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A HISTORY

OF THE



*James Douglas,
Duke of Queensberry and
Duke of Dover,
"The Union Duke"
From a painting at Drumlanrig Castle*

A HISTORY

OF THE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE
LEGISLATIVE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

BY THE

BART., M.P., F.R.S., LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

W. A. LINDSAY, WINDSOR HERALD

IN TWO VOLUMES

Volume II

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Illustrations in the Text	xi
List of full page Illustrations	xiii
List of Coloured Shields	xiii

CHAPTER I

The earldom of Angus—xxxviii. George Douglas, 1st Earl of Angus, c. 1376-1403—Marries Mary, daughter of Robert III., 1397—Taken prisoner at Homildon Hill, 1402—Dies of the plague, c. 1403—xxxix. William, 2nd Earl of Angus, c. 1398-1437—Meets King James I. at Durham, 1424—Accompanies him to the Highlands, 1429—Battle of Piperdean, 10th September 1435—Death of Angus, October 1437—xl. William Douglas of Cluny, c. 1428-c. 1475—xli. James, 3rd Earl of Angus, c. 1426-1446—Is forfeited by James II. and restored, 1445—His death, 1446—xlii. George, 4th Earl of Angus, c. 1430-1463—Expeditions into England, 1448—The Douglas rebellion: Angus adheres to the King, 1452-1455—Battle of Arkinholm, 18th May 1455—Fall of the Black Douglas, 1455—Angus receives the lordship of Douglas, 1457—Wounded at Roxburgh, 1460—His treaty with Henry VI., 1462—Relieves the French in Alnwick, 1462—His death, 12th March 1463.	1-21
---	------

CHAPTER II

xliii. Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," 5th Earl of Angus, 1449-1514—Marries Elizabeth Boyd, 1468—Fall of the Boyds, 1469—Angus in alliance with Albany, 1482—The affair of Lauder Bridge, July 1482—Treason of Albany and Angus, 1483—Angus signs the Westminster Convention, 11th February 1483—Outbreak of rebellion, 1488—Treaty of Blackness, 1488—Battle of Sauchie and murder of James III., 11th June 1488—Angus appointed guardian of James IV., 1488—His renewed treason, 1489—Holds Tantallon against the King, July 1491—Exchanges Liddesdale for Kilmarnock, 29th December 1491—Is Chancellor of Scotland, 1492-1497—His betrothal to Janet Kennedy, 1498—Is warded in Dumbarton, 1501-1502—Oppresses the Abbot of Kilwinning, 1513—The campaign of Flodden, 1513—Death of the Earl of Angus, 1513-1514	22-47
---	-------

	PAGE
xlv. George Douglas, Master of Angus, <i>c.</i> 1469-1513—Appointed Warden of Eskdale, 1499—Deprived of the lordship and wardenry, 1502—His death at Flodden, 9th September 1513—xlvi. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, <i>c.</i> 1471-1513—His death at Flodden, 9th September 1513—xlvii. Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1474-1522—Appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, 1515—Imprisoned by Albany, 1515—Goes to France, 1517—His intrigues with England, 1522—His death, September 1522—xlix. William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood, <i>c.</i> 1495-1528—Becomes Prior of Coldingham, 1519—Appointed Abbot of Holyrood, 1526—His death, 1528	48-63

CHAPTER IV

l. Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, <i>c.</i> 1488-1556—Marries Queen Margaret, 1514—Albany comes to Scotland, May 1515—li. Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, <i>c.</i> 1499-1552—Angus and his brother proclaimed traitors, October 1515—Their restoration, 1516—Is appointed to the Council of Regency, June 1517—Schism between Angus and Queen Margaret, 1517—"Cleanse the Causeway," 30th April 1520—Return of Albany, 21st November 1521—Angus goes into exile, March 1522—Escapes from France, 1524—Returns to Scotland, 1524—Queen Margaret's duplicity, 1525—Angus appointed Warden of the Marches, 15th March 1525—Feud of the Douglasses and Hamiltons, 1525—Angus declines to surrender the King, 1st November 1525—Concludes peace with England, 15th January 1526—Defection of the Earl of Lennox, 1526—Branxholm's attempt to capture the King, 1526—Defeat of Lennox at Avonbridge, 1526—Action against the Border clans, 1527-1528	64-93
--	-------

CHAPTER V

Queen Margaret is besieged in Stirling Castle, 1528—Fall of Angus, June 1528—xlviii. Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, "Greysteil," <i>ob. c.</i> 1535—Angus rebels against James v., September 1528—Goes into exile in England, May 1529—Turns renegade, August 1532—liii. Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, <i>ob.</i> 1537—Her dreadful doom, 17th July 1537—Death of Queen Margaret, 14th October 1541—Battle of Solway Moss, 24th November 1542—Angus returns to Scotland, January 1543—Sworn of the Privy Council, 1543—Marries Lord Maxwell's daughter, 6th April 1543—Lennox marries Lady Margaret Douglas, July 1544—Diplomacy of Sir George Douglas [li.], 1543-1544—Treaties concluded with England, July 1543—Arran goes over to the French faction, 1543—Angus imprisoned, 1544—Earl of Hertford's invasion, May 1544—Angus resigns office, 1545—Battle of Ancrum Moor, 27th February 1545—Murder of Cardinal Beaton, 29th May 1546—Battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547—Angus

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
attempts reconciliation with his daughter, 1550—Death of Sir George Douglas [li.], 1552—Arran resigns the Regency, 12th April 1554—Death of Angus, January 1557—liv. George Douglas, Bishop of Moray, <i>ob.</i> 1589-1590.	94-128

CHAPTER VI

lv. David, 7th Earl of Angus, died 1557—lvi. Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus and 6th Earl of Morton, 1555-1588—Marries Mary Erskine, 13th June 1573—Marries Lady Margaret Leslie, 25th December 1575—Appointed Warden of the West Marches, 11th June 1577—And Lieutenant-General of the realm, 1578—His attainer and forfeiture, 2nd June 1581—Repairs to the English Court, 1581-1582—Returns to Scotland, 28th September 1582—Seizure of Stirling Castle, April 1584—Angus flies again to England, 1584—Reconciliation with the Hamiltons, October 1584—Return of the exiles, October 1585—Restoration of Angus, 4th November 1585—Becomes 6th Earl of Morton, 29th January 1586—Return of the Earl of Arran, 1587—Death of Angus, 4th August 1588—lvii. William, 9th Earl of Angus, <i>c.</i> 1532-1591—His succession disputed by James vi., 1589—His death, 1st July 1591	129-155
---	---------

CHAPTER VII

lviii. William Douglas of Lochleven, 7th Earl of Morton, <i>d.</i> 1606—Was one of Riccio's murderers, 9th March 1566—Queen Mary escapes from Lochleven, 2nd May 1568—lix. George Douglas, brother of the Laird—Lochleven sells the Earl of Northumberland for £2000, 1572—Becomes 7th Earl of Morton, 1588—His death, 27th September 1606—lx. William, 10th Earl of Angus, <i>c.</i> 1554-1611—Joins the Church of Rome, 1580—Marries Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Oliphant, 1585—Ordered into exile, 1589—Appointed King's Lieutenant in the north, 1592—The "Spanish Blanks" conspiracy, 1592-1593—Imprisonment of Angus, 2nd January 1593—The Act of Abolition, 1593—Angus rises in rebellion, July 1594—Embraces the Protestant religion, 1597—Restoration of the three earls, 13th December 1597—Angus asserts his precedency, 1599—Reverts to the Church of Rome, <i>c.</i> 1601—Ordered into ward, May 1608—Excommunicated and exiled, 21st September 1608—Death of the 10th Earl of Angus, 3rd March 1611	156-181
---	---------

CHAPTER VIII

lxi. William, 8th Earl of Morton, 1582-1644—lxii. William, 1st Marquess of Douglas, 11th Earl of Angus, 1589-1660—Marries Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Lord Paisley, 11th July 1601—Travels on the Continent, 1623-1625—Created Marquess of Douglas, 14th June 1633—Douglas Castle taken by the Covenanters, 20th March 1639—	
---	--

Douglas signs the Covenant, 11th June 1644—His death, 19th February 1660—Godscroft's <i>Historie of the Douglasses</i> , 1644—lxv. Lord James Douglas, 1617-1645—lxvii. Lord George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton, c. 1619-1692—lxiv. Archibald, Master, then Earl, of Angus and Earl of Ormond, c. 1609-1655—Appointed a Lord of Session, 9th February 1639—His death, January 1655—Lord William Douglas, 1st Earl of Selkirk and 3rd Duke of Hamilton, 1634-1694—Created Duke of Hamilton, 1660—Welcomes William of Orange, 1688—His death, 18th April 1694—lxix. John, 1st Earl of Ruglen and 3rd Earl of Selkirk, <i>ob.</i> 1744—lxx. George, Earl of Orkney, <i>ob.</i> 1737—lxxi. James, Earl of Arran, 4th Duke of Hamilton, 1658-1712—Ambassador to France, December 1683—Declares himself a Jacobite, 1688—Imprisoned on a charge of treason, 1689—Created 4th Duke of Hamilton, 1698—The Union controversy, 1705-1707—Hamilton disappoints the Jacobites, 1705—Imprisoned in the Tower, 1708—Created Duke of Brandon, 10th September 1711—Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, August 1712—Duel with Lord Mohun, and death of the duke, 15th November 1712	182-216
---	---------

CHAPTER IX

lxxii. James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas, c. 1646-1700—Succeeds his grandfather, February 1660—Marries Lady Barbara Erskine, 1670—Separates from his wife, 1681—Marries Lady Mary Ker, 13th December 1692—Sale of Tantallon, 1699—Death of the Marquess, 25th February 1700—lxxiii. James, Earl of Angus, 1671-1692—Raises the Cameronian Regiment, 1689—Goes to Holland, 1690—Killed at Steinkirk, 3rd August 1692—lxxiv. Archibald, 3rd Marquess and 1st Duke of Douglas, 1694-1761—lxxv. Lady Jane Douglas, 1698-1753—Her flight to Paris, 1720—Murder of Capt. John Ker, c. 1725—The duke quarrels with his sister, 1738—Prince Charlie at Douglas, 24th December 1745—Marriage of Lady Jane Douglas, 1746—The duke's obduracy, 1752—Death of Lady Jane Steuart-Douglas, 22nd November 1753—The duke's remorse, 1753—He marries Miss Peggie Douglas, 1758—Douglas Castle burnt down, 1758—Death of the duke, 21st July 1761—lxxvi. Archibald Steuart-Douglas, 1st Lord Douglas, 1748-1827—The great Douglas case, 1761-1779—Archibald Steuart-Douglas created Baron Douglas of Douglas, 9th July 1790—His death, 26th December 1827	217-246
--	---------

CHAPTER X

lxxvii. Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, c. 1385-1421—William Douglas, 2nd lord of Drumlanrig, died 1458—William Douglas, 3rd lord of Drumlanrig, died 1464—William Douglas, 4th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1484—James Douglas, 5th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1498—lxxviii. Sir William Douglas, 6th lord of Drumlanrig, killed at Flodden, 1513—lii. Sir James Douglas, 7th lord of Drum-

	PAGE
lanrig, 1498-1578—Becomes Warden of the West Marches, <i>c.</i> 1553 —Captured by the laird of Wormeston, 23rd June 1571—The Comlongon tragedy, 1564—lxxxiv. Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, <i>c.</i> 1505- <i>c.</i> 1590—Death of Sir James Douglas, 27th December 1578—lxxxix. Sir James Douglas, 8th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1615—Slaughter of Drumlanrig's sheep, 1615—lxxx. Sir William Douglas, 9th lord of Drumlanrig, 1st Earl of Queensberry, died 1640 —Dispute between Drumlanrig and Cashogil, May 1621—Drumlanrig is raised to the Peerage, 1st April 1628—His death, 1640—lxxxii. James Douglas, 2nd Earl of Queensberry, died 1671—lxxxii. William Douglas, 3rd Earl and 1st Duke of Queensberry, 1637-1695— Appointed Justice-General, 1680—And Lord of Session, 1681— Created Marquess of Queensberry, February 1682—Appointed Lord High Treasurer, 12th May 1682—Created Duke of Queensberry, 3rd February 1684—His dealings with the Covenanters, 1682-1685— Perth and Melfort bring charges against him, 1685—Fall of Queens- berry, 1686—His death, 28th March 1695	247-274

CHAPTER XI

lxxxiii. James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry and 1st Duke of Dover, the "Union Duke," 1662-1711—Joins the Prince of Orange, 30th November 1688—Appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1693— The Darien Scheme and its consequences, 1695-1700—Queensberry made King's Commissioner to Parliament, 1700—Appointed Secretary of State, 1702—His designs against Hamilton and Athol, 1703— Dismissed from office, 1704—Restored to office, 1705—The Union Act, 22nd July 1706—Madness of Lord Drumlanrig, 1707—Queens- berry created Duke of Dover, 1708—His death, 6th July 1711	275-288
---	---------

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT



FIGS.	PAGE
1. Seal of Malcolm, Earl of Angus (1214-1242)	1
2. Seal of Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Angus (1245-1307)	2
3. Seal of Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus (1353-1361)	3
4. Seal of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus (1374-1418)	4
5. Seal of William Douglas, 2nd Earl of Angus (1402-1437)	9
6. Seal of William Douglas, 2nd Earl of Angus (1402-1437)	11
7. Signet of the 4th Earl of Angus	14
8. Signature of George, 4th Earl of Angus (1457)	18
9. Seal of Isabella Sibbald (Balgony), Countess of Angus	20
10. Seal of George Douglas, 4th Earl of Angus (1446-1463)	21
11. Signature of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus (1484-1490)	29
12. Signature of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus (1484-1490)	35
13. Seal of Archibald Douglas, 5th Earl of Angus (1463-1514)	45
14. Signature of George Douglas, Master of Angus (1496)	51
15. Seal of George Douglas, Master of Angus (1469-1513)	52
16. Signature of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1515-1522)	56
17. Seal of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1516-1522)	60
18. Signature of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1518)	72
19. Signatures of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1518)	75
20. Seal of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1514-1556)	88
21. Signature of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie (1480-1540)	96
22. Signature of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, Master of Angus (<i>c.</i> 1547)	108
23. Seal of Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus	109
24. Signet of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (1490-1552)	115
25. Seal of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (1490-1552)	125
26. Signature of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox and Angus (<i>c.</i> 1565)	130
27. Signature of Margaret Leslie, 2nd Countess of the 8th Earl of Angus (1586)	133
28. Signature of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1565)	134
29. Signature of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (<i>c.</i> 1576)	135
30. Signatures of David Hume of Godscroft	139

