to negotiate with the cautious and pacific Henry the Seventh, and his impetuous successor returned no gentler answer than that the fate of pirates ought never to be a matter of dispute among princes.

It happened unfortunately that at this moment another cause of irritation existed: Sir Robert Ker,

* Lesley, Bannatyne edition, pp. 82, 83. Pinkerton, ii. 69, 70. A gold whistle was, in England, the emblem of the office of High-admiral. Kent's *Illustrious Seamen*, vol. i. p. 519.

an officer of James's household, master of his artillery, and warden of the middle marches, having excited the animosity of the borderers by what they deemed an excessive rigour, was attacked and slain by three Englishmen named Lilburn, Starhead, and Heron.* This happened in the time of Henry the Seventh, by whom Lilburn was delivered to the Scots, whilst Starhead and Heron made their escape; but such was the anxiety of the English king to banish every subject of complaint, that he arrested Heron, the brother of the murderer, and sent him in fetters to Scotland. After some years Lilburn died in prison, whilst Starhead and his accomplice stole forth from their concealment; and trusting that all would be forgotten under the accession of a new monarch, began to walk more openly abroad. But Andrew Ker, the son of Sir Robert, was not thus to be cheated of his revenge: two of his vassals sought out Starhead's residence during the night, although it was ninety miles from the Border, and, breaking into the house, murdered him in cold blood; after which they sent his head to their master, who exposed it with all the ferocity of feudal exultation, in the most conspicuous part of the capital; a proceeding which appears to have been unchecked by James, whilst its summary and violent nature could hardly fail to excite the indignation of Henry. There were other sources of animosity in the assistance which the English monarch had afforded to the Duchess of Savoy against the Duke of Gueldres, the relative and ally of his brother-in-law, in the audacity with which his cruisers had attacked and plundered a French vessel which ran in for protection to an anchorage off the

* The name as given by Buchanan, Book xiii. c. 26, is Starhead. Starhedus. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 71, has Sarked; but he gives no authority for the change.

coast of Ayr, and the manifest injustice with which he refused to deliver to his sister, the Queen of Scotland, a valuable legacy of jewels which had been left her by her father's will.

Such being the state of affairs between the two countries, an envoy appeared at the Scottish court with letters from the pope, whilst nearly about the same time arrived the ambassadors of England, France, and Spain. Henry, flattered by the adulation of Julius, who greeted him with the title of Head of the Italian League, had now openly declared war against France: and anxious to be safe on the side of Scotland, he condescended to express his regret, and to offer satisfaction for any violations of the peace. But James detected the object of this tardy proposal, and refused to accede to it. To the message of the King of France, he listened with affectionate deference, deprecated the injustice of the league which had been formed against him, and spoke with indignation of the conduct of England, regretting only the schism between Lewis and the See of Rome, which he declared himself anxious by every means to remove. Nor were these mere words of good will: he despatched his uncle, the Duke of Albany, as ambassador to the emperor, to entreat him to act as a mediator between the pope and the King of France, whilst the Bishop of Moray proceeded on the same errand to that country,* and afterwards endeavoured to instil pacific feelings into the College of Cardinals, and the Marquis of Mantua.

To the proposals of the ambassador of Ferdinand, who laboured to engage him in the papal league against Lewis, it was answered by the king, that his only desire was, to maintain the peace of Christendom; and

* *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* vol. i. p. 126-128.

so earnest were his endeavours upon this subject, that he summoned a general council for the purpose of deliberating upon the likeliest methods of carrying his wishes into effect. To secure the co-operation of Denmark, Sir Andrew Brownhill was deputed to that court, and letters which strongly recommended the healing of all divisions, and the duty of forgiveness, were addressed to the warlike Julius. It was too late, however: hostilities between France and the papal confederates had begun; and James, aware that his own kingdom would soon be involved in war, made every effort to meet the emergency with vigour. His levies were conducted on a great scale; and we learn from the contemporary letter of the English envoy then in Scotland, that the country rung with the din of preparation: armed musters were held in every part of the kingdom, not excepting the Isles, now an integral portion of the state: ships were launched—forests felled to complete those on the stocks—Borthwick, the master gunner, was employed in casting cannon; Urnebrig, a German, in the manufacture of gunpowder: the Great Michael was victualled and cleared out for sea: the castles in the interior dismantled of their guns, that they might be used in the fleet or the army: and the ablest sea officers and mariners collected in the various sea ports.* In the midst of these preparations the king visited every quarter in person—mingled with his sailors and artisans, and took so constant an interest in everything connected with his fleet, that it began to be rumoured he meant to command it in person. Yet whilst such was the hostile activity exhibited throughout the country, negotiations with England were continued, and both monarchs made

* Treasurer's Accounts, 1511, 1512.

mutual professions of their desire to maintain peace; Henry in all probability with sincerity, and James only to gain time. It was at this time that the Scottish queen gave birth to a prince in the palace of Linlithgow, on the tenth of April, 1512; who afterwards succeeded to the throne by the title of James the Fifth.*

Early in the year 1512, Lord Dacre and Dr West arrived as ambassadors from England, and were received with a studied courtesy, which seemed only intended to blind them to the real designs of Scotland. Their object was to prevail on the king to renew his oath regarding the peace with England; to prevent the sailing of the fleet to the assistance of the French; and to offer, upon the part of their master, his oath for the observation of an inviolable amity with his brother.† But the efforts of the English diplomatists were successfully counteracted by the abilities of the French ambassador De la Motte: they departed, with splendid presents, indeed, for the king delighted in showing his generosity even to his enemies, but without any satisfactory answer; and James, instead of listening to Henry, renewed the league with France, consenting to the insertion of a clause which, in a spirit of foolish and romantic devotion, bound himself and his subjects to that kingdom by stricter ties than before.‡ About the same time an abortive attempt by the Scots to make themselves masters of Berwick, and an attack of a fleet of English merchantmen by De la Motte, who sunk three, and carried seven in triumph into Leith, must be considered equivalent to a declaration of war. Barton, too, Falconer, Mathison, and other veteran sea officers, received orders to be on the look-

* Lesley, p. 84.

† Ibid. p. 85.

‡ MS. Leagues, Harleian, 1244, pp. 115, 116.

out for English ships; and, aware of the importance of a diversion on the side of Ireland, a league was entered into with O'Donnel, prince of Connal, who visited the Scottish court, and took the oath of homage to James: Duncan Campbell, one of the highland chiefs, engaged at the same time to procure some Irish vessels to join the royal fleet—which it was now reckoned would amount to sixteen ships of war, besides smaller craft; a formidable armament for that period, and likely, when united to the squadron of the king of France, to prove, if skilfully commanded, an overmatch for the navy of England. Yet James's preparations, with his other sources of profusion, had so completely impoverished his exchequer, that it became a question whether he would be able to maintain the force which he had fitted out. In a private message sent to Lord Dacre, the treasurer of Scotland appears to have stated that a present from Henry of five thousand angels, and the payment of the disputed legacy, which with much injustice was still withheld, might produce a revolution in his policy;* and it is certain that, on the arrival of letters from Lewis, instigating Scotland to declare war, the reply of the monarch pleaded the impossibility of obeying the injunction unless a large annuity was remitted by France. The borderers, however, of both countries had already commenced hostilities; and Robert Barton, acting under his letters of reprisal, and scouring the narrow seas, came into Leith after a successful cruize, with thirteen English prizes.†

In their mutual professions of a desire for peace both

* Letter, Lord Dacre to the Bishop of Durham, 17th of August. Caligula, B. iii. 3, quoted by Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 78. Also Letter, John Ainslow to the Bishop of Durham, 11th of September. Caligula, B. vi. 22.

† Lesley, Bannatyne edit. p. 85.

governments appear to have been insincere: Henry had determined to signalize his arms by the reconquest of Guienne, and only wished to gain time for the embarkation of his army; James, shutting his eyes to the real interests of his kingdom, allowed a devotion to Lewis, and a too violent resentment for the insult offered to his fleet, to direct his policy. To concentrate his strength, however, required delay. Repeated messages passed between the two courts; the Scottish prince, by his ambassador Lord Drummond, even proceeded so far as to offer to Henry a gratuitous remission of all the late injuries sustained by his subjects, provided that monarch would abandon the confederacy against France;* and although the proposal was rejected, Dr West again proceeded on an embassy to Scotland, of which his original letters have left us some interesting particulars. He found the king engrossed in warlike preparations, yet visited for the moment, by one of his temporary fits of penance, in which he projected an expedition to Jerusalem, animated equally by a romantic desire of signalizing his prowess against the infidels, and a hope of expiating the guilt which he had incurred in appearing in arms against his father. He had been shut up for a week in the church of the Friars Observants at Stirling; but the effect of this religious retirement seems to have been the reverse of pacific. He expressed himself with the utmost bitterness against the late warlike pontiff, Julius the Second, then recently deceased; declaring that, had he lived, he would have supported a council even of three bishops against him. He had resolved to send Forman the Bishop of Moray, and the chief author of the war against England, as ambassador to Leo the Tenth, the

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. pp. 347, 348.

new Pope; and it was reported that Lewis had secured the services of this able and crafty prelate by the promise of a cardinal's hat. To Henry's offers of redress for the infractions of the truce, provided the Scottish monarch would remain inactive during the campaign against France, he replied that he would not proceed to open hostilities against England, without previously sending a declaration by a herald; so that if the king fulfilled his intention of passing into France with his army, ample time should be allowed him to return for the defence of his kingdom. It was unequivocally intimated that peace with France was the only condition upon which an amicable correspondence could be maintained between the two kingdoms; and amongst minor subjects of complaint, Henry's continued refusal to send his sister's jewels was exposed in a spirited letter from that princess, which was delivered by Dr West on his return.*

La Motte soon after again arrived from France with a small squadron laden with provisions for the Scottish fleet, besides warlike stores and rich presents to the king and his principal nobles. About the same time the King of Denmark sent several ships into Scotland freighted with arms, harness, and ammunition, and O'Donnel, the Irish potentate, visited the court in person to renew his offers of assistance against England. But an artful proceeding of Anne of Brittany, the consort of Lewis, had, it was believed, a greater effect in accelerating the war than either the intrigues of the Bishop of Moray or the negotiations of La Motte. This princess who understood the romantic weakness of the Scottish king, addressed to him an epistle con-

* West to Henry, 1st April. MS. Letter, Brit. Mus. Calig. B. vi. 56. This letter is now printed in "Illustrations of Scottish History," (p. 76-89,) presented by Moses Steven, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

ceived in a strain of high-flown and amorous complaint. She described herself as an unhappy damsel, surrounded by danger, claimed his protection from the attacks of a treacherous monarch, and sent him, not only a present of fourteen thousand crowns, but the still more tender gift of a ring from her own finger—a token to her faithful knight upon whose ready aid she implicitly relied. She concluded her letter by imploring him to advance, were it but three steps, into English ground for the sake of his mistress, as she had already suffered much misconstruction in defence of his honour, and in excusing the delay of his expedition.* To another monarch than James an appeal like this would have been only excusable at a court pageant or a tournament; but such was his high-wrought sense of honour that there can be little doubt it accelerated his warlike movements; and when, soon after its delivery, intelligence arrived of the passage of the English army to France, and the opening of the war by Henry the Eighth in person, he at once considered all negotiation as at an end, issued his writs for a general muster of the whole force of his dominions, and ordered every ship in his service to put to sea.

The fleet which assembled evinces that the efforts of the king to create a navy had been eminently successful. It consisted of thirteen great ships, all of them, in the naval phraseology of the times, with three tops, besides ten smaller vessels, and a ship of Lynne lately captured. In addition to these there was the Great Michael, a thirty-oared galley which belonged to her, and two ships, the Margaret and the James, which, although damaged in a late gale, were now repaired and ready to put to sea. Aboard this fleet was

* Lindsay, p. 171. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 87.

embarked a force of three thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Arran, a nobleman of limited experience in the art of war; one of the principal captains of the fleet was Gordon of Letterfury,* a son of the Earl of Huntley; but unfortunately Arran's higher feudal rank and his title of Generalissimo included an authority over the fleet as well as the army, and this circumstance drew after it disastrous consequences. Why James should not have appointed some of his veteran sea officers, Barton, Wood, or Falconer, to conduct a navy of which he was so proud to its destination in France, is not easily discoverable, but it probably arose out of some hereditary feudal right which entailed upon rank a command due only to skill, and for which it soon appeared that the possessor was utterly incompetent.

Instead of obeying the orders which he had received from the king, who, with the object of encouraging his seamen, embarked in the *Great Michael* and remained on board till they had passed the *May*, Arran conducted the fleet to Carrickfergus, in Ireland, landed his troops, and stormed the town with much barbarity, sparing neither age nor sex.† The reckless brutality with which the city was given up to the unlicensed fury of the soldiery would at all times have been blameable, but at this moment it was committed during a time of peace, and against the express promise of the king; yet such was the folly or simplicity of the perpetrator, that with the spirit of a successful freebooter, he did not hesitate to put his ships about and return to Ayr with his plunder. Incensed to the utmost by such conduct, and dreading that his delay might totally

* Lesley, p. 87.

† Pinkerton's *Scottish Poems*, vol. i. p. 150.

frustrate the object of the expedition, James despatched Sir Andrew Wood, to supersede Arran in the command; but misfortune still pursued his measures, and before this experienced seaman could reach the coast, the fleet had again sailed. Over the future history of an armament which was the boast of the sovereign, and whose equipment had cost the country an immense sum for those times, there rests a deep obscurity. That it reached France is certain, and it is equally clear that only a few ships ever returned to Scotland. Of its exploits nothing has been recorded—a strong presumptive proof that Arran's future conduct in no way redeemed the folly of his commencement. The war, indeed, between Henry and Lewis was so soon concluded that little time was given for naval enterprise; and the solitary engagement by which it was distinguished, (the battle of Spurs,) appears to have been fought before the Scottish forces could join the French army. With regard to the final fate of the squadron, the probability seems to be that, after the defeat at Flodden, part, including the Great Michael, were purchased by the French government; part arrived in a shattered and disabled state in Scotland; whilst others which had been fitted out by merchant adventurers, and were only commissioned by the government, pursued their private courses, and are lost sight of in the public transactions of the times. But we must turn from these unsatisfying conjectures to the important and still more disastrous events which were passing in Scotland.

Although the war was condemned by the wisest heads amongst his council, and the people, with the exception of the borderers whose trade was plunder, deprecated the interruption of their pacific labours,

so great was the popularity of the king, that from one end of the country to the other, his summons for the muster of his army was devotedly obeyed. The lowland counties collected in great strength, and from the highlands and the remotest isles, the hardy inhabitants hastened under their several chiefs to join the royal banner. The Earl of Argyle, Mac-Ian of Ardnachan, Maclean of Dowart, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurcha, with many other barons, led their clansmen and vassals to support the quarrel of their sovereign, and within a short period James saw himself at the head of an army, which at the lowest computation was a hundred thousand strong.

On the same day in which his fleet had sailed, a herald was despatched to France, who found the English monarch in his camp before Terouen, and delivered a letter of which the tone was calculated to incense a milder monarch than Henry. It dwelt with some exaggeration upon the repeated injuries and insults which James had received from his brother-in-law. It accused him of refusing a safe conduct to his ambassador (a proceeding worthy only of an infidel power;) it upbraided him with a want of common justice and affection in withholding from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, the jewels and the legacy which had been left her by her father;* it asserted that the conduct of England, in a late meeting of the commissioners of the two countries on the Borders, had been deficient in honour and good faith; that Heron, the murderer of a Scottish baron, who was dear to the king, was protected in that country; that Scottish subjects in time of peace had been carried off in fetters across the

* Ellis's Letters, first series, vol. i. p. 64.—Queen Margaret to Henry the Eighth.

Border ; that Andrew Barton had been slaughtered and his ships unjustly captured by Henry's admiral ; whilst that prince not only refused all redress, but showed the contempt with which he treated the demand by declaring war against James's relative, the Duke of Gueldres, and now invading the dominions of his friend and ally the King of France. Wherefore, it concluded, " We require you to desist from farther hostilities against this most Christian prince, certifying your highness that in case of refusal we shall hold ourselves bound to assist him by force of arms, and to compel you to abandon the pursuit of so unjust a war."*

On perusing this letter, Henry broke out into an expression of ungovernable rage, and demanded of the Scottish envoy whether he would carry a verbal answer to his master. " Sir," said the Lion herald, " I am his natural subject, and what he commands me to say that must I boldly utter ; but it is contrary to my allegiance to report the commands of others. May it please your highness, therefore, to send an answer in writing—albeit the matter requires deeds rather than words—since it is the king my master's desire that you should straitway return home." " That shall I do (replied Henry) at mine own pleasure, and not at your sovereign's bidding," adding many injurious reflections upon the broken faith and treachery of the Scottish king ; to which the herald replied, as he had been instructed, by a denunciation of war. It was thought proper, however, that a graver answer should be sent to James's remonstrance, and a letter was

* These are not the exact words, but a paraphrase of the conclusion of the letter which exists in the British Museum. *Caligula*, B. vi. 49, 50. It has been printed by Holinshed, p. 135.

forthwith drawn up which in violence exceeded it; but as the herald was detained on his return in Flanders, and did not reach Scotland till after the fatal result of Flodden, it was never delivered to the king.*

The English monarch boasted, on being informed of James's resolution, that he had left the task of defending his dominions to a noble person who knew well how to execute it with fidelity, and he now addressed his orders to the Earl of Surrey, enjoining him with all expedition to summon the array of the northern counties, and to hold himself in readiness to resist the invasion. It was, indeed, high time to accelerate his levies, for Home the Lord-chamberlain, at the head of a force of eight thousand men had already burst across the English border, and after laying waste the country, was returning home with his booty. A long interval of peace, however, had been followed, as usual, by a decay of military skill amongst the Scots. The chamberlain neglecting his discipline, forgot to push on his piquets, but marching in a confused mass, embarrassed by the cattle which he drove before him, and thoughtless of an enemy, was surprised and defeated with great slaughter at a pass called the Broomhouse, by Sir William Bulmer. The action was, as usual, decided by the English archers, who, concealing themselves in the tall furze with which the place abounded, struck down the Scottish companies by an unexpected discharge of their arrows.† This being often repeated,

* "We cannot greatly marvel (says Henry to James) considering the ancient accustomable manners of your progenitors whiche never kept longer faithe and promise than pleased them. * * And if the example of the King of Navarre being excluded from his realme for the assistance given to the French King cannot restrain you from this unnatural dealing, we suppose ye shall have the assistance of the said French King as the King of Navarre hath nowe, who is a king without a realme."—Holinshed, p. 139.

† Holinshed, edit. 1808, p. 471. Hall, p. 556.

the confusion of their ranks became irrecoverable, and the English horse breaking in upon them gained an easy victory. Five hundred were slain upon the spot, and their leader compelled to fly for his life, leaving his banner on the field, and his brother Sir George Home with four hundred men prisoners in the hands of the English. The remainder, consisting of borderers more solicitous for the preservation of their booty than their honour, dispersed upon the first alarm, and the whole affair was far from creditable to the Scots. So much was the king incensed and mortified by the result of this action that his mind, already resolved on war, became impatient to wipe out the stain inflicted on the national honour, and he determined instantly to lead his army in person against England.

This was a fatal resolve, and appeared full of rashness and danger to his wisest councillors, who did not scruple to advise him to protract hostilities. The queen earnestly besought him to spare her the unnatural spectacle of seeing her husband arrayed in mortal contest against her brother; and when open remonstrance produced no effect, other methods were employed to work upon the superstition which formed so marked a feature in the royal mind. At Linlithgow, a few days before he set out for his army, whilst attending vespers in the church of St Michael, adjacent to his palace, a venerable stranger of a stately appearance entered the aisle where the king knelt; his head was uncovered, his hair, parted over his forehead, flowed down his shoulders, his robe was blue, tied round his loins with a linen girdle, and there was an air of majesty about him, which inspired the beholders with awe. Nor was this feeling decreased when the unknown visitant walked up to the king, and leaning over the reading

desk where he knelt, thus addressed him : “ Sir, I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in thy present undertaking—for if thou dost, it shall not fare well either with thyself or those who go with thee. Further it hath been enjoined me to bid thee shun the familiar society and counsels of women, lest they occasion thy disgrace and destruction.” The boldness of these words, which were pronounced audibly, seemed to excite the indignation neither of the king nor those around him. All were struck with superstitious dread, whilst the figure, using neither salutation nor reverence, retreated and vanished amongst the crowd. Whither he went, or how he disappeared no one, when the first feelings of astonishment had subsided, could tell, and although the strictest inquiry was made, all remained a mystery. Sir David Lindsay and Sir James Inglis, who belonged to the household of the young prince, stood close beside the king when the stranger appeared, and it was from Lindsay that Buchanan received the story.* The most probable conjecture seems to be, that it was a stratagem of the queen, of which it is likely the monarch had some suspicion, for it produced no change in his purpose, and the denunciation of the danger of female influence was disregarded.

On arriving at head-quarters, James was flattered with the evidence he had before him of the affectionate loyalty of his subjects. The war was unpopular with the nobles, yet such was the strength with which the lowland counties had mustered, and the readiness with which the remotest districts had sent their vassals, that he saw himself at the head of a noble army, admirably equipt, and furnished with a train of artillery superior to that which had been brought into the field

* Buchanan, xiii. 31. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 96.

by any former monarch of Scotland. Leaving his capital, and apparently without having formed any definite plan of operations, the monarch entered England on the twenty-second of August; encamping that night on the banks of the river Till, a tributary stream to the Tweed.* Here he seems to have remained inactive for two days; and, on the twenty-fourth, with the view of encouraging his army, he passed an act, that the heirs of all who fell in the present campaign, should not be subject to the common feudal fines, but should be free from the burdens of "ward, relief or marriage," without regard to age.† The proclamation is dated at Twiselhaugh and from this place he moved down the side of the Tweed, and invested the castle of Norham, which surrendered after a siege of a week. He then proceeded up the Tweed to Wark, of which he made himself master with equal ease; and advancing for a few miles, delayed some precious days before the towers of Etal and Ford—enterprises unworthy of his arms, and more befitting the raid of a border free-booter, than the efforts of a royal army. At Ford, which was stormed and razed,‡ Lady Heron, a beautiful and artful woman, the wife of Sir William Heron, who was still a prisoner in Scotland, became James's captive; and the king, ever the slave of beauty, is said to have resigned himself to her influence, which she employed to retard his military operations. Time was thus given for the English army to assemble. Had Douglas or Randolph commanded the host, they would have scoured and laid waste the whole of the north of England within the period that the monarch had already wasted; but

* Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry the Eighth*, Kennet, vol. ii. p. 18. Hall says the army amounted to a hundred thousand men.

† *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 278.

‡ Weber's *Flodden Field*, p. 186, 187.

James's military experience did not go beyond the accomplishments of a tournament; and although aware, that his army was encamped in a barren country, where they must soon become distressed, he idled away his days, till the opportunity was past.

Whilst such was the course pursued by the king, the Earl of Surrey, concentrating the strength of the northern counties, soon raised an army of twenty-six thousand men; and marching through Durham, received there the sacred banner of St Cuthbert. He was soon after joined by Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and other northern barons; and on proceeding to Alnwick, was met by his son, Lord Thomas Howard, who, on the death of his brother Sir Edward, had succeeded him in the office of Lord High-admiral of England, with a reinforcement of five thousand men.* On advancing with this united force, Surrey despatched Rouge Croix herald to carry his challenge to the King of Scots, which was couched in the usual stately terms of feudal defiance. It reproached him with having broken his faith and league, which had been solemnly pledged to the King of England, in thus invading his dominions,—and offered him battle on the succeeding Friday, if he would be content to remain so long in England and accept it. Lord Thomas Howard, added a message, informing the king, that as high-admiral, and one who had borne a personal share in the action against Andrew Barton, he was now ready to justify the death of that pirate, for which purpose he would lead the vanguard, where his enemies, from whom he expected as little mercy as he meant to grant them, would be sure to find him.

* Stow says five thousand. Lord Herbert, one thousand, Kennet, vol. ii. p. 18.

To this challenge, James instantly replied that “he desired nothing more earnestly than the encounter, and would abide the battle on the day appointed.” As to the accusation of broken honour, which had been brought against him, he desired his herald to carry a broad denial of the statement. “Our bond and promise,” he observed, “was to remain true to our royal brother, so long as he maintained his faith with us. This he was the first to break; we have desired redress, and have been denied it; we have warned him of our intended hostility,—a courtesy which he has refused to us; and this is our just quarrel, which, with the grace of God, we shall defend.” These mutual messages passed on the fourth of September; and on the day appointed, Surrey advanced against the enemy. By this time, however, the distress for provisions, the incessant rains, and the obstinacy of the king in wasting upon his pleasures, and his observation of the punctilios of chivalry, the hours which might have been spent in active warfare, had created dissatisfaction in the soldiers, many of whom deserted, with the booty they had already collected, so that in a short time the army was much diminished in numbers. To accept the challenge of his adversary, and permit him to appoint a day for the encounter, was contrary to the advice of his best councillors; and he might have recollected, that in circumstances almost similar, two great masters in war, Douglas and Randolph, had treated a parallel proposal of Edward the Third with a sarcastic refusal. He had the sagacity, however to change his first encampment for a stronger position on the hill of Flodden, one of the last and lowest eminences which detach themselves from the range of the Cheviots; a ground skilfully chosen, inaccessible on both flanks, and defended in

front by the river Till, a deep sluggish stream, which wound between the armies.

On advancing and reconnoitering the spot, Surrey, who despaired of being able to attack the Scots without exposing himself to the probability of defeat, again sent a herald, to request the king to descend from the eminence into the plain. He complained somewhat unreasonably, that James had “*putte himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent field for battle to be taxed ;” and hoping to work on the chivalrous spirit of the monarch, hinted that “such conduct did not sound to his honour ;” but James would not even admit the messenger into his presence. So far all had succeeded, and nothing was required on the part of the king but patience. He had chosen an impregnable position, had fulfilled his agreement by abiding the attack of the enemy ; and such was the distress of Surrey’s army in a wasted country, that to keep it longer together was impossible. He attempted, therefore, a decisive measure, which would have appeared desperate unless he had reckoned upon the carelessness and inexperience of his opponent. Passing the Till on the eighth of September, he proceeded along some rugged grounds on its east side to Barmoor Wood, about two miles distant from the Scottish position, where he encamped for the night. His march was concealed from the enemy by an eminence on the east of Ford ; but that the manœuvre was executed without observation, or interruption, evinced a shameful negligence in the Scottish commanders. Early on the morning of the ninth, he marched from Barmoor Wood, in a north westerly direction ; and then turning

* Letter of Surrey ; published by Ellis, vol. i. p. 86, 87 ; dated at “Woolerhaugh, the 7th day of Sept., at five of the clock in the afternoon.”

suddenly to the eastward, crossed the Till with his vanguard and artillery, which was commanded by Lord Howard, at Twisel bridge, not far from the confluence of the Till and the Tweed,—whilst the rear division, under Surrey in person, passed the river at a ford, about a mile higher up.

Whilst these movements were taking place, with a slowness which afforded ample opportunity for a successful attack, the Scottish king remained unaccountably passive. His veteran officers remonstrated. They showed him that if he advanced against Surrey, when the enemy were defiling over the bridge with their vanguard separated from the rear, there was every chance of destroying them in detail, and gaining an easy victory. The Earl of Angus, whose age and experience gave great weight to his advice, implored him either to assault the English, or to change his position by a retreat, ere it was too late; but his prudent counsel was only received by a cruel taunt,—“Angus,” said the king, “if you are afraid, you may go home;” a reproach which the spirit of the old baron could not brook. Bursting into tears, he turned mournfully away, observing, that his former life might have spared him such a rebuke from the lips of his sovereign. “My age,” said he, “renders my body of no service, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons, and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may the result be glorious, and Angus’s foreboding unfounded!” The army of Surrey was still marching across the bridge, when Borthwick the master of the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and earnestly solicited permission to bring his guns to bear upon the columns, which might be then done with the most destructive effect; but James commanded him to desist on peril of his

head, declaring, that he would meet his antagonist on equal terms in a plain field, and scorned to avail himself of such an advantage. The counsel of Huntley was equally ineffectual; the remonstrance of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a rough warrior, was received by James with such vehement indignation, that he threatened on his return to hang him up at his own gate. Time ran on amidst these useless altercations, and the opportunity was soon irrecoverable. The last divisions of Surrey's force had disentangled themselves from the narrow bridge; the rear had passed the ford; and the earl, marshalling his army with the leisure which his enemy allowed him, placed his entire line between James and his own country. He was thus enabled, by an easy and gradual ascent, which led to Flodden, to march upon the rear of the enemy; and without losing his advantage for a moment, he advanced against them in full array, his army being divided into two battles, and each battle having two wings.* On becoming aware of this, the king immediately set fire to the temporary huts and booths of his encampment, and descended the hill, with the object of occupying the eminence on which the village of Brankston is built. His army was divided into five battles, some of which had assumed the form of squares, some of wedges; and all were drawn up in line, about a bow-shot distance from each other.† Their march was conducted in complete silence; and the clouds of smoke which arose from the burning camp, being driven in the face of the enemy, mutually concealed the armies; so that when the breeze freshened, and the misty cur-

* Original Document in State-paper Office, entitled "Articles of the Bataill, betwixt the Kyng of Scottis, and the Erle of Surrey, in Brankston Field, the 9th day of September."

† Gazette of the Battle in the Herald's Office. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 456.

tain was withdrawn, the two hosts discovered that they were within a quarter of a mile of each other. The arrangement of both armies was simple. The van of the English, which consisted of ten thousand men, divided into a centre and two wings, was led by Lord Thomas Howard; the right wing being intrusted to his brother Sir Edmund, and the left to Sir Marmaduke Constable. In the main centre of his host, Surrey himself commanded; the charge of the rear was given to Sir Edward Stanley; and a strong body of horse, under Lord Dacre, formed a reserve. Upon the part of the Scots, the Earls of Home and Huntley led the vanguard or advance; the king, the centre, and the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, the rear; near which was the reserve, consisting of the flower of the Lothians, commanded by the Earl of Bothwell. The battle commenced at four in the afternoon by a furious charge of Huntley and Home upon the portion of the English vanguard under Sir Edmund Howard; which, after some resistance, was thrown into confusion, and totally routed. Howard's banner was beaten down; and he himself escaped with difficulty, falling back on his brother, the admiral's division. That commander, dreading the consequences of the defeat, instantly despatched a messenger to his father, Lord Surrey, entreating him to extend his line with all speed, and strengthen the van by drawing up a part of the centre on its left. The manœuvre was judicious, but it would have required too long a time to execute it; and at this critical moment, Lord Dacre galloped forward with his cavalry, to the support of the vanguard.* Nothing could have been more timely than this assistance; he not only checked the career of the Scottish earls, but,

* Letter of Lord Dacre, in Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 460.

being seconded by the intrepid attack of the admiral, drove back the division of Huntley with great slaughter, whilst Home's men, who were chiefly borderers, imagining they had already gained the victory, began to disperse and pillage. Dacre and the admiral then turned their attack against another portion of the Scottish vanguard, led by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who met them with levelled spears, and resolutely withstood the charge. Whilst such was the state of things on the right, a desperate contest was carried on between James and the Earl of Surrey in the centre. In his ardour, however, the king forgot that the duties of a commander were distinct from the indiscriminate valour of a knight; he placed himself in the front of his lances and billmen, surrounded by his nobles, who, whilst they pitied the gallant weakness of such conduct, disdained to leave their sovereign unsupported.* The first consequence of this was so furious a charge upon the English centre, that its ranks were broken; and for a while the standard of the Earl of Surrey was in danger; but by this time, Lord Dacre and the admiral had been successful in defeating the division led by Crawford and Montrose; and wheeling towards the left, they turned their whole strength against the flank of the Scottish centre, which wavered under the shock, till the Earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve, and restored the day in this quarter. On the right, the divisions led by the Earls of Lennox and Argyle were composed chiefly of the highlanders and islemen; the Campbells, Macleans, Macleods, and other hardy clans, who were dreadfully galled by the discharge of the English archers. Unable to reach the enemy with their broad-swords and

* Hall, p. 562.

axes, which formed their only weapons, and at no time very amenable to discipline, their squadrons began to run fiercely forward, eager for closer fight and thoughtless of the fatal consequences of breaking their array.* It was to little purpose that La Motte and the French officers who were with him attempted by entreaties and blows to restrain them; they neither understood their language nor cared for their violence, but threw themselves sword in hand upon the English. They found, however, an enemy in Sir Edward Stanley whose coolness was not to be surprised in this manner. The squares of English pikemen stood to their ground; and although for a moment the shock of the mountaineers was terrible, its force once sustained became spent with its own violence, and nothing remained but a disorganization so complete that to recover their ranks was impossible. The consequence was a total rout of the right wing of the Scots, accompanied by a dreadful slaughter, in which, amid other brave men, the Earls of Lennox and Argyle were slain. Yet, notwithstanding this defeat on the right, the centre under the king still maintained an obstinate and dubious conflict with the Earl of Surrey. The determined personal valour of James, imprudent as it was, had the effect of rousing to a pitch of desperate courage the meanest of the private soldiers, and the ground becoming soft and slippery from blood, they pulled off their boots and shoes, and secured a firmer footing by fighting in their hose. No quarter was given on either side; and the combatants were disputing every inch of ground, when Stanley, without losing his time in pursuit of the highlanders, drew back his division and impetuously charged the rear of the Scottish

* Buchanan, xiii. 33.

centre. It was now late in the evening, and this movement was decisive. Pressed on the flank by Dacre and the admiral, opposed in front by Surrey, and now attacked in the rear by Stanley, the king's battle fought with fearful odds against it; yet James continued by his voice and his gestures to animate his soldiers, and the contest was still uncertain when he fell pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head by a bill, within a few paces from the English earl, his antagonist. The death of their sovereign seemed only to animate the fury of the Scottish nobles, who threw themselves into a circle round the body and defended it till darkness separated the combatants. At this time Surrey was uncertain of the result of the battle, the remains of the enemy's centre still held the field, Home with his borderers hovered on the left, and the commander wisely allowed neither pursuit nor plunder, but drew off his men and kept a strict watch during the night. When the morning broke, the Scottish artillery were seen standing deserted on the side of the hill, their defenders had disappeared, and the earl ordered thanks to be given for a victory which was no longer doubtful. He then created forty knights on the field, and permitted Lord Dacre to follow the retreat; yet, even after all this, a body of the Scots appeared unbroken upon a hill, and were about to charge the lord admiral, when they were compelled to leave their position by a discharge of the English ordnance.* The soldiers then ransacked the camp and seized the artillery which had been abandoned. It consisted of seventeen cannon of various shapes and dimensions, amongst which were six guns admirable for their fabric and beauty, named by the late monarch

* Hall, in Weber's Flodden Field, p. 364.

the Six Sisters, which Surrey boasted were longer and larger than any in the arsenal of the King of England. The loss of the Scots in this fatal battle amounted to about ten thousand men.* Of these a great proportion were of high rank; the remainder being composed of the gentry, the farmers, and landed yeomanry who disdained to fly when their sovereign and his nobles lay stretched in heaps around them. Amongst the slain were thirteen earls—Crawford, Montrose, Huntley, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Casillis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn, the king's natural son the archbishop of St Andrew's who had been educated abroad by Erasmus, the bishops of Caithness and the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, and the Dean of Glasgow. To these we must add fifteen lords and chiefs of clans: amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurcha, Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, Campbell of Lawers, and five peers' eldest sons, besides La Motte the French ambassador, and the secretary of the king. The names of the gentry who fell are too numerous for recapitulation, since there were few families of note in Scotland which did not lose one relative or another, whilst some houses had to weep the death of all. It is from this cause that the sensations of sorrow and national lamentation occasioned by the defeat were peculiarly poignant and lasting; so that to this day few Scotsmen can hear the name of Flodden, without a shudder of gloomy regret. The body of James was found on the morrow amongst the thickest of the slain, and recognised by Lord Dacre, although much disfigured by wounds. It was carried to Berwick and ultimately

* Original Gazette of the battle preserved in the Herald's Office, London. Apud Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 456.

interred at Ricmond.* In Scotland, however, the affection of the people for their monarch led them to disbelieve the account of his death; it was well known that several of his nobles had worn in the battle a dress similar to the king's; and to this we may probably trace a report that James had been seen alive after his defeat. Many long and fondly believed that, in completion of a religious vow, he had travelled to Jerusalem, and would return to claim the crown.†

The causes which led to this defeat are of easy detection, and must be traced chiefly to the king himself. His obstinacy rendered him deaf to the advice of his officers, and his ignorance of war made his individual judgment the most dangerous guide. The days which he wasted in the siege of Norham and Etal, or squandered at Ford, gave his enemy time to concentrate his army, and, when the hosts were in sight of each other, he committed another error in permitting Surrey to dictate to him the terms on which they were to engage. A third blunder was the neglect of attacking the English in crossing the river, and his obstinacy in not employing his artillery, which might have broken and destroyed the enemy in detail, and rendered their defeat when in confusion comparatively easy. Last of all, James's thoughtlessness in the battle was as conspicuous as his want of judgment before it. When Surrey, mindful of his duty, kept himself as much as possible out of the deadly brunt of the conflict, and

* Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 181.

† Godwin in his Annals, p. 22, mentions, "That when James's body was found, his neck was opened in the middle with a wide wound, his left hand, almost cut off in two places, did scarce hang to his arm, and the archers had shot him in many places of his body." The sword and dagger of the unfortunate monarch are to be seen at this day preserved in the College of Arms in London, and have been engraved by the late Mr Weber as a frontispiece to the battle of "Flodden Field," an ancient poem published by that author.

was able to watch its progress and to give each division his prompt assistance, the Scottish monarch acted the part of Richard or Amadis, more solicitous for the display of his individual bravery and prowess, than anxious for the defeat of the enemy. It was a gallant but a fatal weakness, which cannot be sufficiently condemned; dearly expiated, indeed, by the death of the unfortunate prince himself, whose fate, some may think, ought to defend him from such severity of censure; but when we consider the flood of noble and of honest blood which was poured out at Flodden, and the long train of national misfortunes which this disaster entailed upon the country, it is right that the miseries of unnecessary warfare, and the folly of a thirst for individual glory, should be pointed out for the admonition of future ages.

The character of this monarch may be sufficiently understood by the history which has been given of his reign; and it is pleasing, in running over its most prominent features, to exchange censure for applause. His energy, firmness, and indefatigable activity in the administration of justice; his zeal for the encouragement of the useful arts; his introduction of the machinery of law and justice into the northern districts and the dominions of the Isles; his encouragement of the commerce and the agriculture of the country; his construction of a naval power; his provision for increasing the means of national defence by casting artillery, building forts, and opening by his fleet a communication with the remotest parts of his kingdom, were all worthy of high praise: whilst his kindness of heart, and accessibility to the lowest classes of his subjects, rendered him deservedly beloved. His weaknesses were, a too anxious desire for popularity, an extravagant love of amusement,

and a criminal profusion of expenditure upon pleasures which diminished his respectability in the eyes of his subjects, and injured them by the contagion of bad example. He was slain in the forty-second year of his age, leaving an only son, an infant, who succeeded him by the title of James the Fifth. His natural children by various mothers of noble blood as well as of homely lineage were numerous, and some of them who have hitherto escaped the research of the antiquary may be traced in the manuscript records of the high-treasurer.

CHAP. II.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1513—1524.

 CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII.	Lewis XII. Francis I.	Maximilian I. Charles V.	Philip I. Charles V.	Leo. X. Adrian VI. Clement VII.

THE news of the discomfiture of the Scottish army at Flodden spread through the land with a rapidity of terror and sorrow proportionate to the greatness of the defeat, and the alarming condition into which it instantly brought the country. The wail of private grief, from the hall to the cottage, was loud and universal. In the capital were to be heard the shrieks of women who ran distractedly through the streets bewailing the husbands, the sons, or the brothers, who had fallen, clasping their infants to their bosoms, and anticipating in tears the coming desolation of their country. In the provinces, as the gloomy tidings rolled on, the same scenes were repeated; and had Surrey been inclined, or in a condition to pursue his victory, the consequences of the universal panic were much to be dreaded; but the very imminency of the public danger was salutary in checking this violent outburst of sorrow in the capital. During the absence of the chief magistrates who had joined the army with the king, the merchants to

whom their authority had been deputed, exhibited a fine example of firmness and presence of mind. They issued a proclamation which was well adapted to restore order and resolution. It took notice of the rumour touching their beloved monarch and his army, which had reached the city, dwelt on its uncertainty, and abstained from the mention of death or defeat; it commanded the whole body of the townsmen to arm themselves at the sound of the common bell, for the defence of the city. It enjoined, under the penalty of banishment, that no females should be seen crying or wailing in the streets, and concluded by recommending all women of the better sort to repair to the churches, and there offer up their petitions to the God of battles, for their sovereign lord and his host, with those of their fellow citizens who served therein.*

It was soon discovered that, for the moment at least, Surrey had suffered so severely that he did not find himself strong enough to prosecute the victory, and an interval of deliberation was thus permitted to the country. Early in October, a parliament assembled at Perth, which from the death of the flower of the nobility at Flodden, consisted chiefly of the clergy.† It proceeded first to the coronation of the infant king, which was performed at Scone with the usual solemnity, but amid the tears, instead of the rejoicings of the people. Its attention was then directed to the condition of the country; but its deliberations were hurried, and unfortunately no satisfactory record of them remains. Contrary to the customary law, the regency was committed to the queen-mother, from a feeling of

* Hailes' Remarks on the History of Scotland, chap. viii.

† Daere to the Bishop of Durham, 29th Oct. Brit. Mus. Caligula, B. iii. 11, quoted in Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 112.

affectionate respect to the late king. The castle of Stirling, with the custody of the infant monarch, was intrusted to Lord Borthwick;* and it was determined, till more protracted leisure for consultation had been given and a fuller parliament assembled, that the queen should use the counsel of Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntley and Angus. It appears, however, that there was a party in Scotland which looked with anxiety on the measure of committing the chief situation in the government to a female, whose near connexion with England rendered it possible that she might act under foreign influence; and a secret message was despatched by their leaders to the Duke of Albany, in France—a nobleman, who, in the event of the death of the young king, was the next heir to the throne, requesting him to repair to Scotland and assume the office of regent, which of right belonged to his rank.†

In the meantime the apprehensions of the country were quieted by the intelligence that Surrey had disbanded his host—a proceeding to which that able commander was reduced not only by the loss which he had sustained, but by the impossibility of supporting an invading army without the co-operation of a fleet. It was probably on his own responsibility that Howard thus acted, for, on receiving accounts of the victory, whilst still in France, Henry appears to have been solicitous to follow up his advantage, and transmitted orders to Lord Dacre of the north, warden of the eastern marches, and Lord Darcy, directing them to make three principal incursions into Scotland. These orders were partially obeyed, and in various insulated

* Dacre to the King's Highness.—Harbottle, 13 Nov. Cal. B. vi. 38, d.

† Lesley, Bannatyne edit. p. 97. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 112.

inroads much devastation was committed by the English; but the retaliation of Home the warden of the Scottish marches, was equally prompt and destructive, whilst the only consequences from such mutual hostilities, were to protract the chances of peace by the exacerbation of national animosity.

The condition of the country, meanwhile, was alarming, and when men began to recover from the first impulses of grief, and to consider calmly the most probable schemes for the preservation of order, under the shock which it had received, the prospect on every side appeared almost hopeless. The dignified clergy, undoubtedly the ablest and best educated class in Scotland, from whose ranks the state had been accustomed to look for its wisest councillors, were divided into feuds amongst themselves, occasioned by the vacant benefices. The Archbishop of St Andrew's, the Prelates of Caithness and the Isles, with other ecclesiastical dignitaries, had fallen in the field of Flodden, and the intrigues of the various claimants distracted the church and the council. There were evils also to be dreaded from the character and the youth of the queen-mother. Margaret had been married at fourteen, and was now only twenty-four: her talents were of so high an order that they drew forth the unbiassed encomium of Surrey, Dacre, and Wolsey; but there were some traits in her disposition which remind us of her brother, Henry the Eighth. Her resentments were hasty, her firmness sometimes degenerated into obstinacy, her passions were often too strong for her better judgment; her beauty, vivacity, and high accomplishments, were fitted to delight and adorn a court, but imparted an early devotion to pleasure, too much encouraged by the example of the late king; and which his sudden

and unhappy fate rather checked than eradicated. For a while, however, the excess of grief, and her situation, which promised an increase to the royal family, kept her in retirement, and rendered her an object of deep interest to the people.

The Duke of Albany had now received the invitation from the lords of his party; and unable instantly to obey it in person, he sent over the *Sieur D'Arsie de la Bastie*,* the same accomplished knight whom we have seen a favourite of James the Fourth, and who was already personally known to many of the Scottish nobles. Along with him came the Earl of Arran, who, since the unfortunate result of his naval expedition, by which the late king had been so deeply incensed, appears to have remained in France, in command of that portion of the fleet which was the property of the crown; the remainder, consisting of merchant vessels commissioned by government, having probably long ago dispersed on private adventure. He was cousin-german to Albany: the former being the son of Mary, sister to James the Third; the latter of Alexander, the brother of that prince, whose treason, as we have seen, against the government in 1482, did not scruple to aim at the crown, and even to brand the reigning monarch with illegitimacy. Arran still bore the title of high-admiral, and brought to Scotland a few ships, the three largest vessels having been left behind in France. His high birth and near relationship to the royal family impressed him with the idea that his interference would be respected; but his abilities were of an inferior order, and he found many proud nobles ready to dispute his authority. Amongst these, the principal were Home the chamberlain; the Earl of

* Lesley, p. 97.

Angus, the recent death of whose father and grandfather had placed him, when still a young man, at the head of the potent house of Douglas; and the Earls of Huntley and Crawford, who were the most influential lords in the north. Between Home and Angus, a deadly feud existed—the lesser nobles and gentry in the south joining themselves to one side or the other, as seemed most agreeable to their individual interests; whilst in Athole, and other northern districts, bands of robbers openly traversed the country; and on the Borders, the dignities and revenues of the church, and the benefices of the inferior clergy, became the subjects of violent and successful spoliation.*

In the midst of these scenes of public disorder, repeated attempts were made to assemble the parliament; but the selfishness of private ambition, and the confusion of contradictory councils, distracted the deliberations of the national council; and the patriotic wisdom of the venerable Elphinston in vain attempted to compose their differences.† It was, however, determined that for the immediate repressing of the disturbances, the Earl of Crawford should be appointed chief justice to the north of the Forth, and Home to the same office in the south; whilst, in contemplation of the continuance of the war with England, an attempt was made to derive assistance from the courts of Denmark and France. To the sovereigns of both these countries Scotland had been profuse of her assistance in troops and in money: the insurrection of the Norwegians against the Danish monarch had been put down by her instrumentality; and the war with England, which had

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 120.

† Dacre to the King, 10th March, Caligula, B. vi, 48. quoted in Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 219.

cost the country so dear, had been undertaken at the instigation of France ; yet from neither the one nor the other did the Scots, in their day of calamity, receive anything more substantial than promises. The present policy of Lewis the Twelfth, who had been reduced to extremity by the league formed against him, rendered this monarch solicitous for peace with England, and fearful of any step which might exasperate its sovereign. He not only, therefore, refused all active assistance, but ungenerously threw difficulties in the way of Albany's departure, pretending that he could not dispense with the services of so valuable a subject : a mortifying lesson to Scotland upon the folly of her foreign alliances, but of which she had not yet the wisdom to make the proper use.

In the midst of this disturbance at home, and disappointment abroad, the queen-mother was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross ; whilst a parliament, which met immediately after her recovery, confirmed her in the regency, and appointed "three wise lords," whose names do not appear, to have the keeping of the young king and his brother.* Yet, in spite of every endeavour to allay them, the disorders of the country continued ; and whilst the queen corresponded with her brother, lamenting the selfish ambition and fierce independence of Home, who arrogated to himself an almost royal authority, that monarch ungenerously abused her information, by directing his wardens of the Border to repeat their inroads, and carry havoc and war into the defenceless country. It was a miserable feature of feudal Scotland (it may be said, indeed, of feudal Europe) that a woman of any wealth or rank, who was

* Margaret to Dacre, Caligula, B. vi. 78.

deprived of the protection of a husband or father. became an object of attack, liable to be invaded in her castle and carried off by some of those remorseless barons, who, in the prosecution of their daring ends, little recked the means they used. The greater the prize, the more certain and alarming was the danger; and as the possession of the person of the infant monarch gave to any faction which obtained it the chief influence in the government, we may easily understand that the queen-mother, surrounded by a fierce and ambitious nobility, for the suppression of whose lawless proceedings the authority with which she had been intrusted was insufficient, soon began to long for some more powerful protector. That Margaret, therefore, should have thought of a second marriage was by no means extraordinary; but when it was declared that, without any previous consultation with her council, she had suddenly given her hand to the Earl of Angus, her best friends regretted her choice. It was evidently a match not so much of policy, as of passion, for Angus is described by the sagacious Dacre as "childish young, and attended by no wise councillors;" but his person and countenance were beautiful, his accomplishments showy and attractive, whilst his power, as the head of the house of Douglas, was equal, if not superior, to that of any baron in the kingdom. The queen herself was still in the bloom of her youthful charms; and when her affections fixed upon Angus, she only waited for her recovery from childbirth, to hurry into marriage with a precipitancy which was scarcely decorous, and certainly unwise. By the terms of the royal will, it at once put an end to her regency; and although Angus flattered himself that his new title, as husband of the queen, would confer upon him the tutelage of

the infant sovereign, he was met by an opposition far more powerful than he anticipated.

The peace between France and England was now concluded; and although Scotland was embraced in the treaty at the desire of Lewis, the cold and cautious terms in which that country was mentioned, might have convinced her rulers of the folly which had squandered so much treasure, and sacrificed so much national prosperity, for a sovereign whose gratitude lasted no longer than his necessity. It was stated that if, upon notification of the peace, the Scots were desirous of being included, there should be no objection urged to their wishes;* but if, after intimation of these terms, which was to be made before the fifteenth of September, any invasions took place on the Borders, the clause comprehending that country was to be of no effect. No invasion of any note did take place, but minor inroads on both sides disturbed, as usual, the peace of the marches; and the difficulty of adjusting these in the courts of the wardens, with the desire to postpone all leading measures till the arrival of Albany, occasioned a delay of eight months before Scotland acceded to the treaty.

One of the immediate effects of the imprudent marriage of the queen seems to have been, the separation of the nobility and the country into two great factions, which took the names of the English and French parties. At the head of the former were Angus and the queen; indeed, if we except the great power and widely ramifying vassalage of the House of Douglas, there were few other permanent sources of strength on which they could build their hopes. The latter, the French faction, embraced almost the whole nobility, and was supported by the sympathies of the people. The fatal

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.

defeat at Flodden was yet fresh in their memory, and revenge, a natural feeling, to which the principles of the feudal system added intensity, prompted them to fruitless desires for a continuance of the war; a jealousy of the interference of Henry, a certainty that the queen-mother had entered into an intimate correspondence with this monarch, consulting him upon those public measures which ought to have been regulated by the council and the parliament, and a recollection of the intolerable domination, once exercised by the House of Douglas, all united to increase the numbers of the French faction, and to cause a universal desire for the arrival of the Duke of Albany. Nor could this event be much longer delayed. Lewis had now no pretext for his detention; the peace with England was concluded, the sentence of forfeiture, which had excluded the duke from the enjoyment of his rank and estates in Scotland was removed, and the condition of the country called loudly for some change.

At this crisis, by the death of the venerable and patriotic Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen, was removed the only man who seemed to possess authority in the state, an occurrence which increased the struggles of ecclesiastical ambition.* It was the intention of the queen to have appointed Elphinston to the archbishopric of St Andrews, but on his death she nominated to that see the celebrated Gawin Douglas, her husband's uncle,—a man whose genius, had this been the only requisite for the important dignity, was calculated to bestow distinction upon any situation. Hepburn, however, Prior of St Andrew's, a churchman of a turbulent and factious character, had interest enough with the chapter to secure his own election; whilst Forman bishop of Moray, the per-

* Lesley, p. 100.

sonal favourite of the late king, whose foreign negotiations and immense wealth, gave him great influence at the court of Rome, was appointed to fill the vacant see by a papal bull, which he for a while did not dare to promulgate. An indecent spectacle was thus exhibited, which could not fail to lower the church in the eyes of the people: the servants of Douglas, supported by his nephew and the queen, had seized the archiepiscopal palace, but were attacked by Hepburn, who carried the fortress, and kept possession of it, although threatened by Angus with a siege. Forman, however, had the address to secure the interest of Home the chamberlain, and a treaty having been entered into, in which money was the chief peacemaker, it was agreed, that Hepburn should surrender the castle, on condition of retaining the revenues which he had already collected, and receiving for his nephew the rich priory of Coldingham.*

These ecclesiastical commotions, however, were surpassed in intensity by the feuds amongst the nobles, who traversed the country at the head of large bodies of their armed vassals, and waged private war against each other with a ferocity which defied all interference. The Earl of Arran, encouraged by the protracted delay of Albany, aspired to the regency; and being joined by the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, declared war against Angus, who narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade which was laid for his destruction. The castle of Dumbarton was seized by Lennox; and Erskine the governor, who held it for the queen, was expelled from his place. Dunbar, the most important fortress in the kingdom, was delivered to the French knight, de la Bastie, who claimed it as that part of

* Lesley, p. 101.

the earldom of March which belonged to his master, Albany. Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, a prelate of a selfish and intriguing temper, keenly supported the interests of the French party; whilst the Earl of Huntley, one of the most powerful barons in the north, threw his influence into the scale of the queen and Angus, which was supported also by Lord Drummond and the Earl Marshal.*

Under this miserable state of things, Henry the Eighth, by means of his able minister, Lord Dacre, who entertained many Scottish spies in his pay, kept up a regular correspondence with the queen, and availed himself of their confusion, to acquire a paramount influence over the affairs of the country. He even carried his intrigues so far as to make a secret proposal to Margaret for her immediate flight with the infant monarch and his brother into England, a scheme which amounted to nothing less than treason: the agents in this plot were Williamson, one of the creatures of Dacre, an English ecclesiastic resident in Scotland, and Sir James Inglis the secretary of the queen. Margaret, in reply, regretted that she was not a private woman, able to fly with her children from the land where she was so unhappy, but a queen, who was narrowly watched; whilst any failure in such an attempt might have cost her servants their heads, and herself her liberty. It is, perhaps, not extraordinary, that such a scheme should be regarded with no very strong feeling of revolt by the youthful queen, to whom Henry artfully held out the inducement of her son being declared heir-apparent to the English throne. But that Angus, and his uncle Douglas should have

* Orig. Letter, quoted by Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 126, Sir James Inglis to Williamson, 22d Jan. 1515. Caligula, B. i. 22; also B. vi. 114. Adam Williamson to the Bishop of Dunkeld.

entertained the proposal, that they should rather have declined it as dangerous and not strictly honest, than cast it from them as an insult to their feelings of national honour and individual integrity, presents the principles of these eminent persons in no favourable light. Meanwhile, although baffled in the perpetration of this project, the intrigues of Dacre contributed greatly to strengthen the English faction, and Home, whose formidable power and daring character rendered his accession no light matter, embraced the party of the queen.

Albany, who had long delayed his voyage, now began to think in earnest of repairing to Scotland. The death of Lewis the Twelfth, which had been followed by the accession of Francis the First, was accompanied by no material change in the policy of his kingdom towards her ancient ally; and an embassy was despatched to induce the Scottish government to delay no longer accepting those terms by which they were comprehended in the peace between France and England. In a letter from the Council of State, this request was complied with, on the ground, that although not so far weakened by their recent disaster, as to doubt they should be soon able to requite their enemies; yet, for the love they bore to France, and their zeal for the crusade against the infidels, which was then in agitation, they would be sorry that Scotland should oppose itself to a general peace.*

Scarce had Le Vaire and Villebresme, the French ambassadors, received this favourable answer, when, on the eighteenth of May, the Duke of Albany, with a squadron of eight ships, came to anchor at Dumbarton.†

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 509.

† These vessels appear to have been the remains of that fleet which James

His arrival had been anxiously expected, he landed amidst the unaffected joy of all who desired the re-establishment of good government in the country; and he was soon after installed in the office of Regent;* but the task of restoring order, was one of no easy execution; and even to a statesman of far superior talents, some of the difficulties which presented themselves would have been almost insurmountable. The intrigues of Henry the Eighth, conducted with much skill and judgment by Lord Dacre, had separated from his party some of the most potent of the nobility, who at a former period anxiously requested his presence; and many good men, who anxiously desired a continuance of peace, and deplored the calamities which an unnecessary war had already entailed upon the country, dreading the politics of Albany, which soon disclosed an unreasonable animosity to England, threw their influence into the faction which opposed him: others, indeed, resented the interference of England in the Scottish councils, deeming it impolitic and unnatural, that the monarch who had slain the father, and shed with unexampled profusion the noblest blood in the land, should be selected as the favoured counsellor of the infant successor and his widowed mother. To assert their independence as a kingdom, and to cherish a hope of revenge, were the principles which actuated no inconsiderable party; nor is it to be doubted, that amongst the great body of the people these feelings were regarded with applause. Of this numerous class the new regent might have easily secured the support,

had despatched, under the Earl of Arran, to the assistance of the French monarch, and whose building and outfit had cost the country so large a sum. Lesley, p. 102.

* He was made Regent on the 10th July. Dacre to the Council. Calig. B. ii. 341. Kirkoswald, 1st August.

had he not alienated them by a too servile devotion to France; whilst the English party brought forward very plausible arguments to show the danger of intrusting the government of the kingdom, or the custody of the sovereign and his brother, to one so circumstanced as Albany. From his father, who had traitorously attempted to seize the crown, and to brand the royal family with the stain of illegitimacy, he was not likely, they said, to imbibe very loyal ideas; whilst the late instance in England, of the crimes of Richard the Third, would not fail to suggest a lesson of successful usurpation and murder to a Scottish usurper, between whom and his title to the throne there stood only the slender lives of two infants. Even setting aside these weighty considerations, they contended, that he evinced nothing of the feelings or national independence of a Scotsman. He was ignorant of the constitution, of the language, of the manners of the country: his loyalty to the French king, whom he constantly styled his master; his ties to that kingdom, where his life had been spent, his honours won, and his chief estates were situated; his descent from a French mother, and marriage with the Countess of Auvergne, were all enumerated, and with much plausibility, as circumstances which incapacitated him from feeling that ardent and exclusive interest in Scotland which ought to be found in him to whom the regency was committed. When to all this it is added, that Albany was passionate in his temper, and sometimes capricious and wavering in his policy, it was not expected that his government would be attended with much success.

Yet these prognostications were not verified, and his first measures contradicted such surmises by the

steady determination which they evinced to put down the English party, and to curb the insolence of power which had been shown by the supporters of Angus and the queen. Lord Drummond, grandfather to Angus, and constable of Stirling castle, was committed prisoner to the castle of Blackness, for an insult offered to Lion herald in the queen's presence.* Soon after, Gawin Douglas, the talented and learned bishop of Dunkeld and uncle to Angus, was shut up in the sea tower of St Andrew's, on a charge of having illegally procured his nomination to that see by the influence of Henry the Eighth with the papal court: it was in vain that the queen implored, even with tears, the pardon and delivery of her councillors,—the first, recommended by his venerable age, and steady attachment to the royal family, the other by his distinguished talents. Albany was unmoved; and the supporters of the queen, with the exception of Home and Angus, shrunk from an alliance which exposed them to so severe a reckoning.†

But the most important affair, and one which required immediate attention, was the custody of the young monarch and his brother. These princes were still under the charge of their mother, the queen-dowager. The negotiations, however, into which she had entered with Henry the Eighth, and in the course of which Williamson and Dacre had almost prevailed on her to deliver the royal children to England, proved clearly that since her new connexion with Angus, she was unworthy to remain their protector. The regent, therefore, wisely judged that no time ought to be lost

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 284. Calig. B. vi. 105. Remembrance of an Informacion by me, Margaret, Quene of Scots.

† Queen Margaret's Remembrance. Calig. B. vi. 105.

in removing them from her charge ; and for this purpose, a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh. The measures which were adopted, appear to have been framed with as much attention to the feelings of the mother, as was compatible with the security of the princes. Eight lords were nominated by the parliament, out of which number four were to be chosen by lot ; and from these Margaret was to select three, to whose custody the king and his brother were to be committed. This having been done, the three peers proceeded to the castle of Edinburgh, where the commands of the parliament were to be carried into effect : but nothing was farther than obedience from the mind of the queen. When the nobles approached, the gates of the fortress were thrown open, disclosing to the populace, who rent the air with their acclamations, their royal mistress standing at the entrance, with the king at her side, his hand locked in hers, and a nurse behind, who held his infant brother in her arms.* The sight was imposing ; nor was its effect diminished, when, with an air of dignity, and a voice, whose full tones all could distinctly hear, she bade them stand and declare their errand. On their answer, that they came in the name of the parliament, to receive from her their sovereign and his brother, the princess commanded the warder to drop the portcullis, and that massive iron barrier having instantly descended between her and the astonished delegates, she thus addressed them :—“ I hold this castle by the gift of my late husband, your sovereign, who also intrusted to me the keeping and government of my children, nor shall I yield them to any person whatsoever ; but I respect

* Dacre to the Council. Caligula, B. ii. 341 ; an interesting original letter, first opened by the research of Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 137.

the parliament, and require a respite of six days to consider their mandate." Alarmed for the consequences of this refusal, which, if persevered in, amounted to treason, Angus, who stood beside the queen, entreated her to obey the order of the parliament, and took a notarial instrument on the spot, that he had consented to the surrender of the children; but Margaret was firm, and the peers retired to acquaint the regent with their ill success.*

Meanwhile, their mother removed them from Edinburgh castle, which she dreaded could not be defended against the forces of the parliament, to Stirling, a city more completely devoted to her interest. She then transmitted her final answer to the regent: it proposed, that the children should be committed to the custody of Angus, Home, the Earl Marshal, and Lauder of the Bass,—all of them, with the exception of the Marshal, devoted to her interest, and in intimate correspondence with England.† This evasion, which was nothing more than a reiteration of her refusal to obey the orders of parliament, rendered it necessary for Albany to adopt decisive measures. He accordingly collected an armed force, summoned all the lords, on their allegiance, to lend their assistance in enforcing the orders of the supreme council of the nation; directed Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade the castle of Stirling, so that no provisions should be permitted to enter; and commanded Home, who was then provost of Edinburgh, to arrest Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, that peer being himself in the Mearns; whilst his uncle held Douglas castle. Home indignantly refused, and, under cover of night, fled to Newark, a Border tower upon the Yarrow; whilst Angus, who had received

* Caligula, B. ii. 341, b. 2.

† Ibid.

orders to join the host at the head of his vassals, kept himself within his strength, in his own country, and concentrated his power for the storm which he saw approaching.