FIGS.	PAGE
31. Signet of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1557-1588)	148
32. Seal of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1557-1588)	149
33. Signature of Jean Lyon, 3rd Countess of the 8th Earl of Angus (c. 1586)	150
33A. Signatures of William Douglas of Glenbervie, 9th Earl of Angus	153
34. Seal of William, 9th Earl of Angus (1588-1591)	155
35. Signet of Sir George Douglas of Lochleven (1560)	159
36. Signet of William, 10th Earl of Angus (1591-1611)	169
37. Facsimile Signature and Postscript of James VI.	175
38. Signature of William, 10th Earl of Angus (1601)	179
39. Signature of Elizabeth Oliphant, Countess of Angus	180
40. Signature of Margaret Hamilton, first wife of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas	186
41. Signet of William, 11th Earl of Angus, etc. (1611-1660)	186
42. Signatures of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas (1611-1660)	187
43. Seal of William, 11th Earl of Angus, 1st Marquess of Douglas (1611-1660)	193
44. Signature of Lady Mary Gordon, second wife of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas	193
45. Signet of George Douglas, 1st Earl of Dumbarton (1686)	196
46. Signet of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1609-1655)	198
47. Signature of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1650)	199
48. Signature of Lady Jean Wemyss, second wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus	199
49. Signature of Archibald Douglas, 1st Earl of Forfar (1672)	200
49A. Seal of Sir Archibald Douglas of Spot (1616)	216
50. Signature of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1687)	223
51. Signature of Lady Barbara Erskine, 1st Marchioness of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1681)	223
52, 53. Seal and Signature of Lady Mary Ker, 2nd Marchioness of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1695)	224
54. Seal of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1660-1700).	225
55. Signet of the Marchioness Mary (c. 1695)	226
56, 57. Signet and Signature of James, Lord Angus, son of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (c. 1692)	229
58. Signature of Lady Jane Douglas (1746-1753)	239
59. Signature of Margaret Douglas, Duchess of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1764)	241
60. Signet of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1700-1761)	242
61. Signature of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1752)	244
62. Signature of Archibald Steuart-Douglas, Lord Douglas (1788)	245
63. Signature of Frances Scott, second wife of Archibald Steuart- Douglas, Lord Douglas (1792)	245

FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry, from a painting at Drumlanrig	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV., afterwards Countess of Angus	<i>Facing page</i> 80
Tantallon Castle	“ ” 98
Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, from a painting at Dalmahoy	“ ” 124
William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton, from a painting at Dalmahoy	“ ” 163
Robert Douglas, 8th Earl of Morton	“ ” 183
William Douglas, 3rd Duke of Hamilton, from a painting at Hamilton Palace	“ ” 201
James Douglas-Hamilton, 4th Duke of Hamilton, from a painting in Holyrood House	“ ” 213
Monument to the Earl of Angus at Douglas	“ ” 230
The 12th Earl of Home, from a painting by Sir George Reid, P.R.A. Scot.	“ ” 246
The 4th Duke of Queensberry as a young man	“ ” 285
The 4th Duke of Queensberry as an old man—“Old Q.”	“ ” 286

LIST OF COLOURED SHIELDS

Sholto George Watson Douglas, 21st Earl of Morton, 23rd Lord Dalkeith, etc.	<i>Facing page</i> 181
George Sholto Gordon Douglas-Pennant, 2nd Baron Penrhyn Edmund Walter Fitzmaurice, 7th Earl of Orkney, etc.	“ ” 184
Alfred Douglas-Hamilton, 13th Duke of Hamilton, 10th Marquess of Douglas, and 20th Earl of Angus, etc.	“ ” 205
Sir William Henry Walter Montague-Douglas-Scott, 6th Duke of Buccleuch, 8th Duke of Queensberry, etc.	“ ” 216
Sir Percy Sholto Douglas, 9th Marquess of Queensberry, 11th Viscount Drumlanrig, and Lord Douglas of Hawick	“ ” 274
	“ ” 288

THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS

VOLUME II

CHAPTER I



Fig. 1.—Seal of Malcolm, Earl of Angus (1214-1242).

PAGE

- 2 The earldom of Angus.
- 5 xxxviii. George Douglas, 1st Earl of Angus, *c.* 1376-1403.
- 5 Marries Mary, daughter of Robert III., 1397.
- 7 Taken prisoner at Homildon Hill, 1402.
- 7 Dies of the plague, *c.* 1403.
- 8 xxxix. William, 2nd Earl of Angus, *c.* 1398-1437.
- 9 Meets King James I. at Durham, 1424.

VOL. II.

PAGE

- 10 Accompanies him to the Highlands, 1429.
- 11 Battle of Piperdean, 10th September 1435.
- 11 Death of Angus, October 1437.
- 11 xl. William Douglas of Cluny, *c.* 1428-*c.* 1475.
- 12 xli. James, 3rd Earl of Angus, *c.* 1426-1446.
- 12 Is forfeited by James II. and restored, 1445.
- 13 His death, 1446.

A

PAGE	PAGE
14 xlii. George, 4th Earl of Angus, c. 1430-1463.	16 Fall of the Black Douglas, 1455.
14 Expeditions into England, 1448.	16 Angus receives the lordship of Douglas, 1457.
15 The Douglas rebellion: Angus adheres to the King, 1452- 1455.	16 Wounded at Roxburgh, 1460.
16 Battle of Arkinholm, 18th May 1455.	18 His treaty with Henry VI., 1462.
	19 Relieves the French in Alnwick, 1462.
	20 His death, 12th March 1463.

THE modern county of Forfar corresponds pretty closely with the ancient earldom of Angus, which, with the county now called Kincardine, formed one of the traditional seven provinces into which the kingdom of Scone was divided for the benefit of seven brothers in the eighth century.¹ The hereditary Pictish mormaers who ruled over these provinces had their counterpart in the Seven Earls who formed part of the constitution of Scotland until near the close of the thirteenth century. Matilda, daughter and heiress of Malcolm, the last Celtic Earl of Angus, conveyed the earldom to her husband, John Comyn, grandson of William Comyn, Earl of Buchan and Justiciar of Scotland. John dying in 1242, Matilda married Sir Gilbert de Umfraville, an English baron of Norman lineage, who thereby became Earl of Angus. He died in 1244, and



Fig. 2.—Seal of Gilbert Umfraville, Earl of Angus (1245-1307).

was succeeded in the earldom by three of his line, whereof the first was Gilbert, a famous knight in the wars of Edward I. against the Scots under Wallace and Bruce. He died in 1307, and was succeeded by his son Robert, who served Edward II. as effectively as Gilbert had served the first Edward. But he was little more than titular earl, the substantial part of his inheritance having passed under dominion of Robert the Bruce. Gilbert, the son of Robert, assumed the title, and tried to win back the *comitatus* by supporting Edward Baliol in his attempt upon the kingship,

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 42.

but Robert I. had bestowed both upon Sir John Stewart of Boncle. Sir John died in 1331, leaving the earldom to his infant son Thomas, by his wife Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Alexander de Abernethy. By this marriage the lordship of Abernethy and other lands came into possession of the Earls of Angus.

Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, married, in 1353, Margaret, daughter of Sir William St. Clair of Roslyn,¹ and became Chamberlain of Scotland,² an office in which he was replaced before 1359 by Walter, Lord of Biggar, probably on account of certain doings which ultimately cost him his life. A variety of reasons for the disgrace of Angus are mentioned by Bower—his oppression of the commons, his disorderly life, and, lastly, his alleged complicity in the murder of Katherine Mortimer, the Welsh mistress of David II.³ The King sent him to prison in Dumbarton Castle, where he died of the plague in 1361. He left two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, whereof Margaret, the elder, married Thomas, 13th Earl of Mar, who had divorced his first wife, Margaret, Countess of Menteith, because she bore him no children.⁴ During the Earl of Mar's life the two sisters, Margaret and Elizabeth Stewart, shared the inheritance, exercising joint superiority over the estates, although the elder styled herself Countess of Mar; but Mar died in 1374, and in 1379 Robert II. granted confirmation of an agreement whereby Elizabeth surrendered all her claim to the *comitatus*,⁵ and Margaret thereafter assumed the style of Countess of Angus and Mar.⁶ Before the year 1357, William, 1st Earl of Douglas



Fig. 3.—Seal of Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus (1353-1361).

¹ Dispensation granted, June 1353.—*Papal Letters*, iii. 512.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. 1.

³ Bower, xiv. 24.

⁴ *Red Book of Menteith*, by Sir William Fraser, i. 121-124.

⁵ *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, etc.*, iv. 160.

⁶ Fraser, iii. 400.

[xi.], married Margaret, sister of the above-mentioned Thomas, Earl of Mar, which did not prevent him from making Thomas's widow his mistress. She lived at Tantallon Castle, then in Douglas's possession, as shown by charters granted by her at that place;¹ and that her peculiar relations to Douglas were fully recognised, became manifest upon the death of her nephew, James, 2nd Earl of Douglas [xii.], at Otterburn in 1388, when Robert, Earl of Fife, visited the castle as its superior, found her still "suornand" [sojourning] there, and granted her permission to remain as long as she chose, adding that "in the men tyme, we haf heft trewly we sal manteyn hir, hir men, hir landys and al hir possessons aganyis ony that wald wrang thaim, in als tendir maner as wr awyn propir."² The Countess of Angus and Mar bore a son, George, to her brother-in-law and paramour.³

There remains no record that the Church remonstrated



Fig. 4.—Seal of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Mar and Angus (1374-1418).

or interfered in any way to correct the irregular private life of the Countess of Angus; but when she infringed upon the temporal rights of ecclesiastics, she was threatened with all the terrors of excommunication. This occurred during her last years, when a dispute arose between her and the monks of Durham about possession of certain lands in Berwickshire. The countess held these lands by force, but yielded to the threat of anathema, and the Prior of

¹ Fraser, iii. 34.

² *Ibid.*, 32.

³ Godscroft, unwilling probably to assign an incestuous as well as illegitimate origin to the line of Douglas, Earls of Angus, his patrons, states that the 1st Earl of Douglas [xi.] married the Countess of Angus and Mar after the death of his wife Margaret of Mar. But Douglas was only married once, and his wife, the said Margaret, survived both her and her son, Earl James [xii.] (see vol. i. p. 94). The paternity of George, 1st Earl of Angus, is fully set forth in a charter to him by James de Sandilands, Lord of Cawdor, c. 1397.—*Ibid.*, iii. 35.

Durham directed the Prior of Coldingham to grant her absolution¹ upon her yielding up the lands in dispute, which she did on 4th January 1416.²

The Countess of Angus and Mar died before 23rd March 1418.³ Whatever may have been her moral delinquency, nothing could have been more exemplary

and successful than her exertions to establish

her son in an honourable position. On 9th April 1389 she resigned in his favour the earldom of Angus,⁴ but he did not assume the

title until after his betrothal in 1397 to Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., a marriage doubtless brought about by the adroit management of his mother. At all events, the countess arranged with the King the terms of the marriage-contract on 24th May 1397, and these were remarkably favourable to her son. The King under-

took to confirm to "Jorge of Douglas" the earldom of Angus and the lordship of Abernethy and Boncle, to endow him and his spouse with the justiciary fees of the county of Forfar, to ratify

all gifts, entails, and leases made or to be made by Isabel, Countess of Mar,⁵ "to the sayde Jorge hir brothir," and all that were made or might be made by Sir James de Sandilands, Lord of Calder;⁶ and finally to maintain the countess in all her possessions within the "kynryc."⁷ In all this may be traced the hand of a very clever woman, not devoid of ambition, and probably possessed of great personal charm. She appears to have been one of those privileged mortals who may steal a horse, while inferior or less fortunate individuals are hanged for looking over the hedge.

The same influence may be traced in a transaction with

¹ 19th December, 1415. *Priory of Coldingham* [Surtees Society], p. 88.

² *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, et.*, iv. 733.

³ Fraser, iii. 50.

⁴ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, i. 565.

⁵ Widow of James, 2nd Earl of Douglas.

⁶ Married Eleanor, sister of the 1st Earl of Douglas.

⁷ Fraser, iii. 38.

xxxviii.

George Douglas,
1st Earl

of Angus,

c. 1376-1403.

Marries

Mary, 2nd

daughter of

Robert III.,

1397.

Sir James de Sandilands of Calder, whose wife, Eleanor, as daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas the Tineman [x.], was heir-presumptive to Isabel, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Douglas [xii.], heiress to the unentailed estates of her father. These estates included the lands of Cavers, with the castle of Roxburgh and sheriffship of that county, the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh, the lands of Bonjedworth, the town of Selkirk, the regality of Buittle in Galloway, Drumlanrig and the lordship of Liddesdale, Tillicoultry in Clackmannan, and extensive lands in Banffshire. It would never have done to allow this splendid possession to pass away from the house of Douglas; what means of persuasion this indefatigable countess employed we know not, but in effect Sandilands yielded to her representations, and surrendered his presumptive rights in favour of the young Earl of Angus.¹ This he did by the advice and consent of his friends and relatives, and—a curious expression—after weighing minutely his own advantage [*mea utilitate multipliciter pensata*]. Truly it was an age when the Scripture was fulfilled to the letter—"Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath." For the countess was not satisfied in securing for her son the Lord of Calder's fine prospective inheritance; she obtained for him possession of the castle of Calder as a residence for five years, coupled with Sandilands' undertaking to confirm any gift or bequest of lands which Isabel, Countess of Mar, should make to "hir lufide brothir George," provided the said George should engage to make over to Sandilands land to the value of 200 merks out of any such gift or bequest. All this was done, "the Hali Wangelis touchide,"² and to the indenture the masterful countess set her seal, "in defaute that the saide George had na seil propir of his awyn."³

The Earl of Angus took no great part in public affairs, although his name occurs in connection with several minor

¹ Fraser, iii. 35.

² The Holy Gospels having been touched.

³ *Ibid.*, 37.

transactions of state. In 1402 he was despatched by the Duke of Albany with Murdoch of Albany and the Earl of Moray to reinforce the 4th Earl of Douglas [xvi.] in his invasion of Northumberland. That expedition ended upon the disastrous field of Homildon, where Douglas, Moray, Murdoch, and Angus were captured. Moray and Angus died of the plague, contracted during their captivity,¹ Angus being aged about four-and-twenty. He left a son and daughter by his wife Mary Stuart—(1) William [xxxix.], who succeeded as 2nd Earl of Angus; and (2) Elizabeth, who married—first, Sir Alexander Forbes, afterwards Lord Forbes;² and second, Sir David Hay of Yester, ancestor of the Marquess of Tweeddale.³

Angus was survived by his countess, who afterwards married no less than three other husbands. Her second husband was Sir James Kennedy, son of Sir Gilbert of Dunure, by whom she had three sons, of whom the second was ancestor of the Marquess of Ailsa, and the third, James, became Bishop of St. Andrews, and filled an important part in the reign of James II.