A proclamation was now issued against such persons as illegally retained the castle of Stirling; and Albany, at the head of seven thousand men, and attended by all the peers, except Home and Angus, marched against that fortress, and summoned it to an immediate surrender. Resistance was hopeless; and the queen had already carried her obstinacy beyond all prudent bounds; her party, which chiefly consisted of friends retained in her service by the money of England, deserted her when the danger became imminent; and requesting an interview with the regent, she delivered the keys of the castle to the infant monarch, who placed them in the hand of Albany, and only added her hope, that the royal children, herself and Angus, would be treated with favour. The answer of the regent assured the princess, that to herself and his infant sovereign, he was animated by no feelings but those of devoted loyalty; but for Angus, whose opposition to the will of parliament, and dangerous correspondence with England, amounted, he declared, to treason, he would promise nothing, so long as he and his followers were banded together in open rebellion.* The king and his infant brother were then committed to the custody of the Earl Marshal, (a nobleman, who had been nominated on a former occasion by the royal mother herself,) along with the Lords Fleming and Borthwick, whose fidelity to the crown was unsuspected. John Erskine was appointed governor of the fortress; a

* Dacre to the Council, Harbottle, 7th August. Caligula, B. ii. 369. Diurnal of Occurents, p. 6.

guard of seven hundred soldiers left in it; and the queen conducted with every mark of respect to Edinburgh, where she took up her residence in the castle. The Earl of Home, on being informed of this decided success, no longer hesitated to throw himself into the arms of England; and in a private conference with Dacre, concerted measures of resistance and revenge. To this meeting Angus was not admitted, by the sagacity of the English warden; his youth, and versatility of purpose being dreaded; but Home continued to work on the husband of the queen, and the strength of Teviotdale was raised to resist the alleged tyranny of the regent, and avert the destruction which hung over the English party in Scotland.*

In this emergency, the conduct of Albany was marked by prudence and decision; he summoned the force of the kingdom; but, before proceeding to hostilities, transmitted a message to the queen, in which he expressed his earnest desire for a pacification, and proposed articles of agreement, which were more favourable than the conduct of her party deserved. He engaged to support her and her husband in all their just and equitable actions; to put her in full possession of her jointure lands, and maintain her in the state and dignity befitting her rank; under the condition that she should accede to the wishes of the parliament, co-operate in those measures which were esteemed best for the security and independence of the state, and renounce all secret connexion with other realms, especially with England. When Henry's schemes for the removal of the king and his brother, and the intrigues by which Dacre contrived to defeat every attempt to reduce the country to order and good

* Dacre to the Council. Caligula, B. ii. 369.

government are taken into view, these proposals appear wise and conciliatory. Yet such was the unhappy infatuation of the queen, that she rejected them without hesitation; and to make a merit of her firmness, transmitted them privately to Dacre.* To Home the chamberlain, Albany was less lenient: he insisted that he should leave Scotland; and the haughty chief at once justified the severity by addressing a message to the English warden, in which he requested the assistance of an English army, and held out the inducement to Henry, that the country lay open to invasion. The crisis, he said, only required immediate activity and vigour, by which the monarch might destroy his enemies, and new model the government according to his interest and wishes.† These offers were strongly seconded by Dacre, who advised an invasion; whilst the chamberlain, assured of the support of England, assembled a powerful force, and commenced the war by retaking the castle of Home, which had been seized by the regent; and securing the strong tower of Blacater, situated on the Borders, within five miles of Berwick.‡ To this safe-hold, the queen, who had continued her secret correspondence with Henry, now resolved to retire, finding herself, as she represented, in a sort of captivity at Edinburgh, whilst her friends were imprisoned, and her resources impoverished by the injustice of the regent. Dacre had recommended Blacater from its proximity to England, and the facility she would enjoy of support and communication with her royal brother,—shrewdly observing, also, that, being within the Scottish Borders, her enemies

* Caligula, B. vi. 83, 84.

† Caligula, B. ii. 186. Lord Home to Dacre, Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 145.

‡ Franklin to the Bishop of Durham, Norham, 29th August. Caligula, B. iii. 133.

could not allege that she had forfeited her rights by deserting the country. She accordingly found means to join Lord Home, who, at the head of an escort of forty soldiers, conveyed her in safety to Blacater, from whence, if danger became imminent, she could secure a rapid and easy retreat into England.*

Nothing could be more imprudent than such a proceeding. Henry, although professing peace, was at this moment the worst enemy of Scotland. Having been baffled in his attempt to get the young king into his hands, it became his object to increase the necessary evils of a minority, by thwarting every measure which promised to restore tranquillity to that country. By means of his indefatigable agent, Lord Dacre, he had not only corrupted some of its leading nobility, but so successfully fomented dissensions amongst them, that every effort of the regent to re-establish the control of the laws, was rendered abortive by the prevalence of private war. To league herself, therefore, with England, against the independence of that country, of which her son was sovereign, whilst Albany, with much earnestness and sincerity, offered her a complete restoration to all those rights and revenues, as queen-dowager, which she had not forfeited by her marriage, was an excess of blindness and pertinacity, difficult to be understood, and which drew after it the most calamitous consequences.

The conduct of Albany had been marked hitherto by a laudable union of firmness and moderation; and so completely was it seconded by the approval of the nobles and the clergy, that, although on other points at variance amongst themselves, all appear to have

* Credence to Lord Dacre and Thomas Magnus, by the Queen of Scots. Caligula, B. vi. 85.

united in support of his determination to enforce obedience to the parliament, and restore some degree of stability to the government. He found little difficulty, therefore, in raising an army of forty thousand men: but anxious that his intentions should be clearly understood; that none should mistake his resolution to reduce an internal rebellion, which was headed by disaffected subjects, for the desire of foreign war; he despatched Sir William Scott, and Sir Robert Lauder, to meet Henry's commissioners, Dacre and Dr Magnus; and to labour for the satisfactory adjustment of all disputes upon the Borders. At the same time, John Duplanis, a French envoy, was commissioned to renew the terms for an agreement, which had been formerly offered to the queen, and which this ill-advised princess once more indignantly repelled.

The regent instantly advanced to the Borders, where it was expected the Earl of Home would be able to make some serious resistance; but the power of this dreaded chief melted away before the formidable array of Albany: he was taken prisoner; committed to the charge of the Earl of Arran; found means to seduce his keeper, not only to favour, but to accompany his escape; and fled to England, whither he was soon after followed by the queen and Angus.* No step could have been adopted more favourable to the intrigues of Henry; and the fugitives were received by Lord Dacre with open arms. The queen, shortly before this, had addressed a letter to Albany, in which, she attempted a vindication of her conduct; necessity had compelled her, she asserted, to forsake her country, not without fears for her life; she protested against the conduct of

* Dacre and Dr Magnus to Henry the Eighth, Harbottle. 18th October. Caligula, B. vi. 110.

the regent, and claimed as a right conferred on her by the will of the late king, her husband, (a deed which had received the papal confirmation,) the government of the kingdom, and the tutelage of the infant monarch.* The first pretence was ridiculous; for since his arrival in Scotland, Margaret, had been treated by Albany with invariable respect. To the second request, the council of Scotland returned the answer, that by her second marriage, Margaret, according to the terms of the royal will, had forfeited all right to the tutelage of her son; whilst the disposal of the government could neither be affected by the will of a deceased monarch, nor the sanction of a living pope, but belonged to the three Estates, who had conferred it upon the Duke of Albany.†

That nobleman, notwithstanding the infatuation of the mother of his sovereign, was still anxious to make a last effort for a compromise; he addressed two letters to her on the same day: the first a manifesto from the council; the other, a private communication, written with his own hand. The terms of both were moderate, and even indulgent. The council implored her to awake to her duty; declared their aversion to all rigorous measures; besought her to come back amongst them; and, as an inducement, promised that she should enjoy the disposal of all benefices within her dowry lands, a benefice to her late councillor, Gawin Douglas; and lastly, the guardianship of her children, if she would solemnly promise, that they should not be carried out of the kingdom. These proposals the queen imprudently rejected; for what reasons, does not

* Caligula, B. vi. 119. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Albany, 10th October. Harbottle.

† Council of Scotland, 13th Oct. 1515. Caligula, B. vi. 120. "Madame, we commend our humyle service to your grace."

clearly appear. An acute historian* pronounces them too specious to be honest; but Albany's whole conduct shows them to have been sincere, although Margaret, acting under the influence of Angus, Home, and Arran, had been taught to regard them with suspicion. Immediate acceptance of them was indeed impossible, for within eight days after she had taken refuge in England the queen bore a daughter to Angus, the lady Margaret Douglas, the future mother of the weak and unfortunate Darnley; at the same time her husband entered into a private bond with Home and Arran, by which they engaged for themselves, their vassals, and supporters, to resist the regent, and to deliver their infant sovereign from the suspected guardianship, in which he was held by those who then ruled in Scotland. This agreement, which was dated fifteenth of October, 1515, although it bears no express reference to England, appears to have been concluded under the direction of Lord Dacre.†

Nothing now remained for Albany, but to exercise with firmness the authority which had been committed to him; yet, although the conduct of those who leagued themselves against the government compelled him to measures of just severity, he evinced an anxiety for conciliation. The flight of Arran rendered it necessary for him to seize the castles of a rebel; but when, at Hamilton, his mother presented herself before the regent, and passionately interceded for her son, he received the matron, who was a daughter of James the Second, with the respect due to her royal descent, and assured her of forgiveness, could she prevail on him to

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 151.

† Caligula, B. vi. 124. Copie of the Bande made betwixt the Erles of Angus and Arran, and the Chamberlaine of Scotland. Coldstream, 15th October, 1515.

return to his allegiance; nor was he forgetful of his promise, for Arran, a nobleman of a weak and vacillating, though ambitious character, renounced the league with Angus as precipitately as he had embraced it, and was immediately received into favour. At this moment the Duke of Ross, the infant brother of the king, was seized with one of the diseases incident to his early years, and died at Stirling; a circumstance which it was to be expected would not be lost upon the queen, who instantly fulminated against Albany an accusation of poison. So atrocious a charge fell innoxious upon the upright character of the regent, who, although the nearest heir to the crown, had felt enough of its thorns to make him rather dread than desire the kingdom; and the future conduct of Angus and Home, from whose faction the calumny proceeded, demonstrates its falsehood. Yet the enmity of Gawin Douglas the accomplished bishop of Dunkeld, did not hesitate, in 1522, to repeat the story.

These events were followed by a renewal of the alliance with France; and to evince that the governor was animated by a sincere desire for that tranquillity which could alone afford him leisure to compose the troubles of the country, Duplanis the French ambassador, and Dunbar archdean of St Andrew's, were sent to meet the English commissioners at Coldingham for the negotiation of a peace between the two countries. At this moment Henry earnestly desired such an event; the success of Francis the First, at the battle of Marignano, had given to this prince the whole Milanese, and roused the jealousy of Wolsey, who now directing, but with no profound policy, the councils of England, prevailed on his master and the emperor to enter into a league for the expulsion of the French

from Italy. It was necessary, therefore, to be secure on the side of Scotland; and although a general peace could not be then concluded, the truce between the kingdoms was renewed.* Home and Angus, whose conduct had been dictated by the selfishness of disappointed ambition, were awakened by these prudent measures to the desperate state of their affairs; and soon after, withdrawing themselves from the queen, who lay dangerously ill at Morpeth, they retired into Scotland, where, restored once more to their hereditary possessions, they for a time abstained from all opposition to the government. The facility with which these nobles appear to have procured their pardon, was in the regent perhaps more generous than prudent; but it evinces the sincerity of his desire for the welfare of the country, and seems completely to refute those charges of insatiate avarice, and profuse dissipation raised against him by the malice of his enemies, and too hastily retailed by a historian of this period.† For the conduct of Home, the queen found some excuse, but to be thus deserted at her utmost need by a husband for whom she had sacrificed her royal pomp and power, was an ungrateful return for her love, which Margaret's proud spirit never forgave. She waited only for her recovery to fly to the English court, where she loaded Albany and Angus with reproaches, imploring her royal brother to interfere for the preservation of her son, and her restoration to those rights which in truth had been forfeited solely by her own imprudence.

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 549.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 155, who without considering its suspicious tenor, gives implicit belief to the Memorial of Gawin Douglas, Cal. B. iii. p. 309, and to the "Wrongs" of the queen, Cal. B. ii. p. 211: an original signed by "Margaret."

Nor was Henry deaf to her entreaties ; overlooking the conciliatory principles which marked the government of Albany, and which, in spite of the bribery and intrigues of Dacre, had received the support of the people, this monarch directed a letter to the three Estates, in which, in no measured terms, he called upon them not only to remove that nobleman from the regency and the care of the king's person, but to expel him from the kingdom ; upon the ground that, as the nearest heir to the throne, he was the most suspicious person to whom so sacred a charge could be committed. To this extraordinary epistle, which was laid before them in a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, on the first of July, 1516, the Estates returned a decided answer. They reminded Henry that the Duke of Albany was governor by their own deliberate choice, expressed in a general council of the nation held immediately after the coronation of their youthful sovereign. He had undertaken, they said, this high and responsible office, which, by the canon law belonged to him as nearest relative to the infant king, not from his own wishes, but at their earnest request. He had left the service of France, and his estates and honours in that country with reluctance ; he had fulfilled its duties with much talent and integrity ; and they declared that, so essential did they consider his remaining at the head of affairs to the national happiness, that, were he willing, they would not permit him to escape his duties or to leave the country. With regard to the anxiety expressed for the safety of the infant monarch, they observed that it appeared wholly misplaced in the present instance, as the person of the sovereign was intrusted to the keeping of the same lords to whose care he had been committed by his mother the queen ;

whilst they concluded with great firmness and dignity, by assuring the English monarch, that it was their determination to resist with their lives every attempt to disturb the peace of the realm, or endanger the security of the present government.*

This spirited epistle might have convinced Henry of the folly of his ambition to become the chief ruler in the kingdom of his nephew; but although the haughtiness with which he had disclosed his intentions had for the moment defeated his design, and united against him the discordant elements of the Scottish aristocracy, it was not long before the intrigues of his minister, Lord Daere, succeeded in creating distrust and disturbance, and once more reinstating in its strength the English faction in Scotland. The means and agents by which this was effected were as base as they were successful. From an original letter of the warden himself, addressed to Wolsey, we learn that he had in his pay four hundred Scots, whose chief employment was to distract the government of Albany by exciting popular tumults, encouraging private quarrels, and rekindling the jealousy of the higher nobles. "I labour and study all I can," says he, "to make division and debate, to the intent that, if the duke will not apply himself, that then debate may grow that it shall be impossible for him to do justice; and for that intended purpose I have the master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland. * * And also (he adds) I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, * * and also four hundred outlawes, and giveth them rewards, that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland, all being Sectsmen that should be under the obedience of Scot-

* Rymer Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 550.

land.”* Such was the commencement by Dacre of that shameful system for the fostering of internal commotions, by the agency of spies and the distribution of bribes amongst the nobles, which was continued by Sir Ralph Saddler, and afterwards brought to perfection by Lord Burleigh under Elizabeth. It is to this cause, and not, as has generally been believed, to any fault or gross mismanagement upon the part of the regent, that we must ascribe the misery of the country. Albany was supported by the affection and confidence of the middle classes, and the great body of the nation; but their influence was counteracted, and his efforts completely paralyzed, by the selfish rapacity of the clergy, and the insolent ambition of the aristocracy.† Scarcely had Arran returned to his allegiance, when he entered into a new combination with Lennox, Glencairn, Mure of Caldwell, and other barons, with the apparent object of wresting from the regent that share in the government to which he not unjustly deemed himself entitled, by his affinity to the royal family, but for which his vacillating character totally incapacitated him. The rebellion at first assumed a serious aspect: the castle of Glasgow, belonging to Beaton archbishop of that see, and which was important from its being the depôt of the king’s artillery, was stormed and plundered by Mure, who enriched himself by the spoil and retained it for Arran;‡ but the promptitude and energy of Albany, who instantly assembled an

* Letter—Dacre to Wolsey, 23d August, 1516. Caligula, B. i. 150, published by Sir Henry Ellis, in his valuable Collection of Letters, vol. i. p. 131, first series.

† To this observation there were a few exceptions, but these had little influence where the majority were corrupted.

‡ Mure of Caldwell had married Lady Janet Stewart, sister to the Earl of Lennox.—MS. document, in possession of William Mure, Esq., of Caldwell.

army and marched to the spot, overawed the conspirators and compelled them to submit to terms. The fortress was surrendered. Beaton the primate employed his influence to obtain the pardon of Arran with his associate earls; and Albany, who often erred on the side of leniency, once more received them to the peace of the king; whilst Mure, an able and turbulent baron, who was nearly connected with Lennox, profiting by the commotion, continued to excite disturbances in the west country.

It had been under the condition of his renouncing all secret intercourse with Henry the Eighth, and residing peaceably on his estates, that Albany had extended forgiveness to Home. But it soon became apparent that the attempt to secure his adherence to the government was hopeless. His correspondence with Dacre was renewed; bands of hired marauders known to be followers of the Scottish earl, and in the pay of England, broke across the marches, and ravaged the country with unexampled boldness and ferocity. Murders, rapine, fire-raising, and every species of outrage, threatened the total dissolution of society; and it became necessary either to vindicate the laws by an example of instantaneous severity, or weakly to abandon the government to the anarchy by which it was invaded. Under these circumstances, Home and his brother, either trusting to Albany's ignorance of their correspondence, or inveigled by his promises, imprudently visited the court, and were instantly apprehended. Much obscurity hangs over the trial which followed; and if we may believe some of our historians, the charge of having excited the late commotions against the regent, was mingled with a more atrocious accusation of being accessory to the defeat at Flodden, and the death

of the late king. That this last imputation was unfounded, seems to be proved by sufficient evidence; but the truth of the first was notorious, and could be established by a multiplicity of witnesses. The lord chamberlain was accordingly found guilty: against his brother the same sentence was pronounced; and both were executed without delay, their heads being afterwards exposed above the Tolbooth or public prison of the capital.* Ker of Fernyhirst, one of their chief followers and a baron of great power on the marches, was also tried and condemned, but respited by the regent, who instantly led a powerful force to Jedburgh, and, by a judicious severity, reduced the unquiet districts on the Border to a state of temporary repose. The office of chamberlain was bestowed upon Lord Fleming, a nobleman of tried fidelity, whilst the French knight, De la Bastie, who was much in the confidence of the regent, and possessed of equal courage and experience, became warden of the east Borders; an appointment deeply resented by the friends of Home, who secretly meditated, and at length accomplished a cruel revenge.

On his return to Edinburgh, Albany assembled the parliament. Its principal business was the disposal of a singular claim presented by his step-brother Alexander Stewart, which, had it been supported by the three Estates, must have excluded him from the regency. Stewart was the eldest son of Alexander duke of Albany, the regent's father, by his first marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Orkney; but it was now declared that this marriage had been pronounced unlawful by a vote of a former parliament, and on this ground

* Lesley, Hist. Bannatyne edit. p. 107. The Chamberlain suffered on the eighth, and his brother on the ninth of October, 1516.

the title of Albany, the eldest son by a second marriage was confirmed as the second person in the realm, and nearest heir to the crown.* Not long after, Francis de Bordeaux, ambassador from the court of France, arrived in Scotland; and the expectations of the regent and the parliament were sanguine as to the assistance about to be derived from this country against the continued efforts of Henry the Eighth. It was soon, however, discovered that the policy of that kingdom towards Scotland had undergone a considerable change. The treaty of Noyon, concluded on the 26th of August, 1516, between Francis the First and the King of Spain, had secured to the former monarch his conquests in Italy: the emperor Maximilian, after an ineffectual attempt to wrest from him the Duchy of Milan, had been compelled to retire and accede to its provisions; whilst to France the single difficulty remained of conciliating the enmity of Henry the Eighth. It is this object which explains the coldness of Francis to his ancient allies, the Scots. They had claimed a restitution of the county of Xaintonge, originally assigned by Charles the Seventh to James the First in 1428; but their demand was evaded; they had requested the aid of France against England; it was not only refused, but an advice added, recommending the regent to conclude a peace with that country upon the first occasion which offered; nay, not content with this startling dereliction of those principles upon the permanence of which Albany had too securely rested, the French monarch refused to ratify the alliance between France and Scotland, which had been renewed by his ambassador Duplanis, and the Scottish council of

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 233. Keith's Catalogue of Bishops, p. 88. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 161.

regency, within a year after the death of James the Fourth.

We are not to wonder that such conduct increased, in no small degree, the difficulties which already embarrassed the regent. His conduct in his high office had been marked by ability and disinterestedness. He had maintained the independence of Scotland by resisting the rude dictation of Henry; but he showed every desire to cultivate peace with England upon a fair basis: he had punished, with a severity to which he was compelled by their frequent repetition, the treasons of Home, and the excesses of the Borders; he had shown the utmost anxiety to recall the queen-mother to her country and her duties, provided such an event could be accomplished without endangering the safety of the young monarch; and the confidence in his administration which was expressed by parliament, had given a decided refutation to the injurious attacks of his enemies. But these enemies were still powerful: the money of England and the intrigues of Dacre continued to seduce many venal persons amongst the Scottish nobles: their vassals were encouraged to weaken the government by spoliations, private feuds, and every species of unlicensed oppression; whilst every attempt to introduce into the great body of the aristocracy a principle of cordial union which might at once secure the integrity of the country, and promote their own interests, was broken by the selfishness and rapacity of their leaders. Under such disheartening circumstances, the regent had looked to the support of France, as a counterpoise to the concealed attacks of England; but this was now about to be withdrawn;* and, in the parliament which assembled in November,

* *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* vol. i. p. 243, 248.

1516, to deliberate upon the communication of the French ambassador, Albany, with much earnestness, requested permission of the three Estates, to revisit France for a short period.

From all who were interested in the welfare of the country, this proposal met with a vigorous opposition. They contended, and with plausibility, that the absence of the governor would be the signal for the return of the anarchy and confusion which had preceded his arrival, and that, having accepted the regency under an act of the three Estates which declared him the nearest heir to the throne, it was his duty to remain in the country, to share the labour and responsibility of that station: they hinted that, should he now leave Scotland, his return to the office of regent could not, and perhaps ought not to be guaranteed to him; and they anticipated the renunciation of the alliance with France, and the certain triumph of the English faction.* In such predictions there was much wisdom; yet Albany, who was intent on revisiting his foreign estates, a proceeding to which he was invited by a private message brought by La Fayette from the French king, at length extorted an unwilling consent from the parliament. His leave of absence, however, extended only to four months, and in this interval, the management of the government was intrusted to a council of regency consisting of the prelates of St Andrew's and Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran. The young king was brought to Edinburgh castle, and intrusted to the keeping of Lord Erskine and the Earl Marshal. Prior to his departure, the Bishop of Dunkeld and Panter the secretary were

* Caligula, B. vi. 133. "Clarencieux," to "My Lord Cardinal; dated Aitwick," 31st Nov.

despatched on an embassy to the French court; and he himself, eager to revisit the land which was endeared to him by all the recollections of his former life, embarked at Dumbarton on the seventh of June.*

Some time before this it had been arranged in parliament that the queen-mother should be permitted to revisit Scotland, under the condition that she should abstain from all interference with the authority of Albany; and this princess, whose intrigues and ambition had occasioned so much distress to the country, the moment she heard of the arrival of the governor in France, set out for the Scottish capital, accompanied by a slender train, more befitting her misfortunes than her rank. At Lamberton Kirk, the same familiar spot where, fourteen years before, she had been received by the Scottish nobles, the blooming bride of her sovereign, she was met by Angus, Morton, and De la Bastie; but on her arrival in Edinburgh, was not permitted to visit her son the king. It was soon after understood, that the plague had made its appearance in the capital, and his guardians took the precaution of removing the young monarch to Craigmillar, where, relaxing in their rigour, his mother was indulged with occasional interviews: but a report having arisen that a secret project had been formed for his being carried into England, (an attempt which the former conduct of the queen rendered it exceedingly likely would be repeated,) it was thought proper once more to restore him to the security of his original residence.†

To ensure, if possible, the continuance of quiet to the country during his absence, Albany had carried along with him, as hostages, the eldest sons of many

* Lesley, p. 109. Caligula, B. vi. 107.

† Lesley, Hist. p. 109.

of the noblest families, whilst he had committed the principal command upon the Borders, at all times the most distracted and lawless portion of the country, to the chivalrous and polished De la Bastie, whose talents in the field and in the cabinet were still higher than his accomplishments in the lists. The title of lieutenant, or deputy of the governor, was likewise conferred on him, and he was intrusted with the invidious and delicate task of transmitting to the absent regent reports upon the conduct of the Scottish Border chiefs. The friends and vassals of the Earl of Home, men familiar with blood, and who esteemed revenge a sacred duty, had never forgiven Albany the execution of this powerful and popular rebel, and they now determined, the moment an occasion offered, that De la Bastie, the deputy of the governor, should suffer for the crime of his master. Nor was this opportunity long of occurring: keeping his state as warden in the fortress of Dunbar, La Bastie exerted himself with indefatigable diligence in repressing disorder. On the first intelligence of any commotion, he was instantly in person on the spot; and it was out of this fearless activity that his enemies contrived his ruin. A plot to entrap him was laid by Home of Wedderburn, and other Border chiefs; and, to draw their unsuspecting victim into it, they pretended to besiege the tower of Langton.* On receiving intelligence of this outrage, De la Bastie, with some French knights in his train, galloped towards the scene of commotion, and ere he was aware, found himself surrounded by the unrelenting borderers. Conscious of the cruel fate which awaited him, he

* I have heard that there is a curious MS. history of the family of Wedderburn, at Wedderburn-house, which gives some minute and interesting particulars regarding the murder of De la Bastie. He was slain by John and Patrick Home, younger brothers of the Laird of Wedderburn.

pushed his horse to speed and, from the extraordinary fleetness of the animal, had nearly escaped, when his ignorance of the country unfortunately led him into a marsh. Every effort entangled him more deeply; it was in vain that he struggled to extricate himself—in vain that he besought his merciless pursuers, as they valued their honour as knights, to spare his life and accept his submission: the only reply was, insult and mockery; and, throwing themselves upon him, he was cruelly murdered. The ferocious Lord of Wedderburn, exulting in the complete though tardy vengeance, cut off his head, tied it by its long and plaited tresses to his saddle-bow, and, galloping into the town of Dunse, affixed the ghastly trophy on the market cross. He then threw himself into his castle, where, for a season, he defied the utmost efforts of the laws.*

The death of La Bastie was a serious blow to the maintenance of the authority of Albany; but, although unable instantly to arrest the perpetrators, the regents exerted themselves with considerable vigour. It was suspected that Angus, or at least his brother Sir George Douglas, had been involved in the guilt of the Homes, and on this ground Arran, the next in power amongst the nobles, was appointed warden of the marches. Without delay he seized Douglas and his accomplice Mark Ker: measures also were taken for the trial of the Homes, whose escape might have produced the worst consequences; and a parliament having assembled at Edinburgh on the nineteenth of February, sentence of forfeiture was passed against all concerned in the assassination of La Bastie. The more difficult task remained in the apprehension of the culprits; but Arran having assembled a powerful force, accompanied

* Lesley, p. 110. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 170.

by the king's artillery, an arm of war which the nation owed to the late monarch, marched against the insurgents. Ere he had advanced many miles, however, the rebels besought his mercy. The keys of the castle of Home were delivered to him at Lauder, the fortified houses of Langton and Wedderburn thrown open, and the warden, with perhaps too great a leniency, extended even to the principal murderers a pardon.

The four months' absence permitted by the parliament to Albany had now expired: but they had been passed in such unquietness, and the collision of opposite factions had so much increased, that he preferred the security and comfort of France to the precarious and thankless power of the regency, and wrote earnestly to the queen-mother, recommending her, if she could obtain the concurrence of the nobles, to resume her former station as head of the government.* But Margaret, with female weakness, insisted that her husband Angus, to whom she had been lately reconciled, should be nominated regent; a proposal which the Earl of Arran, and the whole body of the Scottish nobles who had experienced his insolence and weakness, resolutely opposed. The chief power, therefore, continued in the hands of the regency, and a renewal of the truce with England,† gave some leisure to attend to the healing of the wounds which still deeply rankled in the country. Of these one of the chief was to be found in the condition of the Isles, where the rude inhabitants had lately signalized themselves by unusual violence and disorder. Under the latter years of the reign of James the Fourth, these districts had been unusually tranquil. It had not been the sole policy of

* Caligula, B. i. p. 247. Margaret to Lord Dacre, Lithgow, 13th Oct.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 599.

that monarch to overawe the seditious by the severity of his measures: he had endeavoured to humanize them by education, and to introduce a knowledge of the laws, and a respect for their sanctions; not through the suspected medium of lowlanders, but by supporting highland scholars at the universities, and afterwards encouraging them to reside permanently within the bounds of the Isles. It was as an additional means for the accomplishment of this enlightened purpose, that this monarch was ever anxious to get into his power the sons of the highland chiefs, whom he educated at court; hoping thus to attach them to his service, and to employ them afterwards as useful instruments in the civilisation of their country. With this view he had secured, in some of his northern expeditions, the youthful sons of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh; and the eldest of these became a favourite of the monarch. He restored part of his paternal estate; conferred on him the distinction of knighthood; and permitted him frequently to visit the Isles.* Upon the death of this sovereign it was soon discovered that these favours had been thrown away, for scarcely had the chieftains escaped from the carnage at Flodden and returned home, when a rebellion was secretly organized, of which the object was to restore the ancient principality of the Isles in the person of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh. At the head of this insurrection was Maclean of Dowart, commonly called Lauchlan Cattanach, and Macleod of Dunvegan, who seized the castles of Carnelreigh and Dunskaieli, and threatened with the extremity of fire and sword all who resisted the authority of the new Lord of the Isles. It needed

* Gregory's Hist. of the West Highlands and Isles, p. 106. He was known in the highlands by the name of Donald Galda, or Donald the Foreigner.

not this fresh source of disorganization to weaken the administration of Albany: and although a commission to put down the insurrection was early given to the Earl of Argyle, and his efforts were seconded by the exertions of Mackenzie of Kintail, Ewen Alanson, and Monro of Foulis, the rebellion against the government spread through Lochaber and western Ross. Many of the most powerful families, especially those of Maclean and Macleod, with the clan Ian Mhor of Isla, persisted in their resolution to establish an independent sovereignty; and it was not till after a considerable interval of tumult and predatory warfare, that the exertions of Argyle succeeded in reducing the insurgents, who were treated with uncommon leniency. Under assurances of safety, the principal leaders repaired to court, and the chief of Lochalsh procured for himself and his followers favourable terms of reconciliation.* Scarce, however, had he returned to his remote dominions, when, owing to a feud which he had long maintained against Mac-Ian of Ardnamurchan, the flames of civil discord were again kindled in the Isles, and the ferocity of private warfare soon assumed the more serious shape of rebellion against the state. Ample powers were again granted to Argyle, as lieutenant-general over the Isles; and Maclean of Dowart, lately the chief supporter of Sir Donald, having procured a remission for all the crimes committed by himself and his adherents during the insurrection, not only deserted his cause, but engaged in hostilities against him with a violence which declared that nothing but the utter destruction of the "wicked blood of the Isles" would restore tranquillity to the government of his sovereign, or security to the inhabitants of these remote districts.

* Gregory's History of the West Highlands, p. 114-117.

There seems reason to believe, however, that the extensive power granted by the council to Argyle and Maclean, was more nominal than real; for although broken in his strength, the indefatigable claimant of the throne of the Isles remained unsubdued; and having united his forces to those of the Macleods and Alexander of Isla, he was strong enough to attack and entirely defeat his mortal enemy Mac-Ian, at Craiganairgid, in Morvern. Mac-Ian himself, with his two sons, were amongst the slain: the ferocious islanders, who had a heavy arrear of blood to settle with this powerful chief, exulted in the ample vengeance by which he had been overtaken; and the consequences of this victory might have proved serious, had not the rebellion been brought to an unexpected close by the death of Sir Donald of Lochalsh, who left no descendants to dispute the claims of the throne to the lordship of the Isles. From this period till the assumption of the supreme power by James the Fifth, the principality of the Isles remained in comparative tranquillity, owing principally to the exertions of the Earl of Argyle, whose activity and loyalty are, perhaps, to be traced as much to his ambition of family aggrandizement, as to any higher patriotic motive.

Although tranquillity was thus restored in these remote districts, the country continued disturbed. Much of the disorder was to be traced to the violence and ambition of Angus, whose feudal power was too great for a subject, and whose disappointment in being refused the regency, delighted to vent itself in an open defiance of the laws. For a while his reconciliation with the queen, to whom, as the mother of their sovereign, the nation still looked with affection, imparted a weight to his faction, which rendered him a formid-

able opponent to the regency; but the fickleness of his attachment, his propensity to low pleasures, and the discovery of a mistress whom he had carried off from her friends and secluded in Douglasdale, once more rekindled the resentment of the proud princess whom he had deserted, and an open rupture took place. She assumed a high tone, violently upbraided him for his inconstancy, reminded him that with misplaced affection she had even pawned her jewels to support him in his difficulties, and concluded by expressing her determination to sue for a divorce.*

As soon as this resolution, in which the queen was supported by the most powerful of the nobles, became known in England, Henry, who foresaw in its being carried into effect a death-blow to his influence in Scotland, opposed it with his characteristic impetuosity. He despatched Chatsworth, a friar who filled the office of minister-general of the Observantines in England, with letters to his sister, and enjoined him at the same time, to remonstrate against the divorce; a commission which he fulfilled with much violence, declaring that the measure was illegal, that she was labouring under some damnable delusion; and insinuating in no measured terms, that a strict examination of her own conduct might provoke from Angus a counter charge of adultery. It is easy to see in all this a proof that Henry considered Angus as the head of the English faction, and that the queen, with the principal nobles, Arran, Argyle, Lennox, Fleming, and Maxwell, had become aware of the importance of a more cordial union against the intrigue and domination of England. Such, however, was the effect of this remonstrance, that Margaret, if not convinced, was intimidated; and, against

* Caligula, B. i. 275. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 173.

the advice of her councillors, a reconciliation took place between her and Angus, which was as insincere as it was precipitate.*

From these domestic dissensions the attention of the regency was drawn to a mission from Christiern the Second, the Danish king, who earnestly petitioned from his Scottish allies a subsidy of a thousand highland soldiers† to assist him in his Norwegian wars. With more wisdom, however, than their late regent, the three Estates eluded the request, on the ground that from the uncertain dispositions of England, they could reckon little on the continuance of peace at home, and that the internal state of their own country could not at present spare its defenders. A few years after this, however, the reiterated requests of the Danish monarch were met by the grant of a small body of troops under the command of Stewart of Ardgowan,‡ but the tyranny of Christiern, and the piracies of the Danish privateers upon the fleets of their merchantmen, effectually cooled the zeal of their allies, and no further auxiliaries appear to have left the country to the assistance of the unpopular monarch.

On his return to France, Albany carried with him an authority from the parliament to superintend the foreign affairs of Scotland; and it is to his credit that, in the disposal of benefices, at that period one of the most lucrative sources of peculation, his applications to the pope were, without exception, in favour of natives,—a circumstance which affords a satisfactory answer to the accusations which his enemies have brought against him of a blameable love of money, and

* Caligula, B. ii. 333. Dacre to Wolsey, Harbottle, 22d Oct. Caligula, B. vi. 194. Chatsworth to the Queen.

† “Mille Silvestres Scotos.” *Epistolæ Regum Scot.* vol. i. p. 302.

‡ *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* vol. i. pp. 317, 318.

a want of national feeling. The continued change in the policy of the French king now caused the renewal of the peace with England; and Francis having included his allies, the Scots, in the treaty,* provided they agreed to its terms, La Fayette and Cordelle, arrived as ambassadors in England, from whence, in company of Clarencieux herald, they proceeded into Scotland. It was now found that without a parliament the powers of the council of regency were insufficient to conclude this transaction; and the three Estates having assembled, the French ambassador intimated in no unequivocal terms, that if this treaty were rejected, in which his master considered the prosperity of his kingdom to be involved, his northern allies must no longer look for the support of France—a consideration of such weight that it was not judged prudent to delay its acceptance;† and the prolongation of the truce between England and Scotland to the thirtieth November, 1520, was proclaimed at Stirling in presence of the regents and the French and English ambassadors.

To these wise proceedings the only opposition which was offered came from the Earl of Angus. As this haughty noble, whose great estates and numerous vassalry rendered him at all times formidable, increased in years, his character, throwing off the excesses of youth, discovered a power and talent for which his opponents were not prepared, and his ambition, which had hitherto only given occasional distress, became systematically dangerous to the government. His faction was numerous; embracing the Earls of Crawford and Errol, the Lord Glamis, the prelates of St Andrew's, Aberdeen, Orkney, and Dunblane, with

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 627. October 2, 1518.

† Margaret to Wolsey, Stirling, 26th Dec. Caligula, B. vi. 270. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 178, gives the substance of the queen's letter, but misdates it Dec. 17.

many other dignitaries and partisans. On the arrival of the French ambassadors at the capital, he had made an ineffectual effort to intrude into the place of Arran, and undertake the management of the treaty; but this being peremptorily declined, he intercepted them on their return to England at the head of a formidable array of his vassals, and rudely upbraided them for their alleged contempt of his authority.*

In the capital his intrigues amongst the citizens were more successful, and led to sanguinary results. Arran had been chosen provost of Edinburgh,—a situation which was at this period an object of contest amongst the highest nobles, and he confidently looked to his re-election. But on repairing from Dalkeith, where the court was then held, to the metropolis, he found the gates shut against him, and Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, installed in the civic chair.† The partisans of the lieutenant-general, the title now given to Arran, attempted to force their entrance, but were repulsed with bloodshed; and Gawin, a carpenter, the friend of Angus and the principal leader of the tumult, was slain by Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the bastard of Arran. About the same time, Home of Wedderburn, whose wife was the sister of Angus, and whose hands had been recently stained by the blood of De la Bastie, added the guilt of sacrilege to murder by assassinating the Prior of Coldingham with six of his family, and thus making way for the intrusion of William Douglas, the brother of Angus, who instantly seized the priory. When such were the steps of ecclesiastical promotion, and such the character of the dignitaries who ascended them, we are

* Lesley, Bannatyne edit. p. 114 21 Caligula, B. ii. 264. Dacre to Wolsey, 10th Dec. Harbottle.

† Dacre to Wolsey, 10th Dec. Ibid.

scarcely to wonder that respect for the hierarchy did not form a feature in the age. But to this censure it must be allowed that there were eminent exceptions; and a remarkable one is to be found in the learned, pious, and venerable Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen, who, living himself in primitive simplicity, refused to expend the minutest portion of his revenues upon his personal wants, and entirely devoted them to works of public utility and extensive charity.*

Anid much intestine commotion, Arran and the lords of the regency vainly attempted to exercise their precarious authority, and it would be fruitless to enumerate the individual excesses which were constantly occurring in a country torn by contending factions, and groaning under the miseries incident to a feudal minority. But, upon the meeting of a parliament which had been summoned for the healing of these disturbances, a scene occurred which is too characteristic to be omitted. The capital, where the Estates were to assemble, had been partially abandoned by the partisans of Angus, who retained as a body-guard only four hundred spearmen; whilst, in consequence of a recommendation transmitted by Albany the late regent, which wisely directed that, for the public peace, no person of the name of Hamilton or Douglas should be chosen provost, Archibald Douglas had resigned that dignity, and Robert Logan had been elected in his place. The party of Angus were thus greatly weakened in the city, and Arran the governor mustered in such strength, that his friends, of whom Beaton the archbishop of Glasgow and chancellor of the kingdom, was the principal, deemed that the opportunity of reducing the overgrown power of Angus was too favour-

* Lesley, History, p. 112.

able to be neglected. For the discussion of their designs a council of the principal leaders was held in the church of the Black Friars, where Gawin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, appeared as a peacemaker between the contending factions. Addressing himself to Beaton the primate, who wore a coat of mail under his linen rocquet, he earnestly remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus, and so warmly urged his entreaty, that Beaton, suddenly striking his hand on his breast, declared on his conscience that they had no hostile intentions, or at least that he was ignorant of their existence. "Alas, my lord," said Douglas, as the steel plates of Beaton's armour rung to the blow, "I perceive your conscience clatters." The spirited appeal of Douglas, however, had nearly succeeded, and Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of the governor, had agreed to become umpire, when Hamilton of Finmart, a man distinguished for his ferocity, upbraided him with cowardice in declining the combat; and pointed to the spearmen of Angus, who, being joined by a band of borderers under Home of Wedderburn, had arrayed themselves in a formidable phalanx upon the causeway. It was a reproach which the proud spirit of Hamilton could not bear. "Bastard *smaik*,"* said he, "I shall fight this day where thou darest not be seen." Upon which he rushed into the street, followed by a few of his retainers, and threw himself sword in hand upon the ranks of the spearmen, whilst Angus pressing forward, slew him on the spot, and fiercely assaulted his followers, most of whom fell pierced by the long pikes of the borderers: all forbearance was now at an end; and the conflict becoming general, the party of Arran, after a fierce resistance,

* *Smaik*; a silly mean fellow.

were entirely routed, the chief himself being chased out of the city, and Beaton compelled to fly for safety behind the high altar of the church of the Dominican convent.* Even this sanctuary was not enough to screen him from the ferocity of the soldiers, who tore off his rocquet and would have slain him on the spot, but for the timely interference of his rival prelate, the Bishop of Dunkeld.

Angus now remained master of the capital, and for some months appears to have ruled its proceedings with a boldness which defied the authority of the governor and the restraint of the laws. The heads of Home and his brother, which, since their execution, had remained exposed on the front of the public prison, were removed, masses said for their souls, and their obsequies celebrated with great solemnity.† A sudden attempt was soon after made to seize the governor and the chancellor, who, with some of their party, had determined to meet at Stirling, but receiving intelligence of their danger, they hastily dispersed; and Angus, whose private affairs required his presence in the extensive district which owned his authority, by retiring thither gave a temporary respite to the country.

It was still the interest of Francis the First to cultivate the amity of England. His influence with Wolsey had already procured the restitution of Tournay, and his hopes were high that the more important city of Calais might, ere long, be restored to France—a policy which affords a key to his transactions with Scotland. Stuart lord of Aubigny, and Duplanis were

* “Considering that th’ Erle of Anguisse slew Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the said Erle of Arayn (with) his own hand, intending also to have killed him if he could.” Letter, Wolsey to the Duke of Norfolk. Caligula, B. i. 326, 327.

† Lesley, Hist. p. 116. Lindsay, Hist. pp. 120, 121. Buchanan, xiv. 12

despatched as his ambassadors to that country, and the advice which, by their master's orders they tendered to the Scottish Estates, was strikingly at variance with the former policy of France, and the feelings of a great proportion of the Scottish nobles. The necessity of maintaining peace with England, the prolongation of the truce, and the evil consequences which would result from the return of Albany, were earnestly insisted on. It was added that Francis could never consent to his leaving France, and once more rekindling with all their ancient intensity, the flames of internal discord in Scotland, whilst no effort was left untried by the ambassadors to reconcile the differences between the French and English parties, and to re-establish the peace of the country.* To effect this, however, exceeded the skill of these French diplomatists. The hatred of the queen-dowager to her husband Angus, was now too deep to admit even the semblance of a reconciliation; her temper, which partook of her brother's violence, resented his imperious mandates; and as Dacre and Wolsey, who regarded Angus as the pillar of the English interest, began to treat her with coldness, Margaret, not unnaturally, was induced to look to France, in whose policy towards England a very sudden revolution now took place, in consequence of the election of Charles the Fifth to the imperial throne. The political treachery of Wolsey, whose personal ambition had become incompatible with the continuance of his devotion to Francis, is well known to the student of European history; and one of its immediate effects was the reconciliation of Albany and the queen-dowager, who, by a letter under her own hand, entreated his return to

* Caligula, B. vi. 140. Instructions à Monr. Robert Estuard, Seigneur D'Aubigny.

Scotland,* anticipating, by a union of their parties, the complete submission of the kingdom to their authority. It was even rumoured that Albany had employed his interest at the papal court to procure the queen's divorce from Angus, with the design of offering her his hand; whilst a still more ridiculous report was circulated, of which it is difficult to trace the origin, that the young king had been conveyed to England, and that the boy to whom royal honours were then paid in Stirling was a plebeian child, which had been substituted in his place.

In the meantime, Angus, whose nomination as one of the regents gave him a title to interfere in the government, effectually counteracted the superior authority of Arran; and, strong in his partisans and vassals, he gained a weight in the councils of government, which was maintained with much arrogance. All things, therefore, seemed to urge upon the queen's party the necessity of immediate action; and as the open accession of Henry the Eighth to the interests of the emperor, by dissolving the ties between that monarch and the French king, had removed every impediment to the departure of Albany, this nobleman set sail from France, and arrived in Scotland on the nineteenth of November, disembarking from the Gareloch in Lennox; from thence he proceeded to Stirling,† where he was immediately joined by the queen, and welcomed by that princess, whose affections were as violent as her resentments, with an indiscreet familiarity, which gave rise to reports injurious to her honour. Lord Dacre, in a letter to his sovereign, represents her as closeted with Albany, not only during

* Caligula, B. ii. 195. Margaret to Dacre.

† Caligula, B. vi. 204, dorso. Instructions and Commission for my Lord of Dunkeld.

the day, but the greater part of the night, and careless of all appearances ; whilst he refers his majesty to the Bishop of Dunkeld, then at the English court, for a confirmation of the intimacy which existed between them.* Whatever truth we are to attach to these accusations, to which the character of the queen gives some countenance, the immediate effects of Albany's arrival were highly important. It was an event which reunited the discordant factions, and gave the promise of something like a settled government. The nobility crowded to the palace to welcome his arrival, and he soon after entered the capital, accompanied by the queen and the chancellor, and with such a show of strength that the party of Angus precipitately deserted the city ; he then proceeded to the castle, where he was admitted to an interview with the young king, on which occasion the captain delivered the keys of the fortress into his hands ; these, the regent with much devotion, laid at the feet of the queen-dowager, and she again presented them to Albany, intimating, that she considered him the person to whose tried fidelity the custody of the monarch ought to be intrusted.†

Albany, thus once more reinstated, after an interval of five years, in the precarious honour of the regency, summoned a parliament to meet within a short period at Edinburgh, and fulminated a citation against the Douglasses to appear in that assembly, and reply to the weighty charges to be brought against them ; but although determined to put down with a firm hand these enemies of the state, the regent was anxious for peace with England. The principles of his government, of which the venality of the Scottish nobles, and the

* Caligula, B. vi. 204, 205, dorso.

† Instructions. Angus to Dunkeld. Caligula, B. vi. 204. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 188.

intrigues of Dacre the minister of Henry, alone prevented the development, were, to maintain the ancient independence of Scotland, and, whilst he dismissed all dreams of conquest or glory, to resist that secret influence, by which the English monarch, for his own ambitious designs, sought to govern a kingdom, in whose administration he had no title to interfere. The means by which he sought to accomplish these ends were, to reunite the discordant elements of the Scottish aristocracy, to persuade the queen-mother that her interest and those of her son the king were one and the same, and to open immediately a diplomatic correspondence with England, in which he trusted to convince that power of the uprightness and sincerity of his intentions.

But the difficulties which presented themselves, even on the threshold of his schemes, were great. Dacre, one of the most crafty diplomatists in the political school of Henry the Eighth, had no intentions of renouncing the hold he had so long maintained for his master over the Scottish affairs; he reckoned with confidence on the impetuous temper and capricious affections of the queen-dowager, he was familiar with the venality of the nobles, and he knew that the means he possessed of disturbing the government were many and powerful.* He therefore entered into a correspondence with Albany and the queen, with confident anticipations of success; but for the moment he was

* In a letter from Wolsey to Henry, November, 1521, the secret and insidious policy of Henry towards Scotland, is strikingly laid down. "Nevertheless, to cause him not only to take a more vigilant eye to the demeanour of the Scots, as well within Scotland as without, and to be more diligent, hereafter, in writing to your grace and me, but also favourably to entertain the Homes and other rebels, after his accustomable manner, so that they may continue the divisions and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said Duke of Albany may, at his coming hither, be put in danger; and though some monecy be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length."—State Papers, published by Government, p. 91.

disappointed ; he had not reckoned on the strength of their united parties, and, baffled in his efforts, his anger vented itself in accusations of the grossest and darkest nature against the governor. In the letters addressed to his royal master and to Wolsey, he represented the regent's intimacy with the queen as scandalous and adulterous ; it was reported, he said, that they had endeavoured, by a high bribe, and in contemplation of their marriage, to induce Angus to consent to a divorce ; that Albany evidently looked to the throne ; and that some men did not scruple to affirm that the life of the young monarch was in danger. It may be conjectured, that, although Dacre repeats these as the rumours which had begun to circulate amongst the people, he was himself the principal author from whom they emanated.

Such were the secret practices by which this busy political agent, and the creatures whom, on another occasion, he mentions as being in his pay, endeavoured to bring into disrepute the government of Albany ; but for the present they were too gross to be successful. The only portion of truth which was to be found in them related probably to the governor's intrigue with the queen, which the licentious manners of the times, and the well-known gallantries of that princess, rendered by no means an improbable event. That Albany had any design of marriage, that he was ambitious of the royal power, or that he contemplated the atrocious crime by which he must have ascended the throne, are calumnies refuted by the whole tenor of his former and subsequent life.

The best practical answer, indeed, to these imputations was the success and popularity of his government. Angus, whose power had been too intolerable for the

council of regency, with his adherents, Home and Somerville, were compelled to fly for security to the kirk of Steyle, a retreat whose obscurity denotes the contempt into which they had fallen. From this place they engaged in a negotiation with Henry, which was managed by the celebrated Douglas bishop of Dunkeld, a keen and unscrupulous partisan of his nephew Angus.* This prelate was empowered to visit Dacre on his journey to England, and afterwards, in a personal interview with Henry, to explain to that monarch the political state of Scotland, and the alleged excesses of the regent. These, there is reason to believe, he had every disposition to exaggerate; and in consulting the original papers which he has left, and the diplomatic correspondence of Lord Dacre, the historian who is anxious to arrive at the truth, must recollect that he is perusing the evidence of partisans who were entirely devoted to the English interest, and whose object it was to reduce the country under the complete control of the English monarch. It is, therefore, with some distrust that we must listen to the accusation brought against the regent of a profligate venality in the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage, when we recollect his different conduct at a time when his actions could be closely watched, and the temptation was, perhaps, greater. To Dacre, Albany strongly remonstrated

* "The Instructions and Commission for my Lord of Dunkeld to beshewen to the king's grace of England" is a curious document. It is preserved in the British Museum [Caligula, B. vi. 204.], and commences with the following startling accusation: "Item first, ye shall shaw how the Duk of Albany is com to Skotland, and throw his pretended title that he has to the crown, it is presumed, he havand the kepand of the king our soveran lord, your neplew, and the reull of his realme and subjects, [there] is grete suspicion and danger of his person; wherefore, without hasty assistance, and help of the king's grace of England, it is thought to us that our soverain lord forsaide stands in gret jeopardie of his life."—See also the valuable volume of State Papers published by Government, Part i. pp. 17, 18. Wolsey to Henry VIII. July, 1521.

against the infractions of the truce, and the encouragement held out by Henry to those rebellious chiefs in Scotland, who had been cited to answer for their treasons before the great council of the nation; whilst the English warden, withholding from Albany his title of regent, and addressing him simply as one of the council, retorted a complaint against the conduct of Lord Maxwell, who had refused to proclaim the peace, and permitted an invasion of the English Borders. There can be no doubt that the accusations on both sides were well founded, as, in these times, from the ferocious habits of the borderers, nothing could be more difficult than to enforce the observation of a truce; but the regent, who seems to have been sincere in his desire of peace, promised immediate redress, whilst Dacre, although he recommended his master the king to abstain from any abrupt declaration of war, craftily suggested a plan by which, through pensions granted to the English northern lords on condition of their invading the Scottish Borders, he might distress the country even more than by avowed hostilities.* He excited the animosity of the English king at the same time by informing him that, to the prejudice of the title of his royal nephew, the regent had assumed the style of majesty; and he insinuated, from some expressions which had been used by the Scottish governor, that his zeal in the office of lord warden might not improbably expose him to attempts against his life.† In the meantime, the Bishop of Dunkeld proceeded on his secret mission to Henry, and the strength of Albany became so great, that, after an ineffectual endeavour to abide the tempest which awaited them, Angus and his partisans deemed it prudent to escape into England.

* Caligula, B. vi. 205, 206.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 190.

It is unfortunate that the principal original records which remain of these troubled times, and from which we must extract the history of the second regency of Albany, are so completely the composition of partisans, and so contradictory of each other, that to arrive at the truth is a matter of no little difficulty. But in examining the impetuous measures adopted by Henry, the violent accusations against the government of Albany which proceeded from Dacre and the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the animated, though partial, defence of his and her own conduct, which is given by the queen, it is clear, I think, that the views presented of the character of the regent by Pinkerton, and some later writers, are unjust and erroneous.

Soon after the flight of Angus, his uncle the Bishop of Dunkeld, addressed a memorial to the English king, in which he bitterly arraigned the conduct of the regent, accusing him of reiterated acts of peculation, and alleging, that his avarice had proceeded so far as to have converted the royal robes and tapestries into dresses for his pages; the young king, he affirmed, was kept in a state not only of durance, but of want; the fortresses of the kingdom were garrisoned by Frenchmen; the ecclesiastical benefices shamelessly trafficked for gold; and the crown lands dilapidated by an usurper, who, he maintained, had no title to the regency—it having been expressly declared by the Parliament, that should Albany remain more than four months in France, he should forfeit that high office. Margaret, on the other hand, despatched an envoy to her brother, to whom she gave full instructions, written with her own hand, in which she contradicted, in the most pointed terms, the distorted representations of the Bishop of Dunkeld. She described the conduct of the regent as

respectful and loyal; he had in nothing interfered, she said, with the custody of the king her son, who, by the permission of the lords whom the parliament had appointed his guardians, resided with herself in the castle of Edinburgh. She entreated Henry not to listen to the scandal which had been raised against her by a traitorous and unworthy prelate, who had forfeited his bishopric, of which the governor had given her the disposal; and she besought her brother not to imitate, in his present answer, the sternness of a former message, but to give a favourable audience to her envoy, and a friendly construction to her remonstrances.*

Nothing, however, could be farther from the mind of this monarch, who, giving himself up completely to the selfish policy of Wolsey, had resolved upon a war both with France and Scotland: he denounced his sister as the paramour of the governor, declared that he would listen to no terms until he had expelled this usurper from Scotland; accused him of having stolen out of France, in defiance of the oath of the French king, which guaranteed his remaining in that country; he despatched Clarencieux herald with a severe reprimand to the queen, and addressed, at the same moment, a message to the Scottish Estates, which gave them no choice but the dismissal of Albany, or immediate hostilities with England. To this haughty communication the Scottish parliament replied with firmness and dignity. They derided the fears expressed by Henry for the safety of his nephew the king, and the honour of his sister, as idle, entreating him to refuse

* Caligula, B. vi. 208. 6th January, 1521-2. An original in the queen's hand. "And further, says Margaret, ye shall assure his grace, in my name, of my lord governor, that his mind is aluterlie to haif peace, and for the weil of this realme, without ony uther thought or regard, and his coming here, is alanmarlie to kepe his aith and promise, and for nȝ other causs. And without his coming it had been impossibil to me to haf bidden in this realme."

all credit to the report of such Scottish fugitives as abused his confidence; they reminded him that Albany had been invited by themselves to assume the regency; that he had conducted himself in this office with all honour and ability, as clearly appeared by his discovering and defeating the iniquitous designs of those traitors who had conspired to seize their youthful king, and transport him out of the realm; and they declared, that however solicitous for peace, they would never so far forget themselves or their duty to their sovereign, as to remove that governor whom they had chosen, and once more abandon the commonwealth to those miserable intestine divisions to which it had been exposed during his absence. Here it is our pleasure, said they, that he shall remain, during the minority of our sovereign, nor shall he be permitted or enjoined to depart from this realm, at the request of your grace, or any other sovereign prince whatever. And if, they concluded, "for this cause we should happen to be invaded, what may we do but trust that God will espouse our just quarrel, and demean ourselves as our ancestors have done before us, who, in ancient times, were constreyned to fight for the conservation of this realm, and that with good success and honour."*

Meanwhile, Angus, a fugitive on the English Borders, yet little trusted by Henry, grew impatient of his obscurity and inaction; and although still unreconciled to his wife, so far prevailed on her latent affection, as to induce her to intercede on his behalf with Albany, who, on the condition that he and his brother George Douglas, should retire into a voluntary exile, consented that the process of treason and forfeiture should not be carried into execution against

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xiii. pp. 761, 763.

him. He accordingly passed into France, where he appears to have devoted himself to such studies as rendered him, on his return, a more formidable opponent than he had ever yet been.*

Whilst the Estates replied in this spirited manner to the proposal of Henry, neither they nor the governor could shut their eyes to the injurious consequences of a war with England. Repose and good government were the only means by which their country, worn out by long intestine commotions, could revive; they were, indeed, once more the allies of France, and the French monarch, against whom the emperor and Henry had now declared war, was anxious by every method, to employ their arms in his favour; but their eyes were now open to the sudden changes which were perpetually taking place in European politics, and they had not forgotten the facility with which, on a late occasion, Francis had abandoned their interests when they became incompatible with his own views of ambition. It was determined, therefore, to assemble an army, but to act on the defensive, and to make the best provision for the preservation of peace, by assuming the attitude of war.

To these calm and wise counsels, the violent conduct of Henry offered a striking contrast. He published a sentence of confiscation and banishment against all French and Scottish subjects, who were resident in England, and insisted that the Scots should be driven from his dominions on foot, with a white cross affixed to their upper garments. He commanded the Earl of Shrewsbury to raise the power of the northern counties; and this leader suddenly penetrating as far as Kelso, gave that beautiful district to the flames, but was re-

* Lesley, p. 117. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 201.

pulsed with considerable loss, by the borderers of Merse and Teviotdale. About the same time an English squadron appeared in the Forth, and, after ravaging the coast, returned without opposition to the Thames; a proof, that during this calamitous minority, the naval enterprise of the Scots had declined. It was impossible, however, that these outrages, which might be only preludes to more serious hostilities, should be overlooked; and Albany having assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, it was resolved that war should be instantly declared against England. The young king, now in his eleventh year, was removed from the capital to Stirling castle, Lord Erskine, a peer of tried fidelity, being appointed his sole governor; and letters were issued for the array of the whole feudal force of the kingdom. At this moment, whether induced by the promises of Dacre, or actuated by that capricious mutability in her affection, which Margaret seems to have possessed in common with her brother Henry, the queen suddenly cooled in her attachment to the interests of the regent, and betrayed the whole secrets of his policy to the English warden; becoming an earnest advocate for peace, and intriguing with the chiefs and nobles to support her views.

It was now the period which had been appointed for the muster of the Scottish host, and Albany, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, eighty thousand strong, and with a formidable train of artillery, advanced towards the English Borders, and encamped at Annan. Neither party, however, were sincere or earnest in their desire of war. Henry wished to avoid it, from his anxiety to concentrate his undivided strength against France; the Scottish governor, from a conviction that a war of aggression, although

favourable to the interests of Francis, was an idle expenditure of the public strength and the public money. On commencing hostilities, therefore, both belligerents appear to have mutually intimated the condition on which they considered that the war might be speedily concluded. Henry had so far altered his tone as to insist simply on the stipulation that the King of Scots should be placed in the hands of faithful guardians, without adding a word regarding the necessity of Albany's departure from the realm; whilst the regent declared that he was ready to stay the march of his army, under the single condition that France should be included in the treaty to be negotiated by the belligerents. The Scottish force, however, advanced to Carlisle; and as the flower of the English army was with their sovereign in France, an universal panic seized the northern counties, which seems to have communicated itself to the desponding despatches of Wolsey; but Dacre, who knew from the queen-dowager the aversion of the leaders to the war, and the pacific desires of the regent, immediately opened a correspondence with the governor, and, by a course of able negotiations, succeeded in prevailing upon him to agree to an abstinence of hostilities for a month, for the purpose of sending ambassadors into England. He then disbanded his army, without striking any blow of consequence.* It has been the fashion of the Scottish historians to arraign the conduct of Albany on this occasion, as singularly pusillanimous and inglorious: but a little reflection will convince us, that the accusation is unfounded. It had been the advice of Bruce, a master in the art of Scottish war, from whose judgment

* Lesley, Bannatyne edit. p. 123. State Papers, p. 107. Wolsey to Henry the Eighth.

few will be ready to appeal, that, in maintaining their independence, the Scots should abstain from any lengthened or protracted expedition against England; that they should content themselves with harassing the enemy by light predatory inroads, and never risk a pitched battle, which, considering the inferior resources of the country, might, even in the event of a victory, be ultimately fatal. By this counsel the regent was now wisely guided; and it ought not to be forgotten, that the obstinate neglect of it, in opposition to the remonstrances of some of James's ablest commanders, had brought on the defeat of Flodden, and the subsequent calamities of the country. Dacre and Shrewsbury were indeed unprepared to meet the Scots with a force at all equal to that which they led against him; and had they been combating, as in the days of Bruce, for their national existence, it might have been a question, whether they ought not to have taken advantage of the opportunity, by wasting the country, in a rapid inroad; but now the circumstances were entirely changed. Albany, the queen, and the Scottish nobles, were all equally desirous of peace. Aware of the folly of sacrificing their country to the ambition of France, the peers had declared to Dacre, that "for no love, favour, or fair promises of the French king, would they in any wise attempt war against England, or invade that country:* nothing but Henry's command that they should dismiss the regent from the country, and submit to his dictation, having compelled them to take arms." From this demand he now departed. Dacre, in an altered tone, only stipulated that measures should be taken for the security of the young king; he pro-

* Caligula, B. vi. 256, dorso. Instructions by the king's highness to Clarenceux king at arms.

mised an immediate truce, and to stay the advance of the English army; to command a cessation of all hostilities on the Borders, and to procure a safe conduct for the Scottish ambassadors to the court of England. It would have been unwise to have sacrificed such favourable terms to any idle ambition of conquest or invasion; and the writers who have accused the regent on this occasion, of weakness and infatuation, must have given an imperfect examination to the peculiar and trying circumstances in which he was placed: whilst it appears, however, that the conduct of Albany was undeserving the severity of the censure with which it has been visited, it is not to be denied that Lord Dacre acted throughout with great political ability. I have delayed thus far in examining the conduct of the regent, because our more ancient historians have attributed the sudden peace to dissensions in the Scottish host, whilst Pinkerton, and those who have followed his steps, trace it solely to the pusillanimity of Albany, both opinions being founded, as it appears to me, on erroneous grounds.

On the dismissal of his army, Albany returned to the capital, and resumed the anxious labours of his regency: the queen, at the same time, with characteristic caprice, continued her private correspondence with Dacre, betraying the secrets of the governor, and thus enabling him to defeat his measures by sowing dissensions amongst the nobles; whilst the negotiations for continuance of the truce were brought to an abrupt termination by Henry's decided refusal to include France within its provisions. Nothing, indeed, could be more irksome or complicated than the duties which on every side pressed upon the governor. His engagements to France prompted him to hostilities with

England; his own opinion, and his attachment to his nephew the king, convinced him that peace was to be preferred, for the best interests of the kingdom committed to his care: he had none beside him upon whom he could place implicit reliance in the discussion of state affairs, or the execution of his designs. Many of the nobles were corrupted by the money of England: if he attempted to punish or detect them, they rebelled; if he shut his eyes to their excesses, his indulgence was interpreted into weakness; and the queen-dowager, by the junction of whose party with his own he had so lately succeeded in putting his enemies to a precipitate flight, was not to be trusted for a moment.

It was, perhaps, the difficulties of his situation, and the impossibility of reconciling these various parties and interests, which now induced him to meditate a visit to France for the purpose of a conference with Francis the First, in which he was no doubt solicitous to vindicate what must have appeared to that monarch the culpability of his late inaction. About the same time the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose age incapacitated him for the activity of a military command, was removed, and Surrey, a nobleman of great vigour and ability, appointed chief warden of the Borders; whilst the Marquis of Dorset, and the experienced Dacre, acted under him as wardens of the east and west marches.* The governor now appointed a council of regency, which consisted of the Archbishop of Glasgow chancellor, with the Earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, to whom he added Gresolles, a French knight, much in his confidence; he bound them by oath to attempt nothing which should weaken his authority.†

* Lesley, p. 123.

† Caligula, B. ii. 327. Dacre to Wolsey. "The same lordes are bodely

and promising to return within ten months, under the penalty of forfeiting his regency, he sailed for France, where he was received by the king with much respect and kindness.

During his absence, the war, notwithstanding the assurances of Dacre, and the promises of Henry to preserve peace, continued to rage with undiminished violence on the Borders. The conduct of the English monarch, indeed, must have appeared intolerable to every one who contrasted it with his hollow professions of love to the person and government of his nephew.* Dorset, the warden of the east marches, with Sir William Bulmer, and Sir Anthony Darcy, made an incursion into Teviotdale, and sweeping through the country, left its villages in flames, and robbed it of its agricultural wealth. Surrey, who commanded a force of ten thousand men, broke into the Merse, reduced its places of strength, and afterwards assaulted Jedburgh, which he burnt to the ground, destroying, with sacrilegious barbarity, its ancient and beautiful monastery: Dacre reduced the castle of Fernyhurst, took prisoner the celebrated Dand Ker, a Border chief of great military skill, and afterwards led his host against Kelso, which, with the adjacent villages, he entirely sacked and depopulated. Yet Henry had but lately declared, by Clarencieux, whom, on the retirement of Albany, he had despatched into Scotland, that he considered

sworne, and obliſſhed to do nothing contrary to the ſaid duke's office of tutory unto his retourne."—31st Oct. 1522, at Harbottle.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 212. State Papers, p. 115. "Wherefore, my lords, the king's highness, my sovereign lord, bering tender zele to the good of peax, and specially with his derest nephew, and the Queen of Skotland hath sent me to know whether ye persever and continew in your vertuous intente and mynde towards the establissement of good peax betwix both the realms." Instructions to Clarencieux, an original corrected by the cardinal. Caligula, B. vi. 254. Ibid. 261.

the war unnatural, and was earnestly desirous to live at peace with his royal nephew.