Her third husband was William, Lord of Graham, of which marriage the eldest son was ancestor of Claverhouse and the Duke of Montrose, and the second son became the first Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Her fourth husband was Sir William Edmonstone of Culloden, upon whom King James bestowed Duntreath, and by whom Mary became ancestress of the present owners of that property.

Before following further the line of Angus, and before entering upon the bitter strife shortly to arise between the royal house of Stuart and the house of Douglas, it is instructive to recall the number and closeness of the ties which had been formed between them by intermarriage before the close of the fifteenth century:—

¹ Bower, xv. 14.

² Fraser, iii. 60.

³ Obligation by the Earl of Orkney to William St. Clair of Herdmanston, now at Hermiston, quoted by Fraser, ii. 23, note.

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| 1. Sir William Douglas, "le Hardi" [vi.], c. 1270 | ///. | Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander the Steward, grand-aunt of Robert II. |
| 2. Sir Henry Douglas of Lugton and Lochleven [xxix.], c. 1325 | ,, | Marjory, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Ralston, niece of Robert II. |
| 3. James, 2nd Earl of Douglas [xii.], c. 1371 | ,, | Isabel, daughter of Robert II. |
| 4. Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith [xxx.], c. 1385 | ,, | Egidia, daughter of Walter the Steward. |
| 5. Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale [xiv.], 1387 | ,, | Egidia or Gelis, daughter of Robert II. |
| 6. Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas [xvi.], c. 1390 | ,, | Margaret, daughter of Robert III. |
| 7. David, Duke of Rothesay, heir-apparent to the throne, 1400 | ,, | Mary, daughter of Archibald "the Grim," 3rd Earl of Douglas [xiii.]. |
| 8. James Douglas, 1st Lord Dalkeith [xxxi.], c. 1401 | ,, | Elizabeth, daughter of Robert II. |
| 9. Alexander Stuart, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, 1404 | ,, | Isabel Douglas, Countess of Mar. |
| 10. John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, son of the Duke of Albany, c. 1420 | ,, | Elizabeth, daughter of the 4th Earl of Douglas [xvi.]. |
| 11. James "the Gross," 7th Earl of Douglas [xix.], c. 1420 | ,, | ———, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany. |
| 12. James, 1st Earl of Morton [xxxiii.], 1458 | ,, | Joanna, daughter of James I. |

At the death of the 1st Earl of Angus of the Douglas line, his only son cannot have been more than four years old.¹ The lad's mother married her second husband, Sir James Kennedy, in 1409, when his grandmother, Margaret, Countess of Angus and Mar, betrothed him to Margaret, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester. The same tutelary mind probably guided him in adding to his already great possessions by acquiring, in 1409, the lands of Easter Cluny in Perthshire. In 1421, when Angus was nominated one of the twenty-one

xxxix. William, 2nd Earl of Angus, c. 1398-1437.

¹ A precept for the second earl's infeftment in the lordship of Liddesdale, by Robert, Duke of Albany, dated 27th March 1409, wherein the heir is described as of full age [*legitime statis*], seems inconsistent with this; but William's parents were only married in 1397, and Sir W. Fraser explains the discrepancy by suggesting a special dispensation.—Fraser, ii. 24, note; iii. 49.

hostages in security for the payment of James I.'s ransom, the annual value of his estates was estimated at 600 merks.¹ Now that conveys a very indefinite idea to modern minds; in fact, antiquaries are not quite unanimous as to whether the annual taxation or the annual gross rental is indicated in this computation.² Although thus nominated, Angus's name does not occur among those finally appointed hostages. Possibly the grandmother's prescient care for the line prevailed to prevent its heir going into a captivity which caused the death of so many noble hostages for King James's fickle faith.



Fig. 5. — Seal of William Douglas, 2nd Earl of Angus (1402-1437).

Howbeit, Angus was among the Scottish nobles who met their King at Durham upon his liberation, escorted him in triumph into his own realm,³ and received knighthood from his hand at the coronation at Scone in May.⁴

Meets King
James at
Durham,
April 1424.

Of the jury of twenty-one lords who, on 24th May 1425, the King himself presiding, condemned to the scaffold Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his two sons, and the aged Earl of Lennox, there were four members of the house of Douglas, namely, the Earls of Angus and of Douglas [xiii.], Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith [xxx.], and John Douglas of Balvany [xxiii].⁵ The widowed Duchess

¹ *Fadera*, x. 307.

² Mr. Cosmo Innes went very fully into this problem, and came to the conclusion that one merk land should contain $34\frac{2}{3}$ acres of arable land [*Scottish Legal Antiquities*, p. 284]. This would indicate that in 1423 Angus possessed 20,800 acres of arable land, but it is certain that at this period the system of land measurement varied very much in the east of Scotland from that prevailing in the west.

³ *Fadera*, x. 309, 344; Bain, iv. 170.

⁴ *Flusscarden*, ii. 299.

⁵ Sir William Fraser here falls into the same error as he did about the Earl of Douglas [xiii.], alleging that Angus was among those arrested with Murdoch by order of the King. This error has been shown elsewhere (vol. i. p. 151, *note*) to have arisen from a mistranslation of a passage in Bower, xvi. 10.

of Albany was imprisoned in Angus's castle of Tantallon,¹ which her husband himself had built during the King's imprisonment.

Angus marched north with his King in the summer of 1429 to avenge the burning of Inverness by Alastair, Lord of the Isles; and when that wild chieftain came to do penance in shirt and drawers before the King in Holyrood [27th August], he was committed to the keeping of Angus in the tower of Tantallon.

Accompanies
King James
to the High-
lands, July
1429.

In the following year [1430] the Earl of Angus was one of the Scottish commissioners to negotiate with England an extension of the truce then existing. It was prolonged for five years, and Angus was appointed one of twelve conservators to enforce its observance. Also, on 10th November, he was constituted Warden of the Middle Marches.²

In 1434 the earl was employed upon a delicate and possibly distasteful mission. King James I., in pursuance of his policy of striking at the tallest heads, had determined upon the ruin of George, Earl of March. Him, therefore, he put in ward in Edinburgh, and charged Angus to proceed with Sir William Crichton and Sir Adam Hepburn to take possession of March's castle of Dunbar. The garrison, in the absence of their lord, dared not resist the royal commands; the fortress was surrendered and placed in the keeping of Sir Adam Hepburn. March's wide lands were annexed to the Crown, and the King cloaked his own lawless avarice by bestowing upon his luckless victim the empty title of Earl of Buchan.³

The office of Warden of the Marches, even in truce time, was far from being a sinecure, but Angus showed himself equal to the task. The restless Percys could not wait for the expiry of the truce. In September 1435 the Earl of Northumberland's son Henry crossed the Border

¹ This is known by Angus appearing as witness to a charter by the King at Inverness on 27th July.—*Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. No. 127.

² Fraser, iii. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 25.

with a force of 4000 men. Angus, accompanied by Sir Adam Hepburn of Hailes and Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwalsey, encountered them at Piperdean on 10th September, and there won an easy victory, in which the slain on both sides numbered only about forty, but fifteen hundred English surrendered to the Scottish Warden.¹

James I. was assassinated on 20th February 1437, and the last action in which Angus took part was the pursuit and capture of Walter, Earl of Athol, and his fellow-conspirators. Angus died in October of the same year, the date being fixed by the retour of his heir.² He married in 1425 the wife chosen for him by his grandmother, namely, Margaret Hay of Yester, who survived him for nearly fifty years.³ She

bore her husband three sons—(1) James, who succeeded as third earl; (2) George, who succeeded as fourth earl; and (3) William, commonly called of Cluny [in Fife].

This William Douglas [xl.] was appointed guardian to King James III. during his minority, and received from him before 1462 some of the spoil accruing from the forfeiture

of the Earl of Douglas and his adherents. Two years later, in 1464, King James appointed him Warden of the Eastern and Middle Marches,⁴ in succession to his brother the 4th Earl of Angus [xlii.], and at the same time committed to him the keeping of the castles of Douglas and Tantallon, with their

xl. William Douglas of Cluny, died unmarried before 1475.



Fig. 6.—Seal of William Douglas, 2nd Earl of Angus (1402-1437).

¹ Bower, xvi. 24.

² Fraser, iii. 372.

³ She was still enjoying her terce in 1484.—*Ibid.*, 116.

⁴ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. No. 773.

lordships. When the 5th earl, "Bell-the-Cat" [xliii.], came of age in 1470, William Douglas came before the King and *ad eius genua prouolutus*—resigned ward of Tantallon and the lordship of Douglas *per fustem et baculum* in the said earl's favour. The lands which he received upon the forfeiture of his kinsmen, comprising Sunderlandhall in Selkirkshire, Cranston in Midlothian, and Traquair and Leithenhope in Peeblesshire, were erected in 1464 into the barony of Sunderland in his favour.¹

William Douglas of Cluny, sometimes styled lord of Sunderland and sometimes lord of Traquair, died, probably unmarried, before 1475, when his lands of Cluny appear in possession of the 5th Earl of Angus.²

James Douglas must have been about eleven years old when he succeeded his father in the earldom in 1437. One of his earliest public appearances vividly recalls the noble strife waged by the good Sir James of Douglas [viii.] in the days of the Bruce. The young Earl of Angus, presiding as lord of Jedburgh Forest at an inquest held at "Richermuderake" within that forest for the retour of "Jeorgius" Douglas as heir to his father of Bonjedward, imposed upon the said George a vassal's fee of one silver penny, to be paid annually, *si petatur*, on St. John's day [the anniversary of Bannockburn] at the earl's tower of Lintalee. This stronghold, therefore, so closely associated with the exploits of the Black Douglas, had passed into the hands of the Red; and Black and Red were on the eve of mortal feud.

The first act in that feud opened with the forfeiture of the Earl of Angus in 1445 at the instance of the 8th Earl of Douglas [xx.], whose influence over the young King was at that time at its height.³ The difference between the two earls probably took its rise in the attitude of the Earl of Douglas towards the Crichton

xii. James,
3rd Earl of
Angus, Lord
of Liddesdale
and Jedburgh
Forest,
c. 1426-1446.

Is forfeited
by James II.,
1st July 1445.

¹ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. No. 775.

² *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Fourth Report), App. p. 496.

³ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 59.

faction, which has been pretty fully explained in the first volume of this work.¹ Godscroft affirms that the feud was fomented by Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews; but it is difficult to hold a clue to the tortuous politics of that day. Angus certainly adhered to Crichton, who was besieged for nine weeks in Edinburgh Castle,² and harried Douglas's lands of Strabrock and Abercorn. When Sir Robert Fleming made a counter-raid upon Angus's lands about North Berwick, he was captured by Angus and compelled to enter into recognisances to surrender himself within eight days' warning at Tantallon or Hermitage. Godscroft testifies to having seen this bond, which was dated 24th September 1445, by which time Angus and Crichton had been received to grace on making their submission to the King.

Before his temporary disgrace, the Earl of Angus had been granted considerable payments out of the customs of North Berwick and Haddington. Upon his forfeiture the collectors hesitated to make him the usual payments; whereupon he took the matter into his own hands, and made the collection himself.³

Angus died in 1446.⁴ He never married, although in 1440 a contract of marriage⁵ was concluded on 18th October 1440, between him and Joan, third daughter of James I.—the *muta domina*, dumb lady—who in 1458 married another James Douglas, the 1st Earl of Morton [xxxiii.]. Perhaps Angus could not subscribe to the cynical doctrine that the only sure conditions of a happy marriage are that the husband should be blind and the wife dumb, or perhaps the contract failed of

¹ Pp. 164-172.

² *Auchinleck*, p. 38.

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, v. 98, 115, 116, 127, 136, 144, 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁵ Godscroft saw the contract, and his statement concerning it is confirmed by the official record of its production before the Lords of Council and Session on 7th March 1588, in the disputed succession of the Glenberrie Douglasses to the earldom of Angus. He alleges that the marriage actually took place, but his reference to both contract and marriage exists only in his original MS. at Hamilton Palace, and was suppressed, with a great deal of other matter, in the printed edition.—Fraser, ii. 42, and note 4.

fulfilment because of Angus's death. Joan could not have been more than twelve years old at the time of her betrothal, and in 1445 she was sent to her eldest sister the Dauphiness, and was in France at the time that Angus died.

George, second son of the 2nd Earl of Angus [xlii.], succeeded his elder brother James,¹ and greatly augmented the power and dignity of his patrimony, to which end the final ruin of the Earls of Douglas greatly contributed.

In 1448, after Percy and Ogle had burnt Dunbar Castle, and Salisbury had done the like to Dumfries, Angus joined his kinsmen, the Earls of Douglas [xx.] and Ormond [xxii.], in a punitive expedition into Northumberland. In June they pressed as far as Alnwick, which they burnt and "come hame wele."² That sufficed to avenge the mischief done at Dunbar; remained the score for Dumfries to be settled, which was done handsomely in July, when they laid Warkworth in ashes "and did gret scaith."³



Fig. 7.—Signet of the 4th Earl of Angus.

Never more were the Black Douglas and the Red destined to ride together upon an expedition against their hereditary foes. Bishop Turnbull of Glasgow and the two Crichtons took advantage of the absence of the last Earl of Douglas [xx.] in Rome in 1450 to persuade James II. to the undoing of his too powerful subject. To this end the King made a hostile incursion upon the Douglas estates, killing many of his vassals and servants, and

¹ The 4th Earl of Angus has been often declared to have been the second son of George, 1st earl; and Godscroft's explanation of his true parentage, given in his MS., has been garbled into a completely contrary sense by his editors. [Fraser, ii. 45, note.] But that he was the son of the 2nd and not of the 3rd earl is proved by an explicit reference to his father in a document dated 26th June 1450, as *Williclmus Douglas comes de Angus, pater comitis moderni*; that is, "William Douglas, Earl of Angus, father of the present earl."—*Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Society), 165.

² *Auchinleck*, 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 40.

destroying his tower of Craig Douglas in Ettrick Forest. Douglas returned, made his peace, and received extraordinary marks of the fickle King's favour in the shape of the remarkable series of charters referred to elsewhere,¹ and to most of these charters Angus was a witness. But within less than a year the Earl of Douglas had fallen under his King's dagger at Stirling, and the Douglasdale vassals had mustered in rebellion under the brothers of their murdered lord.