It was scarcely to be expected, that the intimation of such violent proceedings should not have incensed Albany; and, although out of the kingdom, and aware of the difficulty of persuading its divided nobility to any union, he determined to make a last effort to repel the insult offered to his government, and save the kingdom from being alternately wasted as a rebellious district, or administered as a province of England.* To this he was the more inclined, as the extreme cruelty with which the country had been wasted, had, for the moment, roused the resentment of the nobles; and anxious to profit by these feelings, the governor returned to Scotland with a fleet of eighty-seven small vessels and a force of four thousand foot, to which were added five hundred men-at-arms, a thousand hagbutteers, six hundred horse, of which one hundred were barbed, and a fine park of artillery.† It was reported, he was to be followed by an illustrious pretender to the crown of England, Richard de la Pole. His claim as a descendant of a sister of Edward the Fourth, had been supported by Francis the First, and it was now, with the vain object of disturbing the government of England, espoused by Albany.‡

On his arrival, the condition in which the regent found his affairs was far from encouraging. His former ally, the queen-dowager, had completely embraced the English interest, and was eagerly engaged in a negotiation with Dacre and Surrey, which threatened to change the whole aspect of affairs. It was proposed,

* Letter of Wolsey to Sampson and Jerningham, 31st August, 1523, in App. to Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, p. 137.

† Caligula, B. iii. 58. Copy of the Lord Ogle's letter.

‡ Carte, vol. iii. p. 55. State Papers, 122-125.

with the object of flattering the princess, that her son, the young king, should solemnly assume the supreme power, whilst she, at the head of a council, should conduct the government; and the correspondence upon this subject, although at this moment not conducted to a favourable termination, was not long after resumed with complete success. When Albany looked to the nobles, he discovered, that although willing to assemble an army for the defence of the Borders, they were totally averse to an invasion upon a great scale, or to a war of continued aggression, in which they argued, that for the sole object of obliging France, they could gain nothing, and might hazard all; whilst, on turning to Surrey, the English commander, he found him with peace, indeed, upon his lips, yet, by his whole conduct, showing a determination for immediate war. We know, by a letter of this stern leader to Wolsey, that he had resolved to conduct such an invasion as should lay waste the Scottish Border to the breadth of twelve miles, and reduce it for ever after to the state of an uninhabited desert.*

To these difficulties, which pressed him on every side, must be added the circumstance, that the regent had little experience in the peculiar system of Scottish war, but had been trained in the military school of Italy; and that any designs which he attempted to form for the conduct of the campaign, were communicated to Surrey by the queen, whose conduct had made her contemptible in the eyes of both parties. With such complicated embarrassments, ultimate success could scarcely be expected; but, for the moment, Albany, whose coffers had been recently filled, and were liberally opened, found the venality of the Scottish nobles

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 217. Caligula, B. vi. 318-320.

a sure ground to work upon; and even the queen, who at first had thoughts of retreating to England, was so dazzled by his presents, and won by his courtesies, that her allegiance to that country began to waver; nor did she scruple to inform the Earl of Surrey, that Henry must remit more money, else she might be induced to join the French interest.*

It was of material consequence to the regent that hostilities should instantly commence, as the foreign auxiliaries were maintained at a great expense, and the dispositions of the nobility were not to be trusted for any length of time. A parliament was assembled without delay; a proclamation issued for an array of the whole force of the kingdom on the twentieth of October; whilst Albany, surrounded by the principal nobles, made an imposing display of his foreign troops, exercised his park of artillery, harangued the peers upon the still unavenged defeat of Flodden, and joyfully received their assurances of attachment to his service, many falling on their knees, and with earnest protestations, declaring their readiness to obey his orders.† Nothing, however, was farther from their intention; their secret determination, as the result soon showed, was to decline a battle and not advance a step into England; whilst these hollow professions were merely used to secure the pensions which they were then receiving from France. For the selfishness and venality of such conduct, little excuse can be pleaded; and it is unfortunately too frequently to be found in the preceding and subsequent history of the Scottish aristocracy.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 223. Caligula, B. vi. 380. The Queen of Scots to Surrey.

† Caligula, B. iii. 57. Sir William Eure to Surrey. Bedelston, 19th Oct. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 224.

Meanwhile, all looked fair for the moment. On the day appointed, the army mustered in considerable strength on the Borough-Muir, near Edinburgh. Argyle, indeed, delayed at Glasgow, for the purpose of assembling the highlanders and islesmen; the master of Forbes did not hesitate to speak openly against the expedition; and Huntley, one of the most powerful of the peers, excused himself by feigning indisposition; yet a respectable force assembled, amounting, in effective numbers, to about forty thousand men, not including camp followers, which, on such occasions, were always numerous. With this army, Albany advanced towards the Borders; whilst symptoms of an early winter darkened around him, and his march was impeded by dragging his train of artillery through the rude and heavy roads of a country totally dissimilar from that in which they had been accustomed to act. The Scottish soldiers, and their leaders, became jealous of the foreign auxiliaries, who required much attendance and consumed the best of everything; whilst the towns and burghs complained of the necessity imposed on them to furnish transports for their baggage. Owing to these causes, the march was slow, and indications of disorganization early began to exhibit themselves.

Meanwhile, tidings arrived, that Surrey had assembled his host, which out-numbered Albany by a thousand men; whilst the confidence they expressed in their leader; and the unanimity and discipline by which they were animated, offered a striking contrast to their enemies. The whole army was eager to engage in hostilities; but, till Albany commenced an offensive war, it was reported, that Henry's orders confined their commander to defensive operations.

This last rumour appears to have revived amongst the Scottish peers their former indisposition to invade England, and suggested the notion that the war might be yet avoided. It happened that the celebrated Buchanan was at this moment a volunteer in the army; and the account of such an eye-witness is highly valuable. On arriving at Melrose, where a wooden bridge was then thrown across the Tweed, murmurs of discontent began to break forth, which all the entreaties and remonstrances of Albany could not remove; and these gathering force, soon proceeded to an open refusal to advance. It was with the greatest difficulty, that the regent, putting himself at their head, prevailed upon part of the van of the army to cross the bridge; the rearward obstinately refused to follow;* and soon after, the divisions which had passed over, turned their backs, and returned to the Scottish side. To struggle against such a determination was impossible; and Albany, disgusted and incensed with the treachery of men whose solemn promises were so easily forgotten, adopted perhaps the only other alternative; and encamping on the left bank of the Tweed, laid siege to Wark castle with his foreign troops and artillery. The description given by Buchanan of this Border fortress, is valuable, as, with little variation, it presents an accurate picture of the Scoto-Norman castles of this period. It consisted of a high tower placed within an inner court, and surrounded by a double wall. The outer wall enclosed a large space, within which the country people in time of war sought refuge with their cattle; whilst the inner embraced a narrower portion, and was defended by a fosse and flanking towers. With their character-

* Buchanan's Hist. of Scotland, B. xiv. c. xxii.

istic spirit, and ready valour, the French easily carried the first court; but the English setting fire to the booths, in which they had stowed their farm produce, smoked the enemy out of the ground they had gained. The artillery then began to batter the inner wall, and effected a breach, through which the men-at-arms charged with great fury; and had they received support from the Scots, there is little doubt the fortress would have been stormed; but, on effecting a lodgment within the court, so destructive a fire was poured in upon them from the ramparts, shot holes, and narrow windows of the great tower, which was still entire, that it was difficult for such a handful of men to maintain their ground; the assault, nevertheless, was continued till night; and when darkness compelled them to desist, it was proposed to renew it next day.* But it was now the fourth of November, the winter had set in, and a night of incessant snow and rain so flooded the river, that all retreat was threatened to be cut off. The assaulting party, therefore, recrossed the Tweed with the utmost speed, leaving three hundred slain, of which the greater number were Frenchmen, and once more joined the main body of the army. †

While these events occurred, Surrey was at Holy Island; and, on hearing of the attack on Wark castle, he issued orders for his army to rendezvous at Barmore Wood, within a few miles of Wark. The news of his speedy approach confirmed the Scottish nobles in their determination not to risk a battle. So completely had the majority of them been corrupted by the money and intrigues of Daere and the queen-dowager, that Albany did not venture to place them in the front; but, on his

* Caligula, B. vi. 304-306. Surrey to the king.

† Buchanan, Book xiv. c. xxi. xxii. Lesley, Bannatyne edit. p. 125.

march, formed his vanguard of the French auxiliaries; a proceeding rendered the more necessary by the discovery of some secret machinations amongst the peers for delivering him, if he persisted in urging hostilities, into the hands of the enemy.* To attempt to encounter Surrey with his foreign auxiliaries alone, would have been the extremity of rashness, and to abide the advance of the English Earl with an army which refused to fight, must have exposed him to discomfiture and dishonour: under such circumstances, the regent, whose personal courage and military experience had been often tried on greater fields, adopted, or rather had forced upon him, the only feasible plan which remained. At the head of his artillery and foreign auxiliaries, the single portion of the army which had behaved with spirit, he retreated to Eccles, a monastery, six miles distant from Wark; and, little able or anxious to conceal his contempt for those nobles, who, almost in the presence of the enemy, had acted with so much faithlessness and pusillanimity, he permitted them to break up and disperse amid a tempest of snow,—carrying to their homes the first intelligence of their own dishonour.† Such was the result of that remarkable expedition which a historian, whose opinion has been formed upon imperfect evidence, has erroneously represented as reflecting the utmost disgrace upon the courage and conduct of Albany. When carefully examined, we must arrive at an opposite conclusion. The retreat of Albany is only one other amongst many facts, which establish the venality and selfishness of the feudal

* Caligula, B. i. 281. Queen Margaret to Surrey, Stirling, 14th November, 1523.

† Buchanan, B. xiv. e. xxii. p. 228. Ellis's Letters, vol. i. First Series, p. 234. Lord Surrey indulges in somewhat unnecessary triumph on Albany's cowardice and fear in this retreat—as if a general could fight when his officers and soldiers are in mutiny.

aristocracy of Scotland, and the readiness with which they consented, for their own private ends, to sacrifice their individual honour, and the welfare of the country; nor, in this point of view is it unimportant to attend to some remarkable expressions of Surrey, which occur in a letter addressed to his sovereign. They furnish not only an instructive commentary on Henry's alleged anxiety for the welfare of the kingdom of his nephew, but demonstrate the folly of those ideas, which, it is probable, guided some of the Scottish leaders; that an abstinence from hostilities upon their part would be attended by a corresponding moderation on the side of Surrey. That earl observes, that in this expedition, he had so much despoiled the south of Scotland, that seven years would not repair the damage;* whilst he estimates the English losses sustained by the presence of Albany's army at ten pounds.

On his return to the capital, the governor assembled a parliament. of which the proceedings were distracted by mutual accusations and complaints. The peers accused the regent of squandering the public treasure, although the greater part of the money which he had brought from France had found its way in the shape of pensions into their own coffers, or had been necessarily laid out in the support of the foreign auxiliaries. They insisted on dismissing the French troops, whose farther residence was expensive; and, notwithstanding the inclement season of the year, compelled them to embark; an ungenerous proceeding, which led to the wreck of the transports on the shores of the Western Isles, and the loss of great part of their crews.† To

* And hath made suche waste and spoil in his own countre, that they shall not recover these seven years. Surrey to Henry the Eighth. Belford. Caligula, B. vi. p. 306.

† Caligula, B. i. 5. Dacre to Wolsey. Morpeth, 28th January.

Albany, such conduct was mortifying in the extreme; it convinced him, that every effort must fail to persuade such men to adopt the only line of conduct which was likely to render the government respected, and to free the country from the dictation of England. He determined, therefore, once more, to retire to France; and, in a conference with the nobility, requested three months leave, in which he might visit that kingdom, and discover what further assistance might be expected from the French king, in carrying on the war with England. His demand, after much opposition, was granted under the condition, that if he did not return on the thirty-first of August, the league with France, and his own regency should be considered at an end:* but the various advices and injunctions to which he desired their attention in his absence, were received with much distrust; the queen-mother declaring, that if he left the kingdom, she must needs act for herself; and the barons replying in nearly the same terms. A loan of forty thousand crowns was positively refused him; and the lords consented with an ill grace to the high and confidential office of treasurer being given, during his absence,† to Gresolles, the same knight who had been added to the council of regency in 1522. These arrangements being completed, and having prevailed on the parliament to intrust the keeping of the king's person to the Lords Cassillis, Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, he took an affectionate leave of his youthful sovereign, and sailed for the continent, committing the chief management of affairs to the chancellor, with the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of

* Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 247, First Series.

† Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey. 31st May, 1524. Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 240, First Series.

Huntley and Argyle.* On quitting the kingdom, Albany asserted that his absence would not exceed three months; but it is probable, that his repeated reverses in a thankless office had totally disgusted him, both with Scotland and the regency; and that, when he embarked, it was with the resolution, which he fulfilled, of never returning to that country.

* Lesley, p. 128.

CHAP. III

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1524—1528.

 CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII.	Francis I.	Charles V.	Charles V.	Clement VII.

FOR the last two years, the Earl of Angus, who had formerly shown himself so cordial a friend of England, had resided in France, whence Henry the Eighth, desirous of employing him in his designs for embroiling the government of Albany, had secretly called him into his dominions. It was now esteemed the moment when his presence in Scotland might once more reinstate the English faction, which had been long gaining strength, in undisputed power; and the earl, whose foreign residence had increased his experience and talent, but not improved his patriotic feelings, at once lent himself to the projects of Henry. During his banishment, he had corresponded with that monarch; although an exile, he had made himself master of the political divisions and intrigues by which the kingdom was distracted; and having agreed upon his plan of operations, he accelerated his preparations for his return to his native country. Before, however, this project could be put into execution, the departure of the regent had given rise to a revolution, which, for a

season, totally changed the aspect of public affairs. In this, the chief actors were Margaret the queen-dowager, and the Earl of Arran; whilst its sudden and startling success seems to prove, that the project had been gradually matured, and only waited for the departure of Albany to bring it into effect. The young king had now entered his thirteenth year, and already gave promise of that vigour of character, which afterwards distinguished him. His mother, no longer controlled by the presence of a superior, determined to place him upon the throne; a scheme, which, by the assistance of England, she trusted, might be easily accomplished; whilst Henry was ready to lend himself to the design, from the persuasion that the royal power, though ostensibly in the king, would be truly in the hands of a council overruled by England. Surrey, therefore, remained in the north, to overawe any opposition, by the terror of an immediate invasion; and Margaret, having gained to her interest the peers to whom the person of the sovereign had been intrusted, suddenly left the palace of Stirling, and accompanied by her son and a small retinue, proceeded to Edinburgh, which she entered, amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. The procession, which, besides the queen-mother and her train, consisted of the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and others of the nobility, moved on to the palace of Holyrood, where a council was held, the king declared of age, and proclamations instantly issued in his name. He then formally assumed the government; the peers tendered their oaths of allegiance; and many, as well of the spiritual as temporal estate, entered into a solemn agreement, by which they abjured the engagements which had been made to Albany, declared his regency at an end, and promised faithfully to main-

tain the supreme authority of their sovereign against all who might dare to question it.*

Against this extraordinary act, of which the real object on the part of Henry could not be concealed, and over which the capricious character of the queen, alternately swayed by the most violent resentments or partialities, threw much suspicion, the only dissentient voices were those of the Bishops of St Andrew's and Aberdeen. They contended that to confer the supreme power upon a boy of twelve years old was ridiculous; that to remove him from the governors to whom his education had been intrusted, and plunge him at once in his tender years into the flatteries and vices of a court, must be certain ruin; and they reminded the nobles of their promises so lately pledged to the Duke of Albany, to whom the regency at this moment unquestionably belonged. For this bold and honest conduct they were by the queen's party immediately committed to prison; nor could the offer from Wolsey of a cardinal's hat induce Beaton to renounce his promises to Albany, or become the tool of England.† The news of the success of this revolution, which in its rapidity had anticipated the wishes of Henry, was received with the utmost satisfaction in England.‡ A guard of two hundred men-at-arms was immediately sent by that monarch at the queen's request, for the security of the person of the young king; whilst, as a

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 238. Lesley, p. 129. Caligula, B. vi. 378. Profession of obedience by the Lords of Scotland. Edinburgh, 31st July, 1524.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 241. Caligula, B. vi. 353. Wolsey to the Duke of Norfolk. Hampton Court, August 19, 1524.

‡ State Papers, p. 150. The letter written to Henry in the name of the young king, informing him of his assumption of the government, was sent by Patrick Sinclair, whom Wolsey denominates a right trusty servant of James; and at the same time describes as a spy of Dr Magnus, and a constant friend of England. Such was the character of this revolution. George Shaw, another personal servant of James, was a spy of Norfolk.—Norfolk to Wolsey, 19th September, 1524. Caligula, B. vi. 362, dorso.

token of his complete approval of her conduct, and an earnest of future favours, Margaret received a present of two hundred marks, and Arran a hundred pounds. In return she earnestly remonstrated against Henry's permitting the return of Angus into Scotland, not without a threat that, should her request be overlooked, she would find another support than that of England. She demanded, at the same time, a pension and the order of the garter for Arran, and declared that without greater supplies it would be impossible for her to defray the charges of the government.

In the meantime a full account of these changes was transmitted by Gresolles, the captain of Dunbar, to the Duke of Albany, and a truce having been concluded for three months with England, it was determined that Dr Magnus, a person of great acuteness and diplomatic experience, should proceed as ambassador to Scotland. He was accompanied by Roger Ratcliffe, a gentleman of the privy chamber, whose agreeable and polished manners would, it was expected, have a favourable influence on the young king.

In the midst of these transactions, the sincerity of the queen became suspected. Her late demands were considered too peremptory and covetous, and the countenance shown to Angus at the English court, in no small degree alienated her affections from her brother; nor was her personal conduct free from blame. With a volatility in her passions which defied the voice of reproof, or the restraints of decency, she had now become enamoured of Henry Stewart, the second son of Lord Evandale, and in the ardour of her new passion, raised him to the responsible office of treasurer. The people had hitherto regarded her with respect, but they no longer restrained their murmurs: Lennox and

Glencairn, who had warmly supported her in the late revolution, left the capital in disgust; and Arran, who had never ceased to look to the regency of Scotland as his right, and in whose character there was a strange mixture of weakness and ambition, though he still acted along with her, held himself in readiness to support any party which promised to forward his own views.

Whilst this earl and the queen continued to receive the money of England for the support of the guards, and the maintenance of their private state, they deemed it prudent to open a negotiation with Francis the First, then engaged in preparations for his fatal expedition into Italy. That monarch received their envoy with distinction: professed his anxiety to maintain the ancient alliance between the kingdoms: reminded them of the intended marriage between the Scottish king and his daughter, and declared, that Angus having secretly escaped from his dominions, without asking his permission or that of Albany, was undoubtedly animated by hostile intentions, and ought to be treated as a fugitive and a rebel.* He addressed also a letter to the queen, in which he besought her to adopt such measures as must secure the true interests of her son. But Margaret's blinded attachment to Henry Stewart, upon whose youth she had now bestowed the high office of chancellor, and Arran's devotion to his own interests, effectually estranged from both the attachment of the nobles, who found themselves excluded from all influence in the government. They, indeed, as well as the queen, were in the pay of England; and to such a degree of organization had the system of bribery and private information been carried, that whilst the Duke of Norfolk maintained his spies even in the palace of

* Caligula, B. vi. 411. Instructions à l'ambassadeur du Roy d'Escoffe.

the king, the original correspondence of the period presents us with the exact pensions allowed to the Scottish adherents of the English court, from the queen and Arran to the lowest agent of this venal association.* Amongst the principal were Arran, Lennox, and the Master of Kilmaurs, afterwards Earl of Glencairn, a nobleman who thus early began to make a profitable trade of his attachment to England. The faction, however, contained within itself the seeds of its disunion; for whilst the queen and Arran dreaded the power of Angus, and warily remonstrated against his return, the peers of the party who found themselves neglected in the administration, looked to this event as the most probable means of recovering the importance which they had lost. It was in this state of things that Wolsey, who began to find that Margaret and Arran would not be sufficiently subservient to England, entered into a secret agreement with Angus,† in which that peer, on condition of his being permitted to enter Scotland, stipulated to support the English interest in that country and the government of James, equally against the open hostility of Albany, and the intrigues of the faction of the queen, which, from the venality and insolence of its measures, seemed to be rapidly hastening its ruin. An attempt was first made to reconcile Margaret to her husband, which completely failed; and symptoms appearing of a coalition between the party of Albany, and that of Arran and the queen, Angus was no longer detained by Henry; but, after an exile of two years, with increased ambition and exalted hopes, he returned to his native country. At

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 246. Caligula, B. i. 70. Robert Lord to the Lord Cardinal. Ibid. 222.

† Caligula, B. vi. 395. Articles of Agreement, dated October 4, 1524; signed by Angus, and his brother George Douglas.

the same time, the English ambassadors, Dr Magnus and Ratcliffe, arrived at the capital; and a complicated scene of intrigue and diplomacy commenced, into the minuter features of which it would be tedious to enter.

The scene which presented itself was indeed pitiable. It exhibited a minor sovereign deserted by those who owed him allegiance and support, whilst his kingdom was left a prey to the rapacity of interested councillors, and exposed to the attacks of a powerful neighbour, whose object it was to destroy its separate existence, and reduce it to the condition of a dependent province.

When we look more narrowly into its condition, we find that three great parties or factions at this moment distracted the minority of James. The first was that of Albany the late regent, supported by the influence of France, and conducted, during his absence, by the talents and vigour of the chancellor Beaton: of the second the leaders were, the Earl of Arran, and the queen-mother, in whom the present power of the state resided, and who possessed the custody of the king's person: whilst at the head of the third was Angus, who had sold himself to the English government. The secret treaty, however, between this peer and Henry, was unknown in Scotland; and so great was the affection of the people for the house of Douglas, with whose history they associated so much chivalrous enterprise and national glory, that on his arrival in his native country, he was received by all ranks with joy and enthusiasm. Meanwhile Wolsey's jealousy of the Queen of Scots became confirmed, when he found that the Bishop of Aberdeen and the chancellor Beaton were set at liberty, and perceived the party of Albany once more rising into a dangerous importance.

Such was the state of affairs on the arrival of Angus

in Scotland, and his improvement in judgment was seen by the moderation of his first measures. He addressed to the queen a submissive letter, professing his attachment to his sovereign, and his anxiety to do him service; he abstained from showing himself at court; and, although able to command an army of vassals, he travelled with a modest retinue of forty horse, in obedience to an order of the government. These quiet courses, however, produced no effect on Margaret, whose ancient love to Angus had long before this turned into determined hatred, whilst with a contempt of all decency, she made no secret of her passion for Henry Stewart, intrusting to his weak and inexperienced hands the chief guidance of affairs. Magnus, the English ambassador, attempted, but with equal want of success, to effect a reconciliation between her and her husband. The continuance of the pensions, the support of the English guard of honour, the present of a considerable sum for the exigencies of the moment, and lastly the promise of a matrimonial alliance between her son and the princess Mary, were artfully held out as inducements to consent to a pacification and to abandon her opposition to Angus. Margaret was immoveable, and, avowing her venality, she did not scruple to assign as her chief motive, that in the event of a treaty of peace with England, the kingdom, by which we may understand herself and Arran, would lose the annual remittance of Francis, which amounted to forty thousand francs.* Thus thwarted in his application to the queen, Magnus, who, in the complicated parties and interests by which he was surrounded, required the exertion of his whole diplomatic talents, began to sound the peers,

* Caligula, B. i. 285-290, inclusive. The Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 248.

and not only found that there was no insurmountable impediment to the reconciliation of Angus and Arran, but that even Beaton the chancellor, the leader of the party of Albany, evinced, though we may suspect his sincerity, no unfavourable disposition to England.* The late regent's continued absence in France, and the vanity of expecting any active co-operation from the French monarch, then occupied with his campaign in Italy, had greatly weakened the influence of Albany, and the great body of the nobility detested the government of the queen. It was determined, therefore, that a sudden blow should be struck, which might at once punish her obstinacy, and ensure the pre-eminence of the English interest.

A parliament having assembled at Edinburgh, the distracted condition of the government, and the expediency of an immediate embassy to England preparatory to a general peace, came before the three Estates. In one measure all parties seemed to agree. Albany's regency, in consequence of his continued absence, was declared at an end, and a committee of regency appointed. It consisted of the chancellor Beaton, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Arran and Argyle, whilst, apparently to lull the suspicions of the queen, she was declared chief in this

* Caligula, B. vi. 333. Dr Magnus and Roger Ratcliffe to Wolsey. Edinburgh, 15th November. In this letter there is a fine description of James V. when a boy of thirteen:—"The quenes saide grace hath had vs furth to solace with the kingges grace here, at Leeth and in the feildes, and to see his saide grace stirre his horses, and renne with a spere amongges other his lordes and seruautes at a gloove, and also by the quenes procuring we haue scen his saide grace vse hym self otherwise pleasauntly booth in singing and daunsing, and shewing familiarite amongges his lordes. All whiche his princely actes and doingges be soe excellent for his age not yet of xiii. yeres till Eister next, that in our oppynnyons it is not possible thay shulde be amended. And myche moore it is to our comforte to see and conceiue that in personage, favor, and countenance, and in all other his procedingges, his grace resemblenth veray myche to the kingges highnes [Henry VIII.] our maister."

council. Such was the state of matters, and the parliament had now sat for a week, when, on the twenty-third of November, before daylight, an alarm was heard at the walls of the capital, and a party of armed men, fixing their scaling-ladders on the parapet, made good their entrance into the town, after which, with shouts and acclamations, they opened the gates to their companions. It was now discovered that this force, which amounted only to four hundred men, was led by the Earls of Angus and Lennox; Scott of Buccleugh, the Master of Kilmaurs, and other chiefs, had joined them; and as daylight broke they advanced fearlessly to the cross, and proclaimed that they came as faithful subjects to the king's grace; they next proceeded to the council of regency which had assembled in great alarm, and repeating the same assurance, declared that the young king was in the hands of evil-disposed persons, who were compassing their ruin and that of the whole nobility; wherefore they required them to assume the custody of their monarch, and exercise the chief rule in the government.* During these proceedings the castle, which was in the hands of the queen's party, began to open its fire upon the town with the object of expelling Angus; and in the midst of the thunder of its artillery, and the shouts of the infuriated partisans, a deputation, consisting of the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Magnus the English ambassador, hurried to the palace, where they found the queen, and some lords of her party, denouncing vengeance against Angus, and mustering a force of five hundred men with which they proposed to assault him. On their arrival Margaret consented to receive

* Magnus and Roger Ratcliffe to the Lord Cardinal. Edinburgh 20th Nov. Cal. B. i. 121. Lesley, p. 131.

the bishop and his associate, but she peremptorily ordered Magnus to begone to his lodging, and abstain from interfering in Scottish affairs—a mandate which that cautious civilian did not think it prudent to disobey. Meanwhile the fire of the fortress continued, and the peaceful citizens fell victims to the unprincipled efforts of two hostile factions. The conduct of Angus, however, was pacific; his followers abstained from plunder; no blood was shed, although they met with various peers with whom they were at deadly feud; and upon a proclamation, commanding him, in the king's name, to leave the city, he retired to Dalkeith towards dusk. After dark the queen, taking with her the young king, proceeded by torch-light to the castle, and dismissing all the lords, except Moray, who was devoted to the French interest, shut herself up in the fortress, and meditated some determined measures against her enemies.* Although there is no decisive evidence of the fact, there appears a strong presumption that this attack upon the queen was preconcerted by English influence, and probably not wholly unexpected by Beaton the chancellor. Magnus, indeed, in writing to the cardinal represents it as unlooked for by all parties, but there exists a letter from the Earl of Rothes which seems to throw a doubt upon the sincerity of his ignorance.† It was probably a contrivance of the chancellor to try the strength and judgment of Angus,

* The letter above quoted, in which Magnus and Ratcliffe give an account of this affair, is interesting and curious. "The queen's grace taking with her the young king, her sonne, departed in the evening by torchlight from the abbey to the castell, and ther contynueth, all the lordes being also departed from hence, but only the Erle of Murray fully of the Frenche Faction, and newly comen into favor with the queen's said grace; and as we her, the said erle, and one that was the Duke of Albany's secretary, begyne to compass and practyse newe thynges as muche to the daunger of the said younge kinge as was at the Duk of Albany's being here." Calig. B. i. p. 121, dorso.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 254. Caligula, B. i. 81.

and its consequences were important, for it led to a coalition between this potent prelate, generally esteemed the richest subject in Scotland, and the Douglasses, whose extensive possessions and vassalage placed them at the head of the Scottish aristocracy.

Alarmed at so sudden a turn of affairs, the queen and Arran hastened to appease Henry by an embassy, of which the purpose was to treat of an immediate pacification, upon the basis of the proposed marriage between the young king and the princess Mary.* As a further means of accomplishing this, Marchmont herald was despatched to France, with the announcement that the regency of Albany had been formally declared at an end, and a remonstrance was addressed to Francis against the injurious consequences which too steady an attention to his interests had brought upon the commerce of Scotland.† These measures, if adopted some time before this, might have been attended with the recovery of her influence by the queen; but they came too late; their sincerity was suspected; and although Margaret continued to retain possession of the king's person, whom she kept in the castle of Edinburgh, the Earl of Angus and the chancellor Beaton already wielded an equal if not a superior authority, and had succeeded in attaching to themselves not only the great majority of the nobility, but the affections of the citizens; they were supported also by the English influence; and it became at length evident to the haughty spirit of the queen, that to save the total wreck of her power in Scotland, she must consent to a reconciliation with her husband, and a division of the power which she had abused, with those who were entitled to a share in the government.

The situation of the country, which was the theatre

* Calig. B. vi. 191, dorso.

† Epistolæ Reg. Scot. i. 351-356.

of constant rapine and assassination, called loudly for a settled administration; the nation were disgusted with the sight of two factions who fulminated against each other accusations of treachery and rebellion. Such was the prodigality of the queen, who squandered the royal revenues upon her pleasures, that when the English monarch withdrew the pensions which had hitherto supported her administration, and recalled the guard which waited on the sovereign, the necessities of the state became urgent, and the palace and the court were left in poverty. Under such circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that some decisive step should be adopted by Angus and the chancellor, and, in a meeting of the principal lords of their party, held at St Andrew's, a declaration was drawn up which called upon all who were interested in the good of the common weal to interfere for the establishment of its independence and that of the young king. They represented the sovereign as imprisoned by an iniquitous faction in an unhealthy fortress, exposed to the unwholesome exhalations of the lake by which it was surrounded, and incurring additional danger from the reiterated commotions of the capital.* They protested that no letters or orders of the king ought to be obeyed until promulgated by a council chosen by the parliament, and they summoned a convention of the three Estates to meet on the sixth of February, at Stirling.

These were bold measures; but the queen determined to make yet one effort for the confusion of her enemies.

* Caligula, B. vi. 394. Articles concluded between my Lord Cardinal's Grace and the Earl of Anguish. 25th January, 1524, *i. e.* 1524-5. It commences thus:—"We dou you to witt, that for as mekill as it is understandin be the weill avisit lordis of oure soveran lordis counsaill, they seand daily slaughte-ris, murtharis, reiffis, theftis, depredationis, and heavy attemptates that ar daily and hourly committit within this realme in falt of justice, our soveran lord beand of less age, &c."

She appealed to England, flattered Henry by a pretended acquiescence in his designs, urged the accomplishment of the marriage between her son and the princess, and earnestly requested the advance of the Duke of Norfolk with ten thousand men to the Borders; she next assembled the few peers who remained with her in the castle, expatiated on the arrogance of their opponents, and implored them to raise their followers, and give battle to the enemy; but Henry suspected her sincerity, the peers dreaded the insolence of her new favourite, Henry Stewart; and she discovered, with the deepest mortification, that from neither could she expect anything like cordial support. She submitted, therefore, to the necessity of the case, and agreed to a conditional reconciliation with her husband,* the terms which she was permitted to dictate being more favourable than from her dependent situation might have been expected. Her first stipulation evinced the inveteracy of her feelings against Angus, who, upon pain of treason, she insisted should not assume any matrimonial rights, either over her person or her estate; the king, her son, she agreed to remove from the castle to a more salubrious and accessible residence in the palace of Holyrood; the custody of his person was to be intrusted to a council of peers nominated by the parliament, and over which the queen was to preside;† the patronage of all the highest ecclesiastical benefices was to belong to a committee of the nobles, amongst whom Margaret was to be chief, whilst all below the value of a thousand pounds were to be placed at her sole disposal. Upon these conditions the pacification between the two parties was concluded, and Angus, supported by the chancellor

* Magnus to Wolsey. Edinburgh, 22d Feb. 1524-5. Caligula, B. ii. 59-61. Lesley, p. 132.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 289. 22d Feb. 1524-5.

Beaton, who was now the most influential man in Scotland, resumed his authority in the state.

Magnus, the acute minister of Henry, had from the first suspected the sincerity of the queen, and within a short period her duplicity was completely detected.* The very day on which the agreement with the peers and her husband was concluded, she opened a secret negotiation with Albany, acknowledged his authority as regent, professed a devotion to the interests of France, denounced as ignominious the idea of a peace with England, declared that she would leave Scotland sooner than consent to a sincere reconciliation with Angus, and eagerly requested the interest of Francis and Albany to accelerate at the Roman court her process of divorce. For such conduct, which presented a lamentable union of falsehood and selfishness, no apology can be offered; and it is satisfactory to find that it met with its reward in almost immediate exposure and disappointment. Her letters were intercepted and transmitted to England, and the French monarch long before they could have reached him was defeated and made prisoner in the battle of Pavia.†

A minute account of the continued plots and intrigues which for some time occupied the adverse factions would be equally tedious and uninteresting. Nothing could be more unhappy than the condition of Scotland, torn by domestic dissension, exposed to the miseries of feudal anarchy, with a nobility divided amongst themselves, and partly in the pay of a foreign power; a minor monarch whose education was neglected, and his caprices or prepossessions indulged that he might be subservient to his interested guardians, a

* Caligula, B. ii. 61.

† Calig. B. vi. 416. A packet of letters sent from the Duke of Albany to his factor at Rome intercepted within the Duchy of Milan.

clergy, amongst whom the chief prelates were devoted to their worldly interests, and a people who, whilst they groaned under such manifold oppressions, were yet prevented by the complicated fetters of the feudal system from exerting their energies to obtain redress. All was dark and gloomy, the proposal of a lengthened peace with England, and a marriage between the king and the Princess Mary, appeared to be the single means which promised to secure anything like tranquillity; and this measure, if guarded so as to prevent a too exclusive exertion of foreign influence, might have been attended with the happiest results; yet such was the infatuation of the queen-mother, that she gave the match her determined opposition, and, by her influence with her son, implanted an aversion to it in his youthful mind.

It was not to be expected that the characteristic impetuosity and haughtiness of Henry should brook such conduct, and he addressed to his sister a letter so replete with reproaches, that, on perusing it, she burst into tears, and bitterly complained that the style of the king was more fit for some vulgar railer, than to be employed by a monarch to a noble lady.* Yet terrified by its violence, and convinced that her partisans were gradually dropping away, she replied in a submissive tone. So deep, indeed, were her suspicions of Angus, and the chancellor, with whom she had lately entered into an agreement, that she refused to trust her person in the capital, where her presence in a parliament was necessary as president of the Council of State; and as the recent truce with England could not be proclaimed without her ratification, the country was on the point of being exposed to the ravages of

* Calig. B. vii. 3. Letter of Magnus to Wolsey, Edinburgh, 31st March.

Border war. It was therefore determined, that the deed should be effectual without this solemnity, and irritated by this last indignity, she attempted a secret negotiation with the queen-mother of France, who, upon the captivity of her son in the battle of Pavia, had succeeded to the regency. Even this resource failed her, for by this time Wolsey had quarrelled with the emperor, and according to those selfish views, by which his public policy was often directed, had prevailed upon his royal master to conclude a treaty with France; a death-blow to the hopes of the Scottish queen, and the prospects of the French faction. In the proceedings of the same parliament, there occurs a strong indication of the increase of the principles of the Reformation; and we learn the important fact, that the books of Luther had made their way into Scotland, and excited the jealousy of the church. It was enacted, that no merchants or foreigners should dare to bring into the realm, which had hitherto firmly persevered in the holy faith, any such treatises on pain of imprisonment, and the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes; and it was enjoined, that all persons, who publicly professed such doctrines, should be liable to the same penalties.*

An embassy now proceeded to England, a truce of three years was concluded; and whilst the queen-mother retained merely a nominal authority, the whole of the real power of the state gradually centred in Angus and the chancellor. A feeble attempt was indeed made by Arran, to prevent by force the ratification of the truce; and for a moment the appearance of a body of five thousand men, which advanced to Linlithgow, threatened to plunge the country into war;

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 295.

but the storm was dissipated by the promptitude of Douglas. Taking the king along with him, and supported by the terror of the royal name, he instantly marched against the rebels, who, without attempting to oppose him, precipitately retreated and dispersed.*

At this moment the country, so long distracted by the miseries of Border war and internal anarchy, enjoyed something like a prospect of tranquillity. A pacification of three years had been concluded with England;† and this was an important step towards the marriage which had been lately contemplated between the young king and the Princess Mary. The alliance between England and France had destroyed, for the moment, the French party in Scotland, and removed that fertile source of misery which arose to that country out of the hostilities of these great rivals; the anxiety of Henry to accomplish a reconciliation between Angus and his sister the queen was sincere; and if Margaret had consented to a sacrifice of her private feelings it would have probably been attended with the best effects. Magnus, whose prolonged residence in the capital as the envoy of England was disliked by the people, had, by his departure, removed this cause of enmity; and the able Lord Dacre, whose intrigues for so many years had sown disunion and treachery amongst the nobles, and defeated every exertion of the well-affected to promote peace and good government, was removed by death from the stormy element in which he had presided.‡

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 271. Lesley, 133.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297.

‡ This able and busy lord, whose MS. correspondence, first opened by the acute Pinkerton, presents the most interesting materials for the history of this period, is entitled to the equivocal merit of being the inventor of that policy which was afterwards carried to perfection by the sagacious Burleigh under Elizabeth: the policy of strengthening the government of his sovereign by the organized system of corruption, bribery, and dissensions, which he

Everything, therefore, seemed to promise repose ; but this fair prospect was defeated by the obstinacy of the queen-mother, and the towering ambition of Douglas. Blinded by her attachment to Stewart, Margaret would not for a moment listen to the proposal of a reunion with her husband ; and he, who desired it not from any affection, but with the motive of possessing himself of her large estates, renounced all desire of reconciliation the moment he discovered that the council would withhold their consent from such a project. The divorce accordingly was pronounced with that mischievous facility, which marked the prostitution of the ecclesiastical law ; and scarcely was the sentence passed, when Margaret precipitately wedded her paramour, Henry Stewart, who disdained to ask the consent of the king, or to communicate the event to his chief ministers. Incensed at this presumption in an untitled subject, the Lords of the Council, in the name of the king, sent Lord Erskine with a small military force to Stirling, where the queen resided ; and the princess was compelled to deliver up her husband, who submitted to the ignominy of a temporary imprisonment.*

Hitherto, the great object of Angus had been to accomplish a reconciliation with the queen, and, possessing her influence and estates, with the custody of the king's person, he thus hoped to engross the supreme power. This scheme was now at an end, and its discomfiture drove him upon new and more violent courses. His authority in the capital, and throughout

encouraged in the sister kingdom ; he died 25th Oct. 1525. Pinkerton informs us, the estates of Dacre afterwards passed by marriage to the Howards earls of Carlisle. It is possible, therefore, that, in the papers of that noble house, there may be some of Lord Dacre's manuscripts.

* Lesley, p. 133. Caligula, B. vii. 29. Sir William Dacre to Wolsey, 2d April, 1525.

the whole of the south of Scotland was immense ; since the marriage of the queen, he had effected a union with Arran and his adherents,—a party which, in feudal dignity and vassalage, was scarcely inferior to his own ; he was warden of the marches, an office of great authority ; and his place as one of the Council of State gave him, according to the act of a recent parliament, a command over the person of the young king, which he had employed with great success to win his boyish affections. The party of Albany had gradually disappeared ; the queen, since her marriage, had fallen into contempt : Lennox, one of the most powerful of the peers, had become a firm ally of Angus ; and nothing but the authority of the Secret Council, which resided chiefly in the chancellor Beaton, stood between the earl and the entire command of the state. In these circumstances, an artful stroke of Douglas's enabled him at once to reach the summit of his ambition.

The king had now completed his fourteenth year, a period, when, by the law of the country, his majority as an independent sovereign commenced. The event took place in April, and between this period and the month of June Angus appears to have matured his plans. On the thirteenth of that month, a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, and an ordinance was suddenly passed, which declared that the minority of the sovereign was at an end ; that the royal prerogative now rested solely in the hands of the king, who had assumed the government of the realm, and that all other authority which had been delegated to any person whatever was annulled ;* a measure against which, as it was founded apparently

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 301. Crawford's Officers of State, pp. 67, 68.

on the most substantial legal grounds, neither the chancellor, nor the Secret Council could protest, but which in one moment destroyed their power. But although the statute which gave the powers of the government to the Secret Council was annulled, the act of the three Estates, which intrusted the keeping of the king's person to certain peers in rotation, remained in force,—of these Angus was one; and this crafty statesman had taken care to convene the parliament at the precise time, when, by a former act, it belonged to himself and the Archbishop of Glasgow to assume the guardianship of the king, so that this new resolution of the three Estates evidently placed the supreme power in the hands of him who had the custody of the sovereign. It was an able stroke of policy, but it could not have occurred under any other than a feudal government.

To masquerade this usurpation, a new Secret Council was appointed, consisting chiefly of the friends of Angus, and including the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Prelates of Aberdeen and Galloway, the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Lennox, and Glencairn, with the Lord Maxwell, whose advice, it was declared, his grace the sovereign will use for the welfare of the realm; but it was shortly perceived, that their authority centred in Angus alone, and that it was to be wielded with no mild or impartial sway. One of their first acts was to grant a remission to themselves for all crimes, robberies, or treasons, committed by them during the last nineteen years;* and within a few months there was not an office of trust or emolument in the kingdom, which was not filled by a Douglas, or by a creature of that house:

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 307. This remission the Douglasses afterwards pleaded in 1523. Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 323.

Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy was made high-treasurer; Erskine of Halton, secretary; Crichton abbot of Holyrood, a man wholly devoted to the interests of Angus, privy-seal; and to crown the whole, the earl sent a peremptory message to Beaton, requiring him to resign the great seal, which this prelate not daring to disobey, he, without delay installed himself in the office of chancellor.

The ancient tyranny of the house of Douglas now once more shot up into a strength which rivalled or rather usurped the royal power; the Borders became the scene of tumult and confusion, and the insolence of the numerous vassals of this great family was intolerable. Murders, spoliations, and crimes of varied enormity were committed with impunity. The arm of the law, paralysed by the power of an unprincipled faction, did not dare to arrest the guilty; the sources of justice were corrupted, ecclesiastical dignities of high and sacred character became the prey of daring intruders, or were openly sold to the highest bidder, and the young monarch, who was watched with the utmost jealousy and rigour, began to sigh over a captivity, of which he could not look for a speedy termination.

Such excesses at length roused the indignation of the kingdom; and Lennox, one of the most honest of the peers, secretly seceded from Angus. It was now the middle of summer, and as the Armstrongs had broken out into their usual excesses on the Borders, Angus, with the young king in his company, conducted an expedition against them, which was attended with slight success. Before this, however, James had contrived to transmit a secret message to Lennox and the laird of Buccleugh, a potent vassal of that house, which complained bitterly of the duration in which he was held

by the Douglasses; and as the royal cavalcade was returning by Melroso to Edinburgh, Walter Scott of Buccleugh suddenly appeared on a neighbouring height, and, at the head of a thousand men, threw himself between Angus and the route to the capital.* Douglas instantly sent a messenger, who commanded the Border chief, in the royal name, to dismiss his followers; but Scott bluntly answered, that he knew the king's mind better than the proudest baron amongst them, and meant to keep his ground, and do obeisance to his sovereign, who had honoured the Borders with his presence.† The answer was meant and accepted as a defiance, and Angus instantly commanded his followers to dismount; his brother George, with the Earls of Maxwell and Lennox, forming a guard round the young king, retired to a little hillock in the neighbourhood, whilst the earl, with Fleming, Home, and Ker of Cessford, proceeded with levelled spears, and at a rapid pace, against Buccleugh, who also awaited them on foot. His chief followers, however, were outlawed men of the Borders, whose array offered a feeble resistance to the determined charge of the armed knights belonging to Angus; the conflict, accordingly, was short, eighty of the party of Buccleugh were slain, the chief was compelled to retire, and, on the side of the Douglasses, the only material loss was the death of Ker of Cessford, a brave baron, who was lamented by both parties.‡

Not long after this, another and more determined effort to rescue the king from his ignominious thralldom was made by Lennox, who, it was privately suspected, had encouraged the attempt of Buccleugh. Having

* Lesley, p. 134.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 330. ‡ Ibid. p. 312.

leagued himself with the chancellor and the queen, this nobleman advanced to Stirling at the head of an army of ten thousand men, whilst, with the hope of conciliating his hostility, the Douglasses despatched against him his uncle Arran, who commanded a superior force. The mission, however, was vain: Lennox declared, that he would enter the capital, and rescue his sovereign, or die in the attempt. Arran instantly despatched a messenger to Angus, then at Edinburgh; who, commanding the trumpets to sound, displayed the royal banner, and, unable to restrain his impatience, pushed on towards Linlithgow, leaving the king to follow, under the charge of his brother, Sir George Douglas. It was on this occasion that a slight circumstance occurred which produced afterwards important effects, and marked the ferocious manners of the times. The young monarch, who was fond of Lennox, and knew that he had taken arms from affection to his person, advanced slowly and unwillingly, and was bitterly reproached for his delay by Douglas. On reaching Corstorphine, the distant sound of the artillery announced the commencement of the battle, and his conductor urging speed, broke into passionate and brutal menaces. "Think not," said he, "that in any event you shall escape us—for even were our enemies to gain the day, rather than surrender your person, we should tear it into pieces;" a threat which made an indelible impression on the royal mind, and was never forgiven.* Meanwhile the action had commenced; and Arran having, with considerable military skill, seized the bridge across the river Avon, about a mile to the west of Linlithgow, Lennox found himself compelled to attempt a passage at a difficult ford, opposite the nunnery of

* Buchanan, xiv. 28.

Manuel; an enterprise by which his soldiers were thrown into disorder, and exposed to a severe fire from the enemy. Yet they made good their passage, and some squadrons, as they pressed up the opposite bank, attacked the army of Arran with great gallantry; but their array had been broken, they found it impossible to form, and were already giving way, when the terrible shout of "Douglas," rose from the advancing party of Angus, and the rout became complete.* Lennox himself fell amongst the foremost ranks, and Arran, a man of a gentle and affectionate nature, was found kneeling beside the bleeding body of his uncle, which he had covered with his cloak, and passionately exclaiming that the victory had been dearly purchased by the death of the wisest and bravest knight in Scotland.† The triumph of Angus was great; his power was consolidated by the total failure of the coalition against it, and the chains of the young king appeared more firmly riveted than ever.

It was hardly to be expected that the Douglasses would use their success with moderation, or neglect the opportunity it offered to destroy effectually the power of their enemies. They accordingly made a rapid march to Stirling, with the intention of seizing the queen and the chancellor; but both had fled, and Beaton found the pursuit so hot, that he was compelled for some time to assume the disguise of a shepherd, and to conceal himself in the mountains till the alarm was over.‡ The distress of the young king was great on hearing of the death of Lennox, and it rose to a feeling of the deepest resentment, when he discovered that after he had surrendered, he was murdered in cold blood by Hamilton the bastard of Arran, a ferocious

* Lesley, p. 136.

† Lindsay, 215.

‡ Ibid. 217.

partisan of Angus. On hearing that the day was going against him, James had sent forward Sir Andrew Wood, with earnest entreaties that his life might be spared, but, in the rejoicings for their victory, his humanity was treated with derision by the Douglasses, whose triumph soon after seemed complete, when Henry the Eighth despatched his letters to offer them his congratulations on their late successes, with his best advice for the education of his nephew, and the entire destruction of their enemies.*

Upon this last point Angus scarcely needed instruction; and having convoked a parliament, he proceeded, with no gentle hand, to the work of spoliation and vengeance. It was first declared, that his and Arran's proceedings in the late rebellion of Lennox, were undertaken for the good of the king, and the safety of the commonwealth; and this act was followed by the forfeiture of the estates of the insurgent lords. To Arran were presented the lands of Cassillis and Evandale; to Sir George Douglas the estate of Stirling of Keir, who had been slain; whilst Angus took for himself the ample principality of Lord Lindsay, and the lands of all the eastern and northern barons who had supported Lennox. To the queen-mother, for whom the king had become a suppliant, he behaved with moderation. She was invited to the capital, welcomed on her approach by her son, who met her with a numerous retinue, permitted to converse with him familiarly, and received with courtesy by Angus, a conduct adopted out of respect to Henry the Eighth, and which showed that her power was at an end; Beaton the chancellor had, in the meantime, by large gifts and the sacrifice of the abbey of Kilwinning, made his peace with his

* Caligula, B. vii. 67, 69. Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, 21st Sept.

enemies, and counted himself happy in being permitted to retire from court; whilst Arran, the successful colleague of Angus, becoming a prey to the most gloomy remorse for the death of Lennox, shut himself up in one of his castles, and declined all interference in matters of state. The government was thus abandoned to an undivided despotism, and the tyranny of the house of Douglas became every day more intolerable to the nation. To bear the name was esteemed sufficient to cover the most atrocious crime, even in the streets of the capital; and, during the sitting of parliament, a baron who had murdered his opponent on the threshold of the principal church, was permitted to walk openly abroad, solely because he was a Douglas; and no one, by his arrestment, dared to incur the vengeance of its chief.*

There were men, however, bred in these iron times, and nursed in that enthusiastic attachment to their chief, created by the feudal principle, who despised all danger, in the desire of fulfilling their duty. Of this an event, which now occurred, strikingly demonstrated the truth. A groom of Lennox, having arrived in the capital, whether by accident or intention does not appear, met a fellow-servant in the street, and eagerly demanded if he had seen Hamilton the bastard of Arran? "I have, and but a short time since," was the reply. "What!" said he, "and wert thou so ungrateful a recreant to thy murdered lord, as to permit him to live?—begone! thou art unworthy of so noble a master." With these words this daring man sought the palace, where a numerous body of the re-

* Caligula, B. vi. 420. Sir C. Dacre to Lord William Dacre, Dec. 2, 1526. The murderer mentioned in the text was the Laird of Lochinvar, who had slain the Laird of Bondby at St Giles' kirk door. "As for th'ordering of God's justice there is noon done in all Scotland."

tainers of Douglas were mustering for a projected expedition to the Borders. Singling out Hamilton from amongst them, he watched him till he left the assembly, and springing upon him as he entered a dark passage, repeatedly buried his dagger in his bosom, leaving him stretched, with six wounds, apparently lifeless upon the ground. As the cry of blood arose, he darted into the midst of the crowd, and might have eluded pursuit but for an order which commanded the palace gates to be closed, and all within the court to draw up against its walls. This scrutiny instantly led to the seizure of the assassin, who was discovered, according to the strong expression of the Scottish law, "Red hand," with the marks of recent blood upon his dagger and his person.* On hearing that Hamilton was likely to survive, he bitterly upbraided himself for the failure of his purpose, and when, in the tortures which preceded his execution, his right hand was amputated, observed, that it merited such a fate, not for its crime, but for its failure. Such were the tempers and the principles which grew out of the feudal system.

To atone for the injustice of his usurpation, Angus, during his progress to the Borders, assumed a severity which constrained the Armstrongs and their lawless adherents to renounce, for a season, their ferocious habits, and to give hostages for their future obedience to the government. He next proceeded to appease a deadly feud which had broken out between the families of Lesley and Forbes, and whose ramifications of private vengeance, extending through the districts of Mar, Garioch, and Aberdeen, plunged the country in blood.†

The highlands, remote from the seat of government,

* Lesley, p. 139. Buchanan, xiv. c. 31.

† Lesley, p. 136.

and completely neglected since the defeat at Flodden, had gradually relapsed into a state of almost irretrievable disorganization. Where the law was not totally forgotten, it was perverted to the worst purposes of rapine and injustice; its processes were employed to screen the spoliator and the murderer; crimes which mingled in their character the ferocity of a savage with the polished cunning of a refined age were perpetrated with impunity; and the venal government of Angus neglected the outrages which they found it lucrative to countenance and almost impossible to repress.

Matters at last proceeded to such an extremity, that the alternative of immediate interference, or the entire separation of the remoter northern counties from the government was presented. Lachlan Macintosh, chief of the noted clan Chattan, was murdered by Malcolmson, his near relative, for no other reason than that he had endeavoured to restrain the excesses of his retainers.* The assassin escaping, buried himself in an island of the lake of Rothiemurchy; but his retreat was invaded, and he fell a victim to the vengeance of the clansmen. The infant son of the chief was delivered to the keeping of the Earl of Moray; and Hector his bastard brother, succeeded to the temporary command of the clan, till the majority of his nephew. Scarcely had he assumed this dignity, when he sent Moray a peremptory order to deliver up the infant, and, on his refusal, mercilessly ravaged his lands, sacked the town of Dyke, which belonged to him, and stormed and razed to the ground his castle of Tarnaway. Nor was this enough: the young heir of Macintosh had been committed to the care of the Ogilvies, Moray's near kinsmen; and, to revenge this imaginary insult, the

* Lesley, p. 137.

ferocious mountaineer appeared before the castle of Pettie, belonging to Ogilvy of Durness, and, carrying it by assault, murdered twenty-four of their house. But the triumph was brief; for when Hector was about to continue his outrages, Moray, who had procured a royal commission, rapidly assembled an army, and suddenly invading the Macintoshes, defeated them with the utmost slaughter. Two hundred of the principal delinquents were made prisoners, and led to instant execution; but the chief himself escaped; and such was the fidelity of his clansmen, that neither rewards nor tortures could induce them to disclose the place of his retreat. His brother, however, was seized and hanged, whilst Hector, flying to the capital, obtained the royal mercy only to fall a victim to the dagger of a monk at St Andrew's, whose history and motive are alike unknown.* Amid these dark and sanguinary scenes, the government of Angus continued firm, being strengthened by the friendship of England, to whose interests he cordially attached himself, and by the apparent accession of the chancellor Beaton. The great wealth of this crafty prelate, and the liberality with which it was distributed to the Douglasses, obtained for him a ready oblivion of his former opposition; and, although Sir George Douglas warned his brother of the dangerous designs which might be in agitation under the pretended reconciliation, Angus, who was inferior to his rival in a talent for intrigue, derided his suspicion.

The reconciliation of the archbishop to his powerful rivals, and his readmission to a share in the government, were signalized by a lamentable event,—the arraignment and death of Patrick Hamilton abbot of

* Lesley, p. 138.

Ferne, the earliest, and, in some respects, the most eminent of the Scottish reformers. This youthful sufferer was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, and Catherine Stewart, a daughter of the Duke of Albany. Educated at St Andrew's, in what was then esteemed the too liberal philosophy of John Mair, the master of Knox and Buchanan, he early distinguished himself by a freedom of mind, which detected and despised the tenets of the schoolmen. He afterwards imbibed, probably from the treatises of Luther, a predilection for the new doctrines; and, being summoned before an ecclesiastical council, he preferred at that time, when his faith was still unsettled, an escape to the continent to the dangerous glory of defending his opinions. At Wittemberg, he sought and obtained the friendship of Luther and Melancthon; they recommended him to the care of Lambert, the head of the university of Marpurg, and by this learned scholar Hamilton became fully instructed in the reformed opinions. No sooner did a full conviction of the errors of the church of Rome take possession of his mind, than a change seemed to be wrought in his character; he that before had been sceptical and timid, became courageous, almost to rashness; and, resisting the tears and entreaties of his affectionate master, declared his resolution of returning to Scotland, and preaching the faith in his native country.* He embarked, arrived in 1527 at St Andrew's, publicly addressed the people, and, after a brief and zealous career, was arrested by the ecclesiastical arm, and thrown into prison. His youth, (he was then only twenty-eight,) his talents, his amiable and gentle manners, interested all in his favour; and many attempts were made to induce him to retract

* Spottiswood, pp. 62, 63. Knox, pp. 7, 8.

his opinions, or, at least, to cease to disturb the tranquillity of the church by their promulgation to the people. But all was in vain: he considered this tranquillity not the stillness of peace, but the sleep of ignorance; he defended his doctrines with such earnestness and acquaintance with scripture, that Aless, a Catholic priest, who had visited him in his cell with a desire to shake his resolution, became himself a convert to the captive, and he was at last condemned as an obstinate heretic, and led to the stake. On the scaffold, he turned affectionately to his servant, who had long attended him, and, taking off his gown, coat, and cap, bade him receive all the worldly goods now left him to bestow, and with them the example of his death. "What I am about to suffer, my dear friend," said he, "appears fearful and bitter to the flesh; but, remember, it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none shall possess who deny their Lord."* In the midst of his torments, which, from the awkwardness of the executioner, were protracted and excruciating, he ceased not to exhort those who stood near, exhibiting a meekness and unaffected courage, which made a deep impression. Lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he exclaimed, "How long, O God! shall darkness cover this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" and when death at last came to his relief, he expired with these blessed words upon his lips, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."† The leading doctrines of Hamilton were explained by himself in a small Latin treatise, which has been translated by Fox, and incorporated in his Book of Martyrs. It contains a

* There is some reason to believe that a scheme for his rescue had been organized by Andrew Duncan of Airdrie, in Fife, one of his most attached followers, but it was discovered and defeated.

† Biographia Brit. Art. Duncan. Kippis' edition.

clear exposition of the manner in which a sinner is justified before God, through faith in Jesus Christ, and a beautiful commentary on some of the principal Christian graces. Although occasionally quaint and obscure, it proves that the mind of this good man was in advance of his age, at least in Scotland.*

It was now two years since Angus had obtained the supreme power. During this time, the despotism of the house of Douglas had been complete; and the history of the country presented the picture of a captive monarch,† a subservient and degraded nobility, and a people groaning under oppression, yet bound by the ties of the miserable system under which they lived to the service of their oppressors. To use the strong and familiar language of an ancient historian, “the Douglasses would frequently take a progress to punish thieves and traitors, yet none were found greater than in their own company;” and an attempt made at this time, by the arch-plunderer himself, to obtain possession of the queen’s dowry lands, so alarmed Margaret and her husband, that, giving way to terror, they suddenly threw themselves into the castle of Edinburgh. But Douglas, taking the young monarch in his company, and summoning the lieges to muster under the royal standard, laid siege to the fortress; and Margaret although she knew that her son was an unwilling enemy, and weary of his fetters, did not dare to disobey his summons. Falling on her knees

* Knox, p. 8, Glasgow edition.

† In *Caligula*, B. ii. 118, Aug. 30th, 1527, is a letter from Magnus to Wolsey, which shows that James had ineffectually remonstrated to Henry VIII. against the thraldom in which he was held by Angus. “This daye,” says Magnus, “passed from hence a chaplaine of the Bishoppe of St Andrew’s, wyth a letter addressed from the younge kyng of Scottes to the kinge’s hiennes, a copy whereof I send; mencioning, among other thynges, that the said yong king, contrary his will and mynd, is kept in thraldom and captivtie with Archibald erle of Anguisshe.”

before the king, she presented the keys of the fortress, and implored pardon for herself and her husband, whilst Angus, in the insolence of uncontrollable dominion, smiled at her constrained submission, and ordered Henry Stewart to a temporary imprisonment.* The secret history of this enormous power on the one hand, and implicit obedience on the other, is to be found in the fact, that the Douglasses were masters of the king's person; they compelled the young monarch to affix his signature to any deeds which they chose to offer him. Angus was chancellor, and the great seal at his command; his uncle was treasurer, and the revenues, as well as the law of the country, with its terrible processes of treason and forfeiture, were completely under his control. So long as James remained a captive, all this powerful machinery was theirs, and their authority, which it supported, could not be shaken; but as soon as the king became free, the tyrannical system was undermined in its foundation and certain to disappear.

The moment destined for the liberation of the monarch and the country was now at hand; nor can it be doubted that James, who had completed his sixteenth year, and began to develop a character of great vigour and capacity, was the chief contriver of the plot for his freedom. Beaton, the ex-chancellor and his assistant in his schemes, having given a magnificent entertainment to the young king and the Douglasses in his palace of St Andrew's, so completely succeeded in blinding the eyes of Angus, that the conspiracy for his destruction was matured when he deemed himself most secure.†

* Lesley, p. 140.

† Caligula, B. iii. 136. By a letter of Thomas Loggen, one of Magnus's spies, to that ambassador, it appears that the Douglasses had detected Beaton secretly writing to the pope, representing his services, and requesting a car-

James prevailed first on his mother, whom it was not deemed prudent to intrust with the secret, to exchange with him her castle of Stirling for the lands of Methven, to be given with the dignity of peer to her husband; and having placed this fortress in the hands of a captain on whose fidelity he could rely, he induced Angus, under some plausible pretext, to permit him to remove to his palace of Falkland, within a moderate distance from St Andrew's.* It was here easy for him to communicate with Beaton, and nothing remained but to seize a favourable moment for the execution of their design: nor was this long of presenting itself. Lulled into security by the late defeat of the queen, and the well-feigned indifference of the chancellor, the Douglases had for a while intermitted their rigid watch over the king. Angus had passed to Lothian, on his private affairs; Archibald his uncle, to Dundee; and Sir George Douglas, the master of the royal household, having entered into some transactions with Beaton regarding their mutual estates, had been induced by that prelate to leave the palace for a brief season, and to visit him at St Andrew's; only Douglas of Parkhead, captain of the royal guard, was left with the young monarch, who instantly took his measures for escape. Calling Balfour of Ferny, the keeper of Falkland forest, and chamberlain of Fife, he issued orders for a hunting party next morning, commanding him to warn the tenantry, and assemble the best dogs in the neighbourhood; he then took supper, went early to bed, under pretence of being obliged to rise next morning before daybreak, and dismissed the captain of

dinal's hat. It is singular this did not make Angus more cautious. Lindsay p. 206.

* Caligula, B. vii. 73. Credence gevin by the Queene of Scotts to Walter Taite.

his guard, who, without suspicion, left the royal apartment. When all was quiet in the palace, James started from his couch, disguised himself as a yeoman of the guard, stole to the stable, attended by two faithful servants, and, throwing himself upon a fleet horse, reached Stirling before sunrise. On passing the bridge, then secured by a gate and tower, he commanded it to be shut, and kept so at the peril of the warden's life; and then, proceeding to the castle, the governor, in a tumult of delight to behold his sovereign free, knelt down, and tendered his homage as he presented the keys of the fortress, amid the shouts and rejoicings of the garrison. Worn out with anxiety and travel, James now snatched a few hours of sleep; and couriers having been despatched in the interval, he awoke to see himself surrounded by his nobles, and felt, for the first time in his life, that he was a free monarch.* His first act was to summon a council, and issue a proclamation that no lord or follower of the house of Douglas should dare to approach within six miles of the court, under pain of treason,—a step, strongly indicating that vigour and judgment which marked his future administration. The meeting was attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglinton, and Moray, with the Lords Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell, and Montgomery.†

Meanwhile, all this had passed with such speed and secrecy, that the Douglasses still believed the king safe

* Lindsay, Hist. pp. 218, 219. Lesley, p. 140. Caligula, B. vii. 73. Credece of the Queen of Scots to Walter Tait.