What part should Angus take? The blood of his kinsman, so shamefully done to death, cried to him from the ground. Had he thrown in his strength with the Douglas cause, all the might of Scotland could not have kept the Stuarts upon their throne; in the terrible vengeance he might have exacted most men of that time would have held him justified, so profoundly were the claims of kinship held in respect. But, were kinship the question, Angus was nearer and more honourably akin to King James than he was to the Earl of Douglas. Through his grandmother, a daughter of Robert III., he was the King's cousin; whereas to the 8th Earl of Douglas he was related through his bastard and incestuous descent from the 1st Earl of Douglas. It would not suffice merely to remain loyal to the King; more was required from so powerful a noble as Angus than merely to abstain from rebellion; loyalty implied that he must be the chief agent under the King in suppressing and destroying the rebels. Angus remained true to his allegiance, with all its consequences. Upon his motives there exists no material for founding a judgment. They had been clearer had the Red Douglas derived less direct advantage from the ruin of the Black, and refrained from enriching himself by such a large share of the spoil; but let it stand to his credit that he dealt with the King's enemies as if they had been his own.

Adheres to
James II.,
1452-

When the 9th Earl of Douglas [xxiv.] and his brothers finally flung down the gauntlet and took the field in 1455,

¹ Vol. i. p. 170.

Angus received high command in the royalist army, and was probably present with the King during the siege of Abercorn. The Earl of Douglas advanced to the relief of his castle, but the defection of his lieutenant, Lord Hamilton, made that a hopeless enterprise. Douglas, deserted by most of his forces, disappeared, "and men wist not grathlie quhar the Douglas was."¹ In fact he had fled to England, leaving his three brothers—Moray [xxi.], Ormond [xxii.], and Balvany [xxiii.]—to continue the unequal strife. These having appeared in Annandale in considerable force, Angus despatched to muster the Border clans in the King's name. He encountered the rebels on a May morning at Arkinholm [Langholm], and completely routed them—Moray being slain, Ormond captured and sent to the scaffold, John of Balvany escaping to England. To the great Act of Forfeiture which followed, the Earl of Angus appended his seal, in token of consent and approval.²

The Red Douglas received immediate and substantial reward for his loyalty in the shape of the great lordship of Douglas.³ The charter conveying it, though dated 16th April 1457, probably only confirmed what had been informally transacted already during the troubled months that followed the fall of the Black Douglas. Thenceforward Angus used Lord Douglas as his second title, instead of Lord Abernethy.

The King of Scots, having espoused the cause of Lancaster against that of York, determined to possess himself, in Henry IV.'s interest as well as in that of his own kingdom, of the long-contested castle of Roxburgh. To this he laid siege in the summer of 1460, and paid dearly for his intense interest in artillery. He was standing, with Angus at his side, watching the serving of a great piece—"ane gun the quhilk brak in the fying"⁴—and was killed by the bursting

The Douglas
Rebellion,
1455.

Battle of
Arkinholm,
18th May
1455.

Angus re-
ceives the
lordship of
Douglas, etc.,
16th April
1457.

Wounded at
the siege of
Roxburgh,
3rd August
1460.

¹ *Auchinleck*, 53.

² *Fraser*, iii. 86.

³ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 42, 75-77.

⁴ *Auchinleck*, 57.

thereof. Angus was wounded by the same explosion, but not so seriously as to prevent him capturing the castle on the Friday following, and being present on 10th August at the coronation of James III. at Kelso. Although it does not appear in the printed editions of Godscroft's history, that author is the authority, in his manuscript at Hamilton Palace, for a certain incident which marked the ceremony. Some fuss having arisen among prelates and peers upon points of precedence and hereditary offices, Angus ended the dispute "in a substantiall and matirical maner," for, brushing all the great men aside, he claimed the privilege of bearing the crown upon such an occasion. Then placing it upon James's boyish head, he exclaimed, "There! now that I have set it upon your Grace's head, let me see who will be so bold as to move it."

Great as the power of Angus had already become, it continued to increase during the reign of James III., who followed the same policy which so often proved fatal to the peace of Scotland, that of raising a subject to such a degree of ascendancy over all others, that it became a matter of state policy to cast him down. Although Parliament had decreed that the wardenship of the Marches should no longer be hereditary in the Douglas family,¹ yet Angus continued to exercise the jurisdiction of the East and Middle Marches, and, according to Pitscottie, was appointed Lieutenant of the Realm by the Queen-mother and Council.² At the same time he devoted great attention to the consolidation of his estates, placing trusted vassals in possession of his lands in various counties, and taking bonds of manrent and service from other lords and land-owners, independent, but less powerful than himself. Thus he placed Liddesdale and the castle of Hermitage in the keeping of his kinsmen Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers and his son William;³ Jedburgh and Lintalee he committed to Andrew Ker of Cessford, ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh;⁴ Kirriemuir he entrusted to his own uncle, Sir Robert

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 43.

² Pitscottie, i. 153.

³ Fraser, iii. 78.

⁴ Original indenture at Floors, quoted by Fraser, ii. 56, note.

Graham of Auld Montrose,¹ with whom also he effected an escambion of the lands of Earl-Stradichty and Balergus, part of the old Angus estate, for Ewesdale, in Dumfriesshire.² Most important of all, Lord Hamilton of Cadzow, once right-hand man of the Black Douglas, had now [1457] given his complete adhesion and submission to the Red.³ Other barons, not related to Angus, gave him letters of bailiary over their lands, so that the earl obtained complete control over them.⁴ In 1462 Angus obtained a gift from the Crown of the whole lands, rents, and goods of all the adherents of the forfeited Earl of Douglas in Roxburghshire, always excepting certain of these which had already been given to the earl's brother, William of Cluny [xl].⁵

Fig. 8.—Signature of George, 4th Earl of Angus (1457).

In that same year Angus executed a singular, perhaps unique, covenant with King Henry VI. As already mentioned, that monarch, when sorely pressed by the Yorkist faction, had sought and obtained the aid of the King of Scots, in consideration whereof he had delivered up to him the town and castle of Berwick. But, as if distrustful of the ability of young James III. to render him effective service, should that be contrary to the inclination of the most powerful of his subjects, King Henry obtained from Angus a bond obliging him to serve in England with a stipulated

Angus makes
a treaty with
Henry VI.
of England,
22nd Novem-
ber 1462.

¹ Papers at Glamis Castle, quoted by Fraser, ii. 56, note.

² Fraser, iii. 434.

³ Original bond of manrent at Hamilton Palace, quoted by Fraser, ii. 57.

⁴ Letter from Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton, in East Lothian, at Douglas Castle, quoted by Fraser, ii. 58.

⁵ Fraser, iii. 91.

force for the recovery of that realm from Henry's rebels and enemies. Henry, on his part, engaged, as soon as he should have recovered his kingdom, or the greater part thereof, by the help of Angus, "to make the saide erle sufficiently and suerly after the lawes of England a duke withynne the said reavme of England, with stile, astate, honure, and name of a duke," together with a castle and land of the value of 2000 marks. Whereas this honour and possession might well prove inconvenient to Angus and his heirs, and their tenure the reverse of secure, in the not improbable event of war between England and Scotland, special provision was made for not interfering with Angus and his heirs fighting in all such war upon the side of Scotland without any prejudice to their English property and title. Such a remarkable document seemed to require special ratification to render it valid, therefore it was to be submitted to "our holy Fader the Pope, and by hym approved, ratefied, and confermed perpetually to endure."¹

That there was nothing treasonable or underhand in this convention, is proved by Godscroft, who states that in his day King James's licence for its execution was in the Douglas charter-chest,² although it has now disappeared.

At this time Louis XI. of France, uniting in the policy of the Scots to foment civil war in England, struck a bargain with Henry VI., who pledged himself to restore Calais to France, provided Louis would assist him with men and money. Louis sent both, but with a somewhat niggard hand. Two thousand men, under Pierre de Brézé, Steward of Normandy, landed in Northumberland and captured the castles of Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwick. The two first were speedily retaken by Edward IV., but Alnwick held out, and was closely invested by the Earl of Warwick. Angus, seeing a chance of beginning to earn his dukedom, marched rapidly to the relief of the Frenchmen with

Relieves the
French gar-
rison of
Alnwick,
1462.

¹ Fraser, iii. 92.

² MS. at Hamilton Palace, quoted by Fraser, ii. 60, note.

20,000 men, as is reported. This force seemed to overawe the English, and they permitted a party, whereof each



Fig. 9.—Seal of Isabella Sibbald (Balgony), Countess of Angus.

man led a spare horse for the garrison, to ride openly up to a postern gate and withdraw the whole of the Frenchmen to security. It seems strange that Warwick did so little, and that Angus, doing so much, did not do more, and inflict a defeat on the besieging force; but there is some idea that Warwick had no commission to fight the

Scots, only to take the castle from the French; and Angus perhaps acted wisely in being content with carrying out his immediate purpose.

Death deprived Angus of the honours in store for him at the hand of the English King, for he breathed his last on 12th March 1463, and was buried at Abernethy. Before succeeding to the earldom he married Isabella, only daughter of Sir John Sibbald of Balgony, in Fife, who survived him and married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven [xliv.]. Angus left two sons and seven daughters, whose blood still runs in many distinguished Scottish families:—

Death of the
4th Earl of
Angus, 12th
March 1463.

- (1) Archibald [xliii.], who succeeded his father as 5th Earl of Angus.
- (2) John, who probably died unmarried.
- (3) Anne, married William, 2nd Lord Graham, ancestor of the Marquesses and Dukes of Montrose.
- (4) Isabella, married Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwalsey, who was killed at Flodden, ancestor of the Earl of Dalhousie.
- (5) Elizabeth, married Sir Robert Graham of Fintry, ancestor of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee.

- (6) Margaret, married Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Earls of Breadalbane.
- (7) Janet, married—first, David Scott, younger of Buccleuch, ancestor of the Dukes of Buccleuch; and second, George, Earl of Rothes.
- (8) Egidia, and (9) Alison, about whom nothing can be traced.



Fig. 10.—Seal of George Douglas, 4th Earl of Angus (1446-1463).
 [The Seal of James, 3rd Earl of Angus, is similar to the above (4th Earl).]

CHAPTER II

PAGE	PAGE
22 xliii. Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," 5th Earl of Angus, 1449-1514.	36 His renewed treason, 1489.
23 Marries Elizabeth Boyd, 1468.	38 Holds Tantallon against the King, July 1491.
23 Fall of the Boyds, 1469.	39 Exchanges Liddesdale for Kilmar- nock, 29th December 1491.
25 Angus in alliance with Albany, 1482.	40 Is Chancellor of Scotland, 1492- 1497.
26 The affair of Lauder Bridge, July 1482.	40 His betrothal to Janet Kennedy, 1498.
28 Treason of Albany and Angus, 1483.	41 Is warded in Dumbarton, 1501- 1502.
29 Angus signs the Westminster Con- vention, 11th February 1483.	42 Oppresses the Abbot of Kilwin- ning, 1513.
33 Outbreak of rebellion, 1488.	43 The campaign of Flodden, 1513.
34 Treaty of Blackness, 1488.	44 Death of the Earl of Angus, 1513- 1514.
35 Battle of Sauchie and murder of James III., 11th June 1488.	
36 Angus appointed guardian of James IV., 1488.	

ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, 5th Earl of Angus, popularly known as "Bell-the-Cat," was no exception to the rule of his race, which seemed to decree that the succession should pass to a minor. He was probably born in 1449,¹ and would therefore be about fourteen when he succeeded his father, the 4th earl, in 1463. There had been concluded in 1461 a contract between the 4th earl and his brother-in-arms, the Earl of Huntly, whereby a marriage was arranged between Huntly's daughter, Katherine Gordon, and Archibald, son and heir of Angus.² This was to be purely *mariage de convenance*: "Alyschundir erle of Huntle and lorde of Badyhenouch" will be quite content, should Archibald or Katherine, either or both of them, die, that

¹ Fraser, ii. 66, iii. 99.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 89.

any son and heir of the "honorabile and mychti lorde George erle of Angowss" should marry any daughter whom he, Huntly, should have to dispose of. However, the contemplated union never took place. A noble more powerful than Huntly appeared on the scene before Archibald Douglas was of age to marry, Robert, Lord Boyd, to wit, who became head of the predominant faction in James III.'s reign, and in 1468 the young Earl of Angus took Boyd's daughter Elizabeth to wife.

If Boyd sought this marriage for his daughter in order to secure the adhesion of Angus to his faction, he was grievously adrift in his calculations. In 1466 Fall of the Boyds, 1469. he had scored a capital success by seizing the King, a boy of fourteen, at Linlithgow, being assisted in that enterprise by Hepburn and Ker, vassals of Angus.¹ Boyd was already Chamberlain and Justiciary of Scotland, a very great personage; the Estates now appointed him governor of the King, and his eldest son, created Earl of Arran, married the King's eldest sister, Mary, designed by wise Bishop Kennedy as consort for the Prince of Wales. Having risen upon the wreck of the Black Douglas, Boyd seemed to be greatly strengthening his position by an alliance with the Red, who possessed all the old Douglas estates. But high office was held by no more secure tenure in those days than it is in our own; the difference then was that the loss thereof generally entailed that of the minister's head also. Arran went to Copenhagen in 1468 to negotiate the marriage of King Christian's daughter, Margaret, with James III. Returning to Scotland for further instructions, he went back to Denmark in the spring of 1469 to carry them into effect. His prolonged absence gave fine scope for intrigue to the opposite faction headed by Lord Hamilton. By some obscure means, and upon equally obscure grounds, they managed to poison young James's mind against his own ambassador and former favourite to such a degree that, when Arran returned

¹ If Hepburn of Hailes was not a vassal of Angus, his kinsman Hepburn of Wauchton was so.

from his second trip to Denmark, he was warned by his wife, King James's sister, that his life was in danger if he landed. Immediately he sought refuge at King Christian's court, whence he was hunted by King James's agents. His father, Lord Boyd, fled to England; his brother, Sir Alexander, less fortunate, was tried for high treason in kidnapping the King, and was executed, all the Boyd estates being forfeited to the Crown.

Angus was a minor at the time, yet he was present in the November Parliament in Edinburgh which condemned and forfeited his father-in-law. Boyd, therefore, took nothing from his well-laid scheme of a family alliance.¹ Angus, on the other hand, derived nothing to his detriment from the disgrace of his wife's family, for, in the year following, his tutor and guardian, William Douglas of Cluny [xl.], resigned the lordships of Douglas and Tantallon which he had held during his ward's minority, and the King granted them afresh to the earl.²

Between 1470 and 1478 nothing of historic importance occurs in the numerous transactions in which Angus appears as taking part; but he emerged from this comparative obscurity when storm-clouds once more gathered on the Scottish horizon. James III. was neither a popular king nor a diligent ruler. The earliest pulse of the revival of learning was just beginning to make itself felt in the west of Europe; the King of Scotland, fascinated by that uncertain glimmer which foreran the daybreak of science and art, chose students and craftsmen as his intimate friends, without regard to their birth or social standing. There is no surer source of bitterness and jealousy than the sense of intellectual inferiority. The day

¹ Arran's mission was thoroughly well performed. He obtained from King Christian a dowry for his daughter of 60,000 florins, for which, in default of payment, Orkney and Shetland were given in pledge, and have remained ever since in possession of the monarchs of Great Britain. It has never been suggested that Arran's wife was the chief agent in the ruin of the Boyds, but her divorce from him immediately after his unmerited disgrace, and her marriage with Hamilton, Arran's bitter enemy, almost warrant the inference.

² Fraser, iii. 98, 104, 109.

was yet far distant when the doctrine should be hailed with acclaim that—

“ Rank is but the guinea stamp,
A man's a man for a' that.”

In the early fifteenth century rank was accounted everything, provided it could assert itself with might. Hence the Scottish nobles thought it intolerable that men of mean origin should be admitted to the King's confidence, and that his mind should be occupied with matters of which they had no understanding. They made no secret of their displeasure, and when they turned for redress to the King's brother's, Albany and Mar, James was driven to the unwelcome conviction that treason was in the air. He put his brothers in prison. Mar died in a dungeon of Craigmillar, not by natural causes, it was hinted; Albany escaped from Edinburgh Castle and made his way to France. Mar's earldom, or the revenues thereof, were bestowed upon Thomas Cochrane, a builder, whom Pitscottie describes as being the King's chief adviser.

Summonses were issued by Parliament in October 1479 against Albany and his adherents, but at this Parliament Angus was not present, whether from disaffection or for other reasons, does not appear. Albany had been Warden of the Marches, to which post in April 1481 the Estates appointed the Earl of Angus. The national defences were hastily put in order, for everything pointed to a renewal of war with England. The air rang with the old note of defiance; when the Scottish Parliament mentioned Edward IV., it was as “the revare [robber] Edward calland himself King of England.”

But Scotland was not whole-hearted as in the days of Bruce. Angus summoned his forces, but not to defend his King's quarrel. In May 1482 the Duke of Albany landed in England from France in a vessel commanded by one James Douglas, and was conducted to King Edward's court. Under the title of Alexander King of Scotland, he then entered into a

Angus allies
himself with
Albany, 1482.

bond with Edward IV. on precisely the old Baliol lines—homage, service, and all the rest of the sordid pact, coupled with the absolute surrender of Annandale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewcsdale, and Berwick.¹ The Duke of Gloucester [afterwards Richard III.] took command of an English army of invasion, the Duke of Albany joined him, and together they sped for the subduing of Albany's native land.

Angus has been suspected of being in confederacy with Albany all along, but there is no evidence to prove this.² One thing only is certain, that he risked the existence of his country in order to coerce the King, at a moment of extreme national peril, into compliance with demands which he and his peers may have deemed essential to the commonwealth. Undoubtedly his first duty was that of Warden, to protect the Marches, and this he wholly neglected. The English took Berwick [for the last time], and pursued their devastating march into Scotland. King James marched at the head of the army, assembled by his nobles, as far as Lauder. Unluckily he chose that his unpopular favourites, Cochrane and the rest, should march with him. Unhappy King! he had done better to leave them behind, but perhaps they were the only men he could trust. Their presence brought matters to a point. Angus and the other lords assembled in conclave in the kirk of Lauder, and determined to purge the court of the "fiddlers and bricklayers." All were of one mind about that, but which of them was ready to risk his head by taking the lead against the King? Lord Gray, not destitute of humour, compared the meeting to the mice who had decided it was expedient in the common interest to put a bell on the cat's neck. No mouse would volunteer for such a ticklish task.

The affair
of Lauder
Bridge,
July 1482.

¹ *Fœdera*, xii. 156.

² Sir William Fraser points out that it was not until six months after this date, July 1482, that Angus was nominated as one of Albany's commissioners to treat with Edward IV.; and that Albany's agreement to surrender a large tract of Douglas territory to the King of England cannot have been agreeable to the head of the house of Douglas.—Fraser, ii. 73, note.

"I WILL BELL THE CAT," cried Angus, and thereby won the name by which he is best known in history.

Of what follows it is not safe to accept the account of Buchanan and others, who were violently prejudiced against the King. Nevertheless, Pitscottie gives so many picturesque details that it is impossible to resist the temptation to repeat some of them.¹ Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven [xliv.] kept the door of the kirk during the conference. Thither came Cochrane,² seeking admission. He had with him three hundred men dressed in his liveries of white doublets with black bands. He himself wore "ane ryding pie of blak wellvet, ane great chenzie³ of gould about his hallis⁴ to the awaillour of 500 crounes, ane fair blawing horne, with ane baitharage⁵ of gould and silk sett with pretious stanis. His horne was typit with fyne gould at everie end, and ane pretious stone callit ane burrial⁶ hingand at the midst. . . . This Couchrane was so proud in his consait that he contit no lord to be marrow to him, thairfor he raschit rudlie at the kirk dore."⁷

Sir Robert Douglas stood at the kirk door; to him passed swiftly the Earl of Angus, delighted at this chance of entrapping the upstart. The door was opened to admit Cochrane, and hurriedly shut to exclude his following. As Cochrane entered, Angus rudely tore the gold chain from his neck, observing that a rope would suit it better. Sir Robert Douglas pulled off the gay horn, with the taunt that Cochrane had been a hunter of mischief long enough. Cochrane may be excused for not understanding this horse-play.

"My lords," he asked, "is this mows⁸ or earnest?"

"Hard earnest," was the answer, "and so you shall find."

¹ Mr. Hume Brown [*Hist. of Scotland*, i. 277, note] says that Pitscottie's account "bears on the face of it the characters of romance." Possibly, and for that reason is excellent reading, without misrendering the main and known features of the transaction,

² Pitscottie calls him Earl of Mar, but although he had received a gift of the revenues of the earldom, it is not certain that he assumed the title.

³ Cbain.

⁴ Halse, neck.

⁵ Baldrick.

⁶ Beryl.

⁷ Pitscottie i. 174.

⁸ Acting.

Then they marched him off to the King's tent, and there, in the royal presence itself, seized the other objects of their hate, except young John Ramsay, who clung to the King's person, and was spared because of his tender years. Cochrane and his colleagues were arraigned before a self-constituted court upon sundry charges, chief of which were that they had traduced Albany and Mar before the King, and had persuaded the King to debase the coinage, to the great injury of the commonalty. Even in feudal days prudent politicians were not neglectful of popular support. Godscroft, who regarded the whole proceedings as highly expedient and justifiable, says that the accusation was no sooner read out than a unanimous verdict of guilty on all the counts was pronounced by acclaim. Before sundown, the wretched Cochrane and his fellows were dangling lifeless in halters over Lauder Bridge.

Angus, having belled the cat to some purpose, was now leader of the rebellious barons. They carried the King to Edinburgh, in reality a prisoner, though he was treated with ceremonial respect, and to regain his liberty James had to come to terms with Albany. Whatever doubts may be entertained or urged about Angus's complicity with Albany up to this point, there are none henceforward as to his rank treason. Transparent stage management was employed to make Albany arrive in Edinburgh as the deliverer of his King, who, in affected gratitude, restored him to all his offices, and made him Lieutenant of the Realm and Earl of Mar.

Modern politicians are pleased with the axiom that constitutional monarchs are allowed to reign, but not to rule. When and where was it otherwise? Not in fifteenth-century Scotland, of a surety; nor anywhere else has there often arisen a ruler who was neither tyrant nor puppet.

The seals upon Albany's commission were hardly set before he and Angus, with almost incredible perfidy, renewed the treasonable pact with Edward IV. Albany made his headquarters at Dunbar, in the castle of the disinherited Earl of March. On

The treason of Albany and Angus, 1483.

12th January 1483 he appointed the Earl of Angus, Andrew Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddell his commissioners to proceed to England and negotiate with Edward IV. and his Council upon the basis of the abortive treaty of 1482. Upon the same basis, but not upon identical lines. Angus had not belled the cat without becoming conscious of his own importance; therefore the former provision for the cession to England of Annandale and Liddesdale was wholly omitted in the new bargain, these districts being chiefly in the possession of Angus. Moreover, in the interval Berwick had passed into English dominion, so the conspirators were spared the indignity of surrendering that important arsenal.



Fig. 11.—Signature of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus (1484-1490).

Angus wasted no time over this nefarious business. On 11th February he and his colleagues signed the convention at Westminster, and his infamy was as complete as he could make it.¹ But he had overrated his influence with the Scottish nobles. The transaction at Westminster must have been reported in hot haste to King James's friends, and the news was of a kind to rally to him every Scot with a tinge of loyalty and patriotism. Scottish traitors and self-seekers parade on every page of Scottish history, and seem to fill the whole field; one is apt to overlook the shrewd heads and staunch hearts which do not figure so obtrusively as the others, but again and again it was by these that the kingdom was defended and its destiny wrought to the appointed end. The news from London must have called forth more solid support to King James

Angus signs
the West-
minster Con-
vention, 11th
February
1483.

¹ *Fadera*, xii. 172-176.

than Albany and Angus laid their account for. Nobles and people, indeed, had complained of their King and were jealous of his intellectual favourites, but what warrant was there that Albany would prove any better? How their support was given to James and what means the King found to exercise his power, must remain matter for speculation in the absence of all documentary evidence. Certain it is that on 19th March Albany submitted to his brother, acknowledged his treason, surrendered his lieutenancy, and bound himself to renounce every league and bond made with the King of England. Further, he was to abandon his intimacy with Angus, Buchan, and Athol, and "nocht hauld them in daily houshauld in time to cum," both he and they being forbidden to approach within six miles of the King's person.¹ Nevertheless, by an inexplicable exception, Albany was permitted to retain Dunbar Castle and the wardenship of the Marches, the very last trust that should have been committed to a confessed traitor.

Angus was deprived, as he richly deserved to be, of his offices of justiciar south of the Forth, steward of Kirkcudbright, keeper of the Thrieve, and sheriff of Lanark. Henceforward his connection with Albany was at an end. That most perfidious of Stuarts, from whose rule it was in the mercy of Heaven to protect the Scottish people, had no sooner obtained the King's pardon than he resumed his intrigues with Edward IV. Having stuffed his castle of Dunbar with an English garrison, he took himself off to England, where he found another Douglas — the exiled earl [xxiv.] — to conspire withal, and with him he made his last attempt upon his brother's crown [22nd July 1484]. The world was well rid of Albany when, in the following year, he was killed at a tournament in Paris, aged about thirty.

King James's clemency to Angus was ill requited. On 3rd June 1483 he appointed "oure welebelouit cousing and consalour Archibald erle of Anguse" keeper of the royal castle of Newark in Ettrick Forest for a term of five years,

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, xii. 31-33.

together with the lands of Hartwood and Berybuss.¹ In that month Angus was present in the Parliament which decreed the attainder and forfeiture of his quondam chief the Duke of Albany.² In 1486 he was Warden of the Marches, and conservator of the peace with Henry VII.³ Little else is recorded of him at this time, save sundry transactions of a private nature, including two or three thoroughly unsuccessful pieces of litigation, in which one would be glad to discern the impartiality of Scottish judges in deciding against such a powerful suitor, but for the significant fact that in one of these pleas he was opposed by the Bishop of Glasgow, and in another by the Crown.⁴

Circumstances had belied their unfavourable promise for the rule of James III. Albany was dead; the last Earl of Douglas [xxiv.] was interned at Lindores; Angus was on his good behaviour. Diligent, though abortive, negotiations were continually in progress for an alliance by marriage between the royal families of Scotland and England, and Henry VII. showed every disposition to live at peace with his northern neighbours. James himself was now free for such a marriage, for his Queen Margaret died in 1486, and in 1487 an indenture was concluded providing for the marriage of King James with Queen Elizabeth, relict of Edward IV.; and of King James's eldest and second sons to two daughters of Edward IV.⁵ In all this it is difficult to see anything but the earnest desire of the two kings for the welfare of their respective realms. Unluckily, there was a prophecy waiting fulfilment. In the year 1473 had been born James's eldest son; in that same year a witch had foretold that the king should be destroyed like a lion "by his own whelp"; and, as if James had been demon-driven, his best intentions were ever frustrated by the means he chose to carry them into effect. Ramsay, the lad who had been spared by Angus and his gang at

¹ Fraser, iii. 114, 115.

² *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 146.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 153, 167, 169, 175; *Fadera*, xii. 291.

⁴ Fraser, ii. 78.

⁵ *Fadera*, xii. 328; Bain, iv. 313.

Lauder Bridge, had remained with the King ever since. James had made him Lord Bothwell,¹ and employed him as his confidential agent in all negotiations with England. It is true that, associated with Bothwell in this diplomacy, there were such persons as the Bishop of Aberdeen, John Lord Kennedy, the Abbot of Holyrood, Ross of Mountgrennan, and the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, but the nobles of old descent could not brook the upstart Ramsay, and the King foolishly deepened their hatred by decreeing that this very Ramsay should be the only noble permitted to wear arms within the royal palace. Besides, James had displayed unwonted vigour in governance of late, especially in punishing the Crichtons and other adherents of Albany; those who had the affair of Lauder Bridge upon their conscience might easily suspect Ramsay of devising measures to bring them to justice also, and so discern their only safety in revolution.

A small spark served to kindle the conflagration. King James preferred Stirling to all the other royal residences, for "he tuik sic plesour to duall thair that he left all wther castellis and touns in Scotland, because he thocht it maist pleasentest duelling thair."² Nor can we condemn his judgment as a man of taste and learning, for nowhere else in his realm was to be found such a combination of beauty in mountain and plain, woods and buildings, with excellent hunting and hawking. But James was never happy without literary society, which in those days was only to be had among churchmen. He had founded the Chapel Royal of Stirling, and, wishing to endow it so richly as to attract the most learned clerics, had done so with the revenues of Coldingham Priory, to which the Homes laid hereditary claim. The Hepburns made common cause with the Homes in resisting the collection of these revenues, wherefore vigorous measures were decreed against

¹ Not Earl of Bothwell, as is sometimes stated. The earldom was a new creation in favour of Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes, after Ramsay's forfeiture and flight.

² Pitcottie, i. 200.

these two families, and the offenders were summoned to appear before the Council.

Angus was named, with six other lords as commissioners to carry out this decree. In what degree they were worthy of this trust was to be shown within three days of the date of their commission, when Shaw of Sauchie, the King's castellan of Stirling, allowed the heir-apparent, who had been committed to his care, to leave the castle in charge of the rebel Homes, who were now openly in the field, with the Lords Gray, Drummond, and Lyle. To attract popular sympathy they gave out that they had assembled their forces for the protection of their prince, against whom the King had conceived the same murderous intent as he had been accused of bearing against his brothers Mar and Albany.