† In an unpublished letter of Angus to Dr Magnus, (March 15, 1527,) Caligula, B. i. 105, the vigilance of that peer is strongly marked. In excusing himself for not keeping his appointment, he says, "Thyrdly, as the caiss stands, I dar not a ventur to depairt fra the keping of the kingis person, for danger that way appears; for all the lords ar departit of toun, nane uther lords remayning with his grace as now, bot my lord of Glasgow, Levenax, and I; and as I belief the kingis grace of England nor ze suld be easie, yat I depairt fra the keping of my said soveran's person, in this tyme of necessitie, sic perell appearing and brekis throu thir lait novellis."

in the palace of Falkland; and so secure did they esteem themselves, that Sir George Douglas, the master of the household, arriving late in the evening, and hearing that James had retired for the night, made no further inquiries, but sought his own chamber. A loud and early knocking awoke him; and Carmichael, the bailie of Abernethy, rushing in, demanded if he had lately seen the king. "His grace," said Douglas, "is yet in bed." "No, no," cried Carmichael; "ye are all deceived and betrayed; the king has passed the bridge of Stirling." Sir George now flew to the royal apartment, found it locked, burst open the door with his foot, and, to his consternation, found that the report was true. The royal vestments, which had been thrown off for the friendly disguise, lay upon the unoccupied couch; and Douglas, awakening to the full extent of the calamity, stood, for an instant, rooted to the ground, in an agony of rage and disappointment. To raise the cry of treason, and to summon Angus and his uncle, was the work of a few minutes; within a few hours Angus himself and Archibald Douglas arrived in breathless haste, and without farther delay, the three lords, accompanied by a slender retinue, set out for Stirling. Before they had proceeded any distance, they were met by the herald, intrusted with the royal proclamation; and this officer reining up his horse, boldly read the act, which prohibited their approach to court under the pain of treason. For a moment they hesitated: the hereditary and haughty fearlessness of their house impelled them to proceed; but the terror of the royal name arrested their steps; and the same weapons which they had found invincible in their own grasp were now employed against themselves. All the penalties of treason, the loss of their property, the

desertion of their vassals, the forfeiture of their lives, rose in fearful array before them ; and, with imprecations against their own carelessness and folly, they turned their horses heads, and slowly rode back to Linlithgow.*

* Buchanan, xiv. 33. In Mr Pitcairn's valuable collection of Criminal Trials, to which, in the course of my historical investigations, I have been under repeated obligations, there occurs (vol. i. p. 188) an incidental notice, from which we may pretty nearly fix the hitherto uncertain date of the king's escape. Pinkerton (vol. ii. p. 291) assumes it to have taken place in July. This, however is undoubtedly incorrect ; for we find, on December 1st, 1528, the Lady Glammis was summoned to answer before parliament for the assistance afforded the Earl of Angus, in convocating the lieges for eight days immediately preceding June 1, to invade the king's person. This brings the date of the escape to the 22d or 23d of May.

CHAP. IV.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1528—1542.

 CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII.	Francis I.	Charles V.	Charles V.	Clement VII. Paul III.

JAMES the Fifth, who by this sudden revolution had been delivered from the thralldom of a successful faction, and invested with the supreme power, was still a youth in his seventeenth year. Even as a boy, he appeared to the discriminating eye of Magnus, Henry's ambassador at the Scottish court, to be brave, manly, impatient of being treated as a child, and possessed of good natural talents. As he grew up, the Douglasses neglected his education, and perverted his disposition by injudicious indulgences. They detected in him a strong propensity to pleasure, which they basely encouraged, under the idea that his mind, becoming enervated by indolence and sensuality, would resign itself to the captivity in which they meant him to remain; but they were not aware of the strength of the character with which they had to deal. It did not, indeed, escape the pollution of such degrading culture; but it survived it. There was a mental vigour about the young king, and a strength of natural talent, which developed itself under the most unfavourable circum-

stances: he had early felt, with indignation, the captivity to which he was doomed, by the ambition of Angus; but he saw, for some time, no prospect of redress, and he insensibly acquired, by the necessity of his situation, a degree of patience and self-command, which are rarely found at his years. Under the restraint in which he was kept, the better parts of his nature had, for a while, little opportunity to display themselves. But the plot for his escape, and which appears to have been principally his own contrivance, having succeeded, he became at once a free monarch, and his true character, to the delight of the nation, was found to be marked by some of the highest qualities which could adorn a sovereign. He possessed a strict love of justice, an unwearied application in removing the grievances and promoting the real interests of his people, and a generosity and warmth of temper, which prompted him, on all occasions, to espouse with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed. A stranger to pride, easy of access, and fond of mingling familiarly with all classes of his subjects, he seems to have gained their affections by relying on them, and was rewarded by an appellation, of which he was not unjustly proud, "the King of the Commons."

With regard to the principles which guided his future policy, they arose naturally out of the circumstances in which his mind had been nurtured. The sternest feelings against the Douglasses, to whose ambition he had been made a sacrifice, were mingled with a determination to recover those rights of the crown, which had been forgotten or neglected during his minority, and to repress the power of an overgrown and venal aristocracy. Towards his uncle, Henry the Eighth, he could not possibly experience any other sentiments

than those of indignation and suspicion. This monarch, through the exertions of his able minister, Lord Dacre, had introduced into Scotland a secret system of corruption, by which the nobles had become the pensioned agents of the English government, which maintained innumerable informers in the court and throughout the country, and excited such ceaseless commotions and private wars, that every effort for the maintenance of order and good government was defeated. In his uncle, James had latterly seen nothing but a determination to support his enemies the Douglasses, with the object of degrading Scotland from its rank as an independent kingdom, and, by their aid, administering it according to his pleasure. To destroy this system of foreign dictation, which, since the defeat at Flodden, had been gradually assuming a more serious aspect, was one great object of the king; and whilst such a design rendered his policy inimical to England, it naturally disposed him to cultivate the most friendly relations with France.

To the success of these designs, however, great obstacles presented themselves; which, although for the moment overlooked by the sanguine mind of the king, soon compelled him to act with moderation. Henry the Eighth, and Francis the First, were now bound together by a strict league, of which the great object was, to humble the power of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; and the French monarch received with coldness every advance which endangered a union on which the success of his political schemes so mainly depended. Nor was it long of occurring to the Scottish king, that, with a divided nobility and his finances impoverished by the havoc made in the royal revenues during his minority, it would be wise to pause before he permitted

his individual resentment to hurry the nation into a war; and that, in the meantime, it should be his first object to secure his recent elevation by the immediate proscription of his enemies.

He accordingly proceeded from Stirling to Edinburgh, where a proclamation was issued, prohibiting any Douglas, on pain of death, from remaining in the capital, and making it treason to hold intercourse with Angus or his adherents. It was resolved that a parliament should meet in the beginning of September; the important office of chancellor was bestowed by the king upon his preceptor, Gawin Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow; Cairncross abbot of Holyrood was made treasurer; the bishop of Dunkeld privy-seal;* the command of the capital, with the office of provost, intrusted to Lord Maxwell; and Patrick Sinclair was despatched to the English court with a message to Henry, informing him of the change which had taken place, and the assumption of the supreme power by the young monarch.† During the rapid adoption of these measures, the terror of some sudden attempt by the Douglasses had not subsided. Each night the palace was strictly watched by the loyal peers and their armed followers, who now formed the court; and James himself, clothed in complete mail, took his turn in commanding the guard. After a few days, the king removed to Stirling, and the nobles dispersed to their estates, with a promise to attend the ensuing parliament in great force. Meanwhile, the Earl of Angus had shut himself up in Tantallon, whilst his brother

* Pollock MS. entitled a Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 11, edited by the Bannatyne Club.

† State Papers, Henry VIII. p. 282. James's confidence was ill bestowed on Sinclair, who (State Papers, p. 150) was, in 1524, in the pay of the English government.

Sir George Douglas, and Archibald the late treasurer, after a feeble attempt to make a diversion in his favour, were attacked by Maxwell, and driven from the capital. The measures which James contemplated against these powerful delinquents were not at first so severe as have been generally represented by our historians. Incensed, as he must have been, by the long and ignominious duration in which he had been kept, the young monarch did not instantly adopt that stern and unforgiving policy, to which he was afterwards driven by the Douglasses themselves. The Earl of Angus was commanded to keep himself beyond the waters of Spey, and to surrender his brother Sir George Douglas, and his uncle Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, as hostages for his answering to the summons of treason, which was directed to be raised against him.* Both orders he haughtily disobeyed; he mustered his vassals, fortified his castles, and provoked, instead of conciliating, the royal resentment. Such conduct was attended with the effects which might have been anticipated.

On the second of September, the parliament assembled, and an act of attainder was passed against the Douglasses,† who justified the severity, by convoking their followers, and razing to the ground the villages of Cranston and Cowsland.‡ The lands of the arch-offender Angus, were divided by James amongst those followers, to whose support he had probably been indebted for the success of the late revolution, Argyle, Arran, Bothwell, Buccleugh, Maxwell, and Hamilton the bastard of Arran; whilst to himself the king reserved the castle of Tantallon, a place whose great strength rendered it dangerous in the hands of a sub-

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 322-323. † Ibid. p. 324.

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 11.

ject. All this was easy, as the parliament consisted of such peers and prelates as were devoted to the king; but to carry the sentence into execution was a less practicable matter, and so formidable was the power of Angus, that, for a season, he completely defied the royal wrath. In vain did the young king, in person, and at the head of a force of eight thousand men, commence the siege of Douglas castle; admonished by the strength of the fortifications, and the injury to the harvest which must follow a protracted attempt, he was obliged to disband his army, and submit to the insult of having two villages, near his palace of Stirling, sacked and given to the flames, by a party of the Douglases; who, in allusion to his late escape, remarked, that the light might be useful to their sovereign, if he chose again to travel before sunrise. An equally abortive display was soon after made before Coldingham, in which the royal forces were totally dispersed; and, in a third attempt to reduce Tantallon, the monarch, although supported by a force of twelve thousand men, was not only compelled to raise the siege, but endured the mortification of having his train of artillery attacked and captured, after an obstinate action, by Angus in person.* It was on this occasion that the king, whose indignation was increased by the death of Falconar, the captain of his guard, and the best naval officer in the kingdom, burst into the bitterest reproaches against Angus, and is said to have declared, with an oath, that so long as he lived, no Douglas should find a resting-place in Scotland. At length, after repeated failures, and a refusal on the part of Bothwell to lead the army against the formidable rebel, the task of his expulsion from Coldingham was

* Lesley, pp. 140, 141. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 301.

committed to Argyle, who, with the assistance of the Homes, compelled him to fly into England, an asylum from which he was not destined to return, till after the death of James.

Under other circumstances than those in which the English monarch was now placed, the presence at his court of so formidable a person as Angus might have led Henry to an espousal of his quarrel, and have defeated any proposals for a pacification; but the present relations of this prince with the continent, and his strict coalition with Francis the First against the emperor, made him solicitous for tranquillity on the side of Scotland; he contented himself, therefore, with an earnest request for the restoration of the rebel peer, and when this was peremptorily refused by James, abstained from interrupting the negotiations by any cavil or reiteration. The Scottish king, on the other hand, professed his obligations to Henry for many favours conferred during his minority, a sentiment for which we can scarcely give him the credit of sincerity; and having despatched his commissioners to meet with Magnus and Sir Thomas Tempest, the English ambassadors, at Berwick, a pacification of five years was concluded between the two countries, and ratified on the fourteenth of December, 1528. To Angus was granted a remission of the sentence of death, and a consent that he might remain in England; but the forfeiture of his estates was sternly enforced, and Tantallon, with the other castles belonging to the Douglasses, delivered into the hands of the king.

Having settled this important matter, and secured himself on the side of England, James directed his attention to the state of the Borders,* where the dis-

* In the State-paper office, is an original letter of James to Henry, dated

orders incident to a minority had increased to a degree which threatened the total dismemberment of these districts. Such excesses were mainly to be attributed to Angus, the late warden of the marches, who had secured the friendship of the Border chiefs, by overlooking their offences, whilst he had bound them to his interests by those feudal covenants, named "bands of manrent,"* which formed one of the darkest features of the times, compelling the parties to defend each other against the effects of their mutual transgressions. The task, therefore, of introducing order and respect for legal restraints amongst the fierce inhabitants of the marches, was one of extreme difficulty. The principal thieves were the Border barons themselves, some of whom maintained a feudal state almost royal; whilst their castles, often impregnable from the strength of their natural and artificial defences, defied every attempt to reduce or to storm them.

The energy of the young monarch overcame these difficulties. Having assembled his parliament at Edinburgh, and ascertained his own strength, he represented to the three Estates the impossibility of maintaining the laws, when many of the highest nobles declined or dreaded the task of enforcing their obedience, and others were notorious for their violation of them. A

at Jedburgh, 23d July, written on his progress to the Borders. "And at this tyme," says he, "we ar in travaille toward oure bordouris, to put gude ordoure and rewle upon thame, and to stanche the thyftes and rubbary's committit be theiffis and tratouris upon the samyn. And as our besynes takis effect, we sall advertise zou."

* "And howbeit, the said Erle [Angus] beand our chancellare, wardane of our est and middil marches, and lieutenant of the samyne, procurit divers radis to be maid upon the brokin men of our realme; he usit our autorite, not against yame, bot against our baronis and uthers our lieges, yat wald not enter in bands of manrent to him, to be sa stark of power, that we suld not be habil to reign as his prince, or haif dominioun about hym or our lieges." MS. Caligula, B. ii. 224. Articles and Credence to be shown to Patrick Sinclair, July 13, 1528. Signed by James the Fifth.

strong example of rigour was, he said, absolutely required; and this remark was instantly followed by the arrest of the Earl of Bothwell lord of Teviotdale: Home, Maxwell, Ker of Fernyhirst, Mark Ker, with the barons of Buccleugh, Polwarth, and Johnston shared his imprisonment;* and having thus secured some of the greatest offenders, the king placed himself at the head of a force of eight thousand men, and traversed the disturbed districts with unexpected strength and celerity. Guided by some of the borderers, who thus secured a pardon, he penetrated into the inmost recesses of Eskdale and Teviotdale, and seized Cockburn of Henderland and Scott of Tushylaw before the gates of their own castles. Both were led to almost instant execution; and by a sanguinary example of justice, long remembered on the marches, the famous freebooter, Johnnie Armstrong, was hanged, with forty-eight of his retainers, on the trees of a little grove, where they had too boldly presented themselves to entreat the royal pardon. The fate of this renowned thief, who levied his tribute, or black mail, for many miles within the English Borders, has been commemorated in many of the rude ballads of these poetic districts; and if we may believe their descriptions, he presented himself to the king, with a train of horsemen, whose splendid equipments almost put to shame the retinue of his prince.†

This partial restoration of tranquillity was followed by the news of a formidable but abortive attempt to separate the Orkneys from the dominion of the crown. The author of the rebellion, whose ambition soared to the height of an independent prince, was the Earl of Caithness; but his career was brief and unfortunate. the majority of the natives of the islands were steady

* Lesley, pp. 141, 142.

† Lesley, pp. 142, 143. Lindsay, p. 226.

in their loyalty, and in a naval battle, James Sinclair the governor, encountered the insurgents, defeated and slew their leader, with five hundred men, and, making captives of the rest, reduced these remote districts to a state of peace.* But whilst tranquillity was restored in this quarter of his dominions, the condition of the Isles became a subject of serious alarm. The causes of these renewed disturbances are not to be traced, as in the former rebellion, to any design in the islesmen, to establish a separate and independent principality under a prince of their own election; and it is probable that the imprisonment of Donald of Sleat, in the castle of Edinburgh, extinguished for a season all ambition of this sort. The sources of disaffection originated in a fierce family feud, which had broken out between the Macleans of Dowart and the Earl of Argyle, who, holding the high office of governor of the Isles, was frequently tempted to represent any attack upon himself or his adherents as a rebellion against the authority of the sovereign. A daughter of the earl, Lady Elizabeth Campbell, had been given in marriage to Maclean of Dowart, and the union proving unhappy, the ferocious chief exposed her upon a desolate rock near the isle of Lismore, which, at high water, was covered by the sea. From this dreadful situation she was rescued by a passing fishing-boat; and, not long after, Sir John Campbell of Calder avenged the wrongs of his house by assassinating Maclean, whom he stabbed in his bed, although the highland chief had procured letters of protection and believed himself secure.† Other causes of jealousy increased the mutual

* Lesley, p. 141.

† This murder by Sir John Campbell is alluded to in strong terms in an interesting document, preserved in the State-paper Office, dated August, 1545, entitled, "Articles proposed by the Commissioners of the Lord of the

exasperation; the Macleans, strengthened by their union with the clan Ian Mhor, and led by Alexander of Isla, defied the authority of Argyle, and carried fire and sword through the extensive principality of the Campbells; whilst they, on the other hand, retaliated with equal ferocity, and the isles of Mull and Tiree, with the wide district of Morvern, were abandoned to indiscriminate plunder.

Such was the state of things, in these remote districts, during the years 1528 and 1529; about which time Argyle earnestly appealed to the council, and, describing the deplorable condition of the country, demanded more extensive powers to enable him to reduce it under the dominion of the law. But the sagacity of James suspected the representations of this powerful noble; and, whilst he determined to levy a force sufficient to overawe the disaffected districts, and, if necessary, to lead it against the Isles in person, he endeavoured to avert hostilities, by offering pardon to any of the island chiefs who would repair to court and renew their allegiance to their sovereign. These conciliatory measures were attended with success. Nine of the principal islesmen, with Hector Maclean of Dowart, availed themselves of the royal safe-conduct, and

Isles to the Privy-council, as the basis of an agreement to be entered into between Henry the Eighth and him for the service of his troops." The passage is curious, as evincing the enmity of the islemen to Scotland: Quhairfor, your Lordships sall consider we have beyne auld enemys to the realme of Scotland, and quhen they had peasche with ye kings hienis, thei hanged, hedit, presoned, and destroyed many of our kyn, friendis, and forbearis, as testifies be our Master, th' Erle of Ross, now the king's grace's subject, ye quhilk hath lyn in presoun afor he was borne of his moder, and is not releiffit with their will, bot now laitlie be ye grace of God. In lyke-wise, the Lord Maclanis fader, was cruellie murdressit, under traist, in his bed, in the toun of Edinbruch, be Sir John Campbell of Calder, brudir to th' Erl of Argyle. The capitane of Clanranald, this last zeir ago, in his defens, slew the Lord Lovett, his son-in-law, his three brethren, with xiiii scoir of men; and many uther crewell slachter, hurnying, and herschip that lath beyn betwix us and the saidis Scottis, the quhilk war lang to wryte.

personally tendered their submission; whilst, soon after, Alexander of Isla repaired to the palace of Stirling, and in an interview with the monarch, expressed his contrition for his offences, and was received into favour. He promised to enforce the collection of the royal rents upon the crown lands of the Isles; to support the dignity and respect the revenues of the church; and to maintain the authority of the laws, and the inviolability of private property. Under these conditions the monarch reinstated the island lord and his vassals in the lands which they had forfeited by their rebellion.*

In the late negotiations, Henry the Eighth had alluded to his wishes for a matrimonial alliance with Scotland,† and his ally Francis the First, whose interests at this time were inseparable from those of England, was disposed to promote the scheme. To Charles the Fifth, however, their great rival, whose policy was more profound than that of his opponents, any match between James and a daughter of England, was full of annoyance; and he exerted every effort to prevent it. He proposed successively to the youthful monarch his sister the queen of Hungary, and his niece the daughter of Christiern king of Denmark; and so intent was he upon the last-mentioned union, that an envoy was despatched to Scotland, who held out as a dower the whole principality of Norway. But the offer of an offensive and defensive league with so remote a power as Austria was coldly received by James and his parliament; whilst the preservation of peace with England, and his desire to maintain the alliance with

* These particulars I derive from Mr Gregory's interesting work, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 132, 133, 136.

† Caligula, B. vii. 121. Copy of a letter from Magnus to Sir Adam Otterburn, December 5, 1528.

France, inclined him to lend a more favourable ear to the now reiterated proposals of Henry.

In the meantime, his attention was wisely directed to the best measures for promoting the security and happiness of his kingdom, still distracted by the unbridled licentiousness of feudal manners. Blacater, the baron of Tulliallan, with some ferocious accomplices, among whom was a priest named Lothian, having assassinated Sir James Inglis abbot of Culross, was seized and led to instant execution; whilst the priest, after being degraded and placed without the pale of the ecclesiastical law, was beheaded.* To secure the commercial alliance between Scotland and the Netherlands was his next object; and for this purpose, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,—a name dear to the Scottish Muses—and Campbell of Lundy, were sent on an embassy to Brussels, at that moment the residence of the emperor, who received them with a distinction proportioned to his earnest desire to secure the friendship of their young master. The commercial treaty, for one hundred years, originally concluded by James the First, between his dominions and the Netherlands, now about to expire, was wisely renewed for another century.†

But it was in vain that the king strengthened his alliances abroad, and personally exerted himself at home, whilst a large proportion of his nobles thwarted every measure for the public weal. Spoilt by the license and impunity which they had enjoyed under the misrule of Angus, and trammelled by bands of manrent amongst themselves, or with that powerful baron, they either refused to execute the commands of the sovereign, or received them only to disobey, when removed out of

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 13.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 310.

the reach of the royal displeasure; and in this manner the laws, which had been promulgated by the wisdom of the privy-council or parliament, became little else than a dead letter. Against this abuse, James was compelled to adopt decided measures. The Earl of Argyle was thrown into prison; Crawford, on some charges which cannot be ascertained, lost the greater part of his estates: the dislike to the house of Douglas, and the determination to resist every proposal for their return, assumed a sterner form in the royal mind; and the Earl of Moray, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton, who had shared for a while the intimacy and confidence of their sovereign, found themselves treated with coldness and disregard.* On the other hand, many of the clergy were highly esteemed, and promoted to the principal offices in the government; nor are we to wonder at the preference evinced by the monarch, when it is considered, that in learning, talents, and acquaintance with the management of public affairs, the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal estate was decided.

It was probably by the advice of Dunbar the archbishop of Glasgow, who had been his preceptor, and now held the office of chancellor, that the king at this time instituted the College of Justice, a new court, of which the first idea is generally said to have been suggested by the Parliament of Paris. Much delay, confusion, and partiality accompanied those heritable jurisdictions, by which each feudal baron enjoyed the right of holding his own court; and although an appeal lay to the king and the privy-council, the remedy by the poorer litigant was unattainable, and by the richer

* Caligula, B. v. 216. Communications had between th' Erle of Northumberland and th' Erle Bothwell, December 21, 1531.

tedious and expensive. In a parliament, therefore, which was held at Edinburgh, (May 17, 1532,) the College of Justice was instituted, which consisted of fourteen Judges,—one half selected from the spiritual, and the other from the temporal estate,—over whom was placed a President, who was always to be a clergyman. The great object of this new court was to remove the means of oppression out of the hands of the aristocracy; but, as it was provided, that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and that, on any occasion of consequence or difficulty, the king might send three or four members of his privy-council to influence the deliberations, and give their votes; it was evident that the subject was only freed from one grievance, to be exposed to the possibility of another,—less, indeed, in extent, but scarcely more endurable when it occurred.* It is an observation of Buchanan, that the new judges, at their first meetings, devised many excellent plans for the equal administration of justice, but disappointed the nation by their future conduct, especially in their attempts to prevent any encroachments upon their authority, by the provisions of the parliament. We must not forget, however, that, as he approaches the period of the Reformation, impartiality is not the first virtue of this eminent man: that the circumstance of one half of the court being chosen from the spiritual estate had an effect in retarding the progress of the reformed opinions cannot be doubted.

All Europe was now at peace; the treaties of Barcelona and Cambrai had for a season settled the elements of war and ambition. Charles was reconciled to the Pope, and on friendly terms with his rival Francis; whilst Henry the Eighth, under the influence of his

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336.

passion for Anne Boleyn, was about to pursue his divorce, and become the advocate of that great religious reformation, in the history of which we must be careful to distinguish the baseness of some of its instruments, from that portion of the truth which it restored and established. It was in the meantime the effect of all these events to give a continuance of peace to Scotland; but the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England;* the restless ambition of Angus, whose services against his native country had also been purchased by Henry;† and the spirit of war and plunder which was fomented in unextinguishable strength upon the Borders, combined to distract the kingdom, and defeat the wisest efforts for

* In the State-paper Office, Border Correspondence, is an interesting and curious original MS. letter, dated Newcastle, 27th December, 1531, from the Earl of Northumberland to the king, giving a full account of a conference with the Earl of Bothwell. Bothwell first declared the occasion and ground of his displeasure towards the King of Scots,—namely, “the giving of his lands to the Carres of Teviotdale; the keeping him half a year in prison, and seeking to apprehend him and his colleagues, that he might lead them to execution.” The letter continues thus,—“and touching the second article in your most gracious lettres, as to know what he could do for revenging of his displeasure, or releiving of his hart and stomach against the Skottes kyng, the said erle doth securely promise, your higness being his good and gracious prince and helpyng him to his right, * * * that he should not only serve your most noble grace in your wars against Skotland trewly with a thousand gentlemen, and sex thousand commons, but also becomes your higness’s true subject and liegeman. Thyrdly, to know what lykelihood of good effect shall ensue; hereof the said erle doth say, remembering the banysment of the Erle of Anguisse, the wrongfull disinherityng of the Erle of Crawford, the sore imprisonment of the Erle of Argyle, the lill estimacyon of the Erle Murray and the Lord Maxwell, the simple regarding of Sir James Hamilton for his good and paynfull services, he puts no doubt with his own power and the Erle of Anguisse’s, seeing all their nobles hartes afore expressed: be withdrawn from the king of Skottes, *to crown your grace in the toune of Edinburg within brief tyme.*”

† Caligula, B. v. 216. The object of Bothwell, as it appears by the original agreement, was to seek Henry’s assistance, “that, by his grace, the realme of Skotland sal be brocht into gud stait agayn, and not the nobles thereof be kept down as they are in thralldom, but to be set up as they haif bene before,” 21st December, 1531. Angus bound himself, as we learn by a copy of the original writing between him and Henry, Caligula, B. i. 129, to “mak unto us the othe of allegiawnce, and recognise us as supreme Lorde of Scotland, and as his prince and soveraigne.”

the preservation of tranquillity. Mutual inroads took place, in which the banished Douglasses and Sir Anthony Darcy distinguished themselves by the extent and cruelty of their ravages; whilst it was deemed expedient by James to divide the whole body of the fighting men in Scotland into four parts, to each of which, in rotation, the defence of the marches was intrusted under the command of Moray, now reconciled to the king, and created lieutenant of the kingdom. This measure appears to have been attended with happy effects; and at the same time, the Scottish monarch evinced his power of distressing the government of Henry, should he persist in encouraging his rebel subjects, by raising a body of seven thousand highlanders, under the leading of Mac-Ian, to assist O'Donnel the Irish chief, in his attempts to shake off the English yoke. It appears from a letter of the Earl of Northumberland to Henry the Eighth, that the Earl of Argyle, about the same time, had been deprived of the chief command in the Isles, which was conferred upon Mac-Ian; a circumstance which had completely alienated the former potent chief, and disposed him, with the whole strength of his vassals and retainers, to throw himself into the arms of England. But this dangerous discontentment was not confined to Argyle; it was shared, in all its bitterness, by the Earl of Crawford, whose authority in the same remote districts had been plucked from his grasp, and placed in the hands of Mac-Ian.* Neither was James absolutely secure of the support of the clergy: they viewed with jealousy

* Caligula, B. i. 129. "The king of Skottis hath plucked from the Erle of Argyle, and from his heires for ever; the rule of all the oute Isles, and given the same to Mackayne and his heires for ever; and also taken from the Erle Crawford such lands as he had ther, and given the same to the said Mackayne: the whiche hath engendered a grete hatrit in the said Erle's harte against the said Skottis king."

an attempt to raise from their dioceses a tax of ten thousand crowns, within the period of a single year; and so effectually addressed themselves to the Pope, that a bull was obtained, which limited the sum, and extended the period for its contribution.

The mutual hostilities upon the Borders, had now continued with immitigable rancour for more than a year, each sovereign professing his anxiety for peace; yet unwilling, when provoked by aggression, to deny himself the triumph of revenge, and the consolation of plunder. The flames of towns and villages, the destruction of the labour of the husbandman, and of the enterprise and industry of the merchant; the embittering of the spirit of national animosity, and the corruption of the aristocracy of the country, by the money and intrigues of England—all these pernicious consequences were produced by the protraction of the war, which, although no open declaration had been made by either monarch, continued to desolate the country. It was in vain that Francis the First despatched his ambassador to the Scottish court, with the object of mediating between the two countries, whose interests were now connected with his own. James upbraided him, and not without justice, with his readiness to forget the alliance between their two kingdoms, and to sacrifice the welfare of Scotland to the ambition of Henry his new ally. The negotiation was thus defeated, but again Francis made the attempt: Beauvois, a second ambassador, arrived at the Scottish court; and the monarch relaxed so far in his opposition, that he consented to a conference for a truce, which, although it had been stipulated to commence early in June, was protracted by the mutual disputes and jealousies of the contracting parties till near the winter.

In the meantime, the king resolved to set out on a summer progress through his dominions, in the course of which an entertainment was given to the yet youthful monarch by the Earl of Athole, which is strikingly illustrative of the times. This potent highland chieftain, who perhaps indulged in the hope of succeeding to a portion of the power so lately wrested from Argyle, received his sovereign at his residence in Athole, with a magnificence which rivalled the creations of romance. A rural palace, curiously framed of green timber, was raised in a meadow, defended at each angle by a high tower, hung in its various chambers with tapestry of silk and gold, lighted by windows of stained glass, and surrounded by a moat, in the manner of a feudal fortress. In this fairy mansion, the king was lodged more sumptuously than in any of his own palaces; he slept on the softest down; listened to the sweetest music; saw the fountains around him, flowing with muscadel and hippocras; angled for the most delicate fish which gleamed in the little streams and lakes in the meadow, or pursued the pastime of the chase, amid woods and mountains, which abounded with every species of game. The queen-mother accompanied her son; and an ambassador from the papal court having arrived shortly before, was invited to join in the royal progress. The splendour, profusion, and delicacy of this feudal entertainment, given by those whom he had been accustomed to consider barbarians, appeared almost miraculous, even to the warmth of an Italian imagination; and his astonishment was not diminished, when Athole, at the departure of the royal cavalcade, declared that the palace which had given delight to his sovereign should never be profaned by a subject, and commanded the whole fabric, with its innumerable luxuries, to be given to the flames.

Although provoked by the continuance of the Border inroads, which were carried on with the connivance of the English monarch, at the moment he professed an anxiety for peace, James wisely suppressed his resentment, and contented himself with a temperate remonstrance. His situation, indeed, owing to the continued intrigues of the adherents of the house of Douglas, and the secret support they received from England,* was perilous and harassing; and whatever might be his individual feelings, it became evident that peace with that country must be secured, even at some sacrifice. The Bishop of Aberdeen and Sir Adam Otterburn were accordingly despatched to the English court with full powers; and having met with the English commissioners, the Secretary Cromwell and Dr Fox, a pacification was concluded, which was to last during the lives of the two monarchs, and to continue for a year after the death of him who first deceased. It appears that the Douglasses, since their forfeiture, had gained possession of a fortalice, called Edrington castle, which James, who was jealous of their retaining even the smallest property within his dominions, insisted should be restored. On this condition he agreed that Angus, Sir George Douglas his brother, and Archibald his uncle, might remain unmolested in England, supported by Henry as his subjects,—provided, according to the Border laws, reparation was made for any enterprise which either he or they might conduct against Scotland. The treaty was concluded on the twelfth of May, 1534, and soon after ratified with circumstances

* In the State-paper Office is a letter from James to Henry, dated 18th March, 1533-4, in which he complains, that since the departure of his ambassador towards England, an incursion had been made by some borderers under Sir R. Fenwick into Teviotdale, which had done more damage than any raid during the war.

of much solemnity and rejoicing by both monarchs.* The young king was soon after flattered by the arrival of Lord William Howard, with the Order of the Garter from England; whilst Francis the First requested his acceptance of that of St Michael; and the Emperor Charles the Fifth transmitted the Golden Fleece,† by his ambassador Godeschalco.

James was now in his twenty-second year, and his marriage was earnestly desired by his subjects. His fearlessness in his constant efforts to suppress in person the disturbances which agitated his kingdom exposed him to constant danger; he would often, with no greater force than his own retinue, attack and apprehend the fiercest banditti; riding by night through solitary and remote parts of his dominions; invading them in their fastnesses, and sharing in peril and privations with the meanest of his followers. Nor was he content with this nobler imitation of his father, but he unhappily inherited from him his propensity to low intrigue, and often exposed his life to the attacks of the robber or the assassin in his nocturnal visits to his mistresses. It was observed that the Hamiltons, who, next to the Duke of Albany, (now an elderly man without children,) had the nearest claim to the throne, looked upon this courage and recklessness of the king with a satisfaction which was scarcely concealed; and Buchanar has even stated, although upon no certain evidence, that they had made attempts against his life. With some probability, therefore, of success, the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his master, proposed a matri-

* Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 480-537.

† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 19. In the State-paper Office is an original letter from William bishop of Aberdeen to Secretary Cromwell, dated 8th July, 1534, promising that the king his master will soon send his proxy to be installed Knight of the Garter.

monial alliance with his niece, the Princess Mary of Portugal; but the Scottish king evaded the offer, and dismissed him with general expressions of esteem. He regretted at the same time the continued hostility between his uncle and the emperor, expressed his sorrow for the violent measure of his double divorce from Queen Catherine and the papal see, and declared his own determination to support the religion of his fathers, and to resist the enemies of the church.*

This resolution he soon after fulfilled, by encouraging a renewed persecution of the reformers. An ecclesiastical court was held in the abbey of Holyrood; Hay bishop of Ross presided as commissioner for the cardinal; and the king, completely clothed in scarlet, the judicial costume of the time, took his seat upon the bench, and gave unwonted solemnity to the unholy tribunal. Before it many were cited to answer for their alleged heretical opinions; some recanted and publicly abjured their errors; others, amongst whom were the brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had sacrificed his life for his opinions, fled from the country and took refuge in England; but David Straiton, and Norman Gourlay a priest, appeared before the judges and boldly defended their faith. Straiton was a gentleman of good family, brother to the baron of Laurieston. He had engaged in a quarrel with the Bishop of Moray on the subject of his tithes; and in a fit of indignation, had commanded his servants, when challenged by the collectors, to throw every tenth fish they caught into the sea, bidding them seek their tax where he found the stock. From these violent courses he had softened down into a more quiet inquiry into the grounds of the right claimed by churchmen;

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 309.

and frequenting much the company of Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest and most eminent of the reformers, became at length a sincere convert to their doctrines. It is related, that listening to the Scriptures, which was read to him by the Laird of Laurieston, he came upon that passage where our Saviour declares he will deny before his Father and the holy angels any one who hath denied him before men : upon which he was deeply moved, and falling down on his knees, implored God, that, although he had been a great sinner, he would never permit him, from the fear of any bodily torment to deny Him or his truth.* And the trial soon came and was most courageously encountered. Death, in one of its most terrible forms was before him ; he was earnestly exhorted to escape by abjuring his belief ; but he steadily refused to purchase his pardon by retracting a single tenet, and encouraged his fellow sufferer Gourlay in the same resolution. Both were burnt on the 27th of August, 1534.† It was during this persecution that some men, who afterwards became active instruments in the Reformation, but whose minds were then in a state of inquiry and transition, consulted their safety by flight. Of these the most noted were, Alexander Aless, a canon of St Andrew's, who became the friend of Melancthon and Cranmer, and professor of divinity in the University of Leipsic ; and John Macbee, better known by his classical surname Mac-habæus, the favourite of Christiern king of Denmark, and one of the translators of the Danish Bible.‡

* MS. Calderwood, quoted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 210*, 211*. Spottiswood's Church History, p. 66.

† The place of execution was the Rood or Cross of Greenside, on the Calton-hill, Edinburgh.

‡ Gerdes' Hist. Evangelii Renovati, vol. iii. p. 417. M'Crie's Appendix to Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 357. M'Bee's true name, as shown by Dr M'Crie, on the authority of Gerdes and Vinding, was M'Alpine, a singular transformation.

It was now one great object of Henry to induce his nephew to imitate his example by shaking off the yoke of Rome, and establishing the Reformation in his dominions. To this end he made an earnest proposal for a marriage between James and his daughter the Princess Mary; he despatched successively Dr Barlow his chaplain, and Lord William Howard, into Scotland, with the suggestion that a conference should take place at York, between himself and the Scottish king;* and he endeavoured to open James's eyes to the crimes and usurpations of the hierarchy of the church of Rome. But it was the frequent fault of the English monarch that he defeated many a wise purpose by the impetuosity with which he attempted to carry it forward; and, in this instance, the keenness of Barlow, and the haughtiness of Howard, were ill calculated to manage so delicate a negotiation. James acting by the advice of his privy-council, who were mostly ecclesiastics, and are described by Barlow as "the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil," refused to accept the treatise entitled "The Doctrine of a Christian Man," which had been sent him by his uncle. The conference, to which, through the influence of the queen-dowager, the king had at first consented, was indefinitely postponed;† and the feelings of the sovereign and his counsellors regarding the marriage with an English princess, were soon plainly expressed by the despatch of an embassy to France for the purpose of concluding a matrimonial alliance with that crown.

The death of Clement the Seventh, which took place

* It appears, from a copy of Henry's instructions to Lord William Howard, preserved in the State-paper Office, he not only proposes a conference at York, but suggests that James should afterwards accompany him to Calais, where they would meet the French king.

† MS. Letter in State-paper Office. Queen Margaret to Henry the Eighth, dated 12th December, 1535.

in the autumn of this year, was followed, as is well known, by the most decided measures upon the part of Henry the Eighth. The confirmation of his supremacy as head of the church by the English parliament, the declared legality of the divorce, and the legitimacy of the children of Anne Boleyn, with the cruel imprisonment and subsequent execution of Fisher and More, convinced the new pontiff Paul the Third, that he had for ever lost the English monarch. It only remained for him to adopt every method for the preservation of the spiritual allegiance of his remaining children. Amongst other missions he despatched his legate Antonio Campeggio into Scotland, with instructions to use every effort for the confirmation of James in his attachment to the popedom, whilst he trusted that the marriage of the second son of Francis the First to the Pope's niece Catherine de Medici, would have the effect of enlisting the whole interest of this monarch against the dissemination of the Lutheran opinions in his dominions. To James, Campeggio addressed an exposition of the scandalous conduct of the English king in making his religious scruples, and his separation from the church of Rome, a cloak for the gratification of his lust and ambition; he drew a flattering contrast between the tyranny and hypocrisy which had guided his conduct, and the attachment of his youthful nephew of Scotland to the holy see, addressing him by that title of Defender of the Faith,* which had been unworthily bestowed upon its worst enemy; and he laid at his feet a cap and sword which had been consecrated by the Pope upon the anniversary of the Nativity. We are to measure the effects of such gifts by the feelings

* It appears, by a letter in the State-paper Office, that Henry remonstrated against this title being given to James.

of the times, and there can be little doubt that their influence was considerable; but a permission from his holiness to levy an additional contribution upon his clergy, was, in the present distressed state of the royal finances, not the least efficacious of his arguments.

In the meantime the Scottish ambassadors in France had concluded a marriage between their sovereign and Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendosme; whilst Henry, jealous of the late papal embassy, and aware that such a union must confirm the attachment of his nephew to the Roman see, encouraged the discontents amongst the Scottish nobility, promoted the intrigues of the Douglasses for their restoration to their native country, and even succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of James's ambassador, Sir Adam Otterburn, who was afterwards imprisoned for a secret negotiation, with the partisans of Angus.*

A parliament was held this summer (June eighth, 1535) in which, amid much that is uninteresting to the historian, there are found some provisions worthy of attention. It was made imperative on the Border barons and gentlemen, to restore something like security to their disturbed districts, by rebuilding the towers and peels which had been razed during the late wars; weapon-schawings, or armed musters, were enforced; and the importation of arms, harness, and warlike ammunition was encouraged. The act passed in a late parliament against the importation of the

* In the State-paper Office is a Letter from Otterburn to Cromwell, dated 18th of October, (probably of the year 1535,) in which he regrets that he was not able, from illness, to pay more attention to the English ambassadors; and states, that although they could not agree touching the authority of the Pope, he would use every effort to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms. The practices of Otterburn, and his secret correspondence with the English, had been of long duration. He seems to have been one of those busy intriguers who, in the minority of James, made a gain of giving secret information to England.

works of "the great heretic, Luther," with his disciples or followers, was repeated; and the discussion of his opinions, except with the object of proving their falsehood, was sternly prohibited, whilst all persons having any such works in their possession were commanded to deliver them up to their Ordinary within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. It is evident that the late cruel exhibitions had only fostered the principles which they were meant to eradicate. One other act relating to the burghs, in that dark age the little nurseries of industry and freedom, is striking, and must have had important consequences. It appears that a practice had crept in of electing the feudal barons in the neighbourhood to the offices in the magistracy of the burgh; and the effects, as might have been anticipated, were highly injurious. Instead of industrious citizens occupied in their respective trades, and adding by their success to the wealth, the tranquillity, and the general civilisation of the country, the provost, and aldermen or bailies, were idle, factious, and tyrannical; domineering over the industrious burgesses, and consuming their substance. To remedy this, it was provided that no man hereafter should be chosen to fill any office in the magistracy of the burgh, but such as were themselves honest and substantial burgesses; a wise enactment, which, if carried strictly into execution, must have been attended with the best effects.*

The continued war between Francis and the emperor, made it expedient for the former monarch to keep on good terms with Henry; and so effectually was the English interest exerted, both at the court of France and of Scotland, in creating obstacles to the king's

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 549.

marriage, that James secretly determined to leave his dominions in disguise, and overrule every objection in a personal interview with his intended father-in-law: a romantic and somewhat imprudent resolution, in which, however, it is not improbable that he may have been encouraged by some of his confidential advisers amongst the clergy. The vessel in which he embarked with his slender retinue encountered a severe gale; and the monarch, who had fallen asleep from fatigue, found himself, on awakening, once more close to the coasts of Scotland; a result which some of our historians have ascribed to the jealousy of his companion Sir James Hamilton; who, during the slumber of his master, seized the helm, and put about the ship. It is well known that the Hamiltons, from their hopes of succession to the crown, were opposed to the marriage; yet it may be questioned whether they would thus publicly expose their ambition.

But the king was not to be so easily deterred from his design; and his project of a voyage in disguise having failed, he determined to execute his purpose with suitable deliberation and magnificence. A regency was appointed, which consisted of Beaton the archbishop of St Andrew's, Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow the chancellor, the earls of Eglinton, Montrose, and Huntley, with the Lord Maxwell; and the king, having first paid his devotions at the shrine dedicated to our Lady of Loretto near Musselburgh, and offered his prayers for a happy voyage, sailed from Leith with a squadron of seven vessels, accompanied by a splendid suite of his spiritual and temporal nobility. A fair wind brought them on the tenth day to Dieppe; and Francis, whose hopes were at this moment highly elated by his successes against the emperor, immediate-

ly invited the royal visiter to Paris, and despatched the dauphin to conduct him thither. James's first desire, however, was to see his affianced bride; and, repairing in disguise to the palace of the Duke de Vendosme, he was recognised as he mingled with the gay crowds that peopled its halls, by his likeness to a miniature portrait which he had sent her from Scotland. Marie de Bourbon is said to have been deeply captivated by the noble mien and gallant accomplishments of her intended husband; but the impression was not mutual: and whether from the ambition of a higher alliance, or the fickleness of youthful affection, James transferred his love from the Lady of Vendosme, to the Princess Magdalen, the only daughter of Francis, a beautiful girl of sixteen, but over whose features consumption had already thrown a melancholy langour, which was in vain pointed out to the king by the warning voice of his counsellors. It is said by the French historians, that the princess had fallen in love with the Scottish monarch at first sight; and although her father earnestly and affectionately dissuaded the match, on account of her extreme delicacy of constitution, James would hear of no delay, and on new-year's day the marriage was celebrated with much pomp in the church of Notre-Dame. The Kings of France and Navarre, and many illustrious foreigners surrounded the altar; and Rome, as if to confirm and flatter its youthful champion, lent a peculiar solemnity to the ceremony by the presence of seven cardinals. Feasts, masques, tournaments, and all the accompaniments of feudal joy and magnificence succeeded; nor was it till the spring that the king thought of his departure with his youthful queen.

An application had been made by Francis to Henry,

that the royal couple should be allowed to pass through England, but it was refused. The secret reasons of this ungracious proceeding, which appear in a minute of the privy-council, were the discontent felt by the English monarch at the refusal of his request for the pardon of Angus, and a desire to avoid the expense of receiving his royal nephew with the honours due to his rank. Compelled to return by sea, James embarked at Dieppe, and arrived with his youthful bride at Leith on the nineteenth of May. On descending from the ship, Magdalen knelt upon the beach, and taking up some portion of the sand, kissed it with deep emotion, whilst she implored a blessing upon her new country, and her beloved husband: an affecting incident, when viewed in connexion with her rapid and early fate. Meanwhile nothing could exceed the joy of the people at the return of their prince; and the graceful and elegant festivals of France were succeeded by the ruder, but not less cordial, pageants of his own kingdom.

James had remained in Paris for nearly nine months: an interval of no little importance when we consider the great changes which were so suddenly to succeed his arrival in his dominions. The causes of these events which have hitherto escaped the notice of our historians, are well worthy of investigation. Of these the first seems to be the remarkable influence which Francis acquired over the mind of his son-in-law; an influence which, notwithstanding the peace then nominally existing between Henry and the French monarch, was unquestionably employed in exciting him against England. The progress of the reformed opinions in France, the violence and selfishness of Henry, and the dictatorial tone which he was accustomed to infuse into his negotiations, although for the time it did not

produce an actual breach between the two monarchs, could not fail to alienate so high-minded a prince as Francis. The Pope, whose existence seemed to hang on the result, intermitted no effort to terminate the disputes between the French king and the emperor, projecting a coalition against Henry as the common enemy of Christendom. He had so far succeeded in 1537, as to accomplish a truce concluded at Nice between these two great potentates, which was extended in the following year to a pacification of ten years. From this time the cordiality between Francis and Henry was completely at an end, whilst the Pope did not despair to bring about a combination which should make the royal innovator tremble for his boasted supremacy, and even for his throne. It was with this object that James was flattered by every argument which could have weight in a young and ardent mind, to induce him to unite himself cordially in the league. On the other hand the conduct of Henry during the absence of the Scottish king was little calculated to allay the feelings of irritation and resentment which already existed between them. Sir Ralph Sadler, a minister of great ability, had been sent into Scotland, to complete the system of secret influence and intelligence introduced and long acted on by Lord Dacre. He was instructed to gain an influence over the nobility, to attach to his interest the queen-mother, and to sound the inclinations of the people on the subject of peace or war—an adoption of the reformed opinions, or a maintenance of the ancient religion. The Douglasses were still maintained with high favour and generous allowances in England; their power, although nominally extinct, was still far from being destroyed; their spies penetrated into every quarter, followed the king

to France, and gave information of his most private motions; * their feudal covenants and bands of manrent still existed and bound many of the most potent nobility to their interest, whilst the vigour of the king's government, and his preference of the clergy to the temporal lords, disgusted these proud chiefs, and disposed them to hope for a recovery of their influence from any change which might take place.

All these circumstances were well known to the Scottish king, and a more prospective policy might perhaps have dictated a reconciliation with the Douglasses as the likeliest means of accomplishing his great design for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the humbling the power of England: but the tyranny of this haughty house, and the injuries which they had accumulated upon him, were yet fresh in his memory. He had determined that so long as he lived, no Douglas should ever return to Scotland: he underrated, probably, the power possessed by a feudal nobility; and being naturally endowed with uncommon vigour and resolution of mind, determined to attempt the execution of his plans, not only without their support, but in the face of their utmost endeavours against him. We may thus discern the state of parties at the return of James to his dominions. On the one hand is seen Henry the Eighth, the great foe to the supremacy of the see of Rome, supported in Scotland not only by the still formidable power and unceasing intrigues of the Douglasses, but by a large proportion of the nobles, and the talents of his sister the queen-mother. On the other hand, we perceive the King of Scotland, backed by the united talent, zeal, and wealth of the

* Letter of Penman to Sir G. Douglas. Calig. B. iii. 293. Paris, 29th October, 1536.

Catholic clergy, the loyalty of some of the most potent peers, the cordial co-operation of France, the approval of the emperor, the affection of the great body of his people, upon whom the doctrines of Luther had not as yet made any very general impression, and the cordial support of the papal see. The progress of events will strongly develop the operation and collision of these various parties and interests. We shall be enabled to observe the slow but uninterrupted progress towards the reception of the great principles of the Reformation, and, amid much individual error and suffering, to mark the sublime manner in which the wrath and the sin of man are compelled to work out the predetermined purposes of a most wise and holy God.

To resume the current of events: the monarch had scarcely settled in his dominions, and entered upon the administration of the government, when his youthful and beautiful queen sunk under the disease which had so strongly indicated itself before her marriage; and, to the deep sorrow of her husband and the whole nation, expired on the seventh of July. The mind of the sovereign although clouded for a season by the calamity, soon shook off the enervating influence of grief, and James demonstrated the firmness of purpose with which he had adopted his plans, in the decided step which he took within a few months after this sad event. David Beaton bishop of Mirepoix, and afterwards the celebrated cardinal, was sent on a matrimonial embassy to France, accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, where, with the least possible delay, he concluded the espousals between Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, and his royal master. Nor was the full year of grief allowed to elapse before the princess arrived, and the king celebrated his second

marriage in the cathedral church at St Andrew's.* The ties which attached him to France were thus doubly strengthened, and the consequences of this union with the house of Guise may be long detected in those clouds of dark and complicated misfortune which were now slowly gathering around the country.

In the interval between the death of Magdalen and the union with Mary of Guise, the life of the monarch had been twice menaced by secret conspiracy; and there seems to be little doubt, that both plots are to be traced to the widely spreading intrigues of the house of Douglas; nay, there is a strong presumption that they were directly connected with each other. The first plot, and that which seems to have attracted least notice, was headed by the Master of Forbes, a fierce and turbulent chief, distinguished, under the government of Albany, for his murder of Seton of Meldrum, and his subserviency to the schemes of England. This person was tried, condemned, and executed on the same day; but unfortunately, in the absence of all authentic records, it is difficult to detect the particulars of the conspiracy. Having married a sister of the Earl of Angus, he was naturally a partisan of the Douglasses; and, upon their fall from power, and subsequent banishment from Scotland, he appears to have vigorously exerted himself in those scenes of private coalition and open violence by which their friends attempted to promote their interests and accelerate their return. For the same reason he had been a decided enemy of

* Henry the Eighth, as it appears by the *Ambassade de M. Chatillon*, *Lettres* Dec. 10 and 11, had become, by the report of Mr Wallop, one of his agents, enamoured of the same lady, chiefly on account of her large and comely size. He demanded her of Francis, and took the refusal violently amiss, although it was stated to him that the contract of marriage between this princess and James the Fifth had been solemnly concluded.—*Carte's History*, vol. iii. p. 152.

Albany during his government, and the refusal of the Scottish lords encamped at Wark to lead their vassals against England, was mainly ascribed to his conduct and counsel; a proceeding which was, in the eye of law, an act of treason, as Albany was then regent by the appointment of the three Estates. There is no evidence that any notice was taken of this at the time, but as early as the king's journey to France, in June, 1536, Forbes had been accused by Huntley of a design to shoot the king as he passed through his burgh of Aberdeen, and of conspiring the destruction of a part of the army of Scotland,—charges upon which both himself and his father, Lord Forbes, were then imprisoned; nor did the trial take place till upwards of fourteen months after. The meagre details of our early criminal records, unfortunately, do not permit us to ascertain the nature of the proofs against him. He was found guilty by a jury, against whom Calderwood has brought an unsupported assertion that they were corrupted by Huntley,* but, as far as can be discovered, the accusation seems unjust: no bias or partiality can be traced to any of the jurymen; no previous animosity can be established against Huntley, but rather the contrary;† and the leniency of James, in the speedy liberation of Lord Forbes, in admitting the brother of the criminal to an office in his household, and abstaining from the forfeiture of his estates, proved the absence of everything like vindictive feeling. All men rejoiced at the acquittal of the father, and some doubted whether the crime for which he suffered was brought home to the son, but none lamented the fate of one already stained by murder and spoliation of a very

* Calderwood Hist. MS. quoted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 133.

† Pitcairn's Collection of Criminal Trials, p. 183-187 inclusive.

atrocious description.* Over the story of assassinating the king, the obscurity is so deep, that all efforts to reach its truth, or even its circumstances, are baffled; but of the refusal to invade England, and the endeavour to compass the destruction and dishonour of the Scottish army, there can be little doubt that Forbes was guilty in common with many other peers. Nor is it to be forgotten, that Albany, on his return from this unfortunate expedition, accused the Scottish nobles, not only of retiring in the face of the enemy, but of entertaining a secret design of delivering him to the English.† It is not improbable that the secret reason for the long delay of the trial, is to be found in the anxiety of the king to obtain from Albany, who was then in France, decisive evidence against the criminal.

The other conspiracy, of which the guilt was more certain, and in its character more dreadful, excited a deeper interest and sympathy, from the sex and beauty of the accused. Janet Douglas, the sister of the banished Angus, had married Lord Glamis, and, after his death, took to her second husband, a gentleman named Campbell of Skipnish. Her son, Lord Glamis, was in his sixteenth year, and she a youthful matron, in the maturity of her beauty, mingled little with the court since the calamity of her house. A week had scarcely passed since James had paid the last rites to his beloved queen, and the mind of the monarch was still absorbed in the bitterness of recent grief, when, to the astonishment of all men, this noble

* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 183, 187. See Letter B, in Illustrations, on the trial of Lady Glamis.

† Caligula, B. i. 281. Letter of Queen Margaret to Surrey, "Bot he thynketh na schame of it, for he makyth hys excuse that the lords wold not pass in Ingland with hym; also that my lord of Aren, and my lord of Lenos, wyth other lordys, he sayth, that they wold haf seld hym in Ingland."

matron, only two days after the execution of the Master of Forbes, was publicly arraigned of conspiring the king's death by poison, pronounced guilty and condemned to be burnt.* She suffered her dreadful fate with the hereditary courage of her house; and the sympathy of the people, ever readily awakened, and unenlightened by any knowledge of the evidence brought against her, too hastily pronounced her innocent, ascribing her condemnation to James's inveterate hostility to the Douglasses. Her son, Lord Glamis, a youth in his sixteenth year, was convicted, upon his own confession, that he knew and had concealed the conspiracy; but the monarch commiserated his youth, and the sentence of death was changed into imprisonment; Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, her husband, having been shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, in attempting to escape, perished miserably by being dashed to pieces on the rocks; John Lyon, an accomplice, was tried and hanged; whilst Makke, by whom the poison had been prepared, and from whom it was purchased, escaped with the loss of his ears, and banishment.† It must be confessed, that the circumstances of this remarkable tragedy are involved in much obscurity; but an examination of the evidence which has been lately published, leaves upon the mind little doubt of her guilt.‡

* The Master of Forbes was tried, condemned and executed on the 14th of July; Lady Glamis was tried, condemned, and executed on the 17th of the same month.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 184, 190. Lord Glamis was tried and found guilty on the 10th July. His confession was probably employed as evidence against his mother.

† Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 199, 202, 203. John Lyon was found guilty, at the same time, of an attempt to poison the Earl of Rothes; the families of Rothes and Glamis were connected. The mother of John, sixth Lord Glamis, (Lady Glamis's husband,) was Elizabeth Grey. On the death of her first husband, John, fourth Lord Glamis, she married Alexander, third Earl of Huntley; and, on his death, she married George earl of Rothes.—Douglas, vol. ii. pp. 429, 563. Vol. i. p. 646, 668.

‡ See, in the Illustrations, a note on the conspiracy of the Lady Glamis.

Although James supported his clergy in their persecution of the Protestant doctrines, which were now rapidly gaining ground in the country, it was not so much with the zeal of a bigot as with the views of a politician. That he was not indisposed to a moderate reformation of the abuses in the Catholic church, is evident, from the liberality with which he permitted the exhibition of the dramatic satire of Lindsay, and the severity of his censures upon the excesses of some of the prelates ; but his determination to humble the power of the nobles, to destroy the secret influence of England, and to reign a free monarch over an independent kingdom, was, he thought, to be best accomplished by the assistance of the great body of the clergy, whose talents, wealth, and influence formed the only effectual counterpoise to the weight of the temporal peers. The impetuosity of the character of Henry, and the haughtiness with which he dictated his commands, alienated from him the mind of his nephew, and disposed him to listen with greater favour to the proposals of Francis, and the wishes of the house of Guise. The state of England also encouraged him to hope, that the king would be soon too much engrossed with his domestic affairs, to find leisure for a continuance of his intrigues with Scotland. The discontents amongst his Catholic subjects had become so deep and general, that within no very long period three insurrections had broken out in different parts of the country ; various prophecies, songs, and libellous rhymes, which spoke openly of the accession of the Scottish

That this unfortunate lady, by her secret practices with the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, had brought herself within the statute which made such intercourse treason, is certain ; but her participation in any conspiracy against the king, has been much questioned, as it appears to me, on insufficient grounds.

monarch to the English throne, began to be circulated amongst the people; and numerous parties of disaffected Catholics, intimidated by the violence of Henry, took refuge in the sister kingdom. James, indeed, in his intercourse with the English council, not only professed his contempt for such "fantastic prophecies," but ordered that all who possessed copies of them should instantly, under the penalty of death and confiscation, commit them to the flames;* yet, so far as they indicated the unpopularity of the king, it may be conjectured that he regarded them with satisfaction. Another event, which happened about this time, was attended with important consequences. James Beaton archbishop of St Andrew's, who had long exercised a commanding influence over the affairs of the kingdom, died in the autumn of the year 1539, and was succeeded in the primacy by his nephew, Cardinal Beaton, a man far superior in talent, and still more devotedly attached to the interests of the church from which he derived his exaltation. It was Beaton who had negotiated the second marriage of the king with Mary of Guise; and such was the high opinion which his royal master entertained of his abilities in the management of state affairs, that he appears soon to have selected him as his principal adviser in the accomplishment of those great schemes which now occupied his mind.

Beaton's accession to the supreme ecclesiastical authority, was marked by a renewed persecution of the reformers. It was a remarkable circumstance, that however corrupt may have been the higher orders of the Roman Catholic church at this period in Scotland,

* Caligula, B. i. 295. James in an original Letter to the Bishop of *Landeth* (Landaff), dated 5th of February, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, informs him that he suspects such ballads are the composition either of Henry's own subjects, or of Scottish rebels residing in England.

the great majority of converts to the principles of the Reformation were to be found amongst the orders of the inferior clergy. This was shown in the present persecution. Keillor, a black friar; Dean Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, and a canon regular of the monastery of St Colm's Inch; Simpson, a priest; John Beveridge, also a black friar; and Forrester, a notary in Stirling, were summoned to appear before a council held by Cardinal Beaton, and William Chisholme the Bishop of Dunblane. It gives us a low opinion of the purity of the ecclesiastical judges before whom these early disciples of the Reformation were called, when we find the bench filled by Beaton and Chisholme, the first notorious for his gallantry and licentiousness, the second commemorated by Keith as the father of three natural children, for whom he provided portions by alienating the patrimony of his bishopric.*

Friar Keillor had roused the indignation of the church by the composition of one of those plays, or dramatic "mysteries," common in such times, in which, under the character of the chief priests and Pharisees who condemned our Saviour, he had satirized the prelates who persecuted his true disciples. Against Forret, who owed his conversion to the perusal of a volume of St Augustine, a more singular charge was preferred, if we may believe the ecclesiastical historian. He was accused of preaching to his parishioners, a duty then invariably abandoned to the orders of friars; and of exposing the mysteries of Scripture to the vulgar in their own tongue. It was on this occasion that Crichton bishop of Dunkeld, a prelate more celebrated for his generous style of living and magnificent hospitality, than for any learned or theological endowments.

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 105.

undertook to remonstrate with the vicar, observing, with much simplicity, that it was too much to preach every Sunday, as it might lead the people to think that the prelates ought to preach also: "Nevertheless," continued he, "when thou findest any good epistle or gospel which sets forth the liberty of the Holy Church, thou mayst read it to thy flock." The vicar replied to this, that he had carefully read through both the Old and New Testament, and in its whole compass had not found one evil epistle or gospel; but if his lordship would point them out, he would be sedulous in avoiding them. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the bishop, smiling; "for I am contented with my breviary and pontifical, and know neither the Old or New Testament; and yet thou seest I have come on indifferently well: but take my advice, leave these fancies, else thou mayst repent when it is too late."* It was likewise objected to Forret, upon his trial, that he had taught his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed in the vulgar tongue; that he had questioned the right of taking tithes, and had restored them to the poorer members of his flock. His defence, which he grounded on Scripture, was received with insult; his Bible plucked from his hand by Lauder, who denounced as heretical the conclusions he had drawn from it, and himself and his companions condemned to the stake. The sentence was executed on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the thirty-first February, 1538-9.† But such cruel exhibitions were not confined to the capital. In the same year, Kennedy, a youth of eighteen years of age, and Russel, a grey friar, were found guilty of

* MS. Calderwood, Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 212*.

† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 23.

heresy, and burnt at Glasgow; Archbishop Dunbar having, it is said, in vain, interceded with the cardinal to spare their lives. Kennedy is described by Knox as one who possessed a fine genius for Scottish poetry; and it is not improbable he may, like Lindsay and Dunbar, have distinguished himself by some of those satirical effusions against the higher clergy, which it is well known were not the least efficient weapons in preparing the way for the Reformation. But the prospect of so cruel a death shook his resolution, and it was expected he was about to recant, when the exhortations of Russel, a meek but courageous partisan of the new doctrines, produced a sudden change. Falling on his knees, he blessed the goodness and mercy of God, which had saved him from impending destruction, and breaking out into an ecstasy of triumph, declared he now coveted death, and would readily endure the utmost tortures they could inflict. "Now," said Russel, fixing his eyes on the prelates who presided; "now is your hour, and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness—meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities."*

The effect of these inhuman executions was highly favourable to the principles of the Reformation, a circumstance to which the eyes of the clergy, and of the monarch who lent them his sanction, were completely blinded; and it is extraordinary they should not have perceived that they operated against them in another way by compelling many of the persecuted families to embrace the interests of the Douglasses.

* MS. Calderwood, Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 216.

The continued and mutual inroads upon the Borders now called loudly for redress, and Henry, having despatched the Duke of Norfolk, his lieutenant in the north, to punish the malefactors, the Scottish king, in a letter addressed to that nobleman, not only expressed his satisfaction with this appointment, but his readiness to deliver into his hands all English subjects who had fled into Scotland.* The presence of the English earl in the disturbed districts was soon after followed by the mission of Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish court, an event accelerated by the intelligence which Henry had received of the coalition between Francis the First and the emperor, and by his anxiety to prevent his nephew from joining the confederacy against him. Of Sadler's reception and negotiation we fortunately possess an authentic account, and it throws a clear light upon the state of parties in Scotland.

His instructions directed him to discover, if possible, James's real intentions with regard to the league by the emperor and Francis against England; to ascertain in what manner the monarch was affected towards the reformed opinions, and by an exposure of the tyranny of the papal power, the scandalous lives of the majority of the clergy, and the enormous wealth which had been engrossed by the church, to awaken the royal mind to the necessity and the advantage of a suppression of the monasteries, and a rupture with the supreme pontiff. To accomplish this more effectually, the ambassador carried with him certain letters of Cardinal Beaton, addressed to Rome, which had accidentally fallen into Henry's hands, and the contents of which it was expected would awaken the jealousy of his master, and lead to the disgrace of the cardinal; whilst Sadler

* Original letter in the State-paper Office.

was to renew the proposal for a personal conference between the two princes, and to hold out to his ambition the hope of his succession to the crown of England, in the event of the death of Henry's infant and only son, Prince Edward.*

On his arrival in Scotland, the ambassador was welcomed with cordiality, and although he failed in the main purpose of his mission, his reception indicated a desire upon the part of James to preserve the most amicable relations with England. This prince declared, and apparently with sincerity, that if Henry's conduct corresponded to his professions, nothing should induce him to join in any hostile coalition with Charles or Francis, but he steadily refused to imitate his example in throwing off his allegiance to the head of the church, dissolving the monasteries, or abjuring the religion of his fathers. As to the letters of the cardinal, the king remarked that he had already seen them, and he smiled with polite contempt when Sadler attributed to Beaton a scheme for the usurping the government of his realm, and placing it in the hands of the Pope. He admitted, at the same time, the profligacy of some of his clergy, and declared with an oath that he would compel them to lead a life more suitable to their profession; but he pronounced a merited eulogium on their superior knowledge and talents, their loyalty to the government, and their readiness to assist him in his difficulties. When pressed upon the point of a conference, he dexterously waved the subject, and, without giving a refusal, declared his wish that his ally the King of France should be present on the occasion, a condition upon

* It gives us a mean opinion of the wisdom of the English monarch, to find Sadler instructed to remonstrate with James, upon his unkingly mode of increasing his revenue, by his keeping vast flocks of sheep, and busying himself in other agricultural pursuits.

which Sadler had received no instructions. On the whole the conference between James and the ambassador placed in a favourable light the prudence and good sense of the Scottish monarch, under circumstances which required the exertion of these qualities in no common degree.*

He now meditated an important enterprise, and only awaited the confinement of the queen to carry it into effect.† The remoter portions of his kingdom, the northern counties, and the Western and Orkney islands had, as we have already seen, been grievously neglected during his minority; they had been torn by the contentions of hostile clans; and their condition, owing to the incursions of the petty chiefs and pirate adventurers who infested these seas, was deplorable. This the monarch now resolved to redress, by a voyage conducted in person, and fitted out upon a scale which had not before been attempted by any of his predecessors. A fleet of twelve ships was assembled, amply furnished with artillery, provided for a lengthened voyage, and commanded by the most skilful mariners in his dominions. Of these, six ships were appropriated to the king, three were victuallers, and the remaining three carried separately the cardinal, the Earl of Huntley, and the Earl of Arran.‡ Beaton conducted a force of five hundred men from Fife and Angus; Huntley and Arran brought with them a thousand, and this little army was strengthened by the royal suite, and many barons and gentlemen who swelled the train of their prince, or

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 29, 30.