It is by no means clear what part Angus played in the first act of the tragedy. Buchanan, who was prejudiced against King James, has a story that he received Angus in Edinburgh Castle, and endeavoured to persuade him to do his duty by assisting him against his rebellious son; that Angus feigned consent, but, distrusting the King's good faith towards himself, sent warning to the insurgents and speedily joined them. There is confirmation of this in the fact that, although Angus does not appear as witness to any other charters of James III., except three or four in 1476, he does so appear on 4th and 23rd February, and on 5th, 6th and 7th March 1488,¹ showing that at the outbreak of the civil war, and for some time after, he was actually in attendance upon the King. The Earl of Argyll, also, Chancellor of Scotland, who afterwards joined the rebels, remained at his post even after he was removed from it on 28th February to make way for Bishop Elphinstone, for he appears as witness to royal charters on 20th March.² Among others who later on were active on the insurgent side, but who continued at court during this

¹ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. Nos. 1702, 1708, 1712, 1713, 1715, 1716, 1717.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 1709, 1711, 1719.

month, were the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. The probable explanation is that these prelates and nobles were anxious to obtain their ends without war if possible, but were prepared for anything if they found the King obdurate. James sent ambassadors to France and England, craving assistance against his rebellious subjects. So did the insurgents, at least to England, sending Argyll and Hailes, with the two bishops, on 5th May. James also tried to treat with the rebel lords; but they remained defiant, declining to treat for peace until the King should abdicate in favour of his son. Matters grew so threatening that the King, despairing of support in the south, went to the Highlands, where Huntly, Athol, Crawford, Erskine, Errol, Glamis, Forbes, Tullibardine, and others rallied to him. His second son was Duke of Ross; he, too, was a power in the north, and loyal to his sire. Good Lord Lindsay of the Byres gave his King a grey horse, which he pledged himself would gallop away from anything in Scotland, if only James sat him properly!¹

The King, recrossing the Forth, encountered the rebels at Blackness,² and is said to have obtained a success of arms. A bargain was struck between the two parties, the commissioners on either side being—for the King—Huntly, Errol, Marischal, and Glamis; for the rebels—Angus, Argyll, Lyle, Hailes, and the Bishop of Glasgow. The Bishop of Aberdeen acted as president. Provision was made—on the one hand for the maintenance of the King's authority; on the other hand, for his counsellors being prelates, earls, barons, and other honourable personages. There were to be no more fiddlers and bricklayers. This agreement was signed by the King, who dismissed his troops and took up his residence in Edinburgh Castle. Then the curtain falls for some weeks or months, leaving us to conjecture and weighing of proba-

Treaty of
Blackness,
1488.

¹ Pitscottie, i. 205.

² This fortress, so famous in Scottish history, was built on a rocky promontory in the Firth of Forth, midway between Linlithgow and Bo'ness. It is now used as an ammunition store.

bilities. It rises again upon the field of Sauchie, close to Bannockburn of glorious memory. King James, shut out from his own castle of Stirling by his rebel castellan Shaw of Sauchie, turned at bay and formed line of battle against his own son, with whom was Angus. Of the course of the battle that ensued no record remains. James fled from the field alone; his horse [was it the gift horse—Lindsay's "gray curser" ?] shied at a maid filling her can at the spring which bubbles up beside Beaton's mill on Bannock Burn; the King fell heavily to the ground, and was carried into the mill, where a priest, real or feigned, took his confession, and then did him to death as he lay fainting on the pallet.

Murder of
James III.,
11th June 1488.

1152419
Archibald of Angus

Fig. 12.—Signature of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus (1484–1490).

Angus and his confederates immediately proclaimed the young King of Scots, but they allowed a fortnight to pass before crowning him at Scone [26th June 1488]. What penance Bell-the-Cat thought fit to perform for the destruction of the King who had trusted him we do not know; but James IV. being "ewer sade and dollorous in his mynde for the deid of his father," had the decency to wear in contrition an iron belt for the rest of his days, to which an ounce in weight was added every year.¹

One of the chief causes of complaint against James III. was that he hoarded money. Fabulous stories were current of the wealth stored in his black coffer, but when Angus and the other lords proceeded to make inventory

¹ Pitscottie, i. 218.

thereof, they were doomed to disappointment. Certainly a coffer containing £4000 in gold was found on the field of Sauchie, and other treasure was recovered from different people; but the reality fell so far short of anticipation that Parliament ordered an inquiry as to where the rest had vanished.¹

Bell-the-Cat acted as guardian to James IV. for a short time after his accession, his last documentary appearance as *gardianus* being on 29th April 1489. Almost the only transaction recorded between himself and his royal ward is the payment to him by the King of one hundred rose nobles for a hawk.²

The King's castle of Dunbarton was in the keeping of the Earl of Lennox. Suddenly, in April 1489, Lennox fortified that stronghold and his own house of Crookston against James, and Lord Lyle, who had formerly been in rebellion against James III., did the like to his house of Duchal in Renfrewshire. Never was there a more hopeless insurrection, the ostensible object being the punishment of the late King's murderers and securing the better government of the realm. The Bishops of Glasgow and Galloway, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Lords Gray, Hailes, and Drummond, and some others, were denounced in the articles drawn up by Lennox as a "hewy and greit danger" to King and State, and their dismissal was called for. No mention of Angus nor of Argyll, albeit they were quite as deeply implicated in the fate of James III. as any of the others.

Lennox's rising ended in the total rout of his force at Talla Moss by the royal troops under Lord Drummond. Angus, who ought to have been on the King's service at such a time, was absent in England. Incredible as it may seem, he was deep in the old game of treason once more. Not content with having deposed and caused the death of James III., and with putting James IV. on the throne, he now entered into

Angus appointed guardian of James IV., 1488.

New treason of the Earl of Angus, 1489.

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 230.

² *Treasurer's Accounts*, i. 102.

deadly confederation with the new English king, Henry VII., for the betrayal of his country. One cannot divine his aim; perhaps it was personal pique at not being given higher office in James's government; indeed, at the moment, he held no important office except that of Warden of the Marches, which he proceeded to turn to the very basest use.

Angus's old enemy, Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, finding the atmosphere of Scotland unsuitable to his health after the death of his patron, James III., had migrated to England, and was already in the pay of the English Government, plying his keen wits for the capture of the young King of Scots.¹ Into his scheme Angus and his son George, Master of Angus, threw themselves heart and soul. Damp and vermin have played much havoc with an agreement drawn up between these two worthies and Sir John Cheyne and Sir Thomas Tyler, commissioners for King Henry, but, alas for the honour of the Red Douglas! enough remains of the writing to convey to all posterity the damning proofs of his guilt—enough of the wax to display a fragment of the earl's well-known seal.

Under this precious instrument "Archbalt Dowglas erle of Angwish" and his son bound themselves to deliver the castle of Hermitage and lordship of Liddesdale into the King of England's possession; to make no compact with and to render no service to the King of Scots without permission of the King of England, and to "labor and requyre othir of his frendes in Scotland to be bounden to hym [King Henry] in like wise." In return for this Angus was to receive lands in England equivalent in value to Liddesdale; no truce was to be concluded with the Scots which was not acceptable to Bell-the-Cat; and, failing such truce, the King of England was "to mak sharpe warre upon the Scottis, and speciallie suche as be enemyes and adversaries to the said erle."²

This document is dated 16th November, but the year is illegible. It has usually been assigned to the year

¹ Eain, iv. 316, 319.

² *Ibid.*, 416.

1491, which the endorsement in a modern hand bears. But Sir William Fraser has pointed out that Angus was in Scotland in November 1491, and also in November 1490; whereas his first safe-conduct to pass through England with eighty attendants on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John at Amiens was for six months from 12th February 1489,¹ and the second for a year from 6th September.² Of the first he did not avail himself immediately, being with the King on 26th and 29th April; but he was absent from the Parliament of July 1489, when his office of Warden of the Marches was conferred on Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and Alexander Home.³ Everything therefore points to 16th November 1489 as the true date of Bell-the-Cat's treasonable bond with Henry VII., which was probably executed at Berwick, Sir Henry Tyler, one of the English commissioners, being then governor of that town.

King Henry was to ratify the agreement with Angus under the great seal before "the fest of Saint Hyllary next comyng" [14th January 1490]; but there is no evidence that this was done, and it may have been in consequence of a breakdown in the negotiations that Angus was back in Scotland in April 1490. He was playing dice with King James at Linlithgow on the 18th, at Falkland on 27th June, and again at Linlithgow on 26th, 27th, and 28th November,⁴ whence it may be supposed that the King had no suspicion of his loyalty.

But the secret negotiations must have leaked out before July 1491, for in that month Angus, being at Perth, received an order from the King to ward himself in his own castle of Tantallon. This he obeyed, but proceeded to defend the said castle in October against the King in

Hold's Tantal-
lon against;
James IV.,
July 1491.

¹ Fraser, iii. 126.

² *Rotuli Scotia*, ii. 491.

³ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 214.

⁴ *Treasurer's Accounts*, i. 109, 133, 169-171, 180. Tyler, assigning Angus's treaty with King Henry to 1491, says that on his return to Scotland Lyon King met him and conducted him to ward in Tantallon; but this is amply disproved by the entries in the *Treasurer's Accounts*.

person.¹ James and Angus were soon reconciled, for the King sent the earl a Christmas present of a black velvet gown lined with lamb's wool and "with bukram to the tail of it."² Still, Angus was not completely

Exchanges
Liddesdale
for Kilmarnock,
29th
December
1491.

reinstated; King James was not so simple as to allow him to remain in possession of the principal door of access from England, and compelled him to give up Hermitage and Liddesdale in exchange for the lands and lordship of Kilmarnock,³ the forfeited heritage of the Boyds. The grant of Kilmarnock was for life only, but in July of the following year Angus received a grant to himself and his heirs of the barony and castle of Bothwell.⁴ These were part of the lands forfeited by the last Earl of Douglas [xxiv.] in 1455, and had been bestowed by James III. upon his favourite, John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell; upon whose forfeiture in 1488, James IV. granted them to Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, created Earl of Bothwell. By the redistribution of 1491, Hermitage and Liddesdale, over which the stars and heart had waved so long, passed into the hands of the new Earl of Bothwell, and were lost to the Douglas for ever; but Bothwell barony and castle are still owned by the Earl of Home, who represents the Douglas in the female line.⁵

From this time forward the Earl of Angus seems to have enjoyed the full confidence of his King, for in 1492 he became Chancellor of Scotland, and during the five years which he held it a good deal of useful legislation

¹ *Treasurer's Accounts*, i. pp. cvii, 180.

² *Ibid.*, i. 188.

³ Fraser, iii. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵ Godscroft alludes in his MS. history to the treasonable dealings of Angus with England as an alleged cause for the loss of Liddesdale, but this was carefully suppressed by his jealous editors, and only the alternative story quoted by Godscroft was allowed to appear in print. It was to this effect: A discussion having arisen at the King's table about the relative physical merits of the lords at court, Angus was pronounced by general consent to be the "prettiest man." Spence of Kilspindy remarked cynically, "True enough, if all be good that is upcome." To avenge this taunt, Angus waylaid Spence near Fala and slew him; wherefore, says Godscroft, the King, to mark his displeasure, insisted that he should exchange Liddesdale for Bothwell.

was accomplished.¹ True to the policy of his family, Angus continued to add to his already great possessions, receiving in 1496 the lands and lordship of Crawford in Lanarkshire, forfeited by the 5th Earl of Crawford, who had been made Duke of Montrose,² and those of Braidwood in 1497.³ When he laid down his office of chancellor in 1497 he was appointed Warden of the Middle Marches and justiciar of Eskdale and Ewesdale.

At this time the Earl of Angus retired from public life, and for some years there are very few notices of him in extant documents. His first countess, Elizabeth Boyd, was dead, and in 1498 Angus made a contract of marriage with the beautiful Janet, daughter of John, Lord Kennedy, bestowing upon her his lands of Braidwood and Crawford-Lindsay in liferent.⁴ But Janet had an even nobler quarry in view, and became the mistress of James IV., to whom, in 1501, she bore a son, afterwards to become James, Earl of Moray.⁵ It is not clear whether Angus and Janet were ever married; if so, her liaison with the King must have brought about her divorce, for in 1500 the earl married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, to whom he made grant of his earldom of Angus and lordship of Kirriemuir, to be held by her and any heir-male whom she might bear to him.⁶ That Janet Kennedy claimed to be the wife of Angus is clear from the terms in which, long after his death, in 1531,

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 231-237.

² Fraser, iii. 152. John, 6th Earl of Crawford, opposed this grant, but an arrangement was made by decree-arbitral under which Crawford renounced his claim in consideration of receiving the superiority of 100 merks land in the earldom of Angus, and three acres of land in Crawford-Lindsay, "for the reservation and keeping of his stile of the erledome of Crawford."—*Ibid.*, 155.

³ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. Nos. 2434, 2457.

⁵ The statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Angus married "Lady Janet Kennedy, a discarded mistress of James IV.," is wholly incorrect. James stole her away from Angus, and can scarcely be said to have "discarded" her, seeing that by a charter dated 1st June 1501 he granted her the lands and castle of Darnaway in liferent, so long as she remained with her son, and without husband or any other man.—*Ibid.*, ii. No. 2585.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. No. 2539.

she founded a prebend in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, near Edinburgh, for the welfare of the soul of the late Archibald, Earl of Angus, formerly her husband; but in the charter conveying the same she styles herself simply *Joneta Kennedy domina de Bothuile*—Janet Kennedy lady of Bothwell;¹ nor is she mentioned as Countess of Angus in any extant document.

Perhaps it was owing either to Angus's refusal to marry Janet Kennedy because of her amour with the King, or,

if he had already married her, to his having divorced her in consequence of that amour, that he fell once more into disgrace and was warded for some months in Dunbarton Castle from

December 1501. He did not regain his liberty until after he had complied with the King's demand for the resignation of Eskdale,² which James was determined to reduce to law and order. James was an active and conscientious ruler, and visited Eskdale in person in 1504, carrying with him ample provision of new ropes for the hanging of thieves. After courts had been held at Canonbie, Lochmaben, and Dumfries, these ropes could no longer be described as new.

Further proceedings in consequence of the Kennedy entanglement took place in 1510, when the barony of Crawford-Lindsay was forfeited, on the plea that Angus had bestowed it upon the faithless Janet without the King's consent; but in the following January it was granted to the Master of Angus [xlv.] with provision that in all future time it should be known as Crawford-Douglas.³

¹ *Collegiate Churches of Midlothian* [Bannatyne Club], p. 268. It is to be noted that Janet Kennedy in styling herself Lady of Bothwell, did so in virtue of a deed of infeftment in that lordship for her life, granted to her by Angus, 7th February 1510, on her renouncing the lands of Crawford-Lindsay and Braidwood [*Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. No. 3413]. Moreover, Janet had an earlier claim over part of the Bothwell barony, for in 1500, Angus, in giving saisine to Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth of certain lands therein, reserved the lands of Handaxwood "becaus Jane Kennedy, dochtir to Johnne Lord Kennedy, clamys the saidis landis of ws in liferent for al the dais of hir live."—Fraser, iii. 174.