† Caligula, B. iii. 219. "Albeit it is said the kynge of Scottis causes the schippys to be furnysched and in a redines, and after the queene be delivered he will go hymself." J. Thompson to Sir Thomas Wharton, Carlisle, May 4, 1540.

‡ Ther be preparyt in all twelf shypys, whereof thre as is aforesaid for the cardinall and the two erlys, and thre other shypis for vytalis only, and six for the kyngand hys trayne, ** the said ships ar all weil ordanansyd." Edward Aglionby to Sir Thomas Wharton, Carlisle, May 4, 1540. Caligula, B. iii. 217.

followed on this distant enterprise the banner of their chiefs. It was one laudable object of the king in his voyage, to complete an accurate nautical survey of the northern coasts and isles, for which purpose he carried with him Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot and hydrographer, whose charts and observations remain to the present day.* But his principal design was to overawe the rebellious chiefs, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to reduce within the limits of order and good government a portion of his dominions, which, for the last thirty years, had repeatedly refused to acknowledge their dependence upon the Scottish crown.

On the 22d of May, to the great joy of the monarch and his people, the queen presented them with a prince, and James, whose preparations were complete, hoisted the royal flag on board the admiral's ship, and favoured with a serene heaven and a favourable breeze, conducted his fleet along the populous coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan, till he doubled the promontory of Kennedar.† He next visited the wild shores of Caithness, and crossing the Pentland Firth was gratified on reaching the Orkneys by finding these islands in a state of greater improvement and civilisation than he had ventured to expect. Doubling cape Wrath the royal squadron steered for the Lewis, Harris, and the isles of North and South Uist; they next crossed over to Skye, made a descent upon Glenelg, Moidart and Ardnamurchan, circumnavigated Mull, visited Coll and Tiree, swept along the romantic coast of Argyle, and passing the promontory of Kentire, delayed awhile on the shores of Arran, and cast anchor beside the richer and more verdant fields of Bute. Throughout the whole progress, the voyage did not exhibit exclusively the

* Harleian MSS. 3996.

† Probably Kinnaird's Head is here meant.

stern aspect of a military expedition, but mingled the delight of the chase, of which James was passionately fond, with the graver cares and labours of the monarch and the legislator. The rude natives of these savage and distant regions flocked to the shore to gaze on the unusual apparition, as the fleet swept past their promontories; and the mountain and island lords crowded round the royal pavilion which was pitched upon the beach, to deprecate resentment and proffer their allegiance. The force which was aboard appears to have been amply sufficient to secure a prompt submission upon the part of those fierce chieftains who had hitherto bid defiance to all regular government, and James, who dreaded lest the departure of the fleet should be a signal for a return to their former courses, insisted that many of them should accompany him to the capital, and remain there as hostages for the peaceable deportment of their followers.* Some of the most refractory were even thrown into irons and confined on board the ships, whilst others were treated with a kindness which soon substituted the ties of affectionate allegiance for those of compulsion and terror.† On reaching Dumbarton, the king considered his labours at an end, and giving orders for the fleet to proceed by their former course to Leith, travelled to court, only to become exposed to the renewed enmity of his nobles.

Another conspiracy, the third within the last three

* Lesley, p. 157. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 814.

† The names of the chiefs seized by James in this expedition may be interesting to some of my readers. In Sutherland, Donald Mackay of Strathnaver; in the Lewis, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen; in the west of Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, or of Harris; in the north of Skye at Trouterness, John Moydertach captain of clan Ranald, Alexander of Glen-garrie, and others who were chieftains of "MacConeyllis kin," by which we must understand relatives of the late Donald Gruamach of Sleat, who was understood to have the hereditary claim to the lordship of the isles; in Kintail, John Mackenzie chief of that clan; Kentire and Knapdale, Hector Maclean of Dowart and James Macconnel of Isla.

years, was discovered, and its author, Sir James Hamilton, arrested and brought to trial on a charge of treason. This baron, who has been already mentioned as notorious for his cruelty in an age not fastidious in this respect, was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran, and had acquired over the early youth of the king an influence, from which his more advanced judgment recoiled. Such, however, was his power and wealth, that it was dangerous to attempt anything against him, and as he was a zealous and bigoted supporter of the ancient religion, he could reckon on the friendship of the clergy. His temper was passionate in the extreme, and during the king's minority had often hurried him into excesses, which, under a government where the law was not a dead letter, might have cost him his head; but he had hitherto escaped, and latterly had even experienced the king's favour. Such was the state of things, when the monarch, who had left the capital to pass over to Fife, was hurriedly accosted by a stranger, who demanded a speedy and secret audience, as the business on which he had been sent was of immediate moment, and touched the king's life. James listened to the story, and taking a ring from his finger, sent it by the informer to Learmont master of the household, and Kirkaldy the treasurer, commanding them to investigate the matter and act according to their judgment of its truth and importance.* He then pursued his journey, and soon after received intelligence that Hamilton was arrested. It was found that his accuser was James Hamilton of Kincavil, sheriff of Linlithgow, and brother to the early reformer Patrick Hamilton, in whose miserable death Sir James had taken an active part. The crime of which he was arraigned was of old standing, though now revealed for the first time. It

* Drummond, 110. Maitland, 825.

was asserted that Hamilton, along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, Robert Leslie, and James Douglas of Parkhead, had in the year 1528, conspired to slay the king, having communicated their project to the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who encouraged the atrocious design.* Some authors have asserted that the intention of Hamilton was to murder James by breaking into the royal bed-chamber, † but in the want of all contemporary record of the trial, it is only known that he was found guilty and instantly executed. His innocence he is said to have affirmed to the last, ‡ but no one lamented the death of a tyrannical baron, whose hands were stained by much innocent and unavenged blood; and the fate of the brave and virtuous Lennox who had been murdered by him after giving up his sword, was still fresh in the recollection of the people.

After the execution, the monarch is represented by some of our historians as having become a stranger to his former pleasures, and a victim to the most gloomy suspicions; his court, the retreat of elegant enjoyment, was for a while transformed into the solitary residence of an anchorite or a misanthropist, and awakening to the conviction that he was hated by his nobility, many of whom had retired to their castles alarmed at the fate of Hamilton, he began to fear that he had engaged in a struggle to which he might fall a victim. For a while the thought preyed upon his peace, and disturbed his imagination. His sleep became disturbed by frightful visions; at one time he would leap out of his bed, and, calling for lights, command his attendants to take away the frightful spectacle which stood at his pillow,

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 423.

† Anderson, MS. History, in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 229.

‡ Lesley, p. 158.

and assumed the form of his Justiciar who cursed the hour he had entered his service ; at another his chamberlain was awakened by groans in the royal apartment, and entering, found the king sitting up in bed, transfixed with terror, and declaring that he had been visited by the bastard of Arran, who brandished a naked sword, and threatened to lop off both his arms, affirming that he would return, after a short season, and be more fully revenged.* These stories, whether we believe or reject them, were undoubtedly so far founded in truth, that the king became deeply engrossed and agitated by the difficulties of his situation, and it is no unusual thing to find the visions of the night borrowing their gloomy and fantastic pictures from the business of the day ; but James's mind, however paralyzed for the moment, was composed of too strong materials to be shaken by such ideal terrors, and as it recovered its strength he soon resumed his wonted activity.

A parliament which assembled in the month of December, and a second meeting of the three Estates convoked in the succeeding March, deliberated upon some subjects of great importance. To preserve the peace with England, to support the church, now hourly becoming more alarmed by the acknowledged progress of the reformed opinions, to strengthen the authority of the crown, and humble the power of the nobles were at this moment the leading features of the policy adopted by the Scottish monarch : and easy as it is to detect his errors when we look back at the past, illuminated by the light of nearly three centuries of increasing knowledge, it would scarcely be just to condemn that conduct which sought to maintain the independence of the kingdom, and the religion of his fathers against

* Drummond, 111.

what he esteemed the attacks of heresy and revolution. When in France, in 1537, James had published at Rouen a revocation of all the grants of lands, which during his minority had been alienated from the crown, and he now followed this up by a measure, upon the strict justice of which the want of contemporary evidence precludes us from deciding. This was an act of annexation to the crown of all the isles north and south of the two Kentires, commonly called the Hebrides. That these districts had been the scenes of constant treason and open defiance of the laws, must be acknowledged, and at this moment James retained in various prisons many of their chiefs whose lives had been pardoned on their surrender of their persons during his late expedition to his insular dominions. But whether it was just or prudent to adopt so violent a measure as to annex the whole of the isles to the crown as forfeited lands may be doubted. To these also were added the Orkney and Shetland isles, the seat of the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness, with the Lordships of Douglas, Bonkill, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Bothwell, Jedburgh forest, and the superiority of the county or earldom of Angus. But this was not all; Glammis with its dependencies, Liddesdale, the property of Bothwell, who was attached to the Douglasses, and Evandale the estate of Sir James Hamilton, increased the growing power of the crown, and even the best disposed among the nobility trembled for themselves when they observed the unrelenting rigour of the monarch and the rapid process of the law. Having thus strengthened his hands by this large accession of influence, James attempted to conciliate the uneasy feelings of the aristocracy by a general act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons committed up to

the day of its publication; but unfortunately its healing effects were defeated by the clause which excepted the banished Earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, and the whole body of their adherents. Nor was the sternness of regal legislation confined to the hated Douglasses. The Catholic clergy, whose councils were gradually gaining influence in the bosom of the monarch, procured the passing of many severe statutes against heresy. To argue against the supreme authority, or to question the spiritual infallibility of the Pope, was made a capital offence; no person even suspected of entertaining heretical opinions was to be admitted to any office in the government, whilst those who had fled from judicial examination were to be held as confessed, and sentence passed against them. All private meetings or conventicles, where religious subjects were debated, were declared illegal, rewards were promised to those who revealed where they were held; and such was the jealousy with which the church provided against the contamination of its ancient doctrines, that no Catholic was to be permitted to converse with any one who had at any time embraced heretical opinions, although he had repented of his apostacy and received absolution for his errors. It is more pleasing to notice that in the same parliament, the strongest exhortations were given to churchmen, both of high and low degree, to reform their lives and conversation, whilst the contempt with which the services of religion had been lately regarded was traced directly to the dishonesty and misrule of the clergy, proceeding from their ignorance in divine and human learning and the licentiousness of their manners. For the more general dissemination of the knowledge of the laws amongst the inferior judges and the great body of the people, the acts of parliament

were ordered to be printed from an authentic copy attested by the sign-manual of the clerk register; and an act passed at the same time against the casting down of the images of the saints, informs us that the spirit of demolition, which afterwards gathered such strength, had already directed itself with an unhappy narrowness of mind against the sacred edifices of the country.*

Other enactments in a wiser spirit provided for the more universal and impartial administration of justice by the sheriffs and temporal judges throughout the realm. The abilities of deputies or inferior judges, the education and election of notaries, and the ratification of the late institution of the College of Justice, form the subjects of some important changes; various minute regulations were introduced concerning the domestic manufactures and foreign commerce of the country, and to defend the kingdom against any sudden project for its invasion (a measure which the violent temper of Henry rendered by no means improbable) the strictest orders were given for the observance of the stated military musters, and the arming of all classes of the community. It was declared that the army of Scotland should fight on foot, that the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggage waggons, and that none should be permitted to be mounted in the host except earls, barons, and great landed proprietors. Such leaders were directed to be armed in white harness, light or heavy according to their pleasure, and with the weapons becoming their rank; whilst all persons whose fortune was below a hundred pounds of yearly rent, were to have a jack, or a halkrick, † or brigantine, and gloves of

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 370. † A Corslet.

plate, with *pesane* and gorget; no weapons being admitted by the muster officer, except spears, pikes of six ells length, Leith axes, halberds, hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords.

Such in 1540 were the arms of the Scottish host;* and these cares for the increase of the military strength of his dominions were succeeded on the part of the king by more decided demonstrations. A proclamation was read in the capital, and forwarded to every part of the country, by which all persons between sixteen and sixty years of age, were commanded to be ready on a warning of twenty-four hours to join the royal banner, armed at all points; and a train of sixteen great, and sixty lesser cannon was ordered to be fitted out, to take the field within twenty days after Easter. It may be doubted, however, whether such symptoms of impending hostility were not rather preventive than preparatory of war. The individual feelings of the sovereign at this moment appear to have been in favour of a reform in the church, a measure almost synonymous with a peace with England; he not only permitted, but encouraged and sanctioned by his presence, the celebrated play of Lindsay, which, under the name of a satire on the three Estates, embodied a bitter attack upon the Catholic clergy; he remonstrated with the prelates on the scandalous lives of some of their body; and if we may give full credit to the representations of the Duke of Norfolk, † who repeated the information of an eye-witness, he began to look with a covetous longing upon the immense revenues, and meditated, at least so the clergy dreaded, the appropriation of a portion of the possessions of the church. Yet the same

* Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 362.

† Norfolk to Lord Privy Seal, 29th March, 1543. Caligula, B. vii. 223.

authority pronounces him a decided enemy to the power and interference of England in the internal administration of his kingdom; and the queen, whose influence over her husband was increased at this time by the birth of another prince, was a devoted adherent of Rome. To counteract the disposition of the sovereign towards the Reformation, the great reliance of Beaton and the prelates was in the prospect of a war with England; for the attainment of this object no industry and no intrigues were omitted, no sacrifice considered too dear; and it unfortunately happened, that the violence of Henry the Eighth, with the unrelenting enmity of the Scottish monarch against the Douglasses, and that large portion of the nobility connected with them by alliance or by interest, presented them with materials of mutual provocation, of which they well knew how to avail themselves.

In the midst of these transactions the queen-mother was taken ill at Methven, the castle of her husband, and died after a varied and turbulent life, during the latter years of which she had lost all influence in the affairs of the kingdom. Great violence of temper, a devotedness to her pleasures, and a disregard of public opinion, were qualities in which she strongly resembled her brother, Henry the Eighth; and after the attempt to accomplish a divorce from Methven, her third husband, which for the sake of decency was quashed by her son, she appears to have been neglected by all parties. Her talents, had they not been enslaved to her caprice and passion, were of a high order, as is amply proved by that large and curious collection of her original letters preserved in our national archives;* but the influence she exerted during the minority of

* In the State-paper Office and the British Museum.

her son was mischievous, and her individual character such as could not long command either affection or respect. She was interred with much solemnity and magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, at Perth, in the tomb of its founder, James the First.

The decease of the queen was followed by an event which plunged the court and the people into sincere grief. Arthur duke of Albany, the infant prince whose birth had lately given such joy to his royal parents, was suddenly cut off at Stirling by some infantine disease; and scarcely had he ceased to breathe, when Prince James, the eldest born, and heir to the throne, was attacked with a similar malady, which defied all human skill, and hurried him within a brief period to share the grave of his brother.* It was a blow which fell heavily upon the affections of the monarch; and, in a political point of view, its consequences were equally distressing; it shook the security of a sovereign, who was at variance with his nobility, and whose throne needed, on that account, the support communicated by the certainty of succession; but James never permitted his cares and duties to be long interrupted by an excessive indulgence in sorrow, and he wisely sought for alleviation in an attention to those peaceful arts, which were intimately connected with the welfare of his kingdom. From France and Flanders, from Spain and Holland, he invited the most skilful artisans, in those various branches of manufacture and industry, wherein they excelled his subjects, inducing them by pensions to settle in the country; he improved the small native breed of the Scottish horses by importations from Denmark and Sweden;† and anxious

* Pinkerton, ii. 371.

† *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 36:—"Cataphractos aliquot e regno tuo desideramus."

for the encouragement of useful learning, he visited the University of Aberdeen in company with his queen and his court, listened to the classic declamations of the students, and enjoyed the dramatic entertainments which were recited, during a residence of fifteen days, in this infant seat of the Scottish Muses. On his return, a mission of Campbell of Lundy to the Netherlands, for the redress of some grievances connected with the fisheries, and an embassy of Beaton, and Panter the secretary of the king, to Rome, evinced that the royal mind had recovered its wonted strength and activity. The avowed object of the cardinal was to procure his nomination as papal legate within the dominions of his master; but there can be little doubt, that his secret instructions, which unfortunately have not been preserved, embraced a more important design. The extirpation of heresy from Scotland, and the re-establishment of the Catholic faith in the dominions of Henry the Eighth, by a coalition between Francis, James, the emperor, and the papal see, formed, it is probable, the main purpose of Beaton's visit. Events, however, were now in progress, which counteracted his best-laid schemes; and the rupture which soon after took place between Francis and the emperor, for the present dissolved the meditated confederacy.

It was this moment which the English monarch selected for a second embassy of Sadler to the court of his nephew; and, had Henry's instructions to his ambassador been less violent, a favourable impression might have been made; but James, who never forgot his station as an independent prince, was not to be threatened into a compliance with a line of policy, which, if suggested in a tone of conciliation, his judgment might perhaps have approved; and if the English ambassador

besought him not to "be as brute as a stocke," or to suffer the practices of juggling prelates to lead him by the nose, and impose a yoke upon his shoulders, the spirit of the prince must have been roused by the insolence of such language to a deeper resentment than he had yet felt against his uncle.* Yet, although inimical to the purposes of the embassy, the request of Henry, that James should meet him in a conference to be held on the Borders, was received with a less marked opposition; and before the departure of Sadler, the monarch appears to have given a reluctant assent to the interview.† It, however, most inopportunately happened, that at this time the English borderers, not only with the approval, but under the guidance of the wardens, renewed, with every circumstance of cruelty and havoc, their invasions of the Scottish territory; and the king, disgusted with such contradiction and duplicity, presented a remonstrance, in which he not only demanded redress, but declined the promised interview till it should be obtained.‡ Meanwhile, Henry proceeded to York, in the autumn of the year 1541, and for six days held his court in that city, in hourly expectation of the arrival of his nephew; but he looked for him in vain, and in deep indignation retraced his steps to his capital. To act on the resentment of the moment, and to permit the impatience of personal revenge to dictate the course of his policy, was the frequent failing of this monarch; and there can be no doubt, that from the instant he found himself

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 374. Caligula, B. i. 57.

† Copy of Articles delivered by the Bishops of Aberdeen and Orkney, December, 1541, promising that James would meet Henry at York on 15th January next. State-paper Office.

‡ Paper in State-paper Office, December, 1541. Articles delivered by the King of Scots to the Bishops of Orkney and Aberdeen, and Mr Thomas Bellenden, relative to the depredations by the English borderers.

disappointed of the intended interview at York, war with Scotland was resolved on. Instructions were despatched to Sir Robert Bowes, to levy soldiers and put the east and middle marches in a state of defence; an army was ordered to be raised for immediate service in the north; the fortifications of Berwick were inspected; and the monarch, having determined to revive the idle and exploded claim of superiority, issued his commands to the Archbishop of York, requesting him to make a search into the most ancient records and muniments within his diocese, so as to ascertain his title to the kingdom of Scotland.*

Some circumstances, however, for a short season delayed, although they could not prevent, an open rupture. James, from a deference to the opinion of his ecclesiastical councillors, had disappointed Henry of the intended interview at York; but he despatched an ambassador, who was commissioned to express his regret on the occasion, in terms of respect, and conciliation; whilst Beaton's devices being somewhat thwarted by the renewal of the quarrel between Francis and the emperor, this ambitious minister required an interval to examine his ground, and alter his mode of attack. An event, however, which occurred about this time, was improved by the cardinal and the clergy, to bring about the desired war. The king had long maintained an intercourse in Ireland, not only with his Scottish subjects, who possessed a considerable portion of the island, but with many of the principal chiefs, in whose eyes the English monarch was a heretic and a tyrant. Hitherto, Henry's predecessors and himself had been contented to call themselves lords of that country;

* State-paper Office. Letter from Privy Council of England, April 28th 1542, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley to Sir Robert Bowes, July 28th, 1542.

but, in a parliament of this year, he had assumed the more august style of King of Ireland*—a proceeding so ill-received by its native chiefs, that they sent a deputation to the Scottish court, inviting its monarch to accept their homage, and making a proffer of the crown, which had already, in ancient times, although for a brief period, been placed upon the head of a Scottish prince.† It is not probable, that the offer was ever viewed by James in a serious light; yet, the assumption of the title of Defender of the Faith, with which the Pope had condescended to flatter him, the gracious reception given to the Irish chiefs, and the warlike preparations which could not be concealed, excited the jealousy, and increased the resentment of the English king to so high a pitch, that it was evident war could not be long averted.

Under such circumstances, nothing seemed wanting but a slight spark to ignite the mass which had been accumulating for many years; and this was soon furnished by the restless borderers. Upon whose side hostilities began seems uncertain; the Scottish monarch in one of his letters, insisted, that before his subjects retaliated, they had been provoked by two English invasions; whilst the manifesto of Henry broadly imputed the first aggression to his nephew. Mutual incursions were probably succeeded by a mutual wish to throw the odium of an infraction of the peace upon each other; and, at the moment when Sir James Learmont had proceeded with a message of regret and conciliation to the English court, Sir James Bowes, captain of Norham, and warden of the east marches, broke across the Border; and, with a body of three thousand horse, penetrated into Teviotdale.

* Lesley, p. 160.

† Maitland, vol. ii. 826.

He was accompanied by the banished Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and a large body of their retainers; but the Earl of Huntley encountered him with a strong force at Hadden-Rig, and, with the assistance of Lord Home, who joined the host with four hundred lancers, obtained a complete victory. Six hundred prisoners of note fell into the hands of the enemy, amongst whom were the lord warden himself, and his brother. Angus was nearly taken, but slew his assailant with his dagger, and saved himself by flight.*

Open and determined war appeared now inevitable; and Henry, having sent orders to the Duke of Norfolk to levy a force of forty thousand men, this able leader, who had obtained from his master the name of the Scourge of the Scots, proceeded by rapid marches towards York. Along with him, each leading their respective divisions, came the Earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, and Hertford, with Angus, and some of his Scottish adherents: but on their march, they were arrested by a deputation of commissioners, instructed by James to make a final effort for averting a war. Whether the Scottish king was sincere in this, or merely used it as an expedient to gain time, does not appear; but, as the season was far advanced, even a short delay was important; and, in all probability, he had become convinced of the fatal effects which the dissatisfaction of his nobility with his late measures might produce upon the issue of the campaign. He accordingly prevailed on Norfolk to halt at York, and amused him for a considerable period with proposals for a truce, and a personal interview, which had long been the great object of the English king.

It was now, however, too late; the conferences

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 831. Lesley, p. 162.

conducted to no satisfactory conclusion; and Henry, issuing imperative orders to his lieutenant to advance into Scotland, published at the same moment a manifesto, in which he stated his reasons for engaging in war: his nephew, he affirmed, supported some of his chief rebels within his dominions; his subjects had invaded England when a treaty of peace was in the course of negotiation; he was refused the possession of some districts, to which he affirmed he had established an unquestionable title; and James had lastly disappointed him of the promised interview at York. These trifling causes of quarrel were followed up by a revival of the claim of superiority over Scotland, and a tedious enumeration of the false and exploded grounds upon which it was maintained.

The winter had now commenced; yet Norfolk, aware of the impetuosity of his master's temper, penetrated into Scotland; and finding no resistance, gave many of the granges and villages on the banks of the Tweed to the flames; whilst James, becoming more aware of the secret indisposition of his nobles to a contest with England, once more despatched Learmont and the Bishop of Orkney to request a conference, and carry proposals of peace.* All negotiation, however, was in vain; and commanding a force under Huntley, Home, and Seton, to watch the operations of Norfolk, the Scottish king himself assembled his main army, consisting of thirty thousand men, on the Borough-Muir, near Edinburgh.† But, though strong in numbers and equipment, this great feudal array was weakened by various causes. It was led by those nobles who had regarded the late conduct of the king with sentiments of disapproval, and even of indignation. Many of them

* Lesley, p. 161.

† Herbert, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 232.

favoured the doctrines of the Reformation ; some from a conscientious conviction of their truth, others from an envious eye to those possessions of the church, which, under the dissolution of the English religious houses they had seen become the prey of their brethren in England ; many dreaded the severity of the new laws of treason, and trembled for their estates, when they considered they might be thus rendered responsible for the misdeeds of their deceased predecessors ; others were tied by bands of manrent to the interests of the Douglases ; and a few, who were loyal to the king, were yet anxious to adopt every honourable means of averting a war, from which they contended nothing could be expected, even should they be victorious, but an increase of those difficulties which perplexed the councils of the government. It appears also to have been a rule amongst these feudal barons, which, if not strictly a part of the military law, had been established by custom, that they were not bound to act offensively within the territories of a foreign state, although their feudal tenure compelled them, under the penalty of forfeiture, to obey the royal command in repelling an enemy who had crossed the Borders, and encamped within the kingdom.

Such were the sentiments of the Scottish nobles when James lay with his army on Fala Muir, a plain near the western termination of the Lammermuir hills ; and intelligence was suddenly brought to the host, that Norfolk, compelled by the approach of winter and the failure of his supplies, had recrossed the Border, and was in full retreat. It was now the end of November ; and such was the scarcity of provisions produced by the recent devastation of the English, that having consumed the allowances which they brought along

with them, the Scottish army began to be severely distressed.* Yet the opportunity for retaliation appeared too favourable to be lost, and the monarch eagerly proposed an invasion of England, when he was met with a haughty and unanimous refusal. The crisis recalls to our minds the circumstances in which James the Third was placed at Lauder Bridge; and it is even insinuated by some of our historians, that the nobles, who had been long secretly dissatisfied with the conduct of the king, meditated a repetition of the ferocious scenes which then occurred; but they had to do with a more determined opponent, and contented themselves by a steady refusal, alleging as their reason, the advanced period of the year, and the impossibility of supporting so large a force. Yet this was enough to arouse to the highest pitch the indignation of the king; he alternately threatened and remonstrated; he implored them, as they valued their honour as knights, or esteemed their allegiance as subjects, to accompany him against the enemy; he upbraided them as cowards and poltroons, who permitted Norfolk to burn their villages, and plunder their granges under their eyes, without daring to retaliate. But all was in vain: the leaders were immovable; the feudal feeling of loyalty to their prince, and revenge against their enemies, seemed to be extinguished by a determination to seize the opportunity to show their own strength, and use it for the redress of their grievances; and the king, overwhelmed with disappointment and chagrin, disbanded the army and returned to his capital.†

Yet, although thus abandoned by a great majority of his nobles, the monarch was not without some sup-

* Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Privy Council, dated 3d Nov. 1542. State-paper Office, B. C.

† John Car to My Lord of Norfolk, 1st Nov. 1542, State-paper Office.

porters amongst them ; the opulent body of the clergy were unanimous in his favour, and a few peers making an effort to recall their brethren to their duty, resolved to muster the army for a second time, under what it was hoped would be more favourable auspices. For this purpose, Lord Maxwell offered his services, and a force of ten thousand men having been assembled with great expedition and secrecy, it was determined to break into England by the western marches ; whilst the monarch, with the sanguine and energetic temper by which he was distinguished, shook off the anguish which preyed on his mind, and eagerly awaited at Caerlaverock, the result of the invasion. He had given secret orders, that his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, should take the command of the little army, so soon as it reached the Esk ; and scarcely had the soldiers encamped on English ground, when a halt was ordered ; and this minion of the king, as he is termed in a contemporary document, was raised on a platform, supported on the shoulders of the troops, whilst the royal commission appointing him generalissimo was read aloud by a herald. The intelligence was received with murmurs of disapprobation : many of the ancient nobility declared they could not serve without degradation under such a leader ; their clansmen and retainers adopted their feelings ; and whilst Maxwell, and a few of the most loyal peers, attempted to overcome their antipathy, the whole army became agitated with the discussion, presenting the spectacle of a disorderly mob tossed by conflicting sentiments and ready to fall to pieces on the slightest alarm. It was at this crisis that Dacre and Musgrave, two English leaders, advanced to reconnoitre, at the head of three hundred horse ; and approaching the Scottish camp, became

sensible of its situation : nor did they delay a moment to seize the opportunity, but charged at full speed with levelled lances, and in a compact body. In the panic of the moment, they were believed to be the advance of a larger force ; and such was the effect of the surprise, that the rout was instantaneous and decisive. Ten thousand Scottish troops fled at the sight of three hundred English cavalry, with scarce a momentary resistance ; and a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, amongst whom were the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the Masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton.*

The intelligence of this second calamity fell like a thunderbolt upon the king ; he had awaited at Caerlaverock, in the most eager expectation, the first intelligence from the army ; he trusted, that the success of the invasion would wipe away, in some degree, the dishonour of the retreat from Fala ; and he anticipated, with sanguine hope and resolution the renewal of the war, and a restoration of the feelings of cordiality and attachment between himself and his barons. In an instant every prospect of this kind was blasted ; and in the first agony of the moment, he embraced an idea which overthrew the balance of his mind, and plunged him into despair : he became convinced, that his nobility had entered into a conspiracy to betray him to England, to sacrifice their own honour, and the independence of the kingdom, to the determination to gratify their revenge against the crown, and their personal hatred to himself.† At Fala, they had disgraced him by an open contempt of his command ; at Solway,

* Hall, p. 856. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 833. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 44-54, inclusive. 2d edit.

† Lesley, p. 165.

they had followed up the blow by an act which exposed themselves, their sovereign, and the Scottish name, to ridicule and contempt. James had often borne misfortune; but his mind was too proud and impatient to endure dishonour, or to digest the anguish of reiterated disappointment; and, although in the vigour of his strength and the flower of his age, with a constitution unimpaired and almost unvisited by disease, he sunk under this calamity, and seems truly to have died of a broken heart. From the moment the intelligence reached him, he shut himself up in his palace at Falkland, and relapsed into a state of the deepest gloom and despondency; he would sit for hours without speaking a word, brooding over his disgrace; or would awake from his lethargy, only to strike his hand on his heart, and make a convulsive effort, as if he would tear from his breast the load of despair which oppressed it. Exhausted by the violence of the exertion, he would then drop his arms by his side, and sink into a state of hopeless and silent melancholy. This could not last: it was soon discovered that a slow fever preyed upon his frame; and having its seat in the misery of a wounded spirit, no remedy could be effectual. When in this state, intelligence was brought him, that his queen had given birth to a daughter.* At another time it would have been happy news; but now, it seemed to the poor monarch, the last drop of bitterness which was reserved for him. Both his sons were dead. Had this child been a boy, a ray of hope, he seemed to feel, might yet have visited his heart; he received the messenger and was informed of the event without welcome, or almost recognition; but wandering back in his thoughts to the time, when the daughter of Bruce

* Mary queen of Scots was born at Linlithgow on the 7th Dec. 1542.

brought to his ancestor the dowry of the kingdom, observed, with melancholy emphasis, "It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass."* A few of his most favoured friends and councillors stood round his couch; the monarch stretched out his hand for them to kiss; and regarding them for some moments with a look of great sweetness and placidity, turned himself upon the pillow and expired.† He died (13th December, 1542, ‡) in the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign; leaving an only daughter, Mary, an infant of six days old, who succeeded to the crown; and amongst other natural children, a son James, afterwards the famous Regent Moray. There were some striking points of similarity between the character and destiny of this prince, and his great ancestor, James the First. To the long captivity of the one, we find a parallel in the protracted minority of the other; whilst, in both, we may discover, that vigour, talent, and energetic resolution to support the prerogative against the attacks of their nobility, to which we can trace the assassination of the first, and the premature death of the fifth James. Both were accomplished princes, and exhibited in a rude and barbarous age, a remarkable example of literary and poetical talent; whilst they excelled in all those athletic and military exercises, which were then considered the only proper objects of aristocratic ambition.

* A lass; a girl, or young maiden.

† Lesley, pp. 165, 166. Drummond, p. 114. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 334, Lindsay, pp. 176, 177.

‡ Keith, p. 22.

CHAP. V.

M A R Y .

1542—1546.

 CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	|	<i>France.</i>	|	<i>Germany.</i>	|	<i>Spain.</i>	|	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII.	|	Francis I.	|	Charles V.	|	Charles V.	|	Paul III.

THE total rout of the Scottish army at the Solway Moss, and the death of James the Fifth within a fortnight after that event, produced the most important changes in the policy of both kingdoms. To Henry the Eighth, and that powerful faction of the Douglasses, which, even in banishment, had continued to exert, by its secret friends, a decided influence in Scottish affairs, the death of the king was a subject of fervent congratulation. The English monarch immediately embraced, with the enthusiasm belonging to his character, the design of marrying his son, the Prince of Wales, to the infant Mary, hoping by this means to unite the two kingdoms, which had so long been the enemies of each other, into one powerful monarchy in the persons of their descendants. The Earl of Angus, and the Douglasses, after a banishment of fifteen years, joyfully contemplated the prospect of a return to their native country; they had become subjects of the English monarch, had largely shared his bounty and protection; and Henry determined to put their gratitude to the

test by claiming their assistance in forwarding his great scheme of procuring the Princess Mary for his son, and incorporating the kingdom of Scotland into the English monarchy; but, in the prosecution of this design, the king employed other agents. On their first arrival in London the Scottish prisoners, who were taken at the Solway Moss, found themselves treated with great severity; they were paraded through the streets of the metropolis, conducted to the Tower, and watched with much jealousy; but, as soon as the intelligence arrived of the death of their master the king, an immediate and favourable change in their condition took place. Their high rank and influence in Scotland convinced Henry, that they might be useful, and even necessary agents to him in the accomplishment of his designs; the rigour of their confinement was accordingly relaxed; and they now experienced not only kindness, but were entertained with hopes of a speedy return to their country, on condition that they forwarded the designs of the English king. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, who had shared his long banishment, and was much in the confidence of Henry, appears to have been intrusted with the principal share in negotiating the marriage. His talents for the management of political affairs were superior to those of his brother the earl, over whose mind he possessed great influence; and if we may believe the expressions which he employed in his correspondence with Henry, he appears to have forgotten his allegiance to his natural prince in the humility of his homage, and the warmth of his devotion to the English monarch.*

* Original letter of Sir G. Douglas, in State-paper Office, dated January 10, 1542-3, to Lord Lisle the English warden:—"yff it pleases God that I continewe withe lyff and helthe, I shall do my soverand lord and maister gud service be the helpe of God; and yff I dey, I shall depart his trewe servand."

The project of a marriage between young Edward and the Scottish queen was in itself so plausible, and, if concluded upon an equitable basis and with a just attention to the mutual rights and independence of each country, appeared so likely to be attended with the happiest results, that it required little argument to recommend it to the Scottish prisoners, even had they not seen in it the only road by which they were to escape from their captivity; but whilst all can understand their readiness to promote a matrimonial alliance, and a perpetual union between the two kingdoms, had Henry confined his views to such a general design, the conduct pursued by that monarch, and the conditions which he offered were such as no man of independent and patriotic feelings could, without ignominy, have embraced. He insisted, that they should acknowledge him as lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland, that the prisoners should exert their influence to procure for him the government of the kingdom, and the immediate resignation of all its fortresses into his hands; that they should use their utmost efforts to have the infant queen delivered into his power, to be kept in England;* and, in the event of such demands being refused by the parliament of Scotland, he stipulated that their whole feudal strength was to be employed in co-operating with his army, and completing the conquest of the country. Nor did the English monarch content himself with the bare promise of his prisoners to fulfil his wishes: the affair was transacted with much rigour and solemnity. A bond or obligation was drawn up, which engrossed these stipulations. To this they were required to subscribe their names, and confirm it by their oath; they were to leave their

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 69, 74, 75, 81.

eldest sons, or nearest relatives, in their place as pledges for their fidelity; should they fail in accomplishing the wishes of the king, they were to return to their prisons in England, on his so requiring it; or, if he judged it more profitable for the accomplishment of his design, they were to remain in Scotland and assist him in the war.* The bond, in short, contained terms which virtually annihilated the existence of Scotland as a separate kingdom; and sad as is the fate of the captive, I am not prepared to admit that the Scottish prisoners were placed in a situation which called for hesitation. They were called upon to choose whether they were to preserve unsullied their individual honour, and maintain their national independence, by remaining in prison, and braving a captivity which the cruelty of Henry might render perpetual; or whether they were to return dishonoured to their country, bound by the most solemn obligation to employ their strength in reducing it to the condition of a province of England. Under such circumstances the citizen of a free country ought to have felt that he had only one resolution to adopt; and it is with sorrow it must be declared, this resolution was not the one embraced by the Scottish nobles. Unable to endure the thoughts of remaining in England, the Earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, with the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant, agreed to the conditions upon which Henry permitted them to revisit their country; subscribed the bond, by which, to use the words of the governor Arran, they were tied in fetters to England; confirmed it with their oath; and having left hostages in the hands of that monarch, prepared to set out on their return.† On their arrival, they cautiously ab-

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 97.

† Maitland, vol. ii. p. 838.

stained from revealing the full extent of their obligation, and spoke in general terms upon the advantages to be derived from the marriage with England. At the same time it is not to be forgotten, in justice to the Scottish aristocracy, that whilst its leading members did not scruple to sign this unworthy agreement, the majority of the prisoners taken at the Solway remained in captivity in England. It cannot, however, be affirmed, with certainty, that to them Henry had presented the same temptation which overcame the virtue of their more wealthy and influential brethren. I have been thus minute in describing the transaction which took place between the English monarch and his prisoners, because it was afterwards attended with important consequences, and has not been noticed by any former historian with either the care or the full reprobation which it deserves.

Whilst such was the policy adopted by Henry, the sudden death of James the Fifth gave rise to a very opposite course of events in Scotland; it left that country once more exposed to all the evils of a minority, and divided by two great parties: Of these, the first, and that which had hitherto been the strongest, was the body of the Catholic clergy, at the head of which stood the cardinal Beaton, a man possessed certainly of high talents, and far superior in habits of business, acquaintance with human character, and the energetic pursuit of his purposes, to his opponents,—but profligate in his private conduct, insatiable in his love of power, and attached to the Roman Catholic faith with a devotedness which, without any breach of charity, we may pronounce as much the offspring of ambition, as the result of conviction. Of this faction the guiding principles were a determined opposi-

tion to the progress of the Reformation, and a devotion to the papal see,—friendship with France, hostility to England; and a resolution, which all must applaud, of preserving the ancient independence of their country. To them the late king, more from political motives than anything like personal bigotry, had lent the important strength of the royal favour and countenance.

In the ranks of the opposite faction were found a considerable portion of the nobility, of whom many of the leading chiefs favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, whilst all had viewed with alarm the late severe measures of the king. They were led by the Earl of Arran: a man of an amiable disposition, but indolent in his habits, and unhappily of that undecided temper which unfitted him to act with energy and success in times of so much confusion and difficulty. His bias to the reformed opinions was well known, and his royal rank, as nearest in succession to the crown, compelled him to assume an authority from which his natural character was inclined to shrink. It was to this party, whose weight was now to be increased by the accession of Angus and the Douglasses, that Henry looked for his principal supporters; and considering the promises which he had received from the prisoners taken at the Solway Moss, he entertained little doubt of carrying his project in the Scottish parliament.

With regard to the great body of the people, of which we must remember that the middle and commercial classes alone possessed any influence in the government, they appear to have been animated at this time by somewhat discordant feelings. Many favoured the principles of the Reformation; and so far as these were concerned, gave a negative support to Henry by their

hostility to the cardinal and his party; but their sense of national independence, and their jealousy of England as the ancient enemy of their country, was a deep-seated feeling, which was ready to erect itself into active opposition on the slightest assumption of superiority by the rival kingdom. The conviction of this ought to have put Henry on his guard; but it was the frequent misfortune of this monarch, to lose his highest advantages by the arrogance and violence with which he pursued them.

Immediately after the death of the king, the cardinal produced a paper which he declared to be the will of the late monarch. It is asserted by most of our historians, and the story was confirmed by the positive testimony of the Earl of Arran,* that this was a forged instrument procured by guiding the king's hand upon the paper when he was in his last extremity, and utterly insensible to its contents. It is certain that it appointed Beaton guardian to the infant queen, and chief governor of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Moray, all of whom were devoted to his service; and without giving his opponents time or opportunity to examine its provisions, or ascertain its authenticity, the cardinal had himself proclaimed regent, and hastened to assume the active management of the state. But his power, though great, was not sufficient to support him for above a few days in so bold a usurpation: the nobility assembled, and Arran, rousing himself from his constitutional indolence, claimed the office of regent, insisting that by law it belonged to him as next heir to the crown;† the pretended will he described as a

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 138.

† Knox, History, p. 35. Letter, State-paper Office, January 10, 1542-3.

forged document, to which no faith was to be attached, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the cardinal, his claim was universally admitted. He was chosen governor, and solemnly installed in his office on the twenty-second of December, 1542. Arrangements were then made for the maintenance of the household of the young queen, and her mother the queen-dowager, whilst it was determined that the Earl of Angus, and the Douglasses, who had been doomed to so long a banishment in England, should be restored to their possessions, and admitted to that share in the government which belonged to their high rank. A remarkable circumstance increased the power and popularity of Arran, and the dread with which the country regarded the cardinal. Upon the king's person at the time of his death was found a secret scroll, containing the names of above three hundred and sixty of the nobility and gentry who were suspected of entertaining heretical opinions, and whose estates on this ground were recommended to be confiscated for the support of the king.* This private list, it was affirmed, had been furnished by Beaton, immediately after the refusal of the army to invade England, and although James rejected on a former occasion, all such proposals, as a base project of the clergy to sow dissensions between himself and his nobles, it was suspected that his resolution had, after the rout of the Solway, given way to the entreaties of the cardinal. At the head of these names stood Arran; and it may easily be believed, that with

Sir George Douglas to Lord Lisle, informing him he had received a safe conduct from the Earl of Arran, calling himself governor, and proposed setting out that night for Edinburgh. Also Letter, State-paper Office, from the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, with the Lords Fleming and Maxwell, to Henry the Eighth, dated 19th of January, 1542-3, Carlisle. On the 20th of January they are to set out for Scotland.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

those of the common people who favoured the Reformation, and the nobles who were enemies to the church of Rome, such a discovery produced a community of interests and an inveteracy of feeling which added no little strength to the party of the governor.

Although defeated in his first attempt to seize on the supreme power, Beaton was not discouraged. He despatched messengers to France, representing to the house of Guise the crisis to which affairs had arrived in Scotland, the extreme danger attending a union between the Prince of Wales and their infant queen, the peril which threatened the church, and the necessity of an immediate supply of money, arms, and soldiers, to enable him to maintain the struggle against his opponents:* he worked upon the fears of those whom he knew to be sincere lovers of their country, by assuring them that the marriage which was now talked of so lightly, was nothing less than a project for the entire destruction of Scotland as an independent kingdom; and he procured the support of the middle and commercial classes by reminding them of the unprovoked seizure of their merchantmen by Henry, during a time of peace; declaiming against the injustice which prompted that prince still to detain their vessels and enrich himself with their cargoes. All these means were not without effect; and it began to be suspected that, notwithstanding his first repulse, the simplicity and indolence of Arran would not long be able to hold its ground against the energy of so talented and daring an enemy as the cardinal.

Such appears to have been the state of parties when the Scottish prisoners, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, with the Lords Fleming, Maxwell, Somerville,

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 138.

and Oliphant, took their departure from London. They were preceded in their journey by Angus and Sir George Douglas, who left the English court ten days before them, and posted down to Edinburgh for the purpose of conducting the first and most delicate part of the negotiation regarding the marriage. On their arrival a council was held by the governor, in which the projected matrimonial alliance between the kingdoms was discussed in a general manner, and received with that favourable consideration with which at first sight all were disposed to regard it. It is here necessary to keep in mind that Sir George Douglas, who was the main agent of the English monarch in this negotiation, had three great objects in view, all of which he seems to have pursued with a prudence and diplomatic craft which prove him to have been no mean adept in the management of state intrigue. The reversal of his own and his brother's treason, and their restoration to their estates, was to be his first step; the procuring the consent of the Scottish parliament to the marriage, the second; and the last and most important of all, the obtaining the delivery to Henry of the person of the infant queen, the surrender of the fortresses of the kingdom, and the consent of the three Estates to have the country placed under the government of England. It is certain, from the authentic correspondence which yet remains, that Douglas and some of the Scottish prisoners had promised the English king their utmost endeavours to attain all these objects, the last of which amounted to an act of treason; but they were compelled to proceed with great wariness. They knew well that the first mention of such ignominious conditions would rouse the country and the parliament to a determined opposi-

tion,* and that all who would have welcomed upon fair terms the prospect of a matrimonial union between the kingdoms, would yet have scorned to purchase it at the price of their independence. It became necessary, therefore, to feel their way and commence with caution, so that, at the council which was held immediately after their return to Edinburgh, no whisper of such ultimate designs was suffered to escape them.

All their efforts, however, could not prevent the cardinal from becoming acquainted with their intrigues, and the use which he made of this knowledge in strengthening his party convinced them that, if so active an enemy were left at large, they could hardly hope for success; a secret resolution was, therefore, formed, and executed with that daring promptitude which so often leads to success. Beaton, whose correspondence with France was construed into treason, was suddenly arrested [twentieth January, 1542-3], and, before he had time to summon his friends, or protest against such injustice, hurried to the castle of Blackness, and committed to the custody of Lord Seton.† Having thus boldly begun, proclamation was made, that every man, under pain of treason, should resist the landing of any army from France; a suspicion having arisen, that a fleet which had been seen

* See the Letter in the State-paper Office. Lord Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk, dated Berwick, 2d of February, 1542-3. "I asked him whether he had begun to practice with his frindes, touchyng the king's majesty's purpose. He said it was not tyme yet, for altho he and his broder had manye frindes, he durst not move the matter as yet to none of them; for if he shuld, he is sure they wolde starte from them, everie man."

† Keith, p. 27. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 26. Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 137, 138. MS. letter in State-paper Office, Sir Thomas Wharton to the Duke of Suffolk, February 2, 1542-3: "My said servant sheweth the ordre of the takyng of the cardinal, much after the form as I have wrytyn. He saith he hard the proclamation made after the same at the cross in Edinburgh, by the governor and the noblemen with him, that his takyng was for certain treasons agaynst the realm, and not for any takyng away the funds of the church."

off Holy Island was a squadron led by the Duke of Guise, for the invasion of Scotland. It soon appeared, however, to be some Scottish ships of war, with nineteen English prizes, which they afterwards brought safely into harbour. A parliament was appointed to be held on the twelfth of March for the discussion of the proposed alliance with England, and the condemnation of the cardinal; whilst it was proposed that Henry should immediately grant an abstinence of war, and a safe conduct to the Scottish ambassadors, who were to conclude a perpetual peace between the two realms.

The seizure of the cardinal, however, was attended with effects which his opponents had not anticipated. The public services of religion were suspended; the priests refused to administer the sacraments of baptism and burial; the churches were closed: a universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people; and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some awful crime. The days, indeed, were past, when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the Catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege and injustice; and the people began, in some degree, to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country, exclaiming against the Douglasses and the Scottish prisoners as the pensioners of England.* It was suspected, that more was concealed under the proposed marriage and alliance with

* Letter, State-paper Office, Sir Thomas Wharton to the Duke of Suffolk, Carlisle, February 2, 1542-3. See also an important letter, Lord Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk, dated February 1, 1542-3, at Berwick:—"And considering this busynes that is upon the taking of the cardinall, whiche, at this present, is at such a staye, that they can cause no priest within Scotland to saye masse syns the cardinall was taken, neyder to crysten or burye."

England than the friends of Henry dared as yet avow; cabals were formed amongst the nobles; and the Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Moray, offering themselves as surety for the appearance of the cardinal to answer the charges against him, imperiously demanded that he should be set at liberty. The refusal of this request by the governor and the Douglasses convinced their opponents that their suspicions were not without foundation; Argyle, one of the ablest and most powerful amongst the barons, retired to his own country, with the object of mustering his strength, and providing for the storm which he saw approaching; whilst the mutual jealousies and animosities amongst those left behind gathered strength so rapidly, that it seemed probable they must lead to some alarming civil commotion.*

This fatal result was likely to be hastened by the conduct of the English king. Incensed to the utmost degree against the cardinal, whom the Pope had recently appointed Legate *a latere* in Scotland, he insisted on his being delivered into his hands to be imprisoned in England.† He pressed the Earl of Angus and his Scottish prisoners to fulfil their promises regarding the surrender of the fortresses, and was highly dissatisfied when he found his orders not likely to be obeyed. In an interview between Sir George Douglas, and Lord Lisle the English warden, which took place at Ber-

* Letter, ut supra. Sir Thomas Wharton to the Duke of Suffolk. State-paper Office.

† Letter, State-paper Office, Lord Lisle to Duke of Suffolk, February 2, 1542-3. "I asked hym whether his broder and he wold deliver the cardinal to the king's majesty ——— if his highness to have hym. Whereat he (Sir George Douglas) studied a lyttel, and said that if they shulde do soo, they (should be) mistrasted as of England's partie, but that he suld be as surely kept as if he were in England, for neyther governor nor any oder in Scotland shall have hym out of their handes." The letter having suffered much by damp is difficult to decipher.

wick,* the Scottish baron endeavoured to convince him of the imprudence of thus attempting to precipitate so delicate an affair. He assured him that if the king were content to proceed with caution, he had little doubt of accomplishing his utmost wishes, but that at present the delivery of the cardinal, or the slightest attempt to seize the fortresses, would lead to certain failure. In the meantime he promised that Beaton, against whose talent and intrigue they could never be too much on their guard, should be as safely kept with them as he could be in England; and as the report still continued that the Duke of Guise was about to visit Scotland,† he agreed, at the suggestion of Lord Lisle, to alter their first resolution, which had been to grant this prince an interview, and to adopt the safer plan of interdicting him or his attendants from landing in any of the harbours of the kingdom. Convinced, or at least assuming the appearance of being satisfied by such representations, Henry consented to the prolongation of the abstinence of war till the month of June,‡ and awaited, with as much patience as he could command, the meeting of the Scottish parliament. In the meantime he sent orders to Sir Ralph Sadler to repair instantly as his ambassador to Edinburgh, and he determined to keep a jealous watch on the proceedings of France, as it was now confidently asserted that the Duke of Guise and the Earl of Lennox had fitted out

* Letter, State-paper Office, Lord Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk quoted above, February 2, 1542-3.

† Letter, State-paper Office, the Duke of Suffolk and council of the north to the privy-council, advising them of the appearance of a large fleet off Holy Island, supposed to be the Duke de Guise's squadron, dated at Newcastle, 3d February, 1542-3.

‡ Original agreement of abstinence of war, signed by James earl of Arran as governor of Scotland (State-paper Office) dated February 20, 1542-3, in the name of Mary queen of Scotland; also, copy Agreement for Cessation of Hostilities on the part of Henry the Eighth.

an expedition against Scotland in some of the ports of Normandy.*

Shortly before the meeting of parliament, an attempt was made by the Catholic party to counteract the intrigues of the English faction, which had now gained a complete command over the governor. The Earls of Huntley, Moray, Bothwell, and Argyle, supported by a powerful body of the barons and landed gentry, and a numerous concourse of bishops and abbots, assembled at Perth, avowing their determination to resist the measures of the governor and the Douglasses. They despatched Reid the bishop of Orkney, a prelate of primitive simplicity and integrity, with certain proposals to their opponents. Of these, the first insisted that the cardinal should be set at liberty, and that the New Testament should not be read in the vulgar tongue by the people; they demanded, at the same time, that the Scottish ambassadors who had been named by Henry should not be intrusted with the negotiation of the marriage, but others chosen in their stead, and they asserted their right to be consulted by the governor in all affairs of importance. It was not to be expected that Arran or his haughty councillors should for a moment listen to such a message. It was received with a scornful and positive refusal; and scarce had its authors time to recover from their disappointment, when they saw a herald-at-arms enter their assembly, who, in the name of the governor, and under the pain of treason, charged them to disperse their convocation and return to their duty and allegiance. Nor did they dare to disobey the summons. The penalties of treason

* Privy-council of England to the Duke of Suffolk, March 13, 1542-3. State-paper Office. Earl of Arran to the Duke of Suffolk, March 8, 1542-3. State-paper Office.

to which they knew their rivals in power would not be loath to subject them, were of too serious a kind to be despised, and after a brief deliberation, they determined to adopt the safest course. On the day previous to the meeting of the three Estates, the Earl of Huntley sent in his adherence to the governor, and under an assurance of safety repaired to the capital to give his presence in the parliament; his example was followed by all the clergy assembled at Perth, as well as by the Earls of Moray and Bothwell; whilst Argyle, prevented by sickness from repairing to the parliament in person, sent his procuratory and his two uncles to plead his apology. They had evidently miscalculated their strength, and observing the number and the vigour of their opponents, deemed it prudent not to push matters to extremity, trusting by their influence in the great council of the nation, to neutralize the obsequious spirit of the English faction, and if they consented to the marriage, to fetter it at least with such conditions as should ensure the independence of their country; nor were they disappointed in their endeavours.*

* These important particulars of the meeting held at Perth by the rival lords previous to the parliament are new to Scottish history. They are collected from an original letter preserved in the State-paper Office, dated March 16, 1542-3, addressed by the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas to Lord Lisle. It will be published in its entire state in the volume of Scottish correspondence during the reign of Henry the Eighth, which is about to be printed by Government; in the meantime a short extract may not be uninteresting to the reader:—"The Parliament began the 12th of March, and the ouke before, thare convent in the toune of Perth th' Erles of Huntley, Ergyle, Murray, and Bothwell, with ane gret noumer of bishoppis and abbotis, baronis, and knightis, and so the forsaidis lordis sent the Bischope of Orkney, and Sir John Campbell of Caldour, knyght, uncle to the Erle of Ergyle, with certane artiklis to my lord governour and counsaile being with him. Ane of the principale artiklis was to put the cardinal to liberte, and ane other was that the New Testament shuld not go abroide. The third article was that the governour shuld be usit and counsaillit be thame in all th' affaires. The forde was that the ambassiatouris that ar contentit in the saulconduct come fro the kingis majeste, that thai walde not be contentit that thai shuld pas in England, but walde have others of thare chesing. My lord governour, with advise of us and of his counsaile, maid thame ane final answer. That he wuld grant them no such unreasonable desires; and

On the twelfth of March, the parliament assembled, and its proceedings were marked by a firmness and prudence, which was little agreeable to the impetuous desires of the English king. After the important preliminaries had been gone through of confirming the choice of Arran as governor of the realm and tutor to the young queen, on the ground of his being next in succession to the crown, the Archbishop of Glasgow, then chancellor, brought forward the proposals of Henry regarding the treaty of peace, and marriage of his son the Prince of Wales with their infant sovereign; whilst he exhibited the instructions which were to be delivered to their ambassadors, who, it was agreed, should immediately proceed to England for the negotiation of this alliance. These, however, were widely different from what Henry had expected. The parliament refused to deliver the queen till she had attained the full age of ten years;

incontinent after the departure of the said bishop and knyght we sent one heralde of armes unto the saidis lordis at Perth, chargeing thame under the payne of trayson to cum and serue the governour, for the welth of the realme, according to their dewty and allegiance. Thir forsaid lordis pretendit to have made one partie if thai had bene able, and my lord governour and we aganc preparit ourselves with all the gentilmen and servyngmen that langit unto us to ane gud nowmer, and ane weel favorit cumpany purposing to proceed in our parliament in despyte of all thame wald say the contrarie. And than the saidis lordis seeing this, that thai mycht not mak thare partye gud, th' Erle of Huntlie sent unto the governour and to us saying that he wald com, and do his dewtie to the governour, and mouche the rather for our cause, considering the proximate of blude that was betwix us. And so be our advise the governour was contentit to give him assurance to com and serve him in the said parlement, and so the said erle came in on Sunday, the 11th Marche; and on Monday the 12th of the same the erle of Murray sent and desyrit he mycht cum and serve the governour, and we acceptit him in lyk maner; and upon Twysday th' erle Boithwell sent to us ane letter and desyrit us that he mycht cum and serve the governour in this present parliament, and we movit the same to the governour, and he being contentit thairwith the said Erle Boithwell com in on Weddynsday, the 14th of this month. And all the clergy boith bischoppis and abbotis com into the said parliament upon Souday, the 11th hereof, and all the greater men of Scotland, convent to the said parliament boith spirituale and temporall, except the Erle of Ergyle allanerly, who is sore sick, and sent his procurator with his two uncles to mak his excuse the 15th of Marche. * * * It has bene the moist substanciall parliament that ever was sene in Scotland in ony mannis remembrance, and best furnit with all the three estatis."

they declined to surrender any of the fortresses of the kingdom; and the whole deliberations were conducted with a jealous attention to the preservation of the liberties of Scotland as a separate and independent kingdom. That realm was to retain its name, its laws, its ancient courts, officers, and immunities. It was stipulated that, even after the marriage was concluded, whether there was issue or not, the kingdom of Scotland should continue to be governed by a native ruler; and the proviso was subjoined, that in the event of the failure of the heirs of such marriage, the nearest lawful successor should immediately succeed to the crown, without question or difficulty.* Under such restrictions the proposal of a matrimonial alliance was welcomed as likely to produce the most favourable effects on the mutual prosperity of both kingdoms; and Balnaves the secretary, Sir James Learmont the treasurer, with Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, were chosen as ambassadors to the court of England.

The parliament then proceeded to reverse the attainder of Angus and the Douglasses, restoring them to their estates and their honours; they selected the Earls Marshal and Montrose, with the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Livingston, and Seton, to be keepers of the queen's person; they appointed the governor a council, which was far too numerous to be efficient; and they determined that, for the present, the young queen should hold her court, under the eye of her mother the queen-dowager, at the palace of Linlithgow. Parliament was then prorogued to the seventeenth of March, whilst the committee, known by the name of the Lords of the Articles, continued their sittings for the introduction of such statutes as were esteemed

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 411, 412, 413.

beneficial to the general interests of the kingdom. Amongst these one provision stands pre-eminent for its important effects in spreading the light of truth, and accelerating the progress of the Reformation. Lord Maxwell when a prisoner in England, had become a convert to its doctrines, and proposed that all might have liberty to read the Bible in an approved Scots or English translation, provided none disputed on the controverted opinions. Against this the Archbishop of Glasgow solemnly protested for himself and the ecclesiastical estate in parliament till the matter should be debated in a provincial council; but the proposition obtained the consent of the Lords of the Articles, and was publicly ratified by the governor. Arran, indeed, was at this time esteemed, to use the words of Knox, one of the most fervent Protestants in Europe. He entertained in his service two celebrated preachers, Friar Williams and John Rough, who inveighed with much severity against the corruptions of the Romish church; and under his protection the Holy Scriptures began to be studied very generally throughout the country.

Sadler, the English ambassador, now arrived in Edinburgh, and with great diplomatic ability earnestly laboured to obtain more favourable terms. No effort was left untried to shake the resolution and corrupt the integrity of the governor: his fears were attempted to be roused by threats of war; his ambition was worked on by the promise of a marriage between his son and the Princess Elizabeth of England; but, although indolent and timid as a politician, Arran possessed a high sense of honour, and no persuasions could induce him to depart from the resolution of the three Estates. Nor was Sadler more successful with

others to whom he applied. In a letter to the king, written a short time after the prorogation of the parliament, he lamented that his utmost endeavours were insufficient to bring them to consent to the wishes of his master. They would rather, he assured Henry, suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England, being determined to have their realm free and to retain their ancient laws and customs; yet he acknowledged that the nobles and the whole temporality desired the marriage, and were anxious to remain at peace, whilst he expressed an opinion that this event would be followed by a renunciation of their alliance with France, and might possibly, in the progress of time, induce them to fall to the obedience and devotion of England. In the same despatch, however, the enmity of the churchmen to the marriage and union with England is represented as deep and universal.*

The haughty temper of the English monarch was irritated by the opposition to his favourite scheme, and the measures which he adopted were violent and impolitic. He upbraided Angus, Glencairn, and the rest of his prisoners with a breach of their promises; he assured them that he had no intention to recede from even the smallest portion of his demands, and that, if necessary, he would by force compel the Scots to deliver to him their infant queen, in which case they must prepare themselves either to return to their imprisonment in England, or assist him, according to their solemn agreement, in the conquest of the country; but

* Sir R. Sadler to one of the council of the north, dated 27th March, 1543.—State-paper Office. "In myn opinion they had lever suffre extremyte than com to the obediens and subjection of England—they wool have their own realm free and live within themselves after their own lawes and custumes."

an event which soon after occurred, convinced him that it was easier to form than to realize such intentions. Beaton, who since his imprisonment had not ceased to keep up a communication with his party, contrived suddenly, and somewhat mysteriously, to recover his liberty. He had been delivered by Arran into the custody of Lord Seton, a near relative of the Hamiltons, but a nobleman distinguished for his hereditary loyalty and his attachment to the Catholic faith. This peer, if we may believe the asseverations of the governor, under pretence of inducing Beaton to deliver up his castle of St Andrew's, permitted the cardinal to remove from Blackness to this fortress. Thither he was accompanied by Seton, but with so small a force that the prelate, instead of a captive remained master in his own palace; and as no attempt was made to punish or even to examine his keeper, it is difficult to resist the inference that Arran was secretly not displeased at his escape.* Hamilton abbot of Paisley, the natural brother of the governor, and an ecclesiastic of considerable political ability, had returned from France a short time previous to the enlargement of Beaton,† and was probably concerned in the plot which led to his liberation. It is at least certain that he soon exercised a considerable influence over the vacillating mind of the governor, and the cardinal endeavoured through his means to promote a coalition between their parties. He declared himself anxious, by every lawful means, to support the government, repelled with indignation the assertion that he had entered into any treasonable correspondence with France, and declared himself ready at any time to surrender his person for the trial of his

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 137.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 117.

innocency.* He even despatched his chaplain to Sadler the English ambassador, with the object of removing from the mind of his master the King of England, the violent prejudices which had been conceived against him. None, he affirmed, was more ready than himself to acknowledge the beneficial effects which must result from a union between the two kingdoms; to accomplish which he would serve the English monarch as sincerely as any of his supporters, with this only difference, that he would fulfil his duty to the country of which he was a subject, and anxiously provide for the preservation of its freedom and independence.† It is difficult to estimate the exact proportion of sincerity which entered into these professions, but the last condition was directly opposed to the imperious projects of Henry, who imagined the time had arrived when Scotland was for ever to be incorporated with the English monarchy. He rejected them accordingly with ill-advised precipitation; and both parties became aware that, unless some unforeseen changes took place, all hope of an amicable issue was at an end.

In the meantime the Scottish ambassadors arrived at the English court, and on being admitted to their audience, explained to the monarch the conditions upon which the parliament were ready to give their consent to a marriage.‡ Henry declared himself deeply dissatisfied; he first insisted on the immediate delivery of the infant queen, but afterwards relaxed so far in his requisitions as to consent she should remain in her own kingdom, till she had completed the age of two years; he talked idly of his right, as lord superior to

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 131.

† Sadler's State Papers, pp. 131, 133.

‡ They set off from Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1542-3. Sadler, vol. i. p. 90.

the realm of Scotland,* and in virtue of this, contended that the government of that kingdom ought to be resigned into his hands without question or delay. Such demands the Scottish ambassadors resisted with firmness, and in a subsequent meeting with the English commissioners to confer upon the marriage, they did not conceal their opinion that the first notice of such terms would render any treaty between the two countries completely impracticable. Nor were they deceived in their expectations: the extraordinary demands of Henry were received in Scotland with a universal burst of indignation; and the anticipations of the Douglasses and their faction, who had in vain besought him to unveil his designs more cautiously, were completely fulfilled. Even the governor, who was described by Sir George Douglas to Sadler as a very gentle creature, resented, with becoming spirit, the indignity with which he had been treated; and Beaton gained from the violence and indiscretion of his adversary a strength and popularity which some months before he had in vain attempted to acquire by his own efforts.

The cardinal was not slow in availing himself of this advantage. Some time previous to this the Earl of Lennox had returned to Scotland by the advice of the cardinal, and with the concurrence of Francis the First, in whose Italian wars he had received his education.† The object of Beaton was to render Arran subservient to his designs, by raising a rival to him in the Earl of Lennox. The near relationship between this young noble and the royal family, and a report which was

* It is to be regretted that there should be a revival of this question in the present day; but to those who feel any interest in the controversy, I would recommend the able "Vindication of the Independance of Scotland," by Mr Allen. The meeting between Henry and the Scottish commissioners probably took place some time about the 10th or 12th of April.

† Lesley, p. 173. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 27.

circulated at this time that the late king, in the event of his dying without children, had selected him as his successor in the throne, excited the jealousy and apprehensions of the governor. Beaton, on the other hand, did not scruple to encourage the ambition of Lennox by holding out the hope of a marriage with the queen-dowager; and it was even hinted by the clergy, that in consequence of some informality in the divorce between the father of Arran and his second wife, the governor, who was the issue of a third marriage, had no legitimate title either to his paternal property, or to the high office which he held. Could this have been made out, Lennox was unquestionably not only the next heir to these immense estates, but possessed on the same grounds, a preferable claim to the regency; and it is easy to understand how all these concurring circumstances must have shaken the resolution of Arran, and rendered Lennox a formidable instrument in the hands of so artful a politician as the cardinal.*

These, however, were far from the only means which he employed. He had early opened a negotiation with France; and Francis the First, aware of the importance of preserving his amicable relations with Scotland, empowered Lennox to promise assistance, both in arms and money, to the party opposed to Henry. He took every opportunity of enlisting upon his side the affections and the prejudices of the middle and the lower classes of the people; promulgating, through the medium of the clergy, the insolent demands of the English monarch, and exciting their resentment against those persons amongst the nobility, whom he justly represented as having sold to Henry their services against their native country.

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 842.

The consequences of all this were soon apparent, and appeared to promise the cardinal a speedy triumph over his enemies. Arran the governor, in whose vacillating character there was a strong love of popularity, became alienated from the English party; he declared openly that he would sooner abide the extremity of war than consent to the demands of Henry; and, equally irresolute in his religion as in his politics, dismissed Friar Williams and John Rough his two Protestant chaplains, whom, till then, he had retained in his family.* The people, also, were now so universally opposed to the renunciation of the amity with France, that Glencairn and Cassillis did not hesitate to inform the English ambassador, they would sooner die than agree to this condition. Such, indeed, was the exacerbation of national feeling upon the subject, that Sadler could not venture abroad without being exposed to insult; whilst the peers who were in the interest of Henry, complained to the ambassador, that their devotion to England rendered them the objects of universal hatred and contempt.†

To counteract, if possible, this state of things, which seemed to threaten the total wreck of his favourite schemes, Henry was prevailed upon by Sir George Douglas, who privately visited him in England, to relax in the rigour of his demands. By his advice, the immediate delivery of the infant queen, the surrender of the fortresses, and the resignation of the government into the hands of the English sovereign, were abandoned as hopeless and extravagant conditions, the mention of which had already materially injured his cause; and the artful envoy returned to Scotland with proposals for the conclusion of the peace and marriage upon a

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 158.

† Ibid. p. 165.

more equitable basis.* He was instructed, also, to flatter the vanity of the governor, by renewing, on the part of Henry, his former proposal of a marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and Arran's eldest son; and so successfully did he labour, that, in a convention of the nobility held in April, which, however, was principally composed of those peers and their adherents who were in the interest of England, it was resolved to despatch Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn, as assistants to the ambassadors already there, in the negotiation of the treaty of marriage and alliance, which had been so abruptly broken off by the violence and arrogance of Henry.

In the meantime, the opposite party were not idle, and the talents of the cardinal were exerted against the faction of Henry with formidable success. Lennox, who, till this time, had wavered, went over to Beaton; and, being admitted to an audience by the governor, delivered a flattering message from the French king, containing expressions of the warmest friendship, promising immediate assistance in troops and money, should England attempt an invasion, and declaring his resolution to preserve the ancient league between the two kingdoms, as the firmest basis of their mutual prosperity.† This proposal Arran, for the present, evaded by a general answer; but the cardinal, the queen-dowager, and their friends, did not lose the opportunity. They entered into a negotiation with France, in which it was agreed that a force of two

* In the State-paper Office are preserved two original documents, containing the instructions given to Sir George Douglas. One of them dated May 1, 1543, is a short paper in the handwriting of Secretary Wriothesley. It is thus entitled: "The be th' articles which be thought so reasonable, that if the ambassadors of Scotland will not agree to them, then it shall be mete the king's majestie folowe out his purpose by force."

† Sadler, vol. i. p. 163.

thousand men, under the command of Montgomerie Sieur de Lorges, an officer of high military reputation, should be sent to Scotland; they encouraged their friends and adherents, by the hopes of powerful subsidies, to assemble their forces, garrison their castles, and keep themselves in readiness for the impending struggle; whilst Grimani, the papal legate, with the still formidable weapons of ecclesiastical anathemas and processes of excommunication, was invited to accelerate his journey into Scotland. A convention of the clergy, at the same time, assembled at St Andrew's, in which the probability of a war with England was discussed, and a resolution carried to ascertain and levy, without delay, the sum required in such an exigency. The assembly was pervaded with the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm; the cause which they were called upon to support was represented as not only that of the church, but of their ancient freedom and national independence; the hearts of the people, and the patriotic feelings of the great majority of the nobility, responded to the sentiments which were uttered; and the clergy declared their readiness, not only to sacrifice their whole private fortunes, but to melt down the church plate, and, were it necessary, themselves fight in the quarrel.*

In the midst of all this opposition, the diplomatic talents of Sir George Douglas were unremittingly exerted to overcome the complicated difficulties which stood in the way of a general conciliation; and having returned from England with the ultimate resolutions of Henry, they were agreed to by the governor and a majority of the nobility, in a convention held at Edinburgh in the beginning of June.† Satisfied with

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 204.

† Ibid. pp. 212, 213.

this approval, although the absence of the cardinal, and many of the most influential peers, might have assured him that it would afterwards be questioned, he returned with expedition to England, and, along with the Earl of Glencairn and the Scottish ambassadors, Learmont, Hamilton, and Balnaves, met the commissioners of the sister country at Greenwich, where the treaties of pacification and marriage were finally arranged on the first of July.* The terms were certainly far more favourable than those which had been at first proposed by the English monarch. It was agreed that a marriage should take place between the Prince of Wales and Mary queen of Scots, as soon as that princess had reached majority, and that an inviolable peace should subsist between the kingdoms during the lives of these two royal persons, which was to continue for a year after the death of the first who should pay the debt of nature. Till she had completed her tenth year, the young Mary was to remain in Scotland under the care of the guardians appointed by the parliament; Henry being permitted to send thither an English nobleman, with his wife and attendants, to form part of the household of the princess. Within a month after she entered her eleventh year, the Estates of Scotland solemnly promised to deliver their princess at Berwick to the commissioners appointed to receive her; and as hostages for the fulfilment of this condition, two earls and four barons were to be sent forthwith to England. It was carefully provided that, even if the queen should have issue by the prince, the kingdom of Scotland should retain its name, and be governed by its ancient laws. It had been earnestly desired that the treaty should include a positive abro-

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 786-791.

gation of the long-established league between France and Scotland; but instead of being "friends to friends, and enemies to enemies," the utmost that could be procured was the insertion of a clause, by which it was agreed, that neither should afford assistance to any foreign aggressor, notwithstanding any former stipulation upon this subject.

It is apparent that, in this treaty, Henry abandoned the most obnoxious part of his demands; and had the English monarch, and the Scottish nobles who were in his interest, acted with good faith, little ground of objection to the proposed marriage and pacification could have been left to their opponents. But, whilst such were all the articles which *openly* appeared, a private transaction, or "*secret device*," as it is termed in the original papers which now, for the first time, reveal its existence, was entered into between Henry and his partisans, Maxwell, Glencairn, Angus, and the rest, which was at once of a very unjustifiable description, and calculated to exasperate their adversaries in a high degree. An agreement appears to have been drawn up by the English commissioners, for the signature of the Scottish peers and barons taken at the Solway, by which they once more tied themselves to his service; and, forgetting their allegiance to their natural prince, promised, in the event of any commotion in Scotland, to adhere solely to the interest of the English monarch, "so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth."* In the same treaty the precise sums of

* The proof of this transaction is to be found in a paper preserved in the State-paper Office, and dated July 1, 1543, entitled, "Copy of the Secret Devise." It contains this passage:—"Fourthly, if ther happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland, by practice of the cardinal, kyrkmen, France, or otherwise, I shall sticke and adhere only to the king's majesty's service, as his highness maye assuredly atteyne these things noe pacted ar i covenanted,

ransom to be exacted from the Scottish prisoners taken at the Solway were fixed by the commissioners ; but, before they were permitted to avail themselves of this means for the recovery of their liberty, it appears to have been a condition, that they should sign this agreement which has been above described. In the meantime, the negotiations having been concluded, peace was soon afterwards proclaimed between the two countries, and the ambassadors returned to Edinburgh with the hope that the treaties would immediately be ratified by the governor and the parliament.

To their mortification, however, they discovered that, in the interval of their absence, Beaton, who had, in all probability, obtained information of this second combination of Henry and his Scottish prisoners against the independence of the country, had succeeded in consolidating a formidable opposition. The English monarch had at this moment resolved on a war with France ; and any delay in the proposed alliance with Scotland inflamed the haughty impatience of his temper. His resentment against the cardinal, with whose practices Sadler his ambassador did not fail to acquaint him, now rose to a high pitch, and he repeatedly urged the governor and his partisans to seize and imprison the prelate. Such, however, were the vigilance and ability of this energetic ecclesiastic, that he not only escaped the snares, but for a while defeated the utmost efforts of his enemies ; and many of the nobles, becom-

or, at the least, the domynion on this side the Freythe." This explains an obscure passage in Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 237, "The said Earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles *of the devise* which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters, and the Lord Maxwell telleth me, that, as soon as he received the like articles from your majesty, by his son, he forthwith subscribed the same. The rest I have not yet spoken with because they be not here, but as soon as I can I shall not fail to accomplish that part according to your gracious commandment."

ing aware of the plots which were in agitation for the subjugation of Scotland, eagerly joined his party, and prepared by arms to assert their freedom. With this object the cardinal and the Earl of Huntley concentrated their forces in the north, Argyle and Lennox in the west, whilst Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleugh, mustered their feudal array upon the Borders.* They declared that they were compelled to adopt these measures for the protection of the faith and holy church, and the defence of the independence of the realm, which had been sold to Henry by Arran, whom they stigmatized as a heretic and an Englishman.† So far as it concerned the preservation of what they believed the only true faith, their opposition was defeated; whilst the great cause of the Reformation, gaining ground by slow degrees, was destined to be ultimately triumphant. But it is not to be denied that their accusations regarding the sacrifice of the liberty of the country by its weak governor, were founded in justice. We know from the high authority of Sadler the English ambassador, that Arran boasted of his English descent; that he eagerly received the money sent him by Henry, and professed his anxiety for the accomplishment of all his desires. Nor was this all: he entertained, though he did not accept, a proposal of the English monarch to make him King of Scotland beyond the Firth; and he proposed that, in the event of the cardinal becoming too powerful for him, an army should be sent to invade the country, with which he and his friends might effectually co-operate, alleging that, by this means, although forsaken by their countrymen, he doubted not that the whole realm might be forcibly reduced under the subjection of England.‡

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 236. † Ibid. pp. 233, 234. ‡ Ibid. pp. 216, 253, 256.

It is not matter of surprise, therefore, that Beaton, as soon as he became aware of this disposition, of the urgent desire of Henry for the seizure of his person, and of the still more dangerous intrigues of the Scottish prisoners for the subjugation of the realm, should have exerted every effort to defeat their intentions.

So bitter and indignant indeed were his feelings, that, if we may believe an extraordinary story which is found in a letter of the Duke of Suffolk to Sir R. Sadler, the cardinal had challenged Sir Ralph Eure warden of the marches, to a personal combat, on some ground of quarrel which does not appear. The challenge was communicated to Henry, who, considering it in a serious light, intimated his wishes that Eure should fight with Beaton in Edinburgh. The whole matter evinces the credulity of the English ambassador and his royal master, for we cannot believe that the prelate could have contemplated so disgraceful an adventure; and the conjecture of Suffolk, that it originated in the insolence of a moss-trooper, whom he characterizes as one of the strongest Border-thieves in Scotland, is probably not far from the truth.*

During these transactions the young queen remained in the palace of Linlithgow, under the nominal charge of the queen-dowager, but so strictly guarded by the governor and the Hamiltons, that her residence was little else than an honourable imprisonment. To obtain

* Letter in State-paper Office, Duke of Suffolk and the Bishop of Durham to Sir Ralph Sadler, July 15, 1543:—"For we cannot thinke the cardinal wolde be so madde as to provoke and challenge any man that wolde fighte with him in the quarrell, or that he intends to fight, onelesse he shall thinke himselfe to be farre the stronger partie, and yet then we thinke he woldestande alouff and look on rather than to come himselfe among knocks. We thinke rather this bragge is made by Clement Crosier, himselfe being one of the strongest thieves in Scotland, to stirre besynes and to lett the good peax, than that the cardinall was so madde to bydde him meddle in any such matter." Also letter in State-paper Office, July 20, 1543, Duke of Suffolk and the Privy-council to Lord Parr, touching the challenge.

possession of her person was now the first object of the cardinal's party; and, whether by the connivance of her immediate guardians, or from some relaxation in the vigilance of Arran, they at last succeeded. Marching from Stirling at the head of a force of ten thousand men, Lennox, Huntley, and Argyle proceeded towards the capital, and were joined at Leith by Bothwell, with the Kers and the Scotts, forming a combined army, which Arran and the Douglasses did not find themselves able to resist. After an ineffectual attempt to temporise, which was defeated by the energy of his opponents, the governor consented to surrender his royal charge; and the infant queen, with the queen-dowager, who secretly rejoiced at the change, were conducted by Lennox in triumph to Stirling.*

To Beaton this was an important accession of strength; and having so far succeeded in weakening his adversaries, he laboured to detach the governor from England, by holding out the prospect of a marriage between his son and the young Mary. Arran however resisted, or suspected the splendid bribe; and, in a convention of the nobles which was held on the twenty-fifth of August, in the abbey church of Holyrood, the treaties with England were ratified with solemn pomp, the governor swearing to their observance at the altar.† To this transaction, however, the cardinal and the powerful nobles with whom he acted were no parties. Not long before, they had remonstrated in strong terms against the mode of government pursued by Arran; they com-

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 28. A valuable volume lately printed by the Bannatyne Club, from which the erroneous chronology of our general historians of this period may be sometimes corrected. It contains the best account of this transaction, the delivery of the queen, upon which Buchanan, Lesley, Maitland, and other historians, are obscure and contradictory.

† Sadler, vol. i. p. 270. August 25, 1343.

plained that, in the weightiest affairs of the realm, he was guided by the advice of a particular faction, excluding from his councils many of the highest nobles; and they warned him that, as long as this course was adopted, they would not consider themselves bound by their partial deliberations.* They insisted that the ratification of the treaties had been carried by private means, unauthorized by the authority of parliament, contrary to the opinion of a majority of the nobles, and to the wishes of the great body of the people; nor did they omit any method by which they might render Arran suspected and unpopular.

These devices began soon to produce the desired effect; and this was accelerated by one of those rash measures into which Henry was so frequently hurried by the impetuosity of his temper. Soon after the proclamation of peace, the Scottish merchants, who then carried on a lucrative foreign commerce, had despatched a fleet of merchantmen, which sought shelter from a storm in an English port. Here they deemed themselves secure; but, to their astonishment, they were detained, and, under the pretext that they were carrying provisions into France, their cargoes were confiscated; a proceeding which so highly irritated the populace of Edinburgh, that they surrounded the house of the English ambassador, and threatened his life, in case their ships were not restored.†

This last act of injustice and spoliation was attributed to the governor, who was known to be in the interest of Henry; and he began to feel that his sub-

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 251.

† In the State-paper Office is a draft of a letter, dated 9th of September 1543, from the English king, in the handwriting of Wriothesley secretary of state, threatening the magistrates of Edinburgh, to whom it is addressed, with punishment, if they maltreated his ambassador in consequence of the seizure of the ships.

serviency had made him odious to all respectable classes in the community, and to dread, when it was almost too late, that he had engaged in a desperate enterprise. His friends, Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, with other barons attached to England, proposed to assemble their forces, and prepare for immediate war; the time, they basely declared, was come, when Henry must send a main army into Scotland, with which they might cooperate in his conquest of the realm;* and such was the exasperation of the two factions, that, in the opinion of the English ambassador, a hostile collision was impossible to be avoided. It was averted, however, by a revolution as sudden as it was extraordinary. On the twenty-eighth of August, the governor, in an interview with Sir Ralph Sadler, expressed an entire devotedness to Henry, declaring that no prince alive should have his heart and service, but the English monarch. On the third of September, before a week had elapsed, he met the cardinal at Callander House, the seat of lord Livingston; all causes of animosity were removed; and a complete reconciliation with the prelate took place. Beaton, who, a few days before had declined any conference, alleging that his life was in danger, rode amicably with him to Stirling, and soon acquired so complete a command over his pliant character, that he publicly abjured his religion in the Franciscan convent of that city, received absolution for his having wandered from the Catholic faith,† renounced the treaties with England, and delivered his eldest son to the cardinal as a pledge of his sincerity. Such was the

* As this expression, "the conquest of the realm," coming from Scottish nobles, against their country, may seem unnaturally strong, it is right to observe, that the words are not the author's but their own, as reported by the English ambassadors.—Sadler, vol. i. pp. 257, 281.

† MS. Letter in the Hamilton Papers, Lord William Parr to the Duke of Suffolk, September 13, 1543, quoted in Chalmers' *Life of Mary*, vol. ii. p. 404.

conclusion of this remarkable coalition : its causes are of more difficult discovery ; but are probably to be traced to the secret influence of the Abbot of Paisley, bastard brother of Arran, and a zealous adherent of the cardinal, who had lately arrived from France. This able ecclesiastic is said to have secretly persuaded the governor, that, by his friendship with England, and his renunciation of the papal supremacy, he was undermining his own title to the government and to his paternal estates, which rested on a divorce, dependent for its validity on the maintenance of the authority of the Holy See. Arran, at no time distinguished by much penetration or resolution, took the alarm, and, believing it his only security, consented to a union with Beaton, whom he never afterwards deserted.*

Encouraged by this success, the cardinal and the governor earnestly laboured to bring over to their party the Earl of Angus and his associates. They entreated them to attend the approaching coronation of the young queen ; to assist, by their presence and experience, in the parliament, and thus to restore unity to the commonwealth ; but this proud and selfish potentate and his confederates only replied by sullenly retiring to Douglas castle, where they assembled their forces, and drew up a bond or covenant, by which they agreed to employ their utmost united strength in fulfilling their engagements to the English king.† This paper, as an evidence of their sincerity, they intrusted to Lord Somerville, who agreed to deliver it to Henry, and to concert measures for the extirpation of their enemies. In the meantime, the ceremony of the coronation took place at Stirling ; a new council was appointed ; the governor took an oath, that he would administer the

* Sadler, vol. i. pp. 282, 283.

† Ibid. p. 283.

affairs of the kingdom by their advice ; and it was resolved that a convention should be shortly held at Edinburgh, in which all disputes with England, relative to the non-performance of the treaties, might be calmly discussed, and, if possible, equitably adjusted.

From the temper, however, in which Henry received the intelligence of this great change in Scotland, little calmness on his side could be expected. In a paroxysm of indignation he despatched a herald into that country, denouncing war if the treaties were not immediately fulfilled.* He addressed a letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh, threatening them with severe retribution, should they permit the populace to offer violence to his ambassador ; he commanded his warden Sir Thomas Wharton, to liberate the chiefs of the Armstrongs, who were then his prisoners, on condition of their directing the fury of their Border war against the estates of those Scottish lords who opposed him ; and he determined on the invasion of Scotland with an overwhelming force, as soon as he could muster his power, and make arrangements for its subsistence.†

In the late transactions the Earl of Lennox had acted a conspicuous part, and his high birth and powerful connexions were of essential service to the cardinal ; but, having gained the governor Beaton, with less than his usual foresight, began to look coldly on him ; and Lennox, whose conduct was solely regulated by considerations of interest, deserted the cause which he had hitherto supported, and threw himself into the arms of England.‡ This defection was attended with seri-

* Credence of the English herald sent into Scotland. State-paper Office, September, 1543.

† Duke of Suffolk to Lord Parr. Darnton, September 10, 1543 ; and same to same, September 11, 1543. State-paper Office.

‡ Sadler, vol. i. p. 299.

ous results. To Lennox had hitherto been committed the negotiations with France, and, in consequence of his advice, a French ambassador, the *Sieur de la Brosse*, was despatched to Scotland, accompanied by a small fleet, bearing military stores, fifty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand crowns,* to be distributed amongst the friends of the cardinal. Ignorant of the sudden change in the politics of the Scottish earl, the squadron anchored off *Dumbarton*, the town and fortress of which were entirely in his power; and Lennox, hurrying thither with *Glencairn*, one of the ablest and least scrupulous partisans of Henry, received the gold, secured it in the castle, and left the ambassador to find out his mistake when it was irremediable.

But, although mortified by this untoward event, the arrival of the French fleet brought fresh hope and renewed strength to the cardinal and the queen-dowager. Along with *La Brosse* came a papal legate, *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, commissioned to take cognizance of the heretical opinions which had infected the Scottish church, and to confirm the governor in his adherence to the Catholic religion. He remained during the winter in Scotland, entertained by the court and the nobles with much hospitality and barbaric pomp; and in the spring he returned to the continent, bearing with him a favourable impression of this remote kingdom. Another object of the patriarch was, to advise the renewal of the league with France; nor could any measure be more agreeable to the body of the people. They were aware of the determination of Henry to invade and attempt the conquest of the country; they were incensed to the highest degree by the detention of their ships; the rekindling of the war upon the

* *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 28.

Borders had recalled all their martial propensities ; and Sadler, soon after the arrival of the French fleet, informed his royal master, that such had been the effect of the promises and pensions of the ambassador, who had been received with great distinction at court, that the whole realm was entirely in the French interest. According to the representations of this able minister, the people of Scotland could not conceal from themselves that France required nothing but friendship, and had always assisted them at their utmost need, in their efforts to maintain the honour and liberty of the country; whilst England sought to bring them into subjection, and asserted a superiority, which, he added, from their heart they so universally detested and abhorred, that unless by open force, it was vain to look for their consent.*

To this last fatal appeal matters appeared to be now rapidly approaching. Henry, irritated by the defeat of his favourite schemes, rose in his unreasonable demands in proportion to the opposition he experienced. Denouncing vengeance against the devoted country, he informed Angus and his faction, that the time was passed when he was willing to accept the treaties, and that nothing now would satisfy him but the possession of the person of the young queen, the seizure of his arch-enemy the cardinal, the removal of the governor, and the delivery into his hands of the principal fortresses of the kingdom. His wisest councillors, however, dissuaded him from immediate invasion ; to the cardinal and the governor, some time was also required for the assembling of their forces ; and thus an interval of brief and insincere negotiation preceded the breaking out of hostilities.

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 326. October 30, 1543.

It was at this time that Sadler the ambassador was instructed to propose to the Scottish merchants, whose ships had been unjustly detained, the restitution of their property, under the condition that they would assist the English monarch in the execution of his projects against the independence of their country. These brave and honest men, however, spurned at the proposal, with which they declared themselves greatly offended; affirming, that they would not only lose their goods and ships without farther suit or petition, but would willingly forfeit their lives, rather than agree to a condition which would make them traitors to their native land: a memorable contrast to the late conduct of the nobility, and a proof that the spirit of national independence, which, in Scotland, had long been a stranger to many of the proudest in the aristocracy, still resided in healthy vigour in the untainted bosoms of the commons.*

Where such principles animated the body of the people, it was no easy matter for Henry to succeed; and the exasperation of the nation was increased by the seizure of the Lords Somerville and Maxwell, the principal agents of Angus in conducting his intrigues with England. Upon the person of Somerville was found the bond signed at Douglas, along with letters which disclosed the plans of the party; and as it was evident they were ready to assist Henry in the entire subjugation of the country, their opponents abandoned all measures of conciliation, and resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the Douglasses and their party. Maxwell and Somerville were imprisoned; the governor and the cardinal determined to assemble a parliament early in December; and, as the inter-

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 324.

cepted packet contained ample evidence of treason, it was agreed that its first business should be the impeachment and forfeiture of Angus and his adherents. Alarmed at such a design, these barons assembled their forces, with the idea that they would be strong enough to bring about a revolution before the meeting of the Estates; but in this they were disappointed. The governor, acting by the advice of Beaton, at once resolved on war, seized Dalkeith and Pinkie, two of the chief houses of the Douglasses, and sent a herald to Tantallon, where Sadler had taken refuge, commanding Angus to dismiss from his castle one whom they could no longer regard as the ambassador of England, considering his false practices with the nobility in this time of war.*

Meanwhile the parliament assembled, to which the full attendance of the three Estates, the presence of the papal legate, and the grave and weighty subjects to be debated, gave unusual solemnity. The first step taken by the cardinal convinced all that the day of weak and vacillating councils was past. A summons of treason was prepared against the Earl of Angus, and those of his party who had signed the bond in Douglas castle; and the treaties of peace and marriage lately concluded with Henry the Eighth, were declared at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the English monarch in seizing the Scottish ships,† and refusing to ratify the peace, although it had been confirmed by the oath and seal of the regent of the kingdom. The French ambassadors, de la Brosse and Mesnaige, were then introduced, and delivered the message of their

* Letter, Earl of Arran to Earl of Angus, November 17, 1543. State-paper Office. Proclamation of Arran as governor, State-paper Office, Nov. 26, 1543.

† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 30.

royal master: they represented Francis as anxious for the renewal of the alliance between the two countries, and declared he had empowered them to tender his immediate assistance in the defence of the liberty of the realm and its youthful queen, against the unwarranted designs of England. This offer was enthusiastically accepted; the cardinal and a select council were directed to revise and renew the treaties which had so long united the realms of France and Scotland; Secretary Panter, and Campbell of Lundy, proceeded on a mission to the French court; and a kinsman of the regent was despatched to solicit the assistance of Denmark. Envoys at the same time were sent to the court of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, conveying the intelligence of the war with England, and requesting them, on this ground, to abstain from all further molestation of the Scottish commerce. Hamilton abbot of Paisley, whose exertions had been of essential service to the government, was rewarded by the office of treasurer, from which Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a keen supporter of England, was ejected; whilst the cardinal was promoted to the dignity of chancellor, in the room of Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow.*

During the period that Arran the governor professed the reformed opinions, and maintained in his family the two friars, Williams and Rough, many who had before embraced their doctrines in secret were encouraged to declare openly their animosity to the Church of Rome, and the necessity of a thorough reformation; the study of the Holy Scriptures had been authorized by the parliament; books which treated of true as distinguished from corrupt religion were imported from England, and, although little relished by the nobility,

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 854.

as we learn from Sadler, were, in all probability, highly welcome to the middle and lower classes of the people. By such methods the seeds of reformation were very generally disseminated throughout the country. Sixteen years had now elapsed since the cruel burning of Hamilton; but the courage with which Russel and Kennedy had defended their principles at the stake, was still fresh in the recollection of the people; and although inimical to the designs of Glencairn, Somerville, Maxwell, and the Protestant lords, for the subjection of the country under the dominion of England, they were disposed to listen with a favourable ear to their denunciations of the corruptions of the church.

Arran, however, in renouncing the ties which had bound him to Henry, had, as we have seen, at the same time abjured his former convictions, and being again received into the bosom of the church, was induced by Beaton to renew the persecution of the reformers. In the parliament which annulled the treaties with England, an act was passed, declaring that complaints were daily made to the governor against the heretics, who began more and more to multiply in the realm, disseminating opinions contrary to the true faith; and all prelates were enjoined to make inquisition within their dioceses for such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of holy church. The expectation, however, of an immediate invasion by England protracted, for a short season, the execution of this cruel decree; and the dissensions which followed between the governor and the Douglasses, the leaders of the English or Protestant party, gave a breathing time to the sincere disciples of the Reformation.

Into any minute detail of those intrigues which occupied the interval between the meeting of parlia-

ment and the commencement of the war, it would be tedious to enter. The picture which they present of the meanness and dishonesty of the English party, who have reaped in the pages of some of our historians so high a meed of praise, as the advocates of the Protestant doctrines, is very striking. To escape the sentence of forfeiture to which their repeated treasons had exposed them, the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, who had lately bound themselves by a written covenant to the service of the King of England, did not hesitate to transmit to Arran a similar bond or agreement, conceived in equally solemn terms, by which they stipulated for "themselves and all others their complices and partakers, to remain true, faithful, and obedient servants to their sovereign lady and her authority, to assist the lord governor for defence of the realm against their old enemies of England, to support the liberties of holy church, and to maintain the true Christian faith."* To this treaty with the governor, Angus gave in his adherence on the thirteenth of January, and to their faithful performance of its conditions, his brother, Sir George Douglas, and Glencairn's eldest son, the Master of Kilmaurs, surrendered themselves as pledges; yet two months did not expire before we find Angus once more addressing a letter to Henry, assuring him of his inviolable fidelity, whilst, at the same time, the nobles, who had so lately bound themselves to Arran and the cardinal, despatched a messenger to court, with an earnest request that the English monarch would accelerate his preparations for the invasion of the country, transmitting minute in-

* Agreements (January 13 and 14, 1543-4) entered into by the Earls of Cassillis, Angus, Lennox, and Glencairn, with the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland. MS. copy, State-paper Office.

structions regarding the conduct of the enterprise.* A main army, they advised, should proceed by land; a strong fleet, with an additional force on board, was to be despatched by sea; whilst it would be of service, it was observed, to send ten or twelve ships to the west sea, to produce a diversion in the Earl of Argyle's country,—an advice in which we may probably detect the selfish policy of Glencairn, his rival, and personal enemy. A stratagem of the same kind had already been attended with success, when, at the suggestion of the same baron, the highland chiefs shut up in the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar were let loose by the governor Arran, under the condition that they would direct their fury against the country of Argyle.† Henry, with much earnestness, was urged to attempt this before the expected aid could arrive from France; and we shall soon perceive that, on some points, their instructions were faithfully followed.‡

In the meantime, all things succeeding to his wishes in the civil affairs of the government, Beaton found leisure to make an ecclesiastical progress to Perth, where the reformed opinions were openly professed by some of the citizens, and, on his arrival, he commenced his proceedings with a ferocity of persecution, which

* Letter, Angus to Henry, 5th of March, 1543-4, State-paper Office. Also Earl of Hertford to the king, March 8, 1543-4, State-paper Office.

† Sadler, vol. i. pp. 267-275. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 450.

‡ The above particulars, which are new to this obscure portion of our history, are derived from authentic letters preserved in the State-paper Office. In one of these, from the Earl of Hertford to the king, dated March 8, 1543-4, is this passage: "The cheif cause of his [the messenger spoken of in the text] repayr nowe to your majesty is, to accelerate your royal army and power into Scotland, which all your majesties friends there do specially desire." The letter proceeds to state, that those noblemen, who were the king's friends, directed Henry "to send a mayne armye by land, and a convenyant armye by sea, to repayre to Leith, and bring victuals for the land armye, and to send ten or twelve ships into the west sey to do some annoyance to the Erle of Argyle." Also Letter, March 5, 1543-4, Erle of Angus to Henry the Eighth, State-paper Office.

ultimately defeated its object. Four men, Lamb, Anderson, Ranald, and Hunter, were convicted of heresy, on the information of Spence, a friar. The crime of Lamb was his interrupting this ecclesiastic during a sermon, and his denying, that prayer to the saints was a necessary means of salvation; his three associates were accused of treating with ignominious ridicule an image of St Francis, and of breaking their fast during Lent. A poor woman, also, the wife of one of these sufferers, was dragged before the inquisitorial tribunal on a charge, that, during her labour, she had refused to pray to the virgin, declaring she would direct her prayers to God alone, in the name of Christ; and, notwithstanding the utmost intercession made to spare their lives, all suffered death. The men were hanged; and much impression was made on the people by the last words of Lamb, who, in strong language warned them against the abominations of popery, and its voluptuous supporters,—a denunciation to which the well-known profligacy of the cardinal gave no little force; yet the chief sympathy was excited by the fate of the unfortunate woman. She entreated, as a last request, to be allowed to die with her husband; but this was denied, and, according to a savage distinction in the executions of these times, she was condemned to be drowned. “It matters not, dear partner,” said she, “we have lived together many happy days, but this ought to be the most joyful of them all, when we are about to have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for ere the night shall close we shall be united in the kingdom of heaven.” She then gave the little infant, who still hung upon her breast, to the attendants, held out her hands to be bound by the executioners, saw without any change of counte-

nance her feet secured in the same manner, and was cast into a deep pool of water, where her sufferings were ended in a moment. Such atrocious and short-sighted cruelty only strengthened the convictions which they were intended to extinguish.*

Henry was now busy with the organization of his projected invasion. It was the advice of the Earl of Hertford that the army should first make themselves masters of Leith, and, fortifying that sea-port, proceed to ravage the country and burn the capital, whilst the fleet kept possession of the Forth, and co-operated in the destruction of the coast and shipping; but, fortunately for the Scots, a more rapid, though less fatal, mode of operations was chosen by the privy council.

In the interval of preparation, the monarch, whose passions were now excited to the utmost pitch against the cardinal, to whom he justly ascribed the total failure of his schemes, lent himself to a conspiracy, the object of which was the apprehension or assassination of his powerful enemy. The history of this plot presents an extraordinary picture of the times, and demands more than common attention. On the seventeenth of April, Crichton laird of Brunston, who, since the coalition between Beaton and the governor, had been employed by Sadler the ambassador as a spy upon their movements, despatched to the Earl of Hertford, then at Newcastle, a Scottish gentleman named Wishart, who communicated to Hertford the particulars of the intended plot. He stated that Kirkaldy the laird of Grange, the Master of Rothes, eldest son to the earl of that name, and John Charteris, were willing to apprehend or slay the cardinal, if assured of proper support from England. Wishart, who brought this offer, was instantly de-

* Spottiswood's History, p. 75.

spatched by post to the English court, and, in a personal interview with the king, informed him of the services which Kirkaldy and Rothes were ready to perform. Henry received the letters of Brunston, and listened to the report of his messenger with much satisfaction, approved of the plot, and, in the event of its being successful, promised the conspirators his royal protection, should they be constrained to take refuge in his dominions.* But Beaton had either received secret information of the project for his destruction, or the design was, for the present, interrupted by some unforeseen occurrence. Succeeding events, however, demonstrated that it was delayed only, not abandoned, and that the same unscrupulous agents who now intrigued with the English monarch were at last induced by Henry to accomplish their atrocious purpose.

It was now the end of April, and having concentrated his naval and military power, the English king at last let loose his vengeance on the devoted country. On the first of May, a fleet of two hundred sail, under the command of Lord Lisle high-admiral of England, appeared in the Firth, and the citizens, after anxiously gazing for a short time at the unusual spectacle, on a nearer inspection found their worst fears realized, by discovering the royal flag of England streaming from the mast head of the admiral. For such a surprisal it seems extraordinary that the governor was unprepared, although Henry's intentions must have been well known. A very inferior force might have successfully attacked the English in their disembarkation, but the opportunity was lost; four days were allowed

* Letter, Orig. Earl of Hertford and Council of the North to the king—in possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton: the original draft, with many corrections, is in the State-paper Office. See Illustrations, Remarks on the Assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

Hertford, who landed his army and his artillery at his leisure; and it was not till he was advancing from Granton craig to Leith, that Arran and the cardinal, at the head of a force hastily levied, and consisting chiefly of their personal adherents, threw themselves between the enemy and this place as if they meant to dispute the passage. They were immediately repulsed, however, by the superior force of Hertford, and Leith was given up to the plunder of the army without a struggle. Although deserted by the governor, the inhabitants of Edinburgh flew to arms, and, mustering under the command of Otterburn of Reidhall, the provost of the city, barricaded the gates, and determined to defend themselves. Otterburn, however, was first despatched to the English camp, and, in an interview with Hertford, remonstrated against such unlooked-for hostilities, and proposed an amicable adjustment of all differences. It was answered by the English earl that he came as a soldier not an ambassador; that his commission commanded him to ravage the country with fire and sword; nor could he withdraw his army under any other condition than the delivery of the young queen into the hands of his master. Such a message was received with much indignation by the citizens. They declared they would rather submit to the last extremities than purchase safety by so ignominious a course, and prepared to sustain the onset of the enemy, when they were deserted by their chief magistrate, who either dreaded so unequal a contest, or had been brought over to the English party.* Upon this they retreated into the city, chose a new provost, completed their

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 31. Otterburn had been long a secret tamperer with England in the minority of James the Fifth, and during the reign of that monarch.

temporary ramparts, and for a while not only sustained the assault of Hertford, but ultimately compelled him to retire to Leith for the purpose of bringing up his battering ordnance. But a contest so unequal could not last. Arran, Huntley, Argyle, and the cardinal, had retreated to Linlithgow; and to have attempted to defend the gates against the heavy ordnance, without hopes of assistance, would have been folly. During the night, therefore, the citizens, removing with them all their transportable wealth, silently abandoned the town; but Hamilton of Stenhouse resolutely defended the castle; and Hertford, after an unavailing attempt to construct a battery, which was dismounted by the superior fire of the garrison, was compelled to raise the siege, and content himself by giving the city to the flames. Its conflagration lasted for three days; and the English army, having been reinforced by four thousand Border horse under Lord Eure, employed themselves in ravaging and plundering the adjacent country with an unsparing cruelty, which they knew would be acceptable to their master the king, and which was not soon forgotten by the inhabitants.

It was now the fifteenth of May, and the governor having assembled an army, and liberated the Earl of Angus and his brother George Douglas, in the hope that all party differences might be forgotten* in a determination to repel the common enemy, was rapidly advancing to give them battle, when Lord Lisle, setting fire to Leith, reembarked a portion of the army, and instantly set sail, leaving the remainder of the host to return by land under Hertford. Before weighing

* So innate was George Douglas's disposition to intrigue, that soon after his liberation, he had a private interview in Leith with the Earl of Hertford, and gave him advice concerning the conduct of the expedition. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 451.

anchor, the English admiral seized two large Scottish ships, the Salamander and the Unicorn, and destroyed by fire all the smaller craft which lay in the harbour; nor did he omit to plunder of its maritime wealth every creek or harbour, which lay within reach, as he sailed along the coast. The land army was equally remorseless in its retreat. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton, were successively given to the flames; and thus ended an expedition as cruel as it was impolitic, which only increased in the Scots the virulence of the national antipathy, and rendered more distant any prospect of a cordial union between the two kingdoms.

Henry, as it is well observed by Lord Herbert, had done too much for a suitor, and too little for a conqueror. In the violence of his resentment, he had given orders that no protection should be afforded to the estates even of his Scottish friends, and the lands of the Douglasses were wasted as mercilessly as those of their enemies. The effects of this short-sighted policy were soon seen in the splitting of that Anglo-Scottish party, which had so long supported the interests of the English monarch. Angus, George Douglas, and their numerous and powerful adherents, joined the cardinal, and the only friends left to England were the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn; the first, a small acquisition, a man of weak, selfish, and versatile character; but the other, one of the ablest and most powerful barons in Scotland, whose son, the Master of Kilmaurs, from his spirit and military experience, was well fitted to execute the plans which the judgment of the father had matured. Such, indeed, was the great power and influence of Glencairn in the west of Scotland, that, in the event of a former invasion contemplated by Henry in 1543, he undertook to convey his army from Carlisle to Glasgow, without

stroke or challenge;* and so faithful had he remained to these principles, that only a few days after the retreat of Hertford, we find him engaged in a negotiation which, considering the cruel ravages then inflicted by the English army, reflects little credit on his love of country. On the seventeenth of May, at Carlisle, an agreement was concluded between Glencairn, Lennox, and Henry the Eighth, by which that monarch consented to settle an ample pension on the former, and his son the Master of Kilmaurs, whilst to Lennox a more splendid reward was promised in the government of Scotland, and the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, his niece. Upon their side, the Scottish barons acknowledged Henry as Protector of the realm of Scotland, — a title which, considering his late invasion, almost sounds ironical; and they engaged to use their utmost efforts to become masters of the person of the young queen, and deliver her into his hands, along with the principal fortresses in the country. Lennox agreed to the surrender of Dumbarton, with the isle and castle of Bute. In conclusion, both earls stipulated that they would serve the English monarch against France, and all nations and persons, for such wages as his other subjects, no reservation being added of their allegiance to their natural prince, which, by the treaty, they virtually renounced.† In this base agreement, one redeeming article was included, by which Glencairn and Lennox undertook to cause the word of God to be truly taught in their territories; the Bible is described by them as the only foundation from which all truth and honour proceedeth; but it appears not to have suggested itself to these Scottish barons, that the

* Sadler, vol. i. p. 156.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 23-26, inclusive; and p. 29-32.

seizure of their lawful sovereign, and the betrayal of the liberty of their country, were scarcely reconcilable with the sacred standard to which they appealed.

From Carlisle, where he had concluded the negotiation, Glencairn hurried to his own country to assemble his vassals, whilst Lennox collected his strength at Dumbarton; but, as if to punish their desertion of their country, everything went against them. Arran, whose measures, now directed by the cardinal, were marked by unusual promptitude, lost not a moment in marching against them at the head of a thousand men, and advancing to Glasgow, was boldly confronted by Glencairn, with five hundred spearmen on a wide common beside the city. The parties engaged under feelings of unusual obstinacy, and in the battle the unrelenting features of civil strife appeared with all their native ferocity; but Glencairn was at last defeated with great slaughter, his second son being slain, with many others of his party, while the rest were dispersed or made prisoners.* The governor immediately occupied the city, which he gave up to plunder, the chief magistrate having sided with his adversary. Glencairn fled almost alone to Dumbarton, and Lennox, having delivered the castle into his hands, instantly took ship for England, where he was soon after united to the Lady Margaret Douglas. His favourable reception at the English court, and his unnatural conduct to his country, were fatal to his illustrious brother the Lord Aubigny, in France, whom Francis the First, suspecting his fidelity, apparently on no good grounds, deprived of his high offices, and threw into prison.

Henry's affairs in Scotland, so far as they depended on the faction which had hitherto supported him,

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 32.

appeared at this crisis to be desperate ; and a general council being summoned to meet at Stirling, on the third of June,* it was attended by the whole body of the nobility, with the exception of Lennox and Glencairn. A favourable opportunity was now afforded for the union of all parties in support of the independence of the realm. The insincerity of Henry's professions was demonstrated by the cruel ravages with which his late invasion had been accompanied ; a feeling of deep indignation had arisen in the breasts of many of his former adherents ; and all classes recoiled from a union which they were called upon to celebrate amid the flames of their capital, and the murder of its citizens. But it was the misfortune of the Scottish aristocracy, that when immediate danger was past, it was perpetually disunited by the spirit of selfishness and ambition. Of the nobles, a large majority had become disgusted with the weakness and vacillation of the government of Arran ; and they now proposed that the regency should be conferred on the queen-mother, from whose energy they anticipated a happier result, and more determined measures against England.† It is probable that the Earl of Angus and his brother were chiefly implicated in this new movement, which is unknown to our general historians, and involved in much obscurity. It is certain, however, that a coalition took place between the Catholic and Protestant parties ; that, in

* *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 32.

† Agreement of the principal Scots nobility to support the authority of the queen-mother as Regent of Scotland, against the Earl of Arran, declared by this instrument to be deprived of his office, dated June (no day) 1544. State-paper Office—(see also *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 33.) The agreement is not an original paper, but an authentic copy ; transmitted, probably, by some of the spies in Henry's interest at the Scottish court. It is signed by the Earls of Angus, Bothwell, Montrose, Lord Sinclair, Robert Maxwell, Earl of Huntley, Cassillis, Marshal, Lord Somerville, George Douglas, Earl of Moray, Argyle, Errol, Lords Erskine, St John, Malcolm lord chamberlain, Hew lord Lovat, and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, knight.

a convention, they declared the governor deprived of his authority, proclaimed the queen-dowager regent in his stead, appointed a new privy council, and conferred upon the Earl of Angus the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

This state of things could not long continue, and only brought increasing troubles to the country, which continued to be distracted by intestine dissensions, and foreign war. Arran, still supported by the cardinal and a small party of the nobility, persevered in exercising his authority as governor, and the queen-dowager began to dread that all her endeavours would prove insufficient to keep her partisans together. In the Highlands and Isles, the presence of Huntley and Argyle was required to repress a rebellion of the clans, encouraged, in all probability, by the intrigues of England, which frequently adopted this policy to weaken her enemy. The disturbance was speedily repressed, yet not without much bloodshed being mixed up with those private feuds which prevailed in these savage districts. In a ferocious contest at Inverlochy, between the Frasers, led by the Lord Lovat and his son, with a more numerous body of the Macdonalds, the combatants, stripping to their shirts on account of the extreme heat of the weather, fought rather for extermination than victory; two survivors being left on one side, and four on the other.* During these sanguinary contests in the remote Highlands, an equally disgraceful spectacle was exhibited at Perth, where a claim for the office of Provost was decided by arms. between Lord Ruthven on the one side, supported by a numerous train of his vassals, and Lord Gray, with Norman Lesley master of Rothes, and Charteris of

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 34.

Kinfauns, on the other. During his late ecclesiastical progress to Perth, the cardinal, who suspected Ruthven of leaning to the reformed opinions, had deprived him of his office of provost, and directed the citizens to elect Charteris: a crafty device, as was believed, to sow dissension between his rivals in power, it being notorious that the Lords Gray and Ruthven, with the Earl of Rothes and his adherents, had been hitherto unanimous in their opposition to Beaton. Nor was he unsuccessful: Ruthven, supported by the townsmen and merchants, in those days trained to arms, resented the affront, and held his place by force, whilst Charteris, reinforced by Gray, Glamis, and Norman Lesley, broke into the town; and both parties meeting on the narrow bridge over the Tay, fought with sanguinary obstinacy till the victory declared for Ruthven; sixty of his opponents being left dead on the pavement, and the rest compelled to fly from the city.*

It was now time for the Earl of Lennox to perform his engagements to Henry; and, having sailed from Bristol with a squadron of ten ships and a small force of hagbutteers, archers, and pikemen, he arrived on the coast of Scotland, attacked and plundered the isle of Arran, and, sailing to Bute, occupied the island, and its castle of Rothesay, with little difficulty. These acquisitions, according to agreement, were delivered to Sir Rise Mansell and Richard Broke, who accompanied the expedition, and took formal possession of them in behalf of the King of England.† He next directed his course to Dumbarton castle, a fortress, of which,

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 34.

† Instructions to Sir Rise Mansell, and Richard Broke. State-paper Office, August, 1544. In the same repository is a Letter from Lennox to the Privy Council, dated West Chester, 8th of August, 1544. He was then going by land to Beaumaris, to join his ship, which had sailed the day before, and intended to proceed with all diligence on his expedition.

as the key of the west of Scotland, Henry had long, but in vain, sought the possession. It was the property of Lennox, and being commanded by Stirling of Glorat, one of his retainers, to whom he had intrusted it on his departure for England, he did not doubt for a moment that it would be surrendered. In this, however, he was disappointed: Stirling received and recognised him as his master, but the brave baron did not forget his higher allegiance to his sovereign. The first mention of his giving up the castle to Henry was received with a burst of generous indignation; the garrison taking the alarm, rose in arms; and Lennox, with his English friends, becoming alarmed for their safety, were glad to make a precipitate retreat to their ships.

In the meantime the Earl of Argyle, with a considerable force, had occupied Dunoon, a strong castle situated on the narrow strait between Argyle and Renfrew, whilst George Douglas, with four thousand men had entered Dumbarton. The squadron therefore deemed it prudent to fall down the Clyde; and being fired on in passing Dunoon, Lennox, in the chivalrous spirit of the times, accepted the defiance, and, landing under cover of a fire from his own ships, attacked the highlanders, whom he dispersed with considerable slaughter. He next invaded Kentire, plundered the adjacent coasts of Kyle and Carrick, and returning to Bristol, despatched Sir Peter Mewtas to inform King Henry, then at Boulogne, of the termination of an expedition which had failed in its principal purpose—the seizure of Dumbarton; and only rendered more distant the prospect of peace between the countries.* Much indignation was expressed by Lennox

* We know from the *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 35, that Lennox arrived at Dumbarton on the 10th of August.

and the English ministers, against the Earl of Glencairn, and his son the Master of Kilmaurs, whose services had been so lately purchased, and so soon withdrawn. Wriothesley the chancellor, inveighed against "the old fox and his cub," who had imposed on the simplicity of Lennox; and although both the father and son had written to excuse their proceedings, their falsehood was apparent, and their apology little regarded.*

During the continuance of this expedition, Sir Ralph Eure, Sir Brian Layton, and Sir Richard Bowes. ravaged the Scottish Borders with merciless barbarity, and organizing a system of rapine and devastation against those districts where the Scots were most defenceless, reduced the country almost to a desert.† It could scarcely indeed be otherwise, considering the perseverance of the Border inroads, and the distracted state of public affairs produced by the continued dissensions between the parties of the governor and the queen-dowager. Men neither knew whom to obey, nor where to look for protection. In the beginning of November, the regent held a parliament in which Angus and his brother were charged with treason, and all the heavy feudal penalties of banishment and forfeiture threatened to be enforced against them. On the thirteenth of the same month, the three Estates assembled at Stirling in obedience to the summons of

* State Papers of Henry the Eighth, published by Government, p. 769.

† Of these inroads, a brief contemporary abstract has been preserved in Haynes's State Papers, (p. 43-55 inclusive,) a bloody ledger, as it has been rightly denominated, which, with all the formality of a business account, contains the successive inroads, burnings, and spoliations from July till November. By this it appears, that of towns, by which we must understand small villages, towers, farm offices, parish churches, and fortified dwelling-houses, were burnt, 192; and that the plunder amounted, in cattle, to 10,306; in sheep, to 12,492; in nags, geldings, and foals, to 1496; whilst the small number of those slain or made prisoners, evinces the little resistance encountered, and the defenceless state of the country.

the queen, who at the same time issued a proclamation discharging all classes of the people from their allegiance to the pretended regent.* In this state of things the talents of the cardinal were again employed in negotiating an agreement between the rival factions, which, although insincere, had a brief success. Peace seemed to be restored, and Arran, eager to avenge the late outrages, advanced at the head of seven thousand men to the Borders, and laid siege to Coldingham, then held by the enemy. But scarce had they planted their artillery, when their proceedings became again weakened by suspicion and treason. It was discovered that the Douglasses continued their correspondence with England: the inferior leaders dreading the result, began to disperse in disorder; the governor became alarmed for his personal safety, and two thousand English defeated and chased off the field a Scottish army more than triple their number. In this disgraceful rout, Angus, who had the conduct of the vanguard with Glencairn, Cassillis, Lord Somerville, and the sheriff of Ayr, opposed no resistance to the enemy; whilst Bothwell, who brought up the rear, in vain attempted to rally, and was at last compelled to join in the flight.†

The failure of this last expedition was wholly to be ascribed to the intrigues of the Douglasses, who, with their associates, Glencairn and Cassillis, were now playing a desperate game. A sentence of treason hung over their heads in Scotland; in England, Henry

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 36;—corroborated in its dates by the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 445, 446, 447. It is worthy of notice, that these rival parliaments which are new to Scottish history are alone mentioned in the Diurnal of Occurrents.

† The cannon, however, were carried off, as is asserted, by the exertions of the Douglasses. Their general conduct in the expedition renders the fact extremely doubtful.

regarded their conduct with so much suspicion, that in the late expedition of Hertford, no protection had been granted to their estates and vassals. They were now, therefore, in a position as precarious as it was discreditable; likely to lose the confidence of both governments; exposed to the chance of banishment from their own country, and to be cut off from a retreat into England. Under these circumstances they adopted that middle course which is not uncommon to men long engaged in political intrigue; and, more studious for the possession of power, than the preservation of character, they determined to break wholly with neither party. George Douglas, brother of Angus, a man of great ability, and little scrupulous as to means, continued his correspondence with the English king, and betrayed to him the secrets of the government. Angus, on the other hand, deceived Arran and the queen-dowager into the belief that they had completely repented of their former tergiversation, and convinced of the injustice of Henry's demands, were prepared cordially to co-operate in the defence of the country.*

By this pretended coalition, they gained an important end. In a parliament held at Edinburgh in the beginning of December, which was attended by the whole body of the nobility, the earl and his brother Sir George being personally present, were absolved from the charge of treason, and declared innocent of the crimes which had been alleged against them. Glencairn, Cassillis, and Sir Hugh Campbell sheriff of

* Our general historians, Buchanan, Lesley, and Maitland, not aware of the double part acted by the Douglasses, have represented this coalition as sincere. Not so, however, the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 38, which gives the only accurate account of the siege of Coldingham, and the dispersion of the army. As to Buchanan, his narrative on this part of our history is so completely at variance with the truth, that it is little else than a classical romance.

Ayr, obtained at the same time a remission for all treasons committed by them, in return for the good service done, or to be done to the realm, although it does not clearly appear what services could be meant.* An attempt was made to raise, by a land tax, a sum of money for the support of a thousand horsemen, to be placed for the defence of the Borders under the Earl of Angus, which completely failed. The barons of Lothian declined either to pay the money or to serve under a leader whose honesty they doubted; and so universal was the suspicion of the treachery of the Douglasses, that when the regent repaired to Lauder, and issued his command for the immediate muster of the whole force of the realm, the country, throughout its various districts, refused to rise in arms. The commons dreaded a repetition of the flight from Coldingham, and the barons adopted the expedient of entering into covenants with each other for their mutual defence against the continued inroads of the English.†

Of all this, the effects were deplorable. During the contest for the regency, the Border barons, whose duty it was to defend these districts, remained inactive; many Border clans, at all times somewhat precarious in their allegiance, entered into the service of England, and assumed the red cross, as a badge of their desertion; others were compelled to purchase protection; whilst the English wardens insulted over the country, and became so confident in their superiority, that they contemplated its entire conquest even to the Forth, as a matter of no difficult attainment.

With these proud hopes, Sir Ralph Eure, and Sir Brian Layton, repaired to court; and in an interview with the king, explained to him a scheme for this

* *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 36.

† *Ibid.* p. 37.

purpose, which, as a means of punishing the alleged perfidy of the Scots, met with his entire approval. As a reward for the uninterrupted success with which their various inroads had been attended, Eure obtained, it is said, a royal grant of all the country he should conquer in the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, districts of which a great part formed the hereditary property of the Earls of Douglas. The insolence of so premature an appropriation of his paternal estates, incensed Angus far more than the indignity offered to his country; and he is said to have sworn a great oath, that if Ralph Eure dared to act upon the grant, he would write his sasine or instrument of possession on his skin with sharp pens and bloody ink. The English baron, however, was not of a temper to be deterred by threats, and soon after repaired to the Borders with a force of five thousand men; consisting of foreign mercenaries, English archers, and a body of six hundred Border Scots, who wore the red cross above their armour. With these they had recommenced their inroads, in which they even exceeded their former barbarity; they burnt the Tower of Broomhouse, and in it its lady, a noble and aged matron, with her whole family. They penetrated to Melrose, which they left completely spoiled and in ruins; not sparing its venerable abbey, the burial place of the Earls of Douglas, whose tombs they ransacked and defaced with wanton sacrilege.

Deeply enraged at this new insult, Angus collected his vassals, and, joining the governor, advanced to Melrose; but they were surprised by a sudden attack of the English, and driven from their position with considerable slaughter. The cause of this new disaster is ascribed by an ancient chronicle, apparently a contemporary document, to the secret information furnished

to the enemy by George Douglas; and it is certain, that he was then in communication both with Sir Ralph Eure and his royal master; but the sincerity of his brother the earl upon this occasion is not to be doubted; he acted in the true spirit of a feudal baron. The love of revenge, the desire to retaliate the insult offered to his house, burned inextinguishably strong in a bosom, which, for many years, had been a stranger to the love of his country; and Douglas, true only to himself, appeared for the moment to be true to Scotland. With these bitter feelings he saw the English once more plunder Melrose, and commence their retreat to Jedburgh; whilst he and Arran, with a far inferior force, could only hang upon their rear and watch their motions.

On reaching the Teviot, Eure, confident in his superior strength, which was more than five to one, encamped on a level moor or common above the village of Ancram; whilst the Scots fell back to a neighbouring eminence, and hesitated whether, with so great a disparity, they should risk a battle. At this moment they were joined by Norman Lesley master of Rothes, at the head of twelve hundred lances; and soon after, Walter Scott the veteran Laird of Buccleugh, came up at full speed, with the news that his followers were within an hour's march.* It was resolved, with these reinforcements, to give battle to the enemy, who, during all this time, eagerly watched their motions; but, by the advice of Buccleugh, Arran abandoned the height which he occupied, and drew up in a level plain behind it, named Peniel Heugh, where they were entirely concealed from the English; they then dismounted, and sent the horses with the camp boys to an eminence beyond the plain. These dispositions were intended to betray the English

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 861.

into the idea that the Scottish army was in flight; and they succeeded. Rendered careless and confident by their long career of success, and anticipating a repetition of the combat at Coldingham, Sir Brian Layton, and Sir Robert Bowes, pushed on with the advance; whilst Sir Ralph Eure followed at full speed with the main battle, consisting of a thousand spears, with an equal number of archers and hagbutteers on each wing. The rapidity of their movement necessarily threw their ranks into some disorder; the horses were blown by their gallop up the hill; the infantry were breathless from eagerness to arrive on the same ground with their companions; and in this state, having surmounted the eminence, they discovered, to their astonishment, instead of an enemy in flight, the compact serried phalanx of the Scots within a short distance of their own army. At this moment, a heron, disturbed by the troops, sprung from the adjacent marsh, and soared away over the heads of the combatants. "Oh!" said Angus, "that I had here my white goss-hawk: we should then all 'yoke'* at once." To have halted, with the hope of restoring order to their ranks would have been fatal; and Eure, relying on his superiority, charged bravely and without delay. But the advantage of infantry over cavalry, of which the main body of the English was composed, never more strikingly evinced itself. The Scottish spears, an ell longer than the English, repulsed the van under Layton and Bowes, and pushed it back in confusion on the main battle, which, in its turn, was thrown upon the rearward. All was soon in confusion; and no efforts of their gallant leaders could prevent an entire rout. The setting sun shone full in the faces of the English; and their enemy had

* To yoke—to set to—buckling closely together.

also the advantage of the wind, which blew the smoke of the harquebusses upon the columns of their adversaries and blinded them. On the first symptoms of flight, the six hundred Scottish borderers, who were in the service of Henry, throwing away their red crosses, joined their countrymen, and with the merciless spirit common to renegades, made a pitiless slaughter of their former friends. The neighbouring peasantry, who, from terror of the English, had not engaged in the battle, rose upon the flying enemy; and such was the deep desire of vengeance produced by the late ravages, that even the women took part in the pursuit, and calling out to their husbands and relatives to "remember Broomhouse," encouraged them in the work of retribution. On the English side the loss was great, eight hundred being slain, and a thousand made prisoners; but that which afforded most satisfaction to the enemy was the discovery, amongst the dead bodies, of Eure and Layton, the leaders who, for the last six months, had signalized themselves by such unexampled and cruel ravages. Amongst the captives were many knights and gentlemen; and the governor, having first seized the camp equipage which was left in Melrose, advanced to Coldingham, which the enemy evacuated; he then marched to Jedburgh, and recovered from the English, not only the town, but the greater part of the Borders, which they had lately considered a conquered territory, making proclamation that all who had been compelled to accept assurance from England, and assume the red cross, should, on returning to their allegiance, have a full indemnity.

On receiving news of this defeat, Henry expressed deep indignation against Angus, whom he accused of ingratitude, and threatened with the extremity of his

resentment. Douglas's answer was characteristic ;— "What," said he, "is our brother-in-law offended, because, like a good Scotsman, I have avenged upon Ralph Eure the defaced tombs of my ancestors? they were better men than he, and I ought to have done no less; and will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Kernetable; I can keep myself there against all his English host."*

By this success, confidence was restored to the people, whose hearts had sunk under the unresisted ravages of the English; whilst new strength was given to the party of the governor and the cardinal. It happened also, that, at this moment, they confidently expected the support of their continental allies. Francis the First, irritated by the late invasion of Henry, and the loss of Boulogne, was resolved to exert his utmost efforts against England; he had detached the emperor from his alliance with that country, and now made preparations for its invasion by a powerful fleet; whilst he determined to send an auxiliary force into Scotland to make a diversion in that quarter.

Of such resolutions, early advice was sent from France to Arran; and the English monarch, having become acquainted with these hostile intentions by a secret despatch from George Douglas, began seriously to dread the consequences of raising so many enemies against him, and to be convinced that his conduct towards Scotland had been inconsistent and impolitic. He was assured by Douglas, that so far from gaining his object, or promoting the treaties of peace and mar-

* Godscroft's History of the House and Race of Douglas, vol. ii. p. 123. As a biographer, Hume of Godscroft not unfrequently gives us characteristic traits, which I borrow from his pages when they bear the marks of truth. As an authentic historian, no one who has compared his rambling eulogistic story with contemporary documents, will venture to quote him.

riage, the rigorous measures which some reported he intended to use, would drive the people to despair.* These remonstrances produced some effect, Henry prevailed on himself to try conciliation; and intrusted the Earl of Cassillis, one of his Solway prisoners, who had been long attached to the interests of England, with the management of the negotiation. This nobleman repaired to the English court, February twenty-eighth, 1545; and having received his instructions, returned, after a short absence to Scotland. To prevail upon the Earls of Glencairn, Marshal, and the Douglasses, who professed never to have left the allegiance to the English king, to renew their active efforts in his service, was no difficult task; and the Earl of Angus, as a proof of his sincerity, resigned his office of lieutenant under Arran; but the governor, and the cardinal, were more difficult to manage. Huntley, Argyle, and the queen-dowager, were absent; it was necessary they should be first consulted; and a convention of the nobility was appointed to be held on the fifteenth of April, for the purpose of deliberating on Henry's offers, and giving his envoy a final answer. In the meantime, the wardens were commanded to abstain from all hostilities; whilst, by the advice of Cassillis, the English monarch prepared his force for the invasion of the country, should matters not proceed according to his expectation. An army of thirty thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Hertford, was directed to be levied on the Borders; and Sir Ralph Sadler, whose acquaintance with Scotland had well fitted him for the

* Original Letter, Sir George Douglas to the king, from Lauder, February 25, 1544-5. Douglas asks Henry's pardon if he had offended him, states his great losses by the last invasion of the English army, and assures him, that the rigorous measures, which it was reported he intended to use towards Scotland, would be the means of driving the people to desperation. State-paper Office.

office, was appointed treasurer-at-war, and political agent.*

On the seventeenth of April, the convention was held at Edinburgh; Cassillis presented himself as the envoy of Henry, and acquainted the nobles, that if they consented to the treaties of peace and marriage, he was empowered to assure them that the king would forget what had passed; and forbear to avenge the injuries which he had received.† It was the infirmity of this prince, that even in his efforts at conciliation, he assumed a tone of pride and superiority which defeated his object. The injuries which he had received were little, in comparison with those which he had recently inflicted, and his power of avenging them was at best problematical. The influence too of the party of the governor and the cardinal, was every day increasing; certain intelligence of the embarkation of the auxiliaries had been received from France; from Denmark they expected a fleet of merchantmen, laden with provisions; a friendly negotiation had been opened with the emperor; and new importance had been conferred on Beaton by his receiving from Rome the dignity of Legate *a latere* in Scotland.‡ All these circumstances gave confidence to the political friends of the cardinal; whilst Henry's late invasion, and subsequent inroads, had created distrust and aversion, even in many of his former supporters. The consequence of this was natural,—almost inevitable; the negotiation of Cassillis entirely failed; the influence of Beaton carried

* Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 38.

† Letter from the Privy Council to the Earl of Cassillis, in answer to his letter in cipher of 2d April,—communicating the king's directions, April 10, 1545. State-paper Office.