² *Ibid.*, 176-179.

³ *Ibid.*, 200.

Angus indemnified Janet Kennedy for the loss of Crawford-Lindsay by giving her the liferent of the lordship of Bothwell.

During these years Angus was occupied in dividing his possessions among his sons. The lordship of Bothwell he bestowed in 1504 upon his second son, William, afterwards of Glenbervie [xlvi.],¹ to whom also he granted Braidwood in 1510.² To his eldest son, George [xlv.], he resigned Abernethy in 1511,³ thus leaving himself landless, for George was already in possession of the fee of the whole Douglas and Angus estates, his father only retaining the liferent.

The year 1513 was an ever-memorable one for Scotland, but before the event happened which rendered it so, Bell-the-Cat, now aged three-score-and-four, was engaged with his son-in-law, the Earl of Glencairn, in a somewhat unseemly brawl in the abbey of Kilwinning. John Forman, a priest of Glasgow, endeavoured to force his own installation as abbot, and was supported in the attempt by Angus and his son-in-law, the Earl of Glencairn. These lords, preceded by a royal herald, and followed by an armed force, appeared before the monastery and demanded admission. Glencairn went in, and, finding the abbot in an inner court, used violence to compel him to surrender his office to Forman, who, it seems, bore Papal letters as his authority. It would seem to have been an incident in the old standing grievance of encroachment by the Court of Rome upon the rights of the Kings of Scotland; but then the presence of the royal herald with Forman is not easily explained. The abbot in possession, who bore the redoubtable name of William Bunch,³ though roughly handled and much exhausted, refused to admit Forman or to surrender his rights. The gates were kept closely shut, and Forman had to be content with causing his procurator to induct him formally from without the walls.⁴

Oppresses
the Abbot of
Kilwinning,
March 1513.

¹ Fraser, iii. 181.

² *Ibid.*, 202.

³ He afterwards fell at Flodden.

⁴ *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow* [Giamplan Club], ii. 477-480, quoted by Fraser, ii. 102.

Bell-the-Cat's next and last appearance was on a nobler but gloomier stage. In July 1513 King James sent a herald with his defiance to his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., then in France, and in August mustered the largest army that had ever crossed the English border from Scotland. The campaign opened brilliantly with the capture of Wark and Eital; Norham Castle, that ancient and oft-assailed strength, fell on 29th August after standing five days' siege. Chillingham and Ford followed suit, and the Scottish army encamped on Flodden ridge, James being housed at Ford Castle, and, as became a flower of chivalry, paying due—or, as some will have it, undue—devoir to the fair châtelaine, Lady Heron. The Earl of Surrey drew near, encamping on Wooler Haugh, about six miles from the Scottish position.

Angus had marched with his King, so says Godscroft, though other minute writers do not mention him. His sons, the Master of Angus and Sir William of Glenbervie, certainly were with the Scottish army, and both died with their King on Flodden field. But Bell-the-Cat was not present to witness or to share their fate. Godscroft describes him as having been made the mouthpiece of the lords who remonstrated against the King's tactics. If he delivered such windy speeches as that chronicler reports, there was some excuse for James, if, as Pitscottie affirms, he "burst fourth and ansuerit wnhappillie in ane furieous rage." Godscroft says that the King bluntly told Angus to go home if he was afraid, that the earl burst into tears, delivered himself of another lengthy oration, and rode off the field, after the precedent of Bruce of Annandale before the battle of the Standard, with only six attendants.

Setting aside Godscroft, as in a hundred other instances his statements have to be set aside, there is scarcely any evidence that Angus marched with the army to Flodden. At his age he might honourably stay at home, and intrust the command of his vassals to his two sons. Pitscottie's keen *flair* for the picturesque is not likely to have missed the dramatic dismissal of the aged earl on the eve of battle, had

The cam-
paign of
Flodden, 1513.

there been any mention of it before he wrote ; but Godscroft, unable to allow this great national catastrophe to befall without assigning a part therein to the chief of Douglas, accounted for his absence from the field of battle in the manner described.¹

The Earl of Angus was present in Stirling at the coronation of James v. on 21st September 1513, and was appointed one of the advisers of the Queen-mother as Regent. He then became Provost of Edinburgh in room of the late Provost, who had died at Flodden, and his last public appearance was in the General Council which sat at Perth, 21st–29th October 1513, where he was charged with the duty of suppressing all disorders between the Forth and Whithorn, whither he was about to travel.

The precise date of the death of this earl is not known. Lord Dacre announced it to Bishop Wolsey on 23rd November, but Sir William Fraser considers that a passage in the retour of Sir Archibald Douglas [l.] as heir to the Master of Angus [xlvi.], dated 29th November, indicates that the earl was then still alive.² At all events, he was dead before 31st January, when his grandson was infeft as 6th earl in the lands of Tantallon. He was buried in the monastery of St. Ninian at Whithorn, his heart being taken to the church of St. Bride at Douglas.³

Upon Angus, Bell-the-Cat, Godscroft passed unstinted panegyric, pronouncing him “upright and square in his

¹ Perhaps the “Signor Dalisse” of a contemporary Italian poet who described the battle may be intended for Angus—

“ Veniva appresso il Signor Dalisse :
 Quel vecchio che con lunga orazione
 Lo dissuase do sta impresa, et disse
 Che ella seria la sua destrutione.”

² Fraser, ii. 106, note ; iii. 215.

³ In 1883 I was present at the opening of a canopied tomb in the choir of the ruined cathedral church of Whithorn. Within a solid stone coffin below were two skeletons, one being that of a very tall powerful man. The decoration of the canopy corresponds with the fifteenth century style, and possibly we viewed here the mortal remains of Bell-the-Cat.

actions, sober and moderate in his desires. . . . One fault he had, that he was too much given to women, otherwise there was little or nothing that was amiss."

But we have learnt long ago to discount a great deal that flowed from the hireling quill of the Laird of Godscroft; it is more discouraging to find Sir William Fraser, with ampler material before him, complaining that Tytler judged Angus too harshly, and pleading that historical notices of this earl are too



Fig. 13.—Seal of Archibald Douglas,
5th Earl of Angus (1463-1514).

scanty to supply a just estimate of his character. Fraser, too, held the Douglas brief, but he usually showed more scientific impartiality in discharging it.

"Few things," says Mr. Andrew Lang, with franker judgment—"few things in Scottish history have been more disguised in popular books than the conduct of the house of Douglas. The comradeship of Bruce and the good Lord James has thrown a glamour over the later Douglases—men princely in rank, daring in the field, but often bitterly anti-national. The partiality of Hume of Godscroft, their *senmachie* or legendary historian, the romances of Pittscottie, the ignorance or prejudice of Protestant writers like Knox and Buchanan, the poetry of Scott, and the platonic Protestantism of Mr. Froude, have concealed the selfish treachery of the house of Angus."

One need not become devil's advocate to pronounce the career of Bell-the-Cat to have been in most of its features deplorable, and in none of them glorious.

As stated above, the 5th Earl of Angus married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd, who became the mother of all his legitimate children, namely, four sons and three daughters:—

- (1) George, Master of Angus [xlv.], killed at Flodden.

- (2) Sir William of Glenbervie and Braidwood [xlvi.], also killed at Flodden.
- (3) Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld [xlvii.].
- (4) Archibald of Kilspindie [xlviii.], "Greysteil."
- (5) Marion, married in 1492 Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs, afterwards Earl of Glencairn.¹
- (6) Elizabeth, married in 1493 Robert, son and heir of Lord Lyle, Justice-General of Scotland.²
- (7) Janet, married in 1495 Andrew, son and heir of Herbert, 1st Lord Herries, lineal ancestor of the present Lord Herries. The contract for this marriage contains one very repulsive provision. In order to be in a position to marry Janet Douglas, Andrew Herries bound himself to divorce his then wife, Beatrice Herries—"the said Andro is bundyn and oblist that he sall do all his besenes and deligens, and frendis at [that] will do for hym, for the diurse to be maid betuix hym and Beatrix Heris hys wif, and furthir thairto in all possabill hast he ma, but fraude or gilt; and the diurse beand maid, than in all gudly hast the said Andro sall mary and to wif haff, God willande, the said Jonot of Douglas to hys lachfull wif."³ This contract also provided for the resignation by Andrew Herries of all his extensive lands, in order that they might be re-granted to himself and Janet Douglas; but three years later Andrew claimed power to revoke the said resignation, on the ground that he was a minor when he executed it, that he had acted under "causatioun, seduction, and tystyng of ane noble and nichti lord, Archibald Erle of Angus, lord Dowglace, and chancellor of Scotland for the tyme," and lastly, that Angus had not fulfilled his promise of obtaining the stipulated re-grant to Andrew of the lands and barony of Herries.⁴

¹ Fraser, iii. 131, 135.

² *Ibid.*, 140.

³ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴ *Book of Carlawerock*, ii. 451.

By his second wife, Janet Kennedy, if indeed she ever did become his wife, Angus had no children; nor had he any by his third wife Katherine, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, whom he married in 1500. She appears in charters as Countess of Angus in 1503,¹ 1509,² and 1510,³ but in a royal charter of 1512 she is simply designated Katharine Stirling, whence it appears that she and Angus had been divorced. She seems to have married Lord Home, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, who granted to her and "our son John Home," the lands of Inverallan near Stirling⁴; but the said John was not born in wedlock, being described as a bastard in a royal writ of 1557.⁵

¹ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, No. 2751.

² *The Stirlings of Keir*, by William Fraser, p. 289.

³ Original at Inverquharity, quoted by Fraser, ii. 109, note.

⁴ *The Stirlings of Keir*, 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27, 28, 412.

CHAPTER III

PAGE	PAGE
48 xlv. George Douglas, Master of Angus, c. 1469-1513.	57 Appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, 1515.
49 Appointed Warden of Eskdale, 1499.	58 Imprisoned by Albany, 1515.
50 Deprived of the lordship and wardenry, 1502.	58 Goes to France, 1517.
51 His death at Flodden, 9th September 1513.	59 His intrigues with England, 1522.
54 xlv. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, c. 1471-1513.	61 His death, September 1522.
54 His death at Flodden, 9th September 1513.	61 xlix. William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood, c. 1495-1528.
55 xlvii. Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1474-1522.	62 Becomes Prior of Coldingham, 1519.
	63 Appointed Abbot of Holyrood, 1526.
	63 His death, 1528.

THE eldest son of Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," 5th Earl of Douglas, was George, called Master of Angus. His mother, Elizabeth Boyd, must have borne him about the year 1469. He was contracted in marriage by his father in 1485 with Margaret, eldest daughter of Laurence, 1st Lord Oliphant, with the usual provision that, should either of the parties so contracted die, the next succeeding brother or sister should take the place of the deceased.¹ This contract, however, was never carried into effect, for George married, before 31st January 1488, Elizabeth, daughter of John, 1st Lord Drummond, and relict of Sir David Fleming.² As often happened in a feudal society so comparatively small in numbers as that of Scotland, it was discovered some years after the marriage that this couple were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, through the Master's

¹ Fraser, iii. 436.

² *Ibid.*, 121.

kinship in the fourth degree to Sir David Fleming. This was set right by Papal dispensation, 3rd December 1495.¹

On 31st January and 1st February 1489 the Earl of Angus resigned into the King's hands his lordship of Tantallon, Douglasdale, Liddesdale, Ewesdale, Eskdale, Selkirk, and Jedburgh Forest, whereof James IV. granted a fresh charter in favour of the Master of Angus. The earl also resigned Boncle and Preston, in which the Master and his wife were infeft in conjunct fee.²

The Master was present in the last Parliament of James III., in January 1488, but there is no indication as to which faction, the King's or the Prince's, he gave his support. Neither is he mentioned in connection with the tragedy of Sauchieburn, and seeing that he attended James IV.'s Parliament in February 1490,³ he does not seem to have accompanied his father during his treasonable transactions in London with Henry VII. But when the earl's treachery was discovered, the son, the Master, as fiar of Liddesdale, suffered whatever detriment was involved in the enforced exchange of that lordship, first for Kilmarnock and then for Bothwell.⁴

The amative King of Scots very nearly succumbed to the charms of the Master's sister-in-law, Margaret Drummond, but fate held an English Queen in store for him, and a third lady of the house of Drummond was not destined to share that seat of little repose, the throne of Scotland.

It was not before 1499, when the Master of Angus was about thirty years of age, that he took much active part in public affairs. By that time his lordships of Eskdale and Ewesdale had earned that notoriety for lawlessness and brigandage which it took so much effort on the part of the Scottish Government to repress during the ensuing century. It was only in that year that the Master took formal infeftment of these lands,⁵ and was

Appointed
Warden of
Eskdale, 1499.

¹ Original at Drummond Castle.—Fraser, iii. 437.

² Originals at Douglas Castle.—*Ibid.*, 121-123.

³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, ii. 216.

⁴ Fraser, iii. 127-135.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 168-170.

appointed by the King Warden of Eskdale. In that capacity Douglas met Lord Dacre, the English warden, at Canonbie, on 16th January, "for the gude of peax and reformyng of attemptatis done on either side"; with what indifferent results let the subsequent history of the Debatable Lands and the adjacent dales testify. The minutes of the interview are carefully recorded, whereof the following is a fair sample:—

"Item, the said Lord [Dacre] offered to the said Master, sa that he walde redresse alle sike¹ billes as Fergus Stele, Thom the Grahame called Stow, Wille Grame called Scall, Sym Turnour, Make Grame, Wille Grame called Gaunt, and other of Eshdale whilk was neuer without the bounds of Eshdale, and keped there yollis² in the Bromeholm witht Make Grame, whilk is oppynly kenned, and the said Lord wald haue bene content to haue continued the deluyerance of the Taillours."³

Never was there a more hopeless task than these two gentlemen, with all good intentions no doubt, undertook in attempting to adjudge the precise degree of blame incurred, and damages due, by dwellers on either side of the Border. They had to confess themselves baffled; the affair was referred to the Privy Councils of the two kingdoms, which appointed a further meeting at Dumfries "for the gude of peax and souer keping of the treux."

The Master of Angus did not prove very effective in restoring order in his wardenry. For failing to deliver to justice one of his own tenants, Sym Scott of Arkyn, he was compelled to surrender the lands of Fawside to the injured party, Ralph Ker of Primsidloch.⁴ This was in October 1502, and in the following month the Master was fined £10 for not arresting a notorious riever named Davidson, alias "Grace-behind-him."⁵ Finally, in the same month, the Master's undue leniency towards his own vassals and tenants caused the King to deprive him of the lordship and wardenry of Eskdale, which was followed, probably for the same reason, by the loss of Ewesdale in 1506, afterwards granted

Deprived of the lordship and wardenry, 1502.