‡ Letter, Lord-lieutenant and Council of the North to the King, May 1, 1545,—stating that a Hull vessel had captured a Dutch ship laden with provisions for the Scots; and that, in one of the chests was found a commission from the Pope, appointing Beaton legate *a latere* in Scotland.

everything before it in the convention; the treaties of peace and marriage were declared at an end; and it was resolved cordially to embrace the assistance of France.* The earl instantly informed Henry of the complete defeat of his negotiation; and, in the letter which conveyed the intelligence, advised the immediate invasion of Scotland with a strong force.

Mortified to be thus repulsed, Henry's animosity against Beaton became more vehement than before. To his energy and political talent he justly ascribed his defeat; and whilst he urged his preparations for war, he encouraged the Earl of Cassillis in organizing a conspiracy for his assassination. The plot is entirely unknown, either to our Scottish or English historians; and now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State-paper Office. It appears that Cassillis had addressed a letter to Sadler, in which he made an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." Sadler showed the letter to the Earl of Hertford and the Council of the North, and by them it was transmitted to the king.† Cassillis's associates, to whom he had communicated his purpose, were the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marshal, and Sir George Douglas; and these persons requested that Forster, an English prisoner of some note, who could visit Scotland with-

* Letter in cipher, with the original decipher, Cassillis to Henry the Eighth, April 20, 1545. State-paper Office.

† Privy-council to the Earl of Hertford, dated Greenwich, May 30, 1545, —relative to the proposition of the Earl of Cassillis, for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. MS. State-paper Office. Also, letter from the Council of the North to the King's Majesty, May 21, 1545. MS. State-paper Office. By the letter of 30th May, quoted above, it appears that the first resolution of the associated earls was to send a confidential envoy to meet and communicate with Sir Ralph Sadler at Alnwick. As to this purpose, however, they changed their mind, probably from the fear of incurring suspicion, and requested that Forster should be sent.

out suspicion, should be sent to Edinburgh to communicate with them on the design for cutting off Beaton. Hertford accordingly consulted the privy-council upon his Majesty's wishes in this affair, requiring to be informed whether Cassillis's plan for the assassination of his powerful enemy was agreeable to the king, and whether Forster should be despatched into Scotland. Henry, conveying his wishes through the privy-council, replied, that he desired Forster to set off immediately; to the other part of the query, touching the assassination of the cardinal, the answer of the privy-council was in these words:—"His majesty hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness reputed the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet not misliking the offer, thinketh good, that Mr Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter; he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but, also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not of his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him."* In this reply there was some address; Henry

* Lords of the Privy-council to Hertford, May 30, 1545. State-paper Office.

preserved, as he imagined, his regal dignity; and whilst he affected ignorance of the atrocious design, encouraged its execution, and shifted the whole responsibility upon his obsequious agents. On both points, the king's commands were obeyed; Sadler wrote to Cassillis, in the indirect manner which had been pointed out; and Forster, in compliance with the wishes of the conspirators, was sent into Scotland, and had an interview with Angus, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas; the substance of which he has given in an interesting report which is still preserved.* It is evident, from this paper, that both Angus and Cassillis were deterred from committing themselves on such delicate ground as the proposed murder of the cardinal, by the cautious nature of Sadler's letter to Cassillis, who, in obedience to the royal orders, had recommended the assassination of the prelate, as if from himself; and had affirmed, though falsely, that he had not communicated the project to the king. These two earls, therefore, said not a word to the envoy on the subject; although Cassillis, on his departure intrusted him with a letter in cipher for Sadler. Sir George Douglas, however, was less timorous, and sent by Forster a message to the Earl of Hertford in very explicit terms:—"He willed me." says the envoy, "to tell my lord-lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead; if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be. the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith, the common saying is, the cardinal is the only occasion of the war.

* The Discourse of Thomas Forster, gentleman, being sent into Scotland by my Lord-lieutenant, to speak to the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, Angus, Marshal, and George Douglas, being returned with the same to Darton, the 4th July, 1545. MS. State-paper Office.

and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by that means how that reward should be paid." Such was the simple proposal of Sir George Douglas, for the removal of his arch-enemy; but, although the English king had no objection to give the utmost secret encouragement to the conspiracy, he hesitated to offer such an outrage to the common feelings of Christendom, as to set a price upon the head of the cardinal, and to offer a reward and indemnity to those who should slay him. For the moment, therefore, the scheme seemed to be abandoned by the earls, but it was only to be afterwards resumed by Brunston.*

* In the light which it throws upon the intrigues of the Douglasses and the state of parties in Scotland, the report of Forster is a paper of great historical value. It will be published in its entire state in the forthcoming volume of the State Papers; but an analysis of it, with a few brief extracts, may be interesting to the reader. It thus opens:—"The said Thomas Forster sayth, that according to my Lord-lieutenant's commandment, he entered Scotland at Wark, and so passed to his taker's house in Scotland, as tho he had repayed for his entree to save his lande, and declaring to his taker that he had occasion to speke with George Douglas, his taker was contented, according to the custome there, that he shuld go at his pleasure; whereupon he came to Dalkeith to George Douglas, and showed him th' occasion of his hither comyng to speak to him and th' Erll aforesaid, with message from my Lord-lieutenant and Master Sadleyr, who willed him to go to Douglas, where he would cause th' Erlls of Cassillis and Anguisse to mete hym, for he said he could not get them to Dalkeith without gret suspection. And hereupon, he sayth, that going towards Douglas he met th' Erll of Anguisse at Dumfries, where, as he was hunting, he gave him welcome, saying he would give him hawkes and dogges, and caused him to pass the time with him that night; and on the morrowe brought hym with him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for th' Erll of Cassillis, who, ryding all night, came thither the next day yerly in the mornyng, whereupon he and th' Erll of Anguisse went into a chamber together, and called the said Forster unto them, who then declared the occasion of his comyng, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions. As to the first article, they answered that they were glad he was come, and was welcome to them." To the second article, they say they indeed wanted Forster to come; and in reply to the question, how Henry's godly purpose for the peace and marriage may best be furthered, Cassillis answers that he is still the same true man to Henry as he was at his parting with his majesty. Angus equally promised his cordial assistance, and declared he would either *go to the field or stay at home, as Henry judged it best*, and would maintain, in the face of all Scotland, that the peace and the marriage were for the good of the realme of Scotland. Forster then desired them to state to him such matters as they had intended to communicate by the gentleman that should have met Mr Sadler at Alnwick; upon which they briefly answered, that "the effect of that matter was none

In the midst of these machinations for the removal of his enemies, and preparations for open war, important events had taken place in Scotland. Early in May a French fleet, having on board a body of three thousand infantry, and five hundred horse under the command of the *Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie*, arrived off the west coast; but recollecting the device lately practised on their countrymen by the Earl of Lennox, this experienced officer was cautious of committing himself by landing, till informed of the exact state of the

other than they had already declared;” but Cassillis added, “that such other matters as should be at the *convencion he would write it in cypher*, and send it to Mr Sadleyr,” and so departed from them; and returning again to Dalkeith unto George Douglas, he said he declared to the said George all his conference with the foresaid Erles, requiring him to show him his opinion therein. Douglas promises to do so after the convention. Forster goes on to state, that Douglas went then to the convention, where he tarried seven days. On the return of Douglas from this convention, Forster asked the news, and what he would do for the king’s Majesty’s advancement and godly affairs? Douglas answers, “that he will stand to it in all his power,” the rather that he himself was one of them that “procured and promised the same, and that ther was never an honest man in Scotland that would be against that promise, for it was the doinge of all the nobles of Scotland, and the Governor’s part was therein as deep as the rest of them.”—Another thing agreed on at the convention was, that “they would raise an army against the xxviiiith of July, and to have them upon Roslin Moor, three miles from Dalkeith, with a month’s victuall, and so passing to invade England; by which tyme he saith the said *Lorges Montgomerie* hath undertaken on the French king’s behalf, that th’ army out of France by sea shall be ready to ayde them at their handes, or els at that time should invade in some other place of England. The said George Douglas told him also, that if my Lord-lieutenant thought mete th’ army of Scotland were stayed, that then it should be well done to send some ships with diligence with three or four thousand men to ayde the gentlemen of the Isles, which would stay at home th’ Erlls of Huntley and Argyle, and by that meanes he thinks it would stop the rest of th’ army from coming forward; and if it is not so, then to prepare a great power of England to come to the Borders against that time, which must come very strongly, for all the Lords and power of Scotland, as he sayth, will be wholly there, as they have promised; and by reason of th’ encouragement of the Frenchmen and the fair largesses, that the French king hath promised them by *Lorges Montgomerie*, they are fully bent to fight as he sayth. But he saith, tho’ that he must needs be also there with them, he will do them no good, but will do all that he can to stop them; and sayth, that if they may be stopped since they have made so gret braggis and avant to *Lorges Montgomerie*, it wold, as he thinketh, put away all the Commons’ hearts from them.”*

* The old spelling is not uniformly followed in the copy of this note.

country. Being assured, however, that the French politics were still predominant, they disembarked at Dumbarton, and were received with much distinction; nor did the enthusiasm diminish when it was found they had brought a considerable sum of money for the emergencies of the war, a body-guard of a hundred archers to wait on the governor's person, and the insignia of the Order of St Michael for Angus.* This favourable news the cardinal did not fail immediately to disseminate among his partisans; and a convention of the nobility being soon after held at Stirling, it was resolved, that the league with France should be maintained, and hostilities immediately commenced against England; but, with a great portion of the nobility these declarations were insincere. At this very moment Cassillis was organizing his conspiracy for cutting off the cardinal; whilst his associates, Angus, Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, had assured Forster, the Englishenvoy, of their entire devotedness to his master. When the governor, therefore, assembled the Scottish host, on the ninth of August, it was strong in apparent numbers, but weakened by treason and suspicion. From a force of thirty thousand men, with the veteran infantry of France, and a fine body of cavalry, including eighty barbed horse, something important was expected; and the people, whose feelings were strongly excited against England, looked with eager anxiety to the result; but they were miserably disappointed. The vanguard of the army was commanded by Angus; under him were the lords in the English interest, with the minor barons who followed them; and their indisposition to hostilities completely shackled the efforts

* Intelligence by the Lord Wharton's espies, sent to the Earl of Hertford, June 11, 1545. State-paper Office.

of the remainder of the army. England was indeed invaded, but the operations were feeble and disunited: Hertford had made excellent dispositions for the defence of the Borders by his foreign mercenaries; the Spanish and Italian troops repelled the Scots with great gallantry; the preparations of many months led only to the sack of a few obscure villages, and the capture of some Border strengths; and, after two days, the army of Scotland returned, to use the words of an ancient and authentic chronicle,—“through the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard.”*

It was on the thirteenth of August that this disastrous retreat took place, and, three days after, the Scottish lords in the interest of England addressed from Melrose a letter to Henry, in which they claimed credit for the total failure of the invasion, and advised the immediate advance of the Earl of Hertford, with an overwhelming force into the heart of the country, so well provided as to remain there for a lengthened period. They recommended him at the same time to march during the present harvest, and to publish a proclamation, declaring that he came not to hurt the realm or any subject in it who would assist in promoting the peace and marriage between the two countries. The letter is a remarkable one, and affords a melancholy proof of the true character of the men, who, by our historians, are imagined to have, at that moment, entirely deserted the service of England.†

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 40.

† State-paper Office, Letter, Hertford, Bishop of Durham, and Sir R. Sadler to the king, enclosing the letter from the Scottish earls, August 25, 1545. The passage explaining the cause of the failure of the last invasion is curious, and completely corroborates the statement of the Diurnal of Occurrents quoted in the text, which statement is not to be found in any of our Scottish historians. “Further as to this last journey of ours, it was advised by the queen, cardinal, and this French captain Lorges Montgomerie. Huntly fortified this armye at his power; notwithstanding, all that they

The Earl of Hertford was sufficiently eager to obey these instructions, although to support a main army for any long period, and to follow the course pointed out by the Anglo-Scottish faction, required greater resources than Henry could command, and was not agreeable to the impetuous spirit of the monarch. Preparations had been already made for the intended invasion, not only by land, but for a naval descent on the west coast. Negotiations were opened, through the Earl of Lennox, with Donald lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross; and this petty prince, with eighteen of his barons, disclaiming, in proud language, all allegiance to Scotland, of which realm he described himself and his progenitors as the "auld enemies," entered willingly into the service of the English monarch, and bound themselves to assist Lennox with a force of eight thousand men.* Henry, who had been instructed by Glencairn and Douglas in the important policy of

devised was stopped by us that are the king's friends." If the reader will take the trouble to turn to Maitland, vol. ii. pp. 861, 862; or Lesley, pp. 456, 457; or Ridpath's Border History, p. 552; or Buchanan, book xv. c. 28, he will discover how much the history of this important period has been mistaken and perverted. It was, perhaps, the discrepancy between the Diurnal of Occurrences and these writers which misled its editor into the idea that its first portion was composed from tradition and other imperfect sources. Yet it is the Diurnal which is right, whilst they are in the wrong.

* Original Commission, 28th July, 1545, apud Ellencarne, from Donald lord of the Isles, and the Barons and Council of the Isles, to Rory Macalister bishop elect of the Isles, and Patrick Maclane, to enter into a treaty with Matthew earl of Lennox. The document (State-paper Office) is a diplomatic curiosity; not one of the highland chieftains, eighteen in number, being able to write his name. To the celtic antiquary and genealogist, whose feet do not usually rest on such certain ground, it may be interesting to give the names. They are, Hector Maclane lord of Doward; John Macalister capitane of Clanranald; Rorye Macleod of Lewis; Alexander Macleod of Dumbegane; Murdoch Maclane of Lochbuy; Angus Maconnill, brudir germane to James Maconnill; Alane Maclane of Turloske, bruder germane to the Lord Maclane; Archibald Maconnill capitane of Clan Houston; Alexander Mackeyn of Ardnamurchane; Jhone Maclane of Coll; Gilliganan Macneill of Barry; Ewin Macinnon of Straguhordill; Jhone Macquorre of Ulway; Thom Maclane of Ardgour; Alexander Ranaldsoun of Glengarrrie; Angus Ranaldsoun of Knwdort; Donald Maclane of Kengarrloch.

keeping Argyle and Huntley in their own country by a diversion in the Isles, warmly welcomed the offers of the ocean prince, appointed him an annual pension, and encouraged him to assemble his forces. On the eighteenth of August, only a few days after the retreat of the governor, the Lord of the Isles passed over to Knockfergus in Ireland, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty galleys, and having on board a force of four thousand men. They are described in the original despatch, from the Irish Privy-council giving Henry notice of their arrival, as “very tall men, clothed for the most part in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and long bows, but with few guns.”* To cooperate with the islesmen, Henry commanded the Earl of Ormond to raise a body of two thousand kerns and galloglasses, and appointed the Earl of Lennox to the chief command in the expedition; but at this moment Hertford, now ready to invade Scotland, requested the presence of the Scottish earl in his camp, and the western invasion was postponed till the termination of the campaign.†

On the fifth of September, the English commander assembled his army, and, having previously sent word to Cassillis, Glencairn, and the two Douglases, that he expected they would join him with their vassals, he advanced to Alnwick, from which, rapidly pushing through Northumberland, he crossed the Border and encamped before Kelso. The town, which was an open one, he occupied with ease; but the abbey held out, and the Spanish mercenaries who assaulted it were repulsed

* Letter, Irish Correspondence, State-paper Office, Privy-council to the King, August 12 and 13, 1545.

† August 23, 1545, Privy-council to Earl of Hertford; and August 27, 1545, Earl of Hertford and his Council to Secretary Paget. State-paper Office.

by the garrison, composed partly of monks. Hertford, however, brought up his ordnance, and a breach being effected, the church was carried, the steeple stormed, and its defenders put to the sword. In the meantime his friends, the Scottish earls, evaded his proposal of joining the army, and informed him by a secret messenger who brought a letter in cipher, that they could not without danger assemble their forces till acquainted more minutely with his plans.* No line of conduct could have been adopted more discreditable to themselves or more unhappy in its consequences to the people. Had they been bold and consistent in their adherence to England, their extensive estates would have been exempted from plunder, and the peasantry would have escaped through the desertion of their lords; but their present conduct, whilst it brought all the evils, shared in none of the advantages of treachery, and only provoked Hertford to a more cruel and sanguinary retaliation. The lands of the potent house of Douglas lay principally in the districts now invaded. Melrose and Dryburgh were successively given to the flames; the villages, castles, and farm granges of the adjacent country razed and plundered; and the miserable inhabitants suffered the utmost extremities of war, of which it would be painful to recapitulate the common tale of havoc and desolation; Jedburgh was burnt, and fourteen villages in the neighbourhood. Hertford, in a despatch to Henry, exultingly informed him it was the opinion of the Border gentlemen, so much damage had not been done in Scotland by fire for the last hundred years. Nay, so excessive was the cruelty, that

* Original in cipher, State-paper Office, with the deciphered copy in the handwriting of Sir R. Sadler, then with the army, September 9, 1545, at Irvine. From the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas, to Hertford.

it shocked even the English borderers; and as they evinced a disposition to be lenient, an advanced guard of a hundred Irish was appointed to burn and spoil the villages in a more complete manner.*

During these disgusting scenes the Scots were inactive. The experience of the last invasion had convinced the governor and the cardinal that Angus and his associates were more likely to betray than defend the country. Huntley and Argyle, dreading the meditated attack of Lennox and the Lord of the Isles on the west coast, were detained in their own country, and after one abortive attempt to promote union, and resume hostilities, Arran appears to have abandoned the task in despair. Ten thousand men who were with difficulty assembled, entered England near Norham, burnt a single village, and through the counsel of the Earl of Angus, on the first appearance of resistance, dispersed, and returned home.†

The army of Hertford began now to suffer want in a country which they had reduced to a desert; and it was thought expedient to retreat. After reconnoitring Hume castle, which was found too strong to be carried by assault, the English commander swept in desolating progress through the Merse, burnt the towns and villages, razed the forts and peels, and, returning to Horton on the twenty-third of September, dismissed his forces—placing his Italian and Spanish mercenaries in garrisons on the Borders.‡ It appears from an original document, that during this inroad, which only lasted fifteen days, the destruction was dreadful, and

* Letter, Earl of Hertford and his Council to the King, Warkworth, September 18, State-paper Office.

† *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 40, corroborated by Orig. letter of Hertford and his Council, Sept. 18, 1545, State-paper Office.

‡ Earl of Hertford and Council to the King, Horton, Sept. 23, 1545, State-paper Office.

sufficiently accounts for the deep and exasperated feelings of the Scottish people. The English burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towns, five market towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals.* Such were the arguments by which Henry endeavoured to persuade his neighbours, that he was solicitous for a peaceful matrimonial union between the two countries. During the invasion a characteristic trait of the English monarch occurred. Some French soldiers in the service of the Scots deserted to Hertford, and the earl requested the king's advice whether they were to be received or trusted. His majesty, through his privy-council, replied that it was scarcely good policy to give credit to any men of that nation with whom he had mortal war, unless they would evince their sincerity by some previous exploit. He recommended Hertford, therefore, if any greater number of Frenchmen offered themselves, to "advise them first to some notable damage or displeasure to the enemy;" and he particularised the "trapping or killing the cardinal, Lorges, the governor, or some other man of estimation, whereby it can appear that they bear hearty good will to serve, which thing" continues the king, "if they shall have done, your lordship may promise them not only to accept the service, but also to give them such reward as they shall have good cause to be therewith right well contented."†

After the retreat of Hertford, the governor held a parliament at Stirling, in which the Earl of Lennox and his brother the Bishop of Caithness were declared guilty

* Statement of fortresses, towns, &c., burnt and destroyed during the expedition, State-paper Office.

† Original Draft, in Secretary Petre's handwriting, Privy-council to Earl of Hertford, September 9, 1545, State-paper Office.

of treason. The last meeting of the three Estates had not been numerous, this was crowded by the nobles, and it was sarcastically said they came for land,* expecting a share in the division of the large estates of Lennox now forfeited to the crown. Argyle, whose services had been conspicuous, amid the desertion of the country by other noble houses, was rewarded with the largest share, whilst Huntley, another firm adherent of the government, received for his brother the bishoprick of Caithness, and a portion of the property of Lennox for himself.† It was determined, at the same parliament, that a force of a thousand men should be maintained for the defence of the marches, to be placed under the command of the bravest and most experienced Border barons; and a tax of sixteen thousand pounds was directed to be levied on the three Estates for their support, whilst an additional body of a thousand men was raised at the expense of France.‡ The cardinal, it was reported, meant to pass over to France with Lorges the French commander, with the purpose of subsidising a much larger force for the continuance of the war, whilst he laboured to induce the queen-mother, with the young queen, to reside in his castle of St Andrew's; gaining the governor Arran to his views upon this point by tempting him with the splendid prize already offered to his ambition, the marriage of the young queen to his eldest son.

This intelligence was communicated to Henry by a letter in cipher from his active and unscrupulous correspondent the Laird of Brunston, (in a letter sent

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 40.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 458, 459. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41. Keith's Catalogue. p. 123.

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41. The tax was to be raised conform to the Auld Taxations. * * 11k pund land of auld extent eight shillings. Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 460.

from Ormiston House, sixth October;) and in the same despatch he alluded darkly to his hopes that the intended journey of the cardinal to France would be cut short, assuring his royal employer that at no time were there more gentlemen desirous of doing him good service than at that moment.* He intimated, in a subsequent letter to Lord Hertford, his wish to have a private meeting with some one of the lords of the Privy-council; entreated that it might be kept secret, as a discovery might cost him both life and heritage; informed him that all his friends were ready whenever it pleased the king to command them; but stated, that his majesty must be plain with them what he would have them to do, and explicit as to what they were to trust to on his part. In a letter of the same date from Brunston to the king, he requested a private interview with Sir R. Sadler at Berwick, reiterated his injunction of secrecy, as his communications might affect his life, and promised to communicate such things as should be greatly to the advancing of his majesty's affairs.† It seems probable from these expressions that the plot for the assassination of the cardinal had been resumed, and as Brunston directed the king to send his answer to Coldingham, then belonging to Sir George Douglas, we may presume that Angus, Cassillis, and the Scottish earls were acquainted with these proceedings. Unfortunately at this moment those invaluable documents, the letters in the State-paper Office, break off abruptly, perhaps we may add suspiciously: there is a *hiatus* from October to March twenty-seventh, an interval of

* Letter in cipher, Laird of Brunston to the king's majesty, enclosed in a letter from the Earl of Hertford to Secretary Paget, October 20, 1545, State-paper Office. See extract in the Illustrations to this volume, p. 386-7.

† Letter in cipher, with contemporary decipher, Brunston to the king, Calder, October 20, 1545, State-paper Office. See extract in the Illustrations, p. 388.

five months; and we are compelled to trace the ravelled history of this obscure but interesting period with such inferior guidance as is attainable elsewhere.

The intelligence lately received, that Beaton meditated a journey to France, and that the nobles had consented to the marriage of the young queen to the son of the governor, stimulated the English monarch to fresh exertions. Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrave, three castles of first rate strength and importance, were the property of his prisoner Lord Maxwell. To get possession of these, and garrison them as rallying points for his adherents, and to carry into execution the invasion of the west of Scotland by Lennox and the Lord of the Isles, were the two projects which engaged Henry's attention. Lord Maxwell, like his other brethren, had been at first kindly treated by the king on the condition of furthering his projects; but his conduct was suspicious and vacillating; he possessed not the greatness of mind to remain in durance and continue faithful to his country, whilst he hesitated to devote himself exclusively to England. Threatened with being remanded to the Tower as a punishment for his repeated deceit, he was reduced to despair, offered to serve under Hertford with a red cross on his armour to show that he was a true Englishman, and at last purchased his return to Scotland at the price of the delivery of Caerlaverock.* But misfortune pursued him: early in November the governor and the cardinal attacked and stormed this fortress, whilst Lochmaben and Thrave, held by his sons, experienced a similar fate; and Maxwell himself, being taken with his English confederates, was imprisoned in Dumfries.

* Earl of Hertford, Bishop of Durham, and Sir R. Sadler to Secretary Paget, July 29, 1545, State-paper Office. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41.

For this disappointment Henry comforted himself with the hopes of success in the projected expedition against the west of Scotland. This prince, however, was either too precipitate or too dilatory.

Donald lord of the Isles, who in August had passed over to Ireland with a potent fleet, in vain expected the arrival of Lennox, then absent with the English army in Scotland; and after a sojourn of some months returned to find an obscure grave in his own dominions. He bequeathed, however, his affection to the English king, and the more substantial hope of inheriting his pension, to his successor in the sovereignty of the Isles, James Macconnell lord of Dunyveg; and Lennox having received information from Glencairn that the time was favourable for the recovery of the castle of Dumbarton, passed rapidly over to Ireland, opened a communication with the new Lord of the Isles, despatched his brother to practice on the fidelity of the constable, and taking the command of a body of two thousand men which had been levied by the Earl of Ormond, sailed from Dublin on the seventeenth of November, with a formidable squadron.* Such an armament, according to the opinion expressed by the Irish Privy-council, had not left Ireland for the last two hundred years.†

Yet, so great was the activity of Arran and the cardinal, that all these high hopes and preparations were destined to prove abortive. It appears that the arrival of Lennox's brother the Bishop of Caithness, and the admission of this prelate into the castle, had

* "The 17th this present month of November, the Earl of Lennox, together with th' Erle of Ormond, toke their journey out of your porte of Dublin, accompanied with 2,000 men." Letter, Privy-council of Ireland to the king, 19th November, 1545, State-paper Office.

† Orig. Letter, Irish Privy-council to the King, 19th November, 1545, State-paper Office.

alarmed them. Stirling of Glorat the constable, received Caithness with distinction; yet, as he had already refused to deliver the fortress to Lennox, he now declared that he would hold it out against all till his mistress the queen was of age to demand it for herself. It was closely besieged by Arran, Huntley, and Argyle; but having defied their utmost efforts, the cardinal and Huntley, who knew that the resolution of Scottish barons in that age was sooner moved by interest than by force, began to tamper with the ex-bishop and the constable, and succeeded in corrupting them. Caithness, bribed by the promise of his restoration to the see he had lost, proved false to his brother; and Stirling, for a high reward, was induced to deliver the fortress, in that age deemed impregnable, into the hands of the governor.* Henry's last hope was thus destroyed, and the armament of Lennox and Ormond, probably informed on their passage of the disastrous result, does not appear to have even attempted a descent. Whether it retraced its course to Dublin, or, as on a former occasion, steered for Bristol, is not easily discoverable. It is, indeed, a curious illustration of the imperfection and carelessness of our general historians both English and Scottish, that in neither the one nor the other do we find the slightest notice of a maritime expedition, which, by the letters of the Privy-council, seems in its outfit to have exhausted the exchequer and military resources of Ireland.

In his first invasion of Scotland, Lennox had lost the powerful assistance of the Islesmen by his delay; in this last expedition he was deprived of it by precipitation. Had he waited for the arrival in Ireland of his envoy Colquhoun, whom he had sent to the Isles, he

* Lesley, Hist. p. 457.

might have met with better success. James Macconnell, now Lord of the Isles, inherited all the animosity of his predecessor against Scotland; and, as soon as the unsettled state of his remote dominions permitted, opened a negotiation with the English monarch, and entered warmly into his views. He proposed to Henry that Lennox should be sent with an army to the Isle of Sanda beside Kentire, where he promised to join him with the whole strength of his kinsmen and allies; with Alane Maclane of Gigha, his cousin, the Clanranald, Clancameron, Clankayn, and his own surname or clan both north and south.* To these offers of this potent insular prince, the reply of Henry does not appear. They did not reach him, indeed, till the fifteenth February, 1545-6, and before he had time to open a negotiation it is probable that the attention of the monarch was engrossed by the extraordinary events which took place in Scotland.

To explain these, it will be necessary to look back for a few moments to the progress of the reformed opinions in that country. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the cardinal, and the check which they had received from the apostacy of the governor, the doctrines of the Reformation had continued, since the last cruel executions at Perth, to make a very perceptible progress. By many of those nobles, whom we have found in secret communication with England, they were openly professed; the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshal; the Lords Maxwell and Somerville; Crichton laird of Brunston, with whose intrigues we are familiar; Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, Douglas of Lang-Niddry, and many other

* Privy-council of Ireland to the Privy-council of England, 16th February, 1545, with the Lord of the Isles' letter enclosed. State-paper Office.

barons and gentlemen declared their conviction of their truth, condemned with just indignation the zeal which had kindled the flames of persecution in the country, and found an argument for the matrimonial alliance with England, in the support it must give to those who earnestly desired to see a purer faith and a more primitive worship established in Scotland. This forms the best ground for their apology in their intrigues with Henry, and their designs for the subjection of the country to England; although it is not to be concealed, that in their secret correspondence with the English monarch, the establishment of true religion is rarely alluded to as a motive of action.

In those early days of the Reformed Church its sincere converts had arisen, with few exceptions, amongst the religious orders themselves, or from the middle and lower classes of the people, men not wholly illiterate, as they have been unjustly represented, but who were led to the study of the Scriptures by their love of the truth; and over whose motives no suspicion of selfishness or of interest can be thrown. When such persons were dragged before the ecclesiastical tribunals, and refused to purchase their lives at the price of a recantation, the spectacle exhibited by their death compelled even the most indifferent spectator to some inquiry; and these inquiries led, in many cases, to conviction and conversion. Neither, during the whole of the period of which we now speak, were men exposed to such severities of persecution: Arran himself, the governor of the kingdom, was at one time a convert; and so long as he continued the profession of the reformed opinions, the Scriptures, under the authority of parliament, were openly read, the new doctrines preached by Rough and Williams within his household, and the books of

the most eminent reformers allowed to be imported into the country. His return, however, to the Roman Catholic church, produced a melancholy change; and the influence acquired over his mind by Hamilton the abbot of Paisley, had the worst effects upon the infant Reformation. His preachers, as we have seen, were dismissed; the professors of the new opinions discountenanced and persecuted; the cardinal and his party artfully represented all innovators in religion as enemies to their country—an argument, to which the conduct of the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Douglasses, gave much force; it was deemed impossible that a man should be at the same time a friend to the independence of Scotland, and a friend to the independence of the human mind; the spirit of inquiry which had begun was suddenly put down, and the people were compelled once more to submit themselves to those blind guides, who were often remarkable for little else than their ignorance and licentiousness. The Catholic church in Scotland had, indeed, in former times, been distinguished by some men who combined profound learning with a primitive simplicity of faith; even in this age it could boast of its scholars and poets; but at the period of which we now speak, its character for sanctity of manners, ecclesiastical learning, or zeal for the instruction of the people in the word of life, did not rank high; and the example of its head and ruler, Beaton, a prelate stained by open profligacy, and remarkable for nothing but his abilities as a statesman and politician, was fitted to produce the worst effects upon the great body of the inferior clergy.

Such was the state of things when, in July, 1543, George Wishart, commonly known by the name of the Martyr, returned to Scotland, in the company of

those commissioners, whom we have seen despatched for the negotiation of the marriage treaty with England.* Of his early history little is known with certainty: it is probable, that he was the son of James Wishart of Pittarro, justice-clerk to James the Fifth; and as he was patronised in youth by John Erskine of Dun, well known as one of the earliest enemies of the Roman Catholic church, to him he may have owed his instructions in the principles of the Reformation. Erskine was provost of Montrose; and here Wishart first became known as master of a school, where he evinced his zeal and learning, by an attempt to instruct his pupils in Greek, as the original language of the New Testament. This exposed him to persecution; he fled to England, preached at Bristol against the offering of prayers to the Virgin; and being condemned for that alleged heresy, openly recanted his opinions, and burnt his faggot in the church of St Nicholas in that city. This happened in 1538; his history, during the three following years, is little known; but we again find him in England, and at Cambridge, in 1543. There his character was marked by a devotion slightly tinged with ascetism, but deep and sincere; by his ample charities to the poor, his meekness to his brethren and pupils, and the universality of his learning. On the other hand, to such as despised his instructions, there was about him a zeal and severity of reproof, which irritated the wicked, and sometimes even exposed his life to danger. Such, at least, is the description given of him by an affectionate pupil, who had spent a year

* This date of his arrival is important, as it marks the commencement of his preaching, and has been mistaken by Knox, and all our ecclesiastical historians. All are agreed that Wishart arrived with the commissioners, and they certainly arrived in the interval between the 16th and the 31st of July, 1543. This may be seen by comparing Sadler, vol. i. p. 235, with pp. 242, 243-245.

under his tuition ; and it is confirmed by Knox, his early disciple.

It may easily be imagined, that the appearance at this time of such a man in Scotland was calculated to produce important effects. On his return, his chief supporters were the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Earl Marshal, Sir George Douglas, and the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, and Calder. Protected by their presence and influence, he preached in the towns of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, and Ayr, inveighing against the errors of popery, and the profligacy of the churchmen, with a severity and eloquence which made frequent converts, and led in some cases to acts of popular violence. At Dundee, the houses of the Black and Gray Friars were destroyed ;* similar attacks were attempted, but suppressed in the capital ; and, when a regard for the preservation of peace and order induced the civil authorities to interfere, Wishart did not hesitate to threaten them with those denunciations of coming vengeance, by some writers pronounced prophetic ; but for which there is no evidence that their author claimed this distinction. He enjoyed, it is to be remembered, the confidential intimacy, nay, we have reason to believe, that his councils influenced the conduct of Cassillis, Glencairn, Brunston, and the party which were now the advisers of Henry's intended hostilities : a circumstance which will perfectly account for the obscure warnings of the preacher without endowing him with inspiration.†

* Hamilton Papers quoted by Chalmers, *Life of Mary*, vol. ii. p. 403.

† It was a little before the 4th of September, 1543, that the riots took place at Dundee ; and, though Knox does not give the date, we may presume, with a near approach to certainty, that it was at this time Wishart was interdicted from preaching in that city. Now, a week only before this, Cassillis, Glencairn, Angus, and Maxwell, with all their adherents, were mustering their forces for a great effort, and had advised Henry the Eighth

From the time of his arrival in the summer, 1543, for more than two years Wishart appears to have remained in Scotland, protected by the barons who were then in the interest of Henry, and who favoured the doctrines of the Reformation. Of his personal history during this period, little is known. He continued his denunciations of the Roman Catholic superstitions, and inveighed with so much eloquence against the corrupt lives of the churchmen, that, incurring the extreme odium of Beaton, he is said to have twice escaped the plots which this unscrupulous prelate had laid for his life.* It was during this interval, as we have already seen, that Henry the Eighth encouraged the conspiracy of Brunston, Cassillis, Glencairn, and others, to assassinate his enemy the cardinal: of the existence of the plots against his life, Beaton was, to a certain degree, aware; and, looking with suspicion on Wishart, not only as a disseminator of forbidden doctrines, but the friend of his most mortal enemies, he earnestly laboured to apprehend him. Of all this the reformer was so well advised from the spies of the English party, that he repeatedly alluded to his approaching fate. Yet, for a considerable time, he escaped every effort made against him—nor was this surprising: when he preached, it was surrounded by mail-clad barons, and their armed retainers: since the time his life had been attempted, a two-handed sword was carried before him by some tried follower, and he himself, though

to send a main army into Scotland, Sadler, vol. i. p. 278-280; whilst the Laird of Brunston, Wishart's great friend and protector, was to be sent on a mission to that monarch from the governor. The preacher thus lived in the intimacy of those who knew that a visitation of fire and sword was already determined on Scotland; and he naturally, perhaps justifiably, availed himself of that knowledge to make a salutary impression on his hearers.

* It ought to be stated, that, in support of this assertion, we have no evidence from original or contemporary letters.

generally meek and humble, showed occasional out-breakings of a courage and fire, which marked the education of a feudal age.

At length his anticipations were accomplished. Being at Dundee, he received a message from the Earl of Cassillis and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, requesting him to meet them in Edinburgh, where they intended to make interest that he should have a public disputation with the bishops. Wishart, obeying the summons, travelled to the capital, but his friends not having met him as they promised, he kept himself concealed for some days. He could not, however, restrain his desire to address the people; and being protected by the barons of Lothian, many of whom had then embraced the reformed opinions, he preached publicly at Leith, and afterwards at Inveresk, where Sir George Douglas declared his approbation of the doctrine, and his resolution to defend the person of the teacher. It was at this time, also, that John Knox, already in middle life, became deeply affected by his instructions, and eagerly attached himself to his society.*

During these transactions, the governor and the cardinal arrived in Edinburgh; and Wishart's friends, Crichton of Brunston, and Cockburn of Ormiston, considering his residence at Leith unsafe, removed him to West Lothian, where he remained concealed, in expectation of the arrival of Cassillis.† It is possible that the reformer was ignorant of the true character of Brunston,—a dark and busy intriguer, who, for more than two years, had been organizing a conspiracy for the assassination of the cardinal. But if Wishart knew nothing of this, Beaton, as we have seen, was

* Knox's History, p. 52.

† Spottiswood's History, pp. 76, 77, 78. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 42-78.

aware of the escapes he had made, and the snares still preparing against him ; and when he heard that the preacher was in the neighbourhood, living under the protection of Brunston, waiting for the arrival of Cassillis, who had also offered to assassinate him, and about to hold a meeting with his enemies at Edinburgh, we are not to be surprised that he determined on his instant apprehension. That the reformer was aware of his danger is certain, for he alluded to it : Cassillis had failed to meet him ; the power of his enemies was increasing ; his congregations began to fall away, yet he resolved, amid all discouragements, once more to address the people, and, in his last and most remarkable sermon, delivered at Haddington, alluded to the miseries about to fall upon the country. He then took a solemn farewell of his audience, and set out for the house of Ormiston, accompanied by Brunston, Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston. At this moment Knox pressed to his side, and eagerly desired to accompany him, offering to bear the two-handed sword, as he was wont ; but Wishart affectionately dismissed him. “Nay,” said he, “return to your pupils : one is sufficient for a sacrifice.” At Ormiston that night he appeared unusually cheerful, addressed the friends assembled round him after supper, taking for his subject the death of God’s children, and, after having sung a psalm, retired to rest. At midnight the house was surrounded by a party of soldiers ; a loud voice from without, which was immediately recognised as that of the Earl of Bothwell, summoned its inmates to surrender ; and Wishart, awakening with the clang of arms in the court, at once apprehended the cause, and resolved to submit.* Resistance, indeed, would

* Knox’s History, pp. 53, 54.

have been hopeless: the cardinal, by whom Bothwell had been sent, was within a mile, at the head of five hundred men; and Wishart, after an assurance that his life and person should be safe, surrendered himself to his captors. He was instantly carried to Elphinston, where Beaton lay, who, finding that one victim only was taken, sent with the utmost expedition to seize his companions. In the confusion, Brunston escaped to the neighbouring woods, whilst Cockburn and Sandilands were apprehended, and shut up in the castle of Edinburgh. Meanwhile, Bothwell carried his prisoner to Hailes, his own residence, and, for some time, appeared resolved to keep his promise: but, at last, the incessant importunity of Beaton, and the expectation of a high reward, got the better of his resolution, and the mean and mercenary baron delivered his victim into the hands of the cardinal.*

Having secured him, Beaton was not of a temper to hesitate in his measures, or adopt a middle course. He summoned a council of the bishops and dignified clergy to meet at St Andrew's; requested the governor to nominate a judge whose presence might give a civil sanction to their proceedings; and, being refused by the timidity or humanity of Arran, determined to proceed on his own authority.† The alleged heretic was immediately arraigned before the spiritual tribunal, and defended his opinions meekly but firmly, and with a profound knowledge of Scripture. He appealed to the word of God as the sole rule by which he was guided in the doctrines he had taught the people; as he was ready to admit all its precepts, so was he bound, he declared, to refuse and deny everything which it

* Spottiswood's History, p. 79.

† Lesley, p. 191. Knox's History, p. 55-56.

condemned, whilst he deemed of little consequence such points as it left in obscurity. He maintained his right to preach, notwithstanding his excommunication by the church, and contended that any man, with fervent faith, and a sufficient knowledge of Scripture, might be a teacher of the word of life. He declared the insufficiency of outward ceremonies to salvation when the heart was unaffected, derided auricular confession, and admitted only such sacraments as were recorded in Scripture. Of fasting he warmly approved; upheld the Lord's Supper as a divine and comfortable institution; maintained the necessity of our fully understanding the vows taken for us in our baptism; condemned the invocation of saints, and the doctrine of purgatory as unscriptural; and asserted his belief, that, immediately after death, the soul would pass into a state of immortal life and unfading felicity. Whilst he defended his own creed, supporting it by a constant reference to Scripture, he did not hesitate to stigmatize the doctrine of his opponents in unmeasured terms; pronouncing it "pestilential, blasphemous, and abominable, not proceeding from the inspiration of God, but the suggestions of the devil." The result of all this was easy to be anticipated; Wishart was found guilty of heresy, and sentenced to be burned. The trial took place at St Andrew's; and no time was lost in carrying the sentence into effect.*

On the twenty-eighth of March, he was led from the prison, with a rope about his neck, and a large chain round his middle, to the place of execution, in front of the castle, which was the archiepiscopal palace of the cardinal. Here a scaffold had been raised, with a high stake firmly fixed in the midst of it. Around it were

* Knox's History, pp. 59-66, inclusive.

piled bundles of dry faggots; beside them stood an iron grate containing the fire, and near it the solitary figure of the executioner. Nor did it escape the observation of the dense and melancholy crowd which had assembled, that the guns of the fortress were brought to bear directly on the platform, whilst the gunners stood with their matches beside them;—a jealous precaution, suggested, perhaps, by the attempt of Duncan to deliver the reformer Hamilton, and which rendered all idea of rescue in this case perfectly hopeless. On arriving at the place, Wishart beheld these horrid preparations, which brought before him the agony he was to suffer, with an unmoved countenance; mounted the scaffold firmly, and addressed a short speech to the people, in which he exhorted them not to be offended at the word of God, by the sight of the torments which it seemed to have brought upon its preacher, but to love it, and suffer patiently for it any persecution which the sin of unbelieving men might suggest.* He declared that he freely forgave all his enemies, not excepting the judges who had unjustly condemned him. The executioner came up to him at this moment, fell on his knees, and begged his forgiveness with much earnestness, as he was not guilty of his death: “Most willingly do I tender it,” said Wishart, and kissed him—“Now be of good courage, my heart, and do thine office; thou hast received a token that I forgive thee.” He then knelt down and prayed audibly:—“O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me; Father of Heaven, into thy hands I commit my spirit.” Having thrice repeated these words, he arose from his knees, and declared, without any perceptible emotion, that he was ready. The hooks were then fixed in the iron

* Knox, p. 64. Spottiswood, p. 82.

chain which was girt round his loins ; and being raised on the gibbet, and the faggots kindled, he was first strangled by the rope, which was pulled tightly round his neck, and then consumed to ashes.*

It was impossible for the people to behold unmoved so cruel an execution. It was remembered also, that the governor had refused his concurrence,—that the sanction of the civil authority had been withheld; and the fate of Wishart was pronounced unjust and illegal. That many of his opinions were such as the Church deemed heretical could not be denied; but men had now begun to appeal to the word of God, as the test of the truth; and to be subjected to such inhuman torments for the declaration of precepts believed to be founded on the Bible, was esteemed monstrous. The courage, meekness, and patience with which the reformer had borne his sufferings, produced a deep effect, and the invariable results of persecution were soon discernible in a spirit of increasing investigation, a revulsion from the tyranny of power, and a steady progress in the new opinions.

But amid lamentations for their favourite preacher, deeper feelings were mingled; whispers of revenge began to circulate amongst the people; hints were thrown out that God would not long suffer such cruelty to go unpunished; and, in those days of ignorance, when a stern fanaticism was mingled in the same minds with the darkness and cruelty of a feudal age, an opinion began to be entertained, that the example of the Old Testament heroes, in cutting off a determined persecutor, was not unworthy of imitation. Such sentiments were not lost upon those men, who, under the influence of far baser motives, had, as we have seen, already

* Knox's History, p. 68-69. Spottiswood's History, pp. 81, 82.

organized a conspiracy for the assassination of the cardinal. Cassillis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, Crichton of Brunston, with the Laird of Grange and the Master of Rothes, had been prevented by various causes from accomplishing their purpose; the difficulty of binding Henry the Eighth to a direct promise of reward, and the discernment of Beaton, who, although he could not wholly discover, detected the working of some dark purpose against his life, had interrupted and balked the authors of the plot; and they hailed the feelings excited by the fate of Wishart, as a new means placed in their hands for the accelerating the catastrophe which they so ardently desired.

With the people Beaton had formerly been popular, as the determined enemy of England; but they now openly inveighed against his cruelty. John Lesley, brother of the Earl of Rothes, did not hesitate to declare, in public, that he would have blood for blood; and his nephew Norman Lesley, with Kirkaldy of Grange, had entered into a close correspondence with England.* With these, others of inferior name, but of higher honesty, were associated; and it cannot be doubted, that some men, who, before the death of Wishart, would have spurned at any proposal of an association with persons whose motives were so mercenary, were induced, after that event, to applaud, and even to join in their attempt. Of all these circumstances, Brunston and his friends were not slow to avail themselves: nor are we to forget, that if their minds had been already made up on the necessity of ridding themselves of the cardinal, the desire of avenging the fate of their friend must have whetted their slumbering purpose to new activity.

* Knox's History, p. 70. Spottiswood's History, p. 82.

It is probable that Beaton, naturally presumptuous, disregarded any open threats, as the ebullition of impotent resentment; the voice of his flatterers amongst the clergy declared, that his salutary severity had saved the Church; he was strong in the alliance of France; the schemes of the English faction had latterly been unsuccessful; and it is said, that, adopting a practice common in that age, he had strengthened himself by procuring bonds of manrent from Norman Lesley, and many of the most powerful nobles. Soon after the death of Wishart, he took a progress into Angus, and was present at the marriage of one of his natural daughters, Margaret Bethune, to David Lindsaymaster of Crawford, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Finhaven castle, the prelate bestowing upon the bride a dowry little inferior to that of a princess.*

When absent on this festive occasion, intelligence was brought, that Henry the Eighth was urging forward his preparations for a new invasion; and he hurried to Fife, with the object of fortifying his castle of St Andrew's, which he dreaded might be made a principal point of attack, and of procuring the barons whose estates were contiguous to the coast, to strengthen it against the enemy. In the last invasion, the country, without a blow, had been abandoned to indiscriminate devastation; and having resolved to prevent a repetition of such disgrace, he summoned a meeting of the neighbouring gentry to consult on the best means for the defence of the kingdom.

In the midst of these exertions, he seems to have forgotten the secret enemies by whom he was surrounded, whilst they continued more warily than before to hold correspondence with England. In his last letters, the

* Knox's History, p. 70.

Laird of Brunston, whose mortal enmity to Beaton has been amply shown, complained to Lord Wharton, that the King of England was neither sufficiently definite in his commands, nor explicit in his promises of reward; but he expressed, at the same time, the readiness of his friends to serve the king, his wish to have a meeting with Lord Wharton in the most secret manner, as a discovery might cost him both life and heritage, and his fervent expectation, that although Beaton now intended a voyage to France it would be cut short.* There seems, however, reason to believe, that, although the designs for the assassination of the prelate had been long maturing, and were thus gradually gathering round him, a private quarrel between him and Norman Lesley, precipitated their accomplishment. This young baron, known by the name of the Master of Rothés, had resigned to Beaton, on the promise of a valuable equivalent, the estate of Easter Wemyss in Fife.† In the meeting at St Andrew's, he claimed the stipulated reward, and receiving what he deemed an equivocal reply, remonstrated with freedom; warm words followed: the cardinal complained of insulted dignity; and Norman, answering with scorn, departed in deep wrath. Repairing to his uncle, John Lesley, he complained of the injury he had sustained, and both were of opinion, that after what had passed delay would be dangerous. Messages were accordingly sent to the Laird of Grange, and others whose readiness to join in the attempt had, we may presume, been already

* At this moment (20th October, 1545) our best guides, the State Papers, unfortunately fail us, and the rest of the history of Beaton's death is to be gathered from less authentic sources. That these friends of Brunston, so willing to obey the commands of Henry, were the same men who had formerly offered, through Brunston, to slay the cardinal, there seems little reason to doubt.

† Spottiswood's History, p. 82.

ascertained ; and it was determined, that the murder should be committed without delay.

On the evening of the twenty-eighth of May, Norman Lesley came, with only five followers, to St Andrew's, and rode, without exciting suspicion, to his usual inn. William Kirkaldy of Grange was there already ; and they were soon joined by John Lesley, who took the precaution of entering the town after nightfall, as his appearance, from his known enmity to Beaton, might have raised alarm. Next morning, at daybreak, the conspirators assembled in small detached knots, in the vicinity of the castle ; and the porter having lowered the drawbridge to admit the masons employed in the new works, Norman Lesley and three men with him passed the gates, and inquired if the cardinal was yet awake ? This was done without suspicion ; and as they were occupied in conversation, James Melville, Kirkaldy of Grange, and their followers, entered unnoticed : but, on perceiving John Lesley, who followed, the porter instantly suspected treason ; and springing to the drawbridge, had unloosed its iron fastening, when the conspirator Lesley anticipated his purpose by leaping across the gap. To despatch him with their daggers, cast the body into the fosse, and seize the keys of the castle, employed but a few minutes ; and all was done with such silence as well as rapidity, that no alarm had been given. With equal quietness the workmen who laboured on the ramparts were led to the gate and dismissed ; Kirkaldy, who was acquainted with the castle, then took his station at a private postern, through which alone any escape could be made ; and the rest of the conspirators going successively to the apartments of the different gentlemen who formed the prelate's household, awoke them, and threatening

instant death, if they spoke, led them, one by one, to the outer wicket, and dismissed them unhurt. In this manner a hundred workmen and fifty household servants were disposed of by a handful of men, who, closing the gates, and dropping the portcullis, were complete masters of the castle.* Meanwhile Beaton, the unfortunate victim, against whom all this hazard had been encountered, was still asleep; but awakening and hearing an unusual bustle, he threw on a nightgown, and drawing up the window of his bedchamber, inquired what it meant. Being answered that Norman Lesley had taken the castle, he rushed to the private postern; but, seeing it already guarded, returned speedily to his apartment, seized his sword, and, with the assistance of his page, barricaded the door on the inside with his heaviest furniture. John Lesley now coming up, demanded admittance. "Who are you?" said the cardinal. "My name," he replied, "is Lesley." "Is it Norman?" asked the unhappy man, remembering probably the bond of manrent; "I must have Norman; he is my friend." "Nay, I am not Norman," answered the ruffian, "but John, and with me ye must be contented;" upon which he called for fire, and was about to apply it to the door, when it was unlocked from within. The conspirators now rushed in; and Lesley and Carmichael throwing themselves furiously upon their victim, who earnestly implored mercy, stabbed him repeatedly. But Melville, a milder fanatic, who professed to murder, not from passion, but religious duty, reproved their violence: "This judgment of God," said he, "ought to be executed with gravity, although in secret;" and presenting the point

* Knox's History, p. 71-72. Letter, James Lindsay to Lord Wharton.—State-paper Office.—See Illustrations to this vol. pp. 390. 391.—Remarks on the Murder of Beaton.

of his sword to the bleeding prelate, he called on him to repent of his wicked courses, and especially of the death of the holy Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood they were now sent by God. "Remember," said he, "that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the Holy Gospel." On his saying this, he repeatedly passed his sword through the body of his unresisting victim, who sunk down from the chair to which he had retreated, and instantly expired.*

The alarm had now risen in the town; the common bell was rung; and the citizens, with their provost, running in confused crowds to the side of the fosse, demanded admittance, crying out, that they must instantly speak with my lord cardinal. They were answered from the battlements that it would be better for them to disperse, as he whom they called for could not come to them, and would not trouble the world any longer. This, however, only irritated them the more, and being urgent that they would speak with him, Norman Lesley reprov'd them as unreasonable fools, who desired an audience of a dead man; and dragging the body to the spot, hung it by a sheet over the wall, naked, ghastly, and bleeding from its recent wounds. "There," said he, "there is your god; and now that ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses," a command which the people instantly obeyed.†

Thus perished Cardinal David Beaton, the most powerful opponent of the reformed religion in Scotland, by an act which some authors, even in the present

* Knox's History, p. 71-72. Lesley, p. 191.

† Spottiswood's History, p. 83.

day, have scrupled to call murder. To these writers the secret and long-continued correspondence of the conspirators with England was unknown : a circumstance, perhaps, to be regretted, as it would have spared some idle and angry reasoning. By its disclosure we have been enabled to trace the secret history of these iniquitous times, and it may now be pronounced, without fear of contradiction, that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart; but an act of long projected murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English monarch ; and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary considerations.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LETTER A.

*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland.**

Authenticity of the First Part of this Work.

THE frequent references in the text to the first part of this work, as an original and valuable authority, renders it necessary to explain the reasons which have led the author to form a different opinion of its authenticity from that given by its learned editor. In the Prefatory Notice to the volume, there is this sentence, "to those who are at all acquainted with the minute details of Scottish history in the sixteenth century, a very slight perusal of the work will suggest, that in its different parts it is of very unequal value. From the era of the battle of Flodden, and the death of King James the Fourth, in the year 1513, at which it commences, down to the termination of the government of the Earl of Arran in 1553, its details, comparatively meagre and occasionally inaccurate, are obviously not recorded by a contemporary chronicler, but must have been derived from tradition and other imperfect sources. Yet, even in this first and least valuable portion of the work, will be found many minute facts and notices that would be vainly looked for in the ordinary histories of the reign of King James the Fifth, and the first ten years of the reign of Queen Mary."† In pronouncing this first portion of the *Diurnal of Occurrents* the work, not of a contemporary chronicler, but of some subse-

* Published by the Bannatyne Club.

† Preface, p. 1.

quent writer, deriving his materials from tradition, and other imperfect sources, the editor appears to me to have fallen into an error, which could scarcely have been avoided by one who compared the *Diurnal of Occurrents* with our earlier historians, Lesley and Buchanan, or even with the later volumes of Maitland. It not only is contradicted by them in some important particulars, but it contains events, and these not minute, but grave and material facts, which are not to be found in either of these authors. These events, however, can be proved to have occurred by evidence, of which the authenticity is unimpeachable; and it is the discovery of their perfect truth which has induced me to consider the greater portion of the first part of the *Chronicle*, entitled the "*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*," as the work of a contemporary, who wrote from his own knowledge, and not a compilation from traditionary sources. I say the greater portion, because such a character belongs not to the whole of the first part; and it seems probable that this valuable original matter has fallen into the hands of some later and ignorant compiler, who, preserving the purer ore, has in some places mixed it up with erroneous additions of his own.

To support these conclusions, let me give some proofs; the years 1543, 1544, occurring in the Regency of Arran, form an obscure era in our history; and did we possess no other guides than the common historians, Lesley, Buchanan, or Maitland, we should be left in a maze of confusion and contradiction. The revolutions in state affairs are so sudden and so frequent during this period; the changes in the politics and the conduct of the different factions so rapid and so apparently contradictory; that without some more authentic assistants, the task of unravelling or explaining them would be hopeless. It is upon this period that the original correspondence in the State-paper Office throws a flood of clear and useful light, introducing us to the actors in these changes, not through any second-hand or suspected sources, but by supplying us with their original letters to Henry the Eighth, and his ministers. Now, to come from this observation to the work entitled the *Diurnal of Occurrents*. When it is found that it, and it only, contains various facts, demonstrated by these original letters to be true, and which sometimes are not mentioned, sometimes are positively contradicted by our general historians; such a circumstance must create a strong presumption in favour of its value and authenticity; that a work, which stands this severe test, should have been, not a contemporary, but a later production, compiled from tradition, and imperfect sources, seems to me nearly impossible.

To take an example from the period already mentioned. In the year 1544, in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 33, we find this passage:—

—“ Upon the thrid day of Junii, there was ane general counsall haldin at Stirling, quhairat was all the nobelles of Scotland, exceptand the Erle of Lennox and Glencairn; quhair the governor was dischargit of his auctorite; and maid proclamation through the realm, that nane obeyit him as governor; and als thair thei chesit thrie erlis, thrie lords, thrie bishops, thrie abbotes to be the secreit counsall; quhilk lastet not lang, for everie lord ded for his awin particular profit, and tuk na heid of the commonweill; but tholet the Inglismen, and theivis to overrin this realm.” In the same chronicle, p. 34, is this sentence,—“ Upon the last day of Julii, there was ane Parliament sould have been halden in Edinburgh; and the governor, with his complices furneist the town, and held it, becaus he gat word the queenis grace drowarie was cummit out of Striveling to the Parliament; becaus thair yet being in hir company was full of dissait, sho past to Stirling with meikle ordinance and swa the Parliament was stayit.” Again, in the same chronicle, p. 36, we find this passage,—“ Upon the 5th day, (1544,) the governor held ane parliament in Edinburgh.—Upon the 12th of November, the queen’s grace drowrrier [dowager] held ane parliament in Striveling, and thereafter the parties suld have met, and stayet in hope of aggreance, and the cardinal raid betwix them, quha come to Edinburgh and tuke the governor to Stirling with him, quhair gude aggreance was made to be bund to hir grace, and twentee four Lordis counsall.” It will be at once perceived, that these passages embody the history of an important revolution, which, for nearly six months changed the whole face of affairs in Scotland. In May 1544, Arran was the unchallenged governor of the kingdom; in June, the queen-dowager arose against him, was joined by the whole body of the peers excepting Lennox and Glencairn, held a general council at Stirling, in which he was discharged from his office, made proclamation through the realm, that none should obey him, and appointed a new secret council for the management of the affairs of the state. In July, as is shown by the second extract, an attempt was made by Arran, who still claimed the name and authority of governor to hold a parliament in Edinburgh; but the queen-dowager advanced with great force to the city; the governor fortified it against her; she retreated to Stirling, and the parliament was delayed. Three months after this, in the beginning of November, Arran, the governor, assembled a parliament at Edinburgh; the queen issued writs for a rival parliament, to be held on the 12th of the same month at Stirling; and the cardinal dreading the effects of this miserable disunion, acted as a peace-maker between the two parties, and at length brought them to an agreement.

Now, of these very important events, no notice whatever was to be

found in our general historians; nay, the tenor of their narratives seemed to contradict them; the question, therefore, at once came to the credibility of the Diurnal of Occurrents. In this dilemma I was delighted (the reader, who knows the satisfaction of resting, in researches of this nature, upon an authentic document, will pardon the warmth of the expression) to meet with the following paper in the State-paper Office, which, it will be seen, completely corroborated the assertion of the Diurnal as to the deprivation of the governor. It is dated June 1544, and entitled "Copy.—Agreement of the principal Scots nobility, to support the authority of the queen-mother as regent of Scotland against the Earl of Arran, declared by this instrument to be deprived of his office." This valuable paper in its entire state, will be given in the forthcoming volume of State Papers relative to Scotland, published by government. In the meantime, the following extract will be sufficient for my purpose. After stating the fact of a convention having been held at Stirling on the 3d of June; it proceeds thus to describe their deliberations and proceedings. "After long and mature consultation had, in the said matiers, by the space of iii. or iv. daies contynually, fynally [they] fand that oon great part why inobedience hath ben within this realme, sithins the king's grace's, and that other inconveniences which have happened, was, and is in my lord governor, and his counsaile, that was chosen to have ben with him for the time: and for remedye herof in times comyng, and that perfit obedience maie be to our soverain ladie's anthorite, [that] unite, concorde, and amitee maie be hadd among all our soverain ladie's lieges, and speciallie among the great men; and that they maie convent at all times to give their counsaile in all matiers concernyng the quene's grace our soverain ladye, and her realme; and that justice maie be doon and executed among the lieges therof; and that resistance maie be made to our ennymies: They all, without variaunce, consulted and deliberated, that the quene's grace, our soverain ladye's mother, shulde be egall with him therintill; and that oon great counsaile, adjoynd with my lord governor in the using of th' auctoritie of government in all times comyng, shulde be chosen, of xvi. persones—xii. of them the greatest erles and temporal lords of the realme, and iv. spiritual men, as in the deliveraunce mad therupon the vi.th daie of the saide month of Junii, is at more leugh conteyned. The whiche deliveraunce and counsaile was shewen and declared to my lorde Governor, before the quene's grace and the whole lords, the saide vi.th daie of Junii. And the lords who devised the same, praied my lord governor that he wold consent therto, both for his owne weale and for the weale of our soverain ladye the quene, and of the whole realme, for divers causes and respects particularly appointed

and declared; and specially, because the quene's grace our soverain ladie's motler is a noble ladye of highe linage and bludde, of great wisdom, and haile of lief, having the king of Ffrance, and the greattest nobles of that realme, and others about hyr, tendre kynsmen and friends, who will be the more readye to supporte the realme for defense of the same if hyr grace be well favoured and honored by the nobles therof, and holden in honor and dignitie; and also, because the whole nobles have there special confidence in hyr grace, and doo think them sure to convene in any place where hyr grace is present. My lord Governor tuke to be advised while the morne at even, viz. the vii.th daie of the saide monith, and then to give the answer. Attour, that same daie incontinent the saide deliveraunce and consultacion was shewen to the remanent of the lords, both prelates, erles, lords, barons, and other noble men of the realme personallie present, who being all singularlie asked of their opinion, declared, ilk man for himselfe, that the saide deliveraunce and consultacion was good and for the common weale of this realme: and therefore affirmed the same. The which vii.th daie being bepast, and noon answer made nor sent by my lorde Governor on the premises, and aftrē diverse messages sent to him of the lords of Counsaile, and nothing reaported again but vayne delaies: The lords of Counsaile, upon the ix.th daie of the saide moneth, directed furth our soverain ladie's (letres) to require my saide lorde Governor to compare in the said Graye ffrers place of Striveling, where the said convencion is holden, upon the x.th daie of the said moneth, to accept and consent to the saide ordinaunce and articles, and to concurre with the quene's grace in th' administration of the government with th' advise and counsaile of the lords; with certification, that if he faileth it, the lords wolde determyn him to be suspended from th' administration of his offices, and wolde provide howe the same shulde be used in time to coom while further remeadie weare founde therto, as in the saide letres directed therupon more fully is conteyned. At the which x.th daie of Junii the lords convented in the fratre of the said graie ffreers, and there consulted upon the matiers concerning the commonwealefande, and awayted upon the coming of my lord governor, and upon his answer, for a x houres before noon while xii howers was stryken. And he neither compared by himself, nor sent his answer to accept and consent to the said ordinaunces and statutes there. Than the lords gave their decrete, decerning my lord Governor *to be suspended, and suspending him from th' administration of his offices*, while further remeadie weare funde therfor. And because of the urgent necessite of the realme, and invading of the same by our old ennymies of England, and for the furthe setting of our soverain

ladie's auctorite, and perfit obedience to be had therto, unitie concord to be had among all them of this realme both great and smale without th' administration of the governement weare put in soom persones hands most convenient therfor, the saide lords, without variance, have thought noo other persone more convenient therto nor the quene's grace our soverain ladie's mother, for the good and urgent causes before expressed. And therefore have chosen hyr grace to use and minister in the saide office of governement, with th' advise of the lords of counsaile conforme to the acts and ordinaunces made therupon of before, while further remedye be made herto. And hyr grace hath accept the same in and upon hyr to be used with th' advise of the saide lords as said is. And bicause hir grace can not doo the same without she be starklie mainteyned and defended therintyll, Therefore we archbishoppes, bishoppes, erles, lords, barons, abbotts, and others noble men whose names hereafter subscribed, doo bynd and oblige us, and promitt by the faithes in our bodies, and have gyven our aithles herupon, that we shall maintein and defende the quene's grace our soverain ladie's mother in the using and administracion of th' office of governement and th' auctorite in all things. And we shall gyve unto hyr our best counsaile in all things. And shall resist with our bodies and friends and our hole substance to all them that will impugne or comen in the contrarie therof undre the payne of perjurie and infamy. And also ilk oon of us shall tak afalde part with others, without excus or fenzeing in this matier and defense therof. Undre the paine aforseide.

“ Gawen of Glasgow.
 Patrick Morvinen.
 Willm of Dumblane.
 Ro. Orchaden : Epis.
 T. Commendator of Driburt,
 De. de Cuper, V. de Culros.
 Archbald Erle of Anguss.
 Erle Bothwile.
 Willm Erle of Montross.
 Willm Lord Sanchar.
 Robart Maxwell.
 George Erle of Huntlie.
 G. Erle of Caslis.
 Erle of Merschell.
 John Erle of Mentieth.
 Hew lord Somerwell.
 George Duglass.

Erle of Murray.
 Archd Erle of Argile.
 George Erle of Erroll.
 John lord Erskin.
 Willm lord of Sanct John.
 Malcum lorde chalmerlane.
 Hew lord Lovett.
 Schir John Campbell of Cawder, Kgt.*

This extract settles the point as to correctness of the Diurnal in its narrative of the revolution of the 3d of June. Next came the question regarding the rival parliaments, the meeting of the three Estates at Edinburgh, by summons of the governor, on the 5th of November, and the meeting of the parliament at Stirling, by summons of the queen-regent, on the 12th of the same month: upon this point the correspondence in the State-paper Office was silent; but fortunately the evidence of the Acts of the Scottish parliament establishes the accuracy of the facts stated in the Diurnal of Occurrents. In the second volume of the Acts, p. 445, we find that the governor Arran held a parliament at Edinburgh on the 6th of November; and one of the acts then passed by the three Estates is thus entitled,—“Deliverance annulling ane Proclamation be the Queen’s Moder, and certain Lordis, of ane pretendit parliament, and of certane other pretendit actis.” In turning to the act we find the whole narrative of the Diurnal thus fully corroborated. It states, that “the queen mother (I use the modern spelling) to our sovereign lady, with a part of lords and others our sovereign lady’s lieges, ill-advised, has caused proclaim a pretended parliament to be held at the burgh of Stirling, the 12th day of November, instant, with continuation of days, without any sufficient authority;” after this preamble, the decision of the three Estates is thus given,—“the whole three Estates of parliament, with the votes of many others, nobles, barons, and gentlemen, being present, has declared, and declares the said pretended parliament to be held at Stirling, as said is, and the pretended summons raised against my lord Governor, in their manner, to have been and to be, from the beginning, of none avail, force, nor effect. And such like all pretended acts maid at Stirling regarding the suspending of my lord Governor from the administration of his said office, and discharging him of his aucturity in their manner.” The evidence contained in this statute so clearly proves the accuracy of the Diurnal of Occurrents, that upon this point any other remark would be superfluous.

* In the State-paper Office; now published for the first time.

A second proof of the authenticity of the same work is to be found in the accuracy of the account there given of the intrigues of the Douglasses and their treasonable correspondence with England, at a time when our general historians know nothing of any such matters, Here the Diurnal of Occurrents maintains its character for truth, when examined by the severest of all tests, the original correspondence of the principal actors in the events. Of this I shall give a striking example. In the Diurnal, pp. 39, 40, is an account of that abortive invasion of the governor, (August 10, 1545,) in which he broke into England with an army of thirty thousand men, and again on the third day thereafter, the 13th of August, was compelled to return home. Now, on this occasion, the Diurnal ascribes the failure of the expedition, and the retreat and dispersion of the army, to the deceit and treachery of George Douglas and his party.* The dispersion of the Scottish army is thus mentioned, p. 39 :—"Upon the nynt [ninth] day of August, the governor with his company made their musters on Fawnrig Mure to the number of 30,000 men by [besides] the Frenchmen whilk [which] were 3000. And the same day at even they passed in England, and burnt Cornwall and Tilmouth, Edderslie, Brankston, with sendrie othere towns thereabouts, and there did no other thing to their lak and dishonour." "Upon the tenth day of August, the said Scottis was pairted [divided] in three battles [battalia], in the vanguard the Earl of Angus, Marshall, Errol, Glencairn, and Cassillis, Lords Gray, Glammes, and Yester; in the rereward Erles Huntly, Bothwell, Lords Ruthven, Drummond, Borthwick, Fleming, Home; in the middle ward the Governor, with the body of the realme and Frenchmen, with twa wings, the ane [one] Lord Seton, the Laird of Bass, and many other gentlemen, the other the Laird of Buccleugh, with all Liddesdale and Teviotdale; and on this order they raid [rode] in England, and burnt Tweesdale, Grendonrig, the great tower, Newbigging, and Dudie, with the towers thereof; and there was on the Pethrig of Englishmen 6000 [had] the Scots followed with speed, they had vanquished all the said Englishmen. Upon the 13th day of August, the Scottish men come hame,

* The retreat from Coldingham is ascribed to the same cause, "On the morne [morrow] the Scots without any skaith [harm] fled misorderlie. The Englishmen persevand this, twa thousand of thame followit the chase to Cockburne quha durst not bide [stay] a strike. Of this host the Erle Angus had the wangaird [vanguard], there was with him the Erles of Cassillis, Glencairne, the Lords Somerville, Yester, the sheriff of Ayr quha [who] did but feebly; in the rear was the Earl of Bothwell quha baid [abided] stiffly quhill [until] he might no more. George Douglas had the wyte [blame] hereof, for he said the Englishmen were ten thousand men, lye within the said town: the invention [artifice] was saissit on chance by the Erle of Bothwell.

through the deceit of George Douglas, and the vanguard, who would not pass again through his tyisting."

Such is the history of this remarkable invasion given in the Diurnal, and to this narrative the same observation may be applied which was already made regarding the revolution in 1544, namely, that such an explanation of the cause of its failure is new to Scottish history and to be found in the Diurnal alone. We find no mention of any such thing in Lesley, Maitland, or Buchanan. How, then, are we to discover the truth upon this subject? Simply by going to the letters of the actors themselves, which describe these events, and are fortunately accessible. In the State-paper Office we find an original despatch from the Earl of Hertford, and the Council of the north to Henry the Eighth, in which, after detailing the plan of his proposed invasion, he encloses a letter in cipher which he had received from George Douglas and the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Marshal. It may be well to give Hertford's description of the mode in which this letter was conveyed to him, as it contains a curious illustration of the extreme caution with which this secret correspondence between Henry the Eighth and the Douglasses was carried on. "After this device of the said proclamation, one Thomas Forster, who was of late, by your majestie's commandment, at the desire of the Earls of Angus and Cassillis, George Douglas and others, sent to them into Scotland, came hither to me the said earl, and showed me a letter sent to him from one Sym Penango, servant to George Douglas, of such effect as your majesty may perceive by the same letter here inclosed; upon the sight whereof I willed the said Thomas Forster to go and speke with the said Penango according to his desire, with whom he hath been at the place appoynted between them, where he received of the said Penango a letter in cipher, sent him from George Douglas, which we have deciphered, and send both the cipher and the decipher to your majesty herewith."* The letter here described not only establishes the fact of the general treasonable correspondence between Henry and the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, Marshal, George Douglas, and others, which is mentioned in the "Diurnal," but contains this remarkable passage relative to the expedition of Arran into England, on the 9th of August, and his return home on the 13th of the same month, which, in the same work, is ascribed to the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard. "Further, as to this last journey of ours, it was advised by the queen, cardinal, and this French Capitaine Lorges Montgomery. Huntly fortified this army at his power. Notwithstanding, at short, all that they devised *was stopped by us that are the king's friends.*

* Orig. State-paper Office; not before published.

Their whole intent was to have besieged the king's houses, unto the time they had gotten bargain, *but all was stopt, whereof they stood nothing content.*"* Now, looking to the passage above in the Diurnal, we find it there asserted that the expedition was ruined "thro the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard." We know, from the same work, that in the vanguard were the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Marshal, with others. The journey or invasion took place on the 10th of August, the retreat on the 13th, and here on the 25th of the same month, we have a letter from George Douglas, and the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Marshal, in which they declare to the Earl of Hertford, that the whole expedition was stopped by them, and claim credit for it with the English king. This coincidence offers a fine example of the corroboration of an ancient chronicle by the original correspondence of the times; and the learned editor of the Diurnal will readily allow, that a work thus corroborated could not have been compiled from traditional and imperfect sources, but must have been the production, not only of a contemporary writer, but of one minutely and accurately informed in the history of the times. It is for this reason I have quoted it as an original authority, and have preferred any information it communicates to the vague, loose, and imaginary details of the general historians of this period. Other instances might be given of the accuracy of the first part of the Diurnal when checked by the correspondence of the times, but my limits will not permit me. That there are occasional errors in the narrative is not to be disputed; but they may be chiefly traced, I think, to the ignorance or carelessness of the transcribers of the manuscript.

LETTER B, page 221.

Conspiracy of Lady Glamis.

That a noble matron, in the prime of life, and of great beauty, should be tried, condemned, and burnt, for an attempt to compass the king's death by poison, and should also have the crime of witchcraft imputed to her by most of our historians, is an appalling event. In the absence of direct proof, Mr Pitcairn, in his notes upon the trial of Lady Glamis, has adopted the story told by Buchanan, book xiv. c. 54, and repeated by all following writers, with the exception of Pinkerton; he pronounces her innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and a victim of James's implacable hatred to the house of Douglas. The examination of the curious evidence which he has

* Original, State-paper Office; not before published.

published has led me to form a different opinion. As to her being justly found guilty of treason, in assisting the Earl of Angus and George Douglas, in their attempts to "invade" the king's person, and re-establish their authority in Scotland, there seems to be no question. It was natural she should support her brothers; and had her offences been confined to this, although the act was undoubtedly treason, it is probable the sentence of death would have been exchanged for banishment or imprisonment. But a little investigation will convince us, I think, that the king was not so unjust and implacable as has been imagined, nor the lady the injured and innocent woman she has been represented. Let us look a little into her life.

She married, probably about the year 1521, John, sixth Lord Glamis. He died on the 8th of August, 1528, in his thirty-seventh year; and, about four months after his death, (Dec. 1, 1528,) Lady Glamis was summoned, with Patrick Hume of Blacater, Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, and Patrick Charteris, to answer before parliament for having given assistance to the Earl of Angus in convocating the king's lieges for the invasion of his majesty's person.* These men were all bold and active partisans of the Douglasses. On September 20, 1529, we find that Lady Glamis and Patrick Charteris of Cuthelgurdy, a person who, in the interval, had been indicted to stand his trial for fire-raising and cow-lifting;† obtained a letter of license to pass to parts beyond sea, on their pilgrimage, and other lawful business.‡ Whether Patrick and the lady had gone upon their pilgrimage, does not appear, but she did not interrupt her political intrigues, and seems to have been again not only summoned, but found guilty of treason; for, on July 1, 1531, we find that Gavin Hamilton got a gift from the crown of the escheat of all the goods heritable and moveable, of Janet lady Glamis, which had been forfeited on account of her intercommuning with our sovereign lord's rebels, or for any other crimes.§

At this time she appears to have fled from justice, and we lose sight of her for some time; but, on 31st January, 1532, a far darker crime than caballing with rebels, or associating with fire-raisers, was laid to her charge. She was summoned to stand her trial at the Justice Ayre of Forfar, for the poisoning her husband Lord Glamis. The crimes of poisoning and witchcraft were then very commonly associated, as may be seen from many interesting trials in Mr Pitcairn's Collections. The great dealers in poisons were witches, and the po-

* Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 188.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 244.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 141.

§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 246.

tency of their drugs was thought to be increased by the charms and incantations with which they were concocted: hence probably the *mala fama* against Lady Glammiss, as a witch or sorceress. But however this may be, it is certain that, on February 2, and February 26, 1532, Lord Ruthven, Lord Oliphant, with the Lairds of Ardoch, Moncrieff, Tullibardine, and a great many other barons, to the number of twenty-eight, were fined for not appearing to pass upon the Lady Glammiss' jury:* and the imperfect and mutilated state of the criminal records of this period, unfortunately, leaves us in the dark as to the future proceedings upon this trial. The probability seems to be, that she was either acquitted, or the charge dropt from want of evidence. If innocent, she was certainly most unfortunate; for, on the 17th of July, 1537, she was, for the fourth time, brought to trial, found guilty of having been art and part in the conspiring the death of the king by poison, and also for her having treasonably assisted Archibald earl of Angus and George Douglas his brother, who were traitors and rebels. For this crime she was condemned to be burued at the stake, the common mode of death, as Mr Pitcairn informs us, for all females of rank in cases of treason and murder, and from which he plausibly conjectures, that the vulgar opinion of her having been burnt for a witch may have partly arisen. Her son Lord Glammiss, then only sixteen years old, her husband Archibald Campbell, a priest, and a barber named John Lyon, were tried along with her. The witnesses, as was usual in this cruel age, being examined under the rack, or *pynebaukis*, Lord Glammiss, on his own confession, was found guilty of concealing the conspiracy, and imprisoned till the death of James the Fifth, when he was restored to his estates and honours, upon the ground, that, in the fear of his life, and having the rack before his eyes, he had made a false confession.† The long extracts given by Mr Pitcairn, from the histories of Scott, (not Sir Walter Scott,) Lesley, Hume of Godscroft, and the Genealogy of the house of Drummond, seem to me scarcely worthy of the place he has assigned them,‡ and cannot be quoted as authentic evidence. Scott's story is a mere repetition of Buchanan's, with some ludicrous additions of his own—as, where he tells us, Archibald Campbell, the husband of Lady Glammiss, commanded the third regiment in the king's army. Lesley falls into blunders which Mr Pitcairn has detected; Sir James Balfour repeats them; and as for David Hume of Godscroft, none acquainted with his history will trust him, when he stands unsupported by other evidence. The only authentic, and, as

* Pitcairn's Trials, vol. i. p. 153.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 327.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 244.

I believe, contemporary account of the trials of the Master of Forbes and Lady Glammis, is to be found in the following passage from the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 22. "In this menetyme, the Master of Forbes was accusit of tressone by the Laird of Lenturk, and was put in ward in the castell of Edinburgh. In the said moneth of Julii, the Lady Glammis, sister to Archibald earl of Angus, was accusit for tressonne; her husband, Archibald Campbell of Skepnische; her son, the Lord Glammis, of sixteen yeares of age; ane barbour John Lyon, and ane priest, all accusit in the tolbooth of Edinburgh. The said lady was condamnit to be brynt quhell deid: scho deet; and her husband, sone, and the rest, ordanyt to remain in prisone in the castell of Edinburgh forsaid.*—Upon the 13th day of July, the Master of Forbes was convicted for tressonne, and drawin, hangit, and heidit."

That there is any ground on which we may conclude, that unprincipled witnesses were brought forward to give false testimony, upon which the jury were compelled to convict her, I cannot admit; still less do I perceive the proceedings to have been characterized by any savage traces of unmanly revenge upon the part of the king. On the other hand, it appears clear, that at this time the Douglasses, whose last hope of restoration had been destroyed, began to embrace desperate designs. "The letters of Penman, their secret agent," says Pinkerton (vol. ii. p. 350,) "to Sir George Douglas, his employer, betray a malice, and designs the most horrid." "The king is crazed, and ill spoken of by his people." "He has beggared all Scotland." "All are weary of him."—"James shall do the commandment of the Douglasses, God willing"—"All hate him and say he must go down"—"His glass will soon run out." These diabolical expressions against a prince in the vigour of early life, what can they insinuate but poison or the dagger? Could they be addressed to a person who did not seal them with approbation? And could a more fit or secret agent than a sister be employed to promote the interests of her family at any risk? If the reader will turn to Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, p. 190, and read the names of the jurymen who gave the verdict against her, he will scarcely admit the idea of her being innocent; and it is worthy of notice, that instead of having the least appearance of its being a packed jury, some of the leading men amongst them were friends and

* We may infer, I think, from the omission of any notice of the horrid fate of the husband of Lady Glammis, who, some time after his imprisonment, was dashed to pieces on the rocks in attempting to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, that the *Diurnal* was written at the very time of his trial. It is hardly possible, if it had been a subsequent compilation, that this circumstance, which appears in all our historians, would have been omitted. That the author was a Roman Catholic appears from a passage in p. 19.

near connexions of the Douglasses. John earl of Athole, one of the jury, married Janet, a sister of that Master of Forbes who suffered for treason at the same time as Lady Glamis, and who was a supporter of the Douglasses.—(Douglas' Peerage, p. 141, vol. i.) Robert lord Maxwell, another of the jury, it is well known, was intimately connected with the Douglasses. He married a daughter of Douglas of Drumlanrig, (Douglas, vol. ii. p. 317,) and his daughter, Margaret Maxwell, was afterwards married to Archibald earl of Angus, brother to Lady Glamis. William master of Glencairn, a third jurymen, was also nearly related to the Douglasses, and constantly of their party. His mother was Marjory, a daughter of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, a sister of Gawin Douglas, the celebrated translator of Virgil, and a grand-aunt of the Earl of Angus, and of Lady Glamis. Gilbert earl of Cassillis, another of the jurymen, and the pupil of Buchanan, was also a firm partisan of the Douglasses. Are we to believe that these men violated their oaths, and found guilty, upon false evidence, an innocent and noble lady, in whose favour they must have felt a strong bias?

Pinkerton, whilst he defends James on good grounds, too rashly pronounces the cases of the Master of Forbes and of Lady Glamis to have had no connexion with each other. There is, I think, a strong presumption to the contrary. The similarity in the charges against them, the circumstance that both were apprehended, tried, and executed within two days of each other—the Master of Forbes on Saturday the 14th of July, and Lady Glamis on Tuesday the 17th; and the fact that the object of both appears to have been to procure the restoration of the Douglasses by compassing the death of the king, are striking circumstances, and look as if both plots had been coined in the same mint. The revealer of the conspiracy of Forbes was, as we learn from the extract from the Diurnal of Occurrents, the Laird of Lenturk; and this gentleman, we find from Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 200, was Thomas Strachan. His son John Strachan, was accused as being a participator in the Master of Forbes's treason, and it is worthy of notice, that David Strachan, probably of the same family, was one of those apprehended at the same time that Lord Glamis the son, and Home of Wedderburn the brother-in-law of Lady Glamis, were imprisoned.* David Strachan, whose piteous petition for liberation has been given by Pitcairn, p. 206, vol. i., is nowhere mentioned as having been concerned in the treason of the Lord Forbes. The presumption seems to be, that he was imprisoned for his participation in Lady Glamis's plot, and this seems in some degree to connect the

* Sir Thomas Clifford's Letter, quoted by Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 198.

two conspiracies. But all this is conjectural.* It was not till the 22d of August, about five weeks after Lady Glammiss had suffered, that John Lyon, her accomplice, was tried and found guilty of imagining and conspiring the king's death by poison; and of using the same poison for the destruction of the Earl of Rothes; whilst on the same day, Alexander Makke, who had sold the poison, knowing from Lyon for what purpose it was bought, was also tried and convicted. Lyon was beheaded: and Makke, had his ears cut off and was banished by a singular sentence from all parts of Scots land, except the county of Aberdeen.† Mr Pitcairn has drawn an inference for the innocence of Lady Glammiss, from the fact that a number of Lords and inferior barons suffered themselves to be fined rather than act as jurymen against her. This, however, one of his most noted cases shows to be no proof. The Master of Forbes confessed on the scaffold that he was guilty of the murder of Seton of Meldrum; yet when tried on the 27th of August, 1530, Gordon of Achindown, Lyon of Colmelegy, and fifteen other barons and landed gentlemen, were fined for not appearing to pass on his assize. A refusal of this kind was in fact a proof of the power, not of the innocence, of the party accused. In concluding this note, I may mention that Lord Glammiss had made himself obnoxious to the Douglases, and may therefore have incurred the resentment of his high-spirited and determined consort, by refusing to join them with his vassals on the noted occasion, when they proceeded against the Border thieves, taking the young king along with them—(Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 136.) It was on this occasion that Scott of Buccleugh unsuccessfully attempted to rescue his sovereign from the captivity in which he was held.

LETTER C, p. 65.

Battle of Flodden.

It is difficult, from the conflicting accounts of historians, to arrive at the numbers of each army in the battle of Flodden; and even more difficult to estimate the loss on both sides. That nearly a hundred thousand souls mustered on the Borough-muir is extremely probable; but it is to be recollected, that of these a great many were wagoners, sutlers, servants, and camp-followers; that the presence of the

* Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 202*-203*.

† John Strachan and Donald Mackay, were accomplices with the Master of Forbes, in the murder of Seton of Meldrum. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 150-175. Alexander Makke (Makay) and David Strachan were accomplices with Lady Glammiss in her attempt to poison the king.

king and the whole body of the nobles inferred the attendance of more than the usual number of servants; and that, owing to the delay in active operations, and the scarcity of provisions, the army was diminished by desertion previous to the battle. When this is considered, the estimate of thirty-five or forty thousand men—the latter number is that of Dr Lingard—is probably pretty near the truth. On the side of the English, it is certain from the English contemporary account of the battle, that Surrey's army was, at the lowest computation, twenty-six thousand strong; and it is by no means improbable that this was rather a low estimate.* The battle began between four and five in the afternoon of the 5th of September, and continued, according to an† authentic contemporary chronicle, "within night," that is some time after nightfall; all accounts agreeing that the combatants were only separated by darkness. It is a mistake in Lingard, therefore, to tell us it was decided in something more than an hour. From half-past four on the 5th of September, till after nightfall, will give a continuance to the combat of at least three hours. As to the loss sustained, the common estimate of ten thousand Scots is probably under the truth. After giving the names of the nobles and chiefs who were slain, the ancient chronicle already quoted observes, that over and above the said persons, eleven or twelve thousand of the Scots who were slain were viewed by my Lord Dacre,‡ and on the inscription on Surrey's monument at Thetford, the number is seventeen thousand.§ But whilst this last, which may be considered an eulogistic estimate, is yet perhaps not very far from the truth, it is evident that there is an endeavour on the part of the English historians to conceal their own loss, when they state it at fifteen hundred men. Holinshed, who gives this, admits that the "victory was dearly bought on the side of the English," and when it is considered that it was a fair *stand up* fight, which lasted with the utmost obstinacy for three hours—that no pursuit took place till next day—and that no quarter was given on either side, the assertion that only fifteen hundred English were slain, cannot be believed. In noticing the very few Scottish prisoners taken, the ancient English account of the battle observes, "many other Scottish prisoners could and might have been taken, but

* The rare contemporary tract reprinted by my friend Mr Pitcairn, and entitled, "Batayle of Floddon-felde, called Brainston Moore," thus commences:—"The maner of th' advauncyng of my lord of Surrey, tresourier and marshall of Englande, and levetenente generall of the north, parties of the same, with xxvi M. towards the kynge of Scotts and his armye, vewed and nombred to an hundrede thousande men at the leest."

† Ibid. p. 12.

‡ Batayle of Brainston Moore, p. 11.

§ Ridpath's Border History, p. 491.

they were so vengeable and cruel in their fighting, that when Englishmen had the better of them, they would not save them, though it were that diverse Scottes offered great sumes of money for their lives."* Lord Thomas Howard, indeed, in his message to the king, had declared, that as he expected no quarter himself, he would give none; and this fierce resolution of the English admiral was probably rendered more intense in its operation by the silence of the Scottish king, who replied with courtesy to the cartel of Surrey, but did not condescend to send Howard an answer. With the exception of the highlanders and islesmen, the Scots preserved good discipline. Their army, when first seen by Howard, was drawn up in five divisions: some in the form of squares, others in that of wedges, and they descended the hill on foot in good order, after the manner of the Germans, in perfect silence.† Every man for the most part, was armed with a keen and sharp spear, five yards in length, and a target which he held before him. When their spears failed, they fought with great sharp swords, making little or no noise. The old account of the battle expressly states that few were slain by arrows, as the rain had damaged the English bows, but that most fell by the bills of the Englishmen; and yet the armorial device given as an augmentation to his arms to Surrey in commemoration of his victory—a demi-lion gules, transfixéd with an arrow—seems to contradict this; whilst the impatience of the highlanders, under Huntley and Lennox, has always been ascribed to the deadly discharge of the English bowmen. The English artillery were well served, and did considerable execution; whilst the Scottish guns, injudiciously placed, and ill-directed, fired over the heads of the enemy; a blunder probably to be ascribed to the obstinacy of the king, who would not suffer them to play upon the English columns when they were passing the river. James thus lost the great advantage which might have been derived from the acknowledged excellence in the make and calibre of the Scottish ordnance.

As the battle of Flodden is of much importance in tracing the military history of the country, I may notice an inaccuracy of Hume, which to the general student might seem of little importance, but to the military reader it will not appear so. This historian informs us‡ that Surrey, finding that the river Till prevented his attack, made a

* *Batayle of Brainston Moore*, p. 12.

† Original Gazette of the Battle of Flodden, MS. in herald's office, printed by Pinkerton.—Appendix to 2d vol. No. X.—*La bataille dud: Roy D'Escosse estoit divisee en cinq: batailles, Et chacun bataille loing l'un de l'autre environ un trait d'arc * * partie d'Eulx Estorent en quadrans, et autres en maniere de pointe.*

‡ *Hume's History*, p. 292.

feint by marching to Berwick, as if he meant to enter Scotland; upon which James descended from his encampment, having fired his huts. "On this Surrey," says he, "took advantage of the smoke, and passed the river with his army, rendering a battle inevitable, for which both sides prepared with tranquillity and order." This, any one who will study the battle as it is given in this history, from contemporary records, will discover to be a misapprehension of the fact.

HISTORICAL REMARKS

ON THE

ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BEATON.

THE assassination of Cardinal Beaton is an event which has been viewed under very different aspects by different parties. The exultation and unseasonable pleasantry with which Knox relates the murder are partly to be ascribed to the savage times in which he was bred, and to the natural temper of this singular man, which was strongly tinged with a love of the humorous. That he considered the deed as not only justifiable but almost praiseworthy, is evident from the whole tone of his narrative. This mode of writing naturally roused to the highest pitch the indignation of the Roman Catholic party; it was received with equal reprobation by the more moderate Protestants; whilst the covenanters, driven by the harsh persecution of the government to acts similar in their manner of perpetration, although dictated by higher and less selfish motives, eagerly defended a proceeding, which seemed to justify their own. The consequence of this has been, that much vituperation and inconclusive argument were elicited, nor have these angry indications completely subsided in the present day. Such feelings are particularly unpropitious to the investigation of historical truth; and setting them aside entirely, I proceed more fully than was permitted me in the text, to investigate this subject and to present my readers with some extracts from those original papers and letters which throw new light upon it, and have hitherto remained unknown.

Dr Mackenzie, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers* (vol. iii. p. 23), early observed that the assassination of Beaton had been planned in England, and to corroborate his opinion published from a document, which he affirmed he had seen in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates,

an extract from the letter of the Earl of Hertford, dated 17th April, 1544, and quoted in my text. When Keith published his history (in 1734) this letter could not be found, and, although he gives it from Mackenzie's work, he declines pronouncing any opinion, aware of that author's great inaccuracy. When Robertson, in 1759, published his History of Scotland, he considered the subject so obscure that he satisfied himself with expressing a suspicion that there existed a correspondence between the murderers of Cardinal Beaton and Henry the Eighth; and many years after, when Dr Cook gave to the world his History of the Reformation, he got rid of the difficulties attending the question in too summary a manner, by doubting whether such a letter was ever written, or such a person as Wishart, mentioned as the agent of the conspiracy, ever came to the Earl of Hertford, or was sent by him to Henry the Eighth. "The letter," says he, "is entitled to no credit. It was not found by one of our most accurate inquirers into points of history, where the writer who quotes it asserts it may be seen; and what is completely decisive, it was said to have been written two years before the cardinal's death, and could, therefore, have no relation to a conspiracy, which it is apparent was not in existence, till within a very short time of its being carried into execution." In a short historical disquisition appended to an early work, (Life of Sir Thomas Craig, published in 1823,) I pointed out the errors contained in this passage and established the authenticity of the letter quoted by Mackenzie, by referring to a direct answer to it which occurred in the collection of original letters and papers published by Haynes, vol. i. p. 34. The fact of the existence of a conspiracy for the assassination of Beaton which was fostered in England, and carried on by Brunston and Wishart was thus fixed beyond question. To crown the whole, it turned out, that after an interval of many years Dr Robertson had discovered in the MS. collection of the Duke of Hamilton, and had published in the latest edition of his history, the original of the letter quoted by Mackenzie. Thus far had the truth been ascertained, when I was last year permitted by Lord Melbourne to have a full examination of the Scottish correspondence in the State-paper Office, an event which, at the risk of exciting a smile in some of my readers, I must consider as one of the most pleasurable in my literary life. This examination is at present only in progress, but the documents I have there found have already enabled me to trace my way through some of the most obscure portions of our national history; and one of these relates to the English conspiracies for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. I proceed now to point out the singular letters which illustrate the progress of the conspiracy.

It may first, however, be proper to remark that Henry's antipathy

to Beaton was early excited, and soon assumed a violent form. On hearing that the cardinal had procured his removal from Lord Seton's house, where he was kept in custody, to St Andrew's, the king (not aware that the crafty prelate had by this step completely recovered his liberty) proposed to Sir George Douglas, through Sadler his ambassador, that he should be brought to England and there kept in sure custody. This was on the 30th March, 1543. (Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 104, 106.) A similar proposal for the apprehension of the cardinal was made on the 21st June, 1543, (Sadler, vol. i. p. 221,) which was reiterated in strong terms to Arran the governor by the English monarch on the 4th of August, (Sadler vol. i. p. 249;) and it appears that Beaton had received warning of these hostile intentions, for, on the 28th of August, 1543, he refused to leave his castle of St Andrew's for the purpose of meeting with Arran the governor, alleging that he was afraid of his life. (Sadler, vol. i. p. 278.) On the 5th of October, the lords of Henry's party expressed an earnest wish that the cardinal were in the king's majesty's hands so that he might never more trouble the realm of Scotland. (Sadler, vol. i. p. 312.) This rooted enmity to the cardinal, in the mind of Henry, was well known to Crichton, the Laird of Brunston, a man in whose character we recognise the ferocity and familiarity with blood which marks the feudal times in which he lived, the cunning and duplicity which is the growth of a more civilized era, and this united to a fanatical spirit which perhaps deceived him into the belief that he was a sincere friend of truth. Busy, unscrupulous, and active, this pliant intriguer insinuated himself into the confidence of all parties, and seems to have been willing at various times to desert all, till the money of England fixed him by the powerful chain of self-interest in the service of Henry the Eighth. We first meet with him as a familiar and confidential servant of Cardinal Beaton, intrusted with secret letters from that dignitary to Rome (10th December, 1539. Sadler, vol. i. p. 25,) which were intercepted by Henry the Eighth. He next attached himself to Arran the governor, who thought him worthy to be trusted in diplomatic missions to France and England, (Sadler, vol. i. pp. 186, 280;) and it would seem that on the 28th of August, 1543, Sadler had not much intimacy with him, as he denominates him "a gentleman called the Laird of Brunston." In a few months, however, Brunston had deserted Arran, and so completely gained the confidence both of Sadler and his royal master, that we find him furnishing secret intelligence to the ambassador, and honoured by a letter from the king. (Sadler, vol. i. pp. 332, 338, 339, 342.) On the 16th of November, 1543, Brunston thus writes in a letter to Sadler * * "I pray your lordship that I may be excused to the king's majesty, and to thank

his highness on my behalf of his gentle letter, which it hath pleased his highness to send to me, the contents whereof I shall not fail to fulfill, so far as God will give me grace." Sadler, vol. i. p. 342.

Nearly five months after this, on the 17th of April, 1544, the Laird of Brunston engaged in that secret correspondence with Henry the Eighth, in which, on certain conditions, he offered to procure the assassination of Beaton.* As the purport of both letters has been

* His grace the Duke of Hamilton, many years ago, politely permitted me to copy the original of the letter from the Earl of Hertford, which is in his possession.—“Please it your highness to understand, that this daye arryved here with me the Erll of Hertford, a Scottishman called Wyshert, and brought me a letter from the Larde of Brunstone, which I sende your highness herewith ; and, according to his request, have taken order for the repayre of the said Wysshert to your majestie by poste, bothe for the delyvire of suche letters as he hathe to your majestie from the said Brunstone, and also for the declaracion of his credence, which, as I can perceyve by him, consisteth in two poyntes ; one is that the Larde of Graunge, late threasurer of Scotlande, the mr of Rothes, th' Erl of Rothis eldest son, and John Charters, wolde attempt eyther t' apprehend or slee the cardynall at some tyme when he shall passe thoroughe the Fyf lande, as he doth sundrye times to Sanct Andrewes ; and in case they can so apprehende hym, will delyver him unto your majestie, which attemptat, he saythe, they wolde enterpryse if they knew your majestie's pleasure therein, and what supportacion and mayntenance your majestie wolde minister unto them efter th' execution of the same, in case they suld be persewed afterwards be any of their enemyes ; the other is, that in case your maj. wolde grant unto them a convenient enterteynement for to kepe 15 or 16 men in wages for a moneth or two, they, joyning with the power of th' Erl Marshall, the said Erl of Rothes, the Larde of Calder, and others of the Lords Greys' friends, will tak upon them at such tyme as your maj. armye sall be in Scotlande, to destroy the abbey and town of Arbroyth, being the cardynal's and all th' other bishops and abbots houses and countreys on that syde the water thereabout, and apprehend all those whiche they saye be the principall impugnators of the amyte between England and Scotland, for the whiche they suld have a good opportunitye, as they saye, when the power of the said bishops and abbote shall resort toward Edinburgh to resist your majesty's armye. And for th' execution of these thinges, the said Wyshert saith that the sayde Erll Marshall, and others above named, will capitulate with your majestie in wryting under their handes and seales afore they shall desyre any suplye of money at your majes. handes. This is the effect of his credence with other sundrie advertisementes of the great contencion and division that is at this present within the realme of Scotlande, which we doubt not he will declare unto your majestie at good length.

“Also, I, the said Erll of Hertford, have receyved this daye, certain letters from the Lorde Wharton, and Sir Robert Bowes, with the copies of suche letters as were wryten by the Erll of Glencairne's sone, and Bishop the Erl of Lennox's secretary, to be sent into Scotland to the same erlles, which copies the said Lord Wharton and Bowes atteyned to such meynes as sall appear unto your majestie by the said letters, whiche, with the said copies, we send also to your highnes here inclosed ; together with certain other letters, whiche arryved here also this day from the Lord ——, conteyning certain exploytes done in Scotlande.

“Fynally—the Lorde Wm. Howard being at Tynemont, sent a letter to

fully stated in the text, I shall not recapitulate it, but merely observe that, in the plot devised by Brunstou, and proposed to be executed by Kirkaldy of Grange and the Master of Rothes, the conspirators do not appear to have acted from religious, or I should rather say fanatical, motives. No allusion to such is to be found in the correspondence. Their views seem to have been purely selfish and mercenary. The "feat," however, against the cardinal, for some cause not easily discoverable, was not at this time carried into execution, and the conspiracy slept for nearly a year, when it was again revived by the Earl of Cassillis, the pupil of Buchanan, the convert of Cranmer,* and a nobleman who, in their ignorance of his true character, has been highly lauded by some of our historians. This baron, who proved himself one of Henry's most active instruments, was employed by this monarch in April, 1545, in a negotiation regarding the marriage and the peace, of which an account has been given in the text. Previous to this diplomatic mission, he repaired to the English court from Scotland, and having received his instructions from Henry in person, returned to manage the business in the Scottish parliament. In the State-paper Office there is an original letter, dated April 2, 1545, entirely in cipher, with a contemporary deciphered copy, from the Earl of Cassillis to the king, in which he states that he had a conference with the governor and the cardinal on the subject of his mission, but they would come to no conclusion till the arrival of the queen and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley; and adds that a convention had been summoned for the 15th to determine on his offers. On the 20th of April, Cassillis again addressed a letter in cipher to the king, in which he informed him of the total failure of his negotiation, the triumph of the party of the cardinal and the governor, and the rejection of peace with England. On the 18th of May, 1545, Sir R. Sadler, and the Council of the North, wrote to the king, transmitting a letter in cipher, which the Earl of Cassillis had addressed to Sadler. That the reader may understand the purport of Sadler's letter, I give an extract from it.—"Please your royal Majesty to receive herewith, such letters as we have received from the Lord Wharton,

me, the said Erl of Hertford, whereby it appeareth that certain of the shippis victuallers are arrivid, and some of theym report that yesterday morning they sawe my Lord Admyrall, west of the fleete on see borde Hull, making hitherwarde, so that the wind contynuing as it is, they will be at Teynemouth this night or to-morrowe with the grace of God, who preserve your royall majestie in your most prynceley estat, most felycitously to endure unto your highnes.—Newcastel, the xvii of April.

"Your Majestie's humble subjects, and most bounden servants,

"E. HERTFORD, *Cuth. Duresme.*

"ROBERT LANDAFFE, RAF SADLEYR."

* Douglas' Peerage, vol. i. pp. 330, 331.

with others in cipher addressed unto us with the same from the Earl of Cassillis ; whereof one of them is a letter to the same Erle from the Erle Marshall, as your Majesty shall perceyve, which we have deciphered, and sende herewith unto your Majesty, both the cipher, and the same deciphered accordingly. And when it may appear unto your highness by the said Earle of Cassillis' lettres, amongst other things, that he intendeth to procure one to be sent to me, Sir Rafe Sadleyr, as sone as is possible, for him to speke with th' Erle of Anguisse and George Douglas, for such purposes as your highness has appoynted with the saide Earl of Cassillis. I, the said Sir Rafe Sadleyr, shall not faile, as soon as I shall heare of the comyng of such a one as they will sende, to repayre to Alnewyke, there to commune with him according to such instructions as I lately received from the lords of his majesty's council in that behalf, and touching such matter as the said Erle of Cassillis now hath written of to your Highness, wherein he seemeth desirous to know your Majesty's pleasure by me, I shall be ready to say and do as it shall please your Highness to command me in that part or anie other, according to my most bounden dutie." The rest of this letter is unimportant. From the above extract it is, however, evident that the king had communicated certain purposes to Cassillis ; that Cassillis, having first consulted with the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, was to send a secret messenger to Alnwick, to commune with Sir Ralph Sadler touching such purposes ; that Sir Ralph had already received from the Privy-council instructions regarding this intended communication ; that Cassillis had moreover written to the king upon another private matter, in which he wished to know the royal pleasure through Sir Ralph, and that this statesman only waited to hear his majesty's opinion, that he might communicate it to the Scottish earl. The importance of this minute analysis will immediately appear.

It is unfortunate that the letter in cipher from the Earl of Cassillis to the king, mentioned in the above despatch, is not to be found in the State-paper Office ; but on the 21st of May, 1545, there is a letter from the Council of the North to the king, informing his majesty that the Scottish barons, Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, Marshal, and Sir George Douglas, had declined, as they at first intended, sending an agent to Alnwick, to confer with Sir Ralph Sadler ; and thought it better that a confidential messenger should be sent into Scotland to deliberate with them. This letter from the Council of the North to the king, is autograph of Sir Ralph Sadler. It contains this passage—
" And whereas I, the said Sir Rafe, was advertised from the lords of your majestie's council, that your highness' pleasure was I should repayre to Alnwick, to meet there with a gentieman that should be

sent from the Erles of Anguisse, Cassillis, Glencairn, Marshall, and George Douglas and others, for such purposes as I was also then advertised from my said lords of his majestie's council, for the whiche journey I have been in a readiness, according to your most gracious pleasure ; it shall now appear to your highness, by the said Erle of Cassillis' lettres, that they have chaunged that purpose, and would have me send a gentlemen to them with such instructions, and in such sorte, as your majestie shall perceive by the said Erle of Cassillis' lettres." This letter from the Earl of Cassillis to Sir Ralph Sadler, alluded to above as having been transmitted to the king, is not to be found in the State-paper Office, but its purport clearly appears from a letter of the English Privy-council, dated May 30, 1545. The importance of this document induces me to give an extract. It shows, I think, that although they contain no direct mention of it, the former letters of the 18th and 21st of May, related to the designs against Beaton's life, and it reveals for the first time a plot that has remained hidden for nearly three centuries. The despatch is in the hand-writing of Mr Secretary Paget, except the last sentence, which is autograph of Wriothesley, then chancellor. It is addressed to the Earl of Hertford. "After our most hartly commendations unto your good lordship, it may like the same to understand that the king's majesty, having of late seen certain lettres sent from th' Erle of Cassillis unto Mr Saddleyr, *the same containing an offer for the kylling of the cardinal if his majesty wold have it done, and wold promise, when it were done, a reward*; the other excusing the change of their purpose for sending of one from them, to meet with Mr Saddleyr upon the Borders, and requiring John Forster (who, they say, being prisonir, may come well without suspition) should be sent to commune with them, and to as well signify unto them the king's majestie's pleasure towards them, as to hear again what they would do for their parts: To the first point his majestie hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not mete to *be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer*, thinketh good that Mr Saddleyr, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to th' Erle of the receipt of his letter, conteyning such an offer which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty ; marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say, that if he were in th' Erle of Cassillis' place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there as he kuoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for th' execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realme of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's

majesty would consider his service in the same ; as you doubt not of accustomed goodness to them which serve him, but he would do the same to him."* The remaining portion of this letter, which is an original, and signed by seven privy-councillors, relates to the sending Forster into Scotland, and to other matters, not important to be noticed.

To go on unravelling these dark designs, it next appears, by a letter from the Council of the North to the king, dated June 3, 1545, that Forster had been sent for, to be despatched forthwith into Scotland, and, upon his arrival, Sadler informs his majesty, "that he will write to the Earl of Cassillis, according to the directions contained in the last letter from the Privy-council." Hitherto the conspiracy of the Earl of Cassillis for the assassination of Beaton does not seem to be connected in any way with the former plot of Brunston, Wishart, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Norman Lesley ; but the above letter contains a sentence from which a strong presumption arises, that the conspiracy of Cassillis was merely a revival of that of Brunston. "Also, here arrived presentlie a lettre in cipher from the Laird of Brunstone, which we have caused to be deciphered herewith to your majesty." Here the despatch of the Privy-council, which was sent, concludes with the usual prayer for the royal health ; but in the scroll of that despatch, which is autograph of Sir Ralph Sadler, after the words "your majestie," the following sentence succeeds: "And this day Sir Thomas Holcroft showed us a cipher, which was devised betwix him and the said Brunston, when Brunston departed last from the court, upon the perusing of which cipher we fynd it to be the very same that is betwix your majesty and th' Erle of Cassillis, as your majestie shall perceive upon the sight of it which we send here inclosed, so that it appeareth to us that both the Erle of Cassillis and Brunston"—here this additional sentence, which is scored through, breaks off abruptly ; but it is evident, I think, the Privy-council intended to observe, that it appeared to them that Brunston and Cassillis were in close communication with each other upon the point touching the murder of the cardinal, and, when we weigh all the circumstances, it is difficult to resist the same conclusion. Brunston formerly had submitted to Henry a plot for the assassination of Beaton ; Brunston was an intimate friend and supporter of the party with whom Cassillis acted ; Brunston had lately been at court, and had arranged a cipher for a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Holcroft : at the moment when Cassillis again proposes to Henry the assassination of the prelate, a letter in cipher is sent from Brunston to the Council of the North, and instantly transmitted to the king ; and lastly, Brunston and

* Orig. State-paper Office, never before published.

Cassillis are found using the same cipher. Every circumstance shows a unity of schemes, and an intimacy of communication, from which we may infer, I think, that the second conspiracy of Cassillis was merely a revival or continuation of the first by Brunston. The king, however, as we have seen, did not choose to give direct encouragement to the proposal of Cassillis. That noble person was informed by Sadler that he had *not* communicated his design to the monarch, (which was untrue;) and Cassillis, although willing to commit murder upon a written order from the king, did not choose to peril himself in any such business upon the bare recommendation of Sir Ralph Sadler. He did not even venture to reply to Sadler's letter upon this delicate point; and, in the succeeding interview which took place between him and Forster the English agent, at Douglas, in June, he appears carefully to have avoided any allusion to the subject. The proposal of Sir George Douglas to this envoy, that Henry "if he would have the cardinal dead should promise a good reward for the doing thereof," has been noticed in the body of this history, but Forster (July 4, 1545) returned without having had any communication with Cassillis upon the subject.

The Laird of Brunston, however, was resolved that the proposal for removing their great enemy should not so easily drop; and on the 12th of July we find, by the following extract from a letter of the Council of the North to the Privy-council, that this busy intriguer had renewed to the king and to his council the atrocious proposal:—"After our most hartie commendations, yesterday arrived here lettres in cypher to the king's majesty from the Larde of Brunston, and also to me, Sir Rafe Sadleyr, which we have deciphered and sende herewith, both the cipher and the same deciphered, unto you, which we praye you to declare and shoue unto the king's majestie. And forasmuch as the said Brunston doth partly in his said letters [touch] the matter which concerneth the kylling of the cardinal, because, as we perceyve by such letters, as I, th' Erl of Hertford, have received from the Lordes, you, and others of the counsaill, his majestie will not seeme to have to do in that matter, but referreth the same to the handling of me, Sir Rafe Sadleyr: I, therefore, have taken occasion upon the said Brunston's letters to write my mind to him in that matter, in such sorte as you shall perceyve by the copie of my lettre to the said Brunston, which you shall receyve herewith."*

Sadler goes on to state, that he had written before this upon the same matter of the killing of the cardinal to the Earl of Cassillis, but

* Orig., State-paper Office, never before published. Since this note was written the letter has been printed in the Collection of State Papers published by Government, vol. v. part iv. p. 470.

since then had received no answer. The rest of his letter is of little interest; but the enclosure, entitled the "Copie of Sir Rafe Sadleyr's Lettres to the Larde of Brunston," which is wholly in Sir Ralph's own hand, is too important and curious to be omitted. It commences thus, "After my right hartie commendations, I have received your lettres by Robert Lyster, this bearar, with also your lettres addressed to the king's majestie, which shall be depesched hens to his highness with such spede as appertayneth. In one parte of your said lettres, I note chieflie, that certayn gentlemen, being your friends, have offred for a *small soume of money*, to take hym oute of the waye, that hath been the hole impediment and lett to all good purposes there, so that they might be sure to have the king's majestie their good lorde; and that his majestie wolde rewarde them for the same. Of this I judge that you mean the cardinall, whome I knowe to be so much blynded to his own affection to France, that, to please the same he seeth not, but utterlie contempnyth all thinges tending to the weale, and benefite of his owne countrey; and, indede, hitherto, he hath been the onelie cause and worker of all your myschief; and will, if he continewe, be undoubtedlie the utter ruyn and confusion of the same. Wherefore I am of your opinion, *and as you wryte thinke it to be acceptable service to God to take him oute of the waye*, whiche, in suche sorte dothe not onelie as much as in him is to obscure the glorie of God, but also to confound the commonweale of his owne countrey. And albeit, the king's majestie, whose gracious nature and goodnes I knowe, *wol not, I am sure, have to do ne meddle with this matier touching your said cardynall*, for soundrie considerations; yet, if you could so worke the matier with these gentlemen your freends, which have made that offer, that it maye take effect, you shall undoubtedly doo therein good service, both to God and his majestie, and a singular benefite to your countrey. Wherefore, lyke as if I were in your place, it shulde be the first thing I wolde earnestlie attempt, thinking therby for the respect aforesaide chieflie to please God, and to do good to my countrey." Sadler goes on to state, that if Brunston and his friends put the matter in execution, he knows so well the king's goodness and liberality, that they may assure themselves of a reward; and he adds this remarkable sentence, "And if the execution of this matier doo rest onelie upon the rewarde of the king's majestie to such as shall be the executors of the same, I pray you advertyse me what rewarde they do requyre, and if it be not unreasonable, because I have been in your countrey, *for the Christen zeal* that I have to the commonweale of the same, I will undertake it shall be payed immediatlie upon the act executed, though I doo myselfe beare the charge of the same, whiche I wolde thinke well employed. * * * * Thus I write to you mine owne

phantasie and mynde in this matier, as one that wolde be glad to give you such advise, as wherby you shulde doo that service to God, the kinge's majestie, and your owne natyve countrey, as might also be to your owne profett, and good fame."*

The Laird of Brunston, however, and the friends with whom he acted, although willing for a small reward to slay the cardinal, proved as cautious and crafty as the Earl of Cassillis, and did not choose to undertake the murder without a direct communication with the king's majesty; they had determined to have the royal warrant and writ for their reward and their security; and on hearing that Sadler had not imparted their offer to the king, but only encouraged them out of his Christian zeal, and of his own phantasie, they, for the present dropt their atrocious project. This letter of Sadler's was dated 4th of July, 1545; and for nearly three months, we can trace nothing of the plot against the cardinal. How the interval was occupied, is shown in this history. The invasion of Hertford, and the many miserable scenes which it brought in its train, gave ample employment to all parties in Scotland. Beaton, however, was still able to thwart the schemes of Henry; and that monarch evinced the continuance of his mortal enmity against the prelate, by recommending the Earl of Hertford to advise the French deserters to show their desire to be of service, by *trapping or killing the cardinal*, Lorges, or the governor. This was on the 9th of September, 1545, and, on the sixth of October, about a month after, we find pretty strong evidence, that the plot for the assassination of Beaton had been resumed by Brunston:—at this time, the following letter in cipher was sent by that busy intriguer to Henry the Eighth.

"My deuty usit to your most excellent majeste; it will plese zour highnes, yat at yis last convention the Earl of Lennox is forfaltit, his brother the bischoip, and the Larde of Tulibarn, continewit to the nixt meeting betuyx yis and Chrismes. As to other gret actis ya haif none. Yai haif providit one thowsand horsmen to ly on the Bordouris, five hundreth of the Mers, and other five hundreth of Tevidail such as hes no other thing to leif by.

"Morovir, yt wil lyk zour majeste, yat I am suirly advertesed by one yat knowith yt, wich ys one suir frend of myn, yat the cardinal passis to France with the French king's lieutenant, who, as I beleif taryis for nothing but for his shippis, the which are sent for alrady. The said cardinal entendis (yf his devising tak effect) to bring us gret support in the foir yere; but I hoip to God his *jornay shall be shortit to his displeseur*. He ys laborand to haif the yong queen to remane

* Original, State-paper Office, never before published. Since printed in the State Papers published by government, vol. v. part iv. p. 470.

in his castel of Sanctandros, and causis the governor to beleif yat yt is for his effect to keip hir to his sone ; and the queen-mother makis hir angrye withal, but I beliefe she dissembles. Thair is no other thingis for the present worthye your majeste's knowledge ; and as otheris occurris, your majeste shal be advertest wyth such diligence as I may; always assuring your highnes yat *yair ves nevir mo gentil men desyrous to serve your majeste* to the avansing of your majestes godlye entent, nor yair is now." This letter is dated "at Ormistoun yis saxt day of October," be him yat is desirous to do your highnes service at the uttermost of his power—Bronstoun."*

After this letter, dated the 6th of October, there is no further correspondence between Brunston and the English government, till the 20th of the same month. We then, however, find the following letter, addressed by that person to the Earl of Hertford. "This present shall be to let your lordship wit, that sines the writting of my last letres, I talked at length with Sir George Douglas, who hath shewed me aunsver to the last letre that I send to your L. 'that the hole lords hath agreed to the marriage of the young quene to the governor's sonne with their seales and hand writtis,' and that he as yet hath stopped the Earl of Anguise, with the rest of his friends, notwithstanding the diligent pursuit of the governor and his friends ; which they seke both with great and fayer promises, and other wayes, thretheninges of the hole authoritye to cum in their contrary, which may not be resisted by them; nevertheless, I am suir that Sir George Douglas will stave th' Erle of Anguise and all others his freindes, unto such time as he maye knowe the king's majestie's pleasur ; and if the king's majestie will mak them such support that they may mak their party good in the contrary of the governour and authoritye, to the avauncing of the king's majestie's affayres, they will * * themselves and their friendes, and weir all their lyves or everything promised to the king's majestie be not kept ; and in lik manner I shall cause all the gentlemen that your L. knoweth, my friends, to be readye as it shall please the king's majesty to command them * * to assist to such as ar moost to the avauncing of his majestie's affaires, as they have at all tymes been hitherto, *but his majestie must be plain with them, both what his majesty would have them to do, and in like manner what they shall lippen† to of his majesty*, which matier, with maney

* Original, State-paper Office, not before published. The Earl of Hertford in his letter transmits the cipher as from the Laird of Ormiston: on deciphering, it appears to be from Brunston. This letter was deciphered by Mr Robert Lemon of the State-paper Office, a gentleman to whose skill in the knowledge of ancient manuscripts I have been often indebted.

† Lippen to ; trust to.

other matiers, I would gladly your L. knewe for the avauncing of his majestie's affayres which wer tool ong to writ. Wherefore I have writen, as your L. may see, to the king's majesty desyryng to speke with one of his majestie's connsaill, but in special with yr L. for the declaring of such things as I think gretely to the avauncyng of his majestie's affaires, at the castle of Berwyk, wher, be suche daye as shall be appoynted me, God willing, I shall meet your L. *in secret manner*, geving me advertisement thre or four before the tyme of meeting, which I pray your L. *in the most secret manner, for it standeth me beth in life and heretage if it be known*; at the whiche meeting I shall bring Sir G. Douglas' mind, with the rest of my friends, remitting all other things unto the tyme I have knowledge from your lordshipp, which I would were the soonest it was possible, as your L. loveth the welfare of the king's maj. affayres. This twenty of Octr. at Calder."*

The remainder of the letter is unimportant, but from its contents, and judging by the following extract from Brunston's letter to the king, we may presume that the business in which he and the gentlemen, his friends, offered their services to Henry, was of the most treasonable description.

"My duty used to your most princelie maj., it may pleis yr maj. that consydering the present estait of my cuntrey, and knowing the minds of one great part of the baronnis and noblemen thereof, the desyer to do your M. service in all that lyeth in my power, as I am moch bounden, and so moch the more that your majeste intendeth nothing but the wealth and benefit of my cuntrey, and that your majesty shall know I have not forgotten the gret liberalitye and gentlenes that both I and divers of the gentlemen, my friends, through me, hath found with yr M., (who shall all be any as I am one redy to serve yr M. at our powers,) moveth me for the declaracion of such things as I think gretly to th' avauncing of your majesties affayres, to be desyrous to speke with one of your majesties counsayl, and rather with Mr Sadleyr, nor with any other, becaus he is both neir to these parts, and best knoweth my cuntrey; who if it pleis your M. to sende to the castel of Berwyck, becaus it is unable to me to cum furth within the cuntrey unknowin, and at such day as shal be appoynted me, I shall (God willing) not fayle to mete him at the said town or castle, *which I would were as secret as were possible, for if it were cum to knowledge, it is the losing to me both of life and heritage*; albeit I never knew one that lost for the servyng of yr majestie, which, as knoweth God, I am willing to do, being suir your majesty will both acknowledge me and others my friends, such as I have had grit relief of in the servyng of

* Original, State-paper Office, not before published.

your majestie with the nombre of yr majestie's servands and friends. All such things as I both knowe and may lerne with the myndes of such as I tak to be yr majestie's friends, I shall show at length to Mr Sadleyr, at such tyme as it shall pleas yr majy. that I meet him. Ther is non other thing for the present worthy your majestie's knowledge. Pray the eternal God to have your M. in his most blessed keeping. At Calder, this twenty of Octr. by your majestie's assured humble servitor,"

"BRUNSTON."

"Hast the aunswer of these agayn to Coldingham."*

These last letters from the Laird of Brunston to Hertford and the king must be considered in connexion with what has already been proved against him. We have found him offering, on 17th April, 1544, through Wishart, and by the assistance of his friends Kirkaldy of Grange and the Master of Rothes, to apprehend or slay the cardinal. We find him, on the 2d April, 1545, connected in the most intimate manner with the Earl of Cassillis at the moment this nobleman renewed in his own person the proposal for the assassination of the cardinal. We find him again, on the 12th July, 1545, sending a letter in cipher to the king, in which he renews the offer that certain gentlemen, his friends, were willing for a small sum of money to take the cardinal out of the way; and now, when in these letters we find him, on October 6, darkly alluding to his hopes that the cardinal's meditated journey to France will be cut short to his displeasure, and on the 26th of the same month, arranging a secret interview with Sadler at Berwick, which, were it discovered, might affect his life, and at the same moment declaring that the gentlemen, his friends, were ready to obey his majesty's commands—but that the king must be plain with them, as to what he wishes them to do, and also how far they are to depend on his majesty's support; it is difficult, I think, to resist the conclusion, that this last correspondence, as well as the former, regarded a fourth offer for the assassination of the prelate, and that the anxiety of Brunston and the gentlemen, his friends, to know Henry's wishes, and what support they were to expect from him, arose out of the indirect and crafty manner in which this monarch, whilst he covertly encouraged the plot, insisted on making Sadler the ostensible agent in the nefarious transaction. At this critical moment, when Brunston, in his letter of the 20th of October, presses the king to be plain, the letters in the State-paper Office relative to the intrigues of this busy baron suddenly break off. Between the 20th of October and the 31st, 1545, occur a few unimportant letters, and from that

* Original, State-paper Office, not before published.

date to 27th March, 1546, a period of nearly five months, there is a tantalising hiatus. If I may be allowed a conjecture, I would account for it in this way: Henry the Eighth was, as we see, very anxious not to appear directly in the matter, but the conspirators, Brunston's friends, would not act unless he dealt plainly with them; they would not take the indirect encouragement to commit the murder which Sadler gave as coming solely from himself; they wished to have the king's hand and writ to plead in their defence, and produce as their warrant for protection and remuneration, after the deed was perpetrated. I imagine the king was driven to give this, but the correspondence for this reason was destroyed; hence this hiatus at this most critical moment. There are no letters to be found from March 27 to May 29, which throw the slightest light upon the conspiracy against Beaton, and on the morning of that last-mentioned day the unfortunate man was murdered; the principal assassins being Kirkaldy of Grange, and Norman Lesley the Master of Rothes—the very men who two years before had offered, through the medium of Brunston, to apprehend or slay him as he passed through Fife. One thing to be regretted in the disappearance of all letters relative to the murder after the 20th of October is the want of evidence to show any recent communication between Brunston and the assassins of the cardinal; but the inference I think is scarcely to be resisted, that this daring and unscrupulous intriguer was as intimately implicated in the last as in the first conspiracy.

At the moment of their committing the murder, Grange, Lesley, and others of the principal conspirators, were in the receipt of pensions from Henry the Eighth, and were described by that monarch as his friends and supporters;* and it is not unimportant to observe that, soon after the assassination, the Laird of Brunston was indicted on a charge of treason, although the process against him was afterwards withdrawn.

I shall conclude these historical remarks with the following interesting extract from the letter of a Scottish spy of Lord Wharton's, named James Lindsay, sending to that nobleman the first intelligence of the murder. It is one of three letters, all on the same subject, sent by Lord Wharton to the Privy-council of England.

“Syr, to advertise zou, this satterday betwix v hours and vi in the moruyng the cardynal is slane in the castle of St. Andrewe's, be Normond Leslie, in yis maner: At the cumyng in of ye masonis and warkmen in ye place to the wark, Normond Leslie and thre wyth him enteret, and after hym James Melwin and thre men with him,

* Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. iii. p. 340.

aud fenzit themselves to have spokin with the cardinal; and after yame came the zoung laird of Grange, and viii men with hym all in geir, quhilk the porter stoppit to lat in quhill ane of them strak him with ane knyiff and kest him in the hous. Incontynent they shot furth all the warkmen and closet the zet, syne sought the chalmer and shot furth all ye howsald men as thai gat thame mastrit. Ye cardinale herand ye dyn in his chalmer come furth, was passand to the blockehous head to heir quhat it was; Normond Leslie and his cumpanye met him in the torn pyk [off] and slew him; and after ya have depossesst the place of all therein till, excep ye governor's sone, his priest and servand, and ye cardinal's chalmer child, ye common bell of ye toun rang, ye provest and town gadert to ye noumer of thre or four hundreth men, and come to ye castell, quhill Normond Leslie and his cumpanye come to ye wall heid and sperit quhat they desyrit to se, ane deid mau. Incontynent ya brot ye cardinal deid to the wall heid in ane payr of shetis, and hang hym our ye wall be the tane arm and the tane fute, so bad ye pepill se yer thar God. This Johne of Douglas of Edinburt, Hew Douglas, Ayr, shaw me, and master Johne Douglas, quhilk was in Sanct Andrews and saw ye sam wyt yar ene. * *

“Wryten this Satterday at midnyt, zour servand,

“JAMES LYND SAY.”*

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE HAMILTON MANUSCRIPTS.

SINCE this volume passed through the press, I have seen, by the politeness of Mr James Chalmers, a Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers which belonged to his late uncle, the learned and indefatigable author of Caledonia. These papers are in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton. The catalogue is a voluminous one, and contains occasional extracts from the letters and documents which it describes. Of these the most valuable relate to the regency of the Earl of Arran and the minority of Mary; and it was gratifying to find that they not only confirmed, but greatly strengthened the views which I have

* Original, State-paper Office, not before published.

given of that important period. Thus, with regard to the scheme of Henry for the entire subjection of Scotland under his dominion, and the mercenary manner in which the Scottish prisoners entered into his views, we have ample information in the following description of the contents of volume iv. of the Hamilton Papers.

Volume iv. commences with December, 1542, and ends with January and February, 1542-3. It contains, amongst other occurrences, Henry's instructions to Sir Richard Southwell for conferring with the Earls of Bothwell and Angus, and also with the Scots prisoners, in order to engage them in his designs of subduing Scotland to himself, by possessing him of the government for the present, assuring the succession to him in case of the young queen's death, and granting him the tutelage of her person in the meantime, with the capital fortresses, and places of strength which he sought to have delivered into his power, together with the cardinal and another, i. e. the Lord Regent, whom he looked on as his most dangerous opponents. In a minute addressed to Lord Viscount Lisle, January, 8, 1542-3, Henry writes, "We have already given you advertisement how we have dismissed from hence the noblemen and others of Scotland our prisoners, and what the same have promised unto us." In what manner these promises were made appears from this extract from the catalogue. Henry's articles with the Earl of Angus, then an exile in England for promoting the enterprise—his *open* articles, as he calls them,—subscribed by the Scottish prisoners and Earl Bothwell, and his *secret* articles, subscribed by ten of these prisoners, the fittest as he thought, to be trusted; namely, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn; the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and Gray; and by Robert Erskine, Oliver Sinclair, the Laird of Kerse, and John Ross of Craigy. Again, in Henry's instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, in vol. v. of the Hamilton Papers, the English monarch states that Sir George Douglas had undertaken not only by promise, but by *oath and bond* to perform greater services than any of the rest. The treasonable extent of the engagements of the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to Henry appear from a minute of the king to the Duke of Suffolk, dated November 12, 1543, in which that nobleman is directed to expostulate with Sir George Douglas regarding a fresh demand for money from England. "They have not stiked," says the English monarch, "to take upon them to *set the crown of Scotland upon our head*. Where has now become all their force and courage * * what meant they to take upon so great maistry and to be able to perform in deed so little?" Under the date of December, 1543, we find a minute of a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to Henry's pensioners in Scotland with an account of the sums of money which had been distributed to them, viz:—

	STERLING.
To the Earl of Angus,	200 £
of Glencairn,	200 marks
of Cassillis,	200 marks
To the Master of Maxwell,	100 £
To the Sheriff of Air,	100 £
To the Laird of Drumlanryk,	100 £
To the Earl of Marshall, John Charters, the Lord Gray's friends in the North,	300 marks
To Sir George Douglas and his friends in Lothian and Merse,	200 £

In the midst of so much venality and desertion on the part of the Scottish barons, it is pleasing to find an exception in the Earl of Argyle, who resisted more splendid offers than were made to any of the rest. This is shown by a minute of the Privy-council of England to the Duke of Suffolk, preserved amongst the Hamilton Papers, by which it appears that the Laird of Drumlanrig, and the Sheriff of Ayr (Campbell of Loudon,) had laboured to promote king Henry's designs, at some charge to themselves; and that, in satisfaction of that charge, they had received for the present five hundred crowns each, with the promise of a pension when the good fruits of their service should deserve it, particularly when they should accomplish the treaty which they had begun with the Earl of Argyle, *to make him a concert to Henry*. To induce his compliance, they were to make him a promise of one thousand crowns in hand, and a yearly pension of one thousand more; but if he would not comply, they were to "threaten him with the wild Irish, whom Henry was to hound, and to ruin both him and his country." It is shown in this history, that Argyle resisted the overtures of Henry, and that the wild Irish and men of the Isles were accordingly "hounded" upon him.

Cruelty and Impolicy of Henry the Eighth towards Scotland.

The savage temper of Henry the Eighth nowhere more strongly appears than in the directions which, on the 10th of April, 1543-4, he transmitted through a despatch of the Privy-council to the Earl of Hertford. After observing that the grand attempt on Scotland was delayed for a season, they command him, in the meantime, to make an inroad into Scotland, "there to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it, for their

falsehood and disloyalty. Do what you can," continue they, "out of hand, and, without long tarrying, to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyrood-house, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can; sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and child, to fire and sword*, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St Andrew's, *as the upper stone may be the nether*, and not one stick stand by another, *sparing no creature alive* within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal." "This journey," the despatch goes on to state, "shall succeed most to his majesty's honour."*

* From the MS. Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers, pp. 44, 45.

9

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