¹ Such.

² Ewes (?).

³ Fraser, iii. 170.

⁴ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. No. 2676.

⁵ Pitcairn, i. *34.

to Alexander, Lord Home.¹ For all this, the Master obtained some indemnity in 1510 by the grant to him of the barony of Crawford-Lindsay,² of which the King had deprived Bell-the-Cat under the peculiar circumstances mentioned already,³ and the earl made over to his son the Angus estates of Kirriemuir and Abernethy, with Horschopcleugh in Berwickshire.

Little further is recorded of the Master of Angus, except frequent litigation about the ownership of land, until 1513, when he marched with his father and his younger brother William, to meet a soldier's death at Flodden. There is a curious anecdote in Godscroft's manuscript, not to be found in his printed history nor



Fig. 14.—Signature of George Douglas, Master of Angus (1496).

elsewhere, describing the Master's last actions. Stanley had broken the Scottish left under Lennox and Argyll; in the centre—

“The stubborn spearmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,”

when King James dismounted to make his stand among them. Seeing the Master of Angus still on horseback, he cried to him, asking if it had been the manner of his race to remain mounted while their sovereign fought on foot. Douglas replied roughly by asking if it

His death at
Flodden, 9th
September
1513.

was the fashion of the King of Scots to wear his mail and armorial bearings when fighting on foot.

Herein a delicate point of chivalry was touched, for the King, says Godscroft, flung off his armour and retorted—“I dare fight upon my feet as well as you or

¹ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, ii. 2962.

² Fraser, iii. 200.

³ See p. 41, *supra*.

any subject I have, and that without coat-armour or royal cognisance."

Horse and foot, spearmen and billmen, now closed round the doomed band. King James, fighting his way through the mellay, fell within a lance-length of Surrey.



Fig. 15.—Seal of George Douglas,
Master of Angus (1469-1513).

The Scottish spears, among whom he might have found safety, made good their defence till nightfall. If it was George Douglas's taunt that stung the King to throw away his life, George was equal to his sovereign in reckless daring, for his corpse was numbered among those of twelve Scottish earls and seventeen lords, which lay stark upon the sward, among

two hundred gentlemen, as Godscroft avers, of the name of Douglas.

By his wife, Elizabeth Drummond, the Master of Angus left three sons and four daughters:—

- (1) Archibald, who succeeded Bell-the-Cat as 6th Earl of Angus [l.].
- (2) Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich [li.], who took a notable, if not altogether glorious, part in affairs of state.
- (3) William Douglas, Prior of Coldingham and Abbot of Holyrood [xlix.].
- (4) Elizabeth, who married, before 17th September 1509, Sir John Hay of Hoprew, afterwards 3rd Lord Yester, ancestor of the present Marquess of Tweeddale.¹
- (5) Alison, who was contracted in marriage to William Douglas, younger of Cavers. The marriage did not take place, and the Lady Alison married instead—first, Robert Blackadder, younger of that

¹ Fraser, iii. 190.

ilk, who is said to have fallen at Flodden. Blackadder left two daughters by Alison Douglas, who became coheireses of their grandfather, Sir Robert Blackadder. The widow married, second, Sir David Home of Wedderburn, who was slain in 1524, having by his wife three sons and two daughters. David Hume¹ of Godscroft, so often cited in these memoirs, was the grandson of Dame Alison, and tells a story of her alienation from the Church of Rome. In her youth she was a devout Catholic, and especially hospitable to mendicant friars. They thought that the best return they could make to her, and the safest way of securing a continuance of her favours, was to make the fame of her piety known. Accordingly they circulated a fable that, opening an oyster during Lent, she found the Virgin's image enclosed therein. This device bore unexpected fruit. Dame Alison had strong common sense and a love of truth; from the hour that this silly falsehood came to her ears she shut her doors to all mendicant friars, and when she lay upon her deathbed she turned away from the crucifix she was invited to kiss, saying that her hope was not in such trifles, but in Christ the Saviour Himself.

- (6) Janet, who married John, 6th Lord Glamis, and whose pitiful fate will fall to be recounted under the memoir of her brother, the 6th Earl of Angus [l.], survived the death of her first husband [c. 1528], by whom she became ancestress of the present Earl of Strathmore. She married, secondly, Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, second son of the 2nd Earl of Argyll.
- (7) Margaret, who married in 1513 Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig [lii.], who divorced her before 4th January 1540.²

¹ The name was variously written Home, Houme, and Hume.

² *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, iii. No. 2313.

The earliest notice of Bell-the-Cat's second son, William [xlvi.], is in a letter of gift by James IV. in 1492, conveying to him ward of the lands of the deceased James Auchinleck,¹ younger of that ilk, and also the hand of Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the said Auchinleck, should he be pleased to marry her. Marry her William Douglas did, and a deal of litigation followed before he became securely possessed of his wife's inheritance in Glenbervie.² Later it was discovered by ecclesiastics that this marriage was technically incestuous, William and Elizabeth being within the forbidden degrees; nor was it until 1509 that the usual dispensation was obtained, and doubtless paid for, which was all in the interests of Holy Mother Church.³

William's fortunes were affected in some degree by his father's betrothal to Janet Kennedy, who jilted Earl Bell-the-Cat, and became mistress of James IV. While the said earl was Chancellor, he had bestowed the lands of Grenane in Ayrshire upon William, after the forfeiture of John, Lord of the Isles; and in 1504 he infest William in his lordship of Bothwell. But in 1510 Bothwell was conveyed to Janet Kennedy for life; and William, who by this time had received knighthood, received imperfect compensation in a grant of the lands of Braidwood.⁴

Sir William Douglas was numbered among "the flowers o' the forest" who perished at Flodden. Godscroft, in his unpublished manuscript, describes how old Bell-the-Cat, before riding off the field, deeply injured by his King's treatment of him, charged his two sons, George and William, to defend the Douglas banner at all hazards. George fell as has been described; William, cutting his way through the

His death at
Flodden, 9th
September
1513.

¹ This surname is often pronounced, and sometimes spelt, Affleck in Scotland, although the place whence it was derived is still honoured with the trisyllable, signifying in Gaelic, the field of stones or of tombs.

² Fraser, ii. 112; iii. 143, 148, 206, 210, 219, 318.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 191.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

mellay, bore aloft the well-known standard, and succeeded in rallying from the rout some four or five hundred men, all on foot. He attempted to gain the bridge over the Till; but Lord Howard, perceiving the movement, vowed that something would be lacking to victory if the Douglas banner was saved. He sent Lord Dacre with a body of horse to intercept the retreating Scots. Sir William drew them up on a knoll, where he and all but four-and-twenty of his party were cut to pieces. One of those who escaped was Sir William's body-servant; and he lived to describe the scene to Sir William's great-grandson, the 10th Earl of Angus [lx.], who died in 1610.

Sir William Douglas left one son and heir, Archibald, who became father of the 9th Earl of Angus [lvii.].

Born about 1474, Gavin [xlvii.], the third son of Bell-the-Cat, was trained for the Church. After studying at

St. Andrews University from 1489 to 1494, he became rector of Prestonkirk and priest of East Linton, both in East Lothian, and was besides entitled to the teinds of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire.¹

xlvii. Gavin
Douglas,
Bishop of
Dunkeld,
1474-1522.

The younger son of the Chancellor of Scotland was not likely to lack preferment in any case; but Father Gavin turned his poetic talents to such good purpose that it is only bare justice to attribute some of his early professional success to his literary distinction. In 1501 he received the appointment of provost in the collegiate church of St. Giles, Edinburgh. Of his extant poems, one of the principal, "The Palice of Honour," had been written and dedicated to James v. before that date; during some years following upon his appointment he seems to have lived in a secluded manner, applying himself to a metrical translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, which may be regarded as the earliest literary fruit of the Renaissance in Scotland, and to the composition of minor poems, of which only one, called "Conscience," survives.²

¹ *Antiquities of Aberdeen, etc.*, iii. 483.

² *The Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*, edited by John Small M.A., 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1874.

After the battle of Flodden the poet-provost exchanged the tranquil groves of literature for the treacherous sea of politics, which still offered almost as much scope as ever for the ambition of ecclesiastics; and no doubt the marriage of his nephew, the 6th Earl of Angus [I.], to Queen Margaret, widow of the King of Scots and sister to the King of England, encouraged him to discern a perspective of lofty advancement. His dreams seemed about to be rapidly realised when, in September 1514, Angus arrested the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Great Seal was delivered into Gavin's keeping for two months. He entered as postulate for the Abbacy of Arbroath, and, failing to obtain that desirable appointment,

Fig. 16.—Signature of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1515-1522).

enlisted the active assistance of the Queen of Scots and her brother, Henry VIII., to secure for him the archbishopric of St. Andrews. But herein the very distinction of his relatives and connections was the means of thwarting his ambition. Queen

Margaret was, indeed, Regent of Scotland, or, at least, guardian of the child, James V., in conformity with her husband's will; but her marriage with Angus had given deep offence to Lord Home, Chamberlain of Scotland, who, with Arran and Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, formed a formidable faction for the purpose of bringing back from France John, Duke of Albany, grandson of James II. and heir-presumptive to the crown. It agreed in no sense with their schemes that Angus's uncle should be seated upon the archiepiscopal throne; their candidate for that important station was John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews. Gavin Douglas got the start of them by seizing St. Andrews Castle, doubtless deeming possession nine points of the law. But it never was difficult to thrust law into abeyance in Scotland. Gavin was besieged in St. Andrews by his rival, Hepburn, and driven out of the district by superior force.

Gavin's zeal to serve Christ in a post of responsibility was nothing daunted by this reverse. He set to work to secure for himself the vacant bishopric of Dunkeld; the bitterness with which he referred to some of the Fathers of the Church must in charity be set down to his earnestness of purpose.

"The Byschep of Dunkeldone," he wrote to Adam Williamson, "is decessyt this Mouneday the xv. day of January [1515]. And becaus yonn evyll myndit Byschep of Morray trublys all our promociones, and hes sped Sanct Andros to hymmself, wyth Dumfermyng, Arbrocht, Legacy, and other facultyes quhilk ar nedfull and all ways man be retreytit¹, yit nocht the less sene syk² debatis and controversyes ar costly and doutuus, in all aventour the Quenys grace, myself and frendis thynkis nedfull I be promovyt to that seyt quhilk now is vacand, and but pley,³ and ane rycht gud byschepry of [rent?] and the thryd seyt of the realme. And to that effect hes the Quenys grace wrytyn for me to the Papis halynes, and cardynalis, quhareof ye sall wyth this ressave the copy, to solyst syk lyke wrytyngis fra the Kyngis grace hyr brother [Henry viii.]. . . The Queyne thynkis ye haf beyne over slowthfull, that sa lang tyme ye beand⁴ in Ingland, ther hes beyne nocht doyne noyther in Roume nor the curt of Frans aganis yonn wykkit Byschep of Morray, and byddis you mend that falt."⁵

The man of letters made better speed in his pursuit of this prize. Church appointments in the sixteenth century were but so many points in the game of political bribery and party chicane. Moved by Queen Margaret's solicitation, the Pope approved of Gavin's presentation to the see of Dunkeld. His disappointment in respect of the higher and more lucrative honour of St. Andrews must have been tempered on the one hand by the fact that his rival, Hepburn, did not obtain it, while on the other hand it was intensified when he beheld it conferred on "yonn wykkit Byschep of Morray."

Such satisfaction as Gavin had obtained was of brief endurance. The Duke of Albany landed at Ayr in May 1515, and on 12th July was proclaimed by the Estates, Regent of Scotland and governor of the princes. He seemed resolute to be more than regent in name—"a marvellous wilful man," as Surrey described him to Cardinal Wolsey, "I am advertised that he is so passionate that, and

¹ Must be revoked.

² Since such.

³ Without lawsuit.

⁴ Being.

⁵ Original in British Museum.—Fraser, iv. 68.

he be apart among his familiars and doth hear anything contrarious to his pleasure, his accustomed manner is to take his bonnet suddenly off his head and to throw it into the fire, and no man dare take it out, but let it be brent. My Lord Dacre doth affirm that, at his last being in Scotland, he did burn above a dozen bonnets in that manner." Unluckily for Bishop Gavin, Albany did more on occasions than fling bonnets in the fire; he did not imprisoned by Albany, 1515. shrink from flinging bishops into prison. On the plea that he had violated an old statute by directly soliciting preferment from the Pope, the Bishop-elect of Dunkeld was locked up in the sea-tower of St. Andrews, and was not allowed to come out for consecration until after more than a year's imprisonment.

Even then his troubles were not at an end. His consecration took place at Glasgow, but his old enemy, Archbishop Forman—*beatus possidens*—insisted upon the ceremony being repeated at St. Andrews in token of the submission of the see of Dunkeld to that of the Primate. This bitter pill having been swallowed, Bishop Gavin, who must surely have spent many a regretful thought upon his old leisurely, literary retirement, travelled to Dunkeld to take possession of his palace; but lo! both the palace and the cathedral steeple were garrisoned against him by the Earl of Athol's brother, Andrew Stewart, an unsuccessful rival candidate for the see. It was not until Gavin's nephew, Angus, arrived upon the scene with a sufficient force, that Stewart was compelled to surrender.

After this stormy induction matters went more smoothly with the good prelate. He had done best to confine himself, as he did at first, to the management of his diocese, the care of his library, and the finishing of a fine bridge over the Tay which his predecessor had left half-built; but he must needs mell again in politics. When the Duke of Albany returned to France in 1517, ostensibly to renew the ancient alliance, Bishop Gavin went with him, and took part in the negotiations which ended in the treaty of Rouen [August 1517]. Albany, by training and in speech thoroughly

French, and the husband of a French wife, was in no hurry to quit the elegance and excitement of the Court of Francis I., and lingered there till 1521. During his absence from Scotland the Angus faction regained the upper hand, and Gavin returned in time to take an important share of administration and patronage. The quarrel deepened between Angus and his wife, Queen Margaret, and was ultimately fatal to the Douglas ascendancy. Nevertheless Angus well held his own at first. At the time appointed for the Convention of Estates on 29th April 1520, he and his uncle Gavin fell in open feud with Arran and Archbishop Beaton; the Hamiltons declined to enter Edinburgh while Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie [xlviii.], another of Angus's uncles, was provost, and the city was full of Douglas retainers. To deprive Arran of this excuse, Kilspindie resigned his office, and part of the Douglas force was marched out of Edinburgh. Thereupon the Hamiltons swarmed in. Bishop Gavin, commissioned by Angus to try and conciliate the Arran party, met Beaton in the church of the Dominicans, who protested that Angus must go to ward before there could be any peace.

"There is no remeid," said he, "and I cannot mend it, upon my conscience!" and struck his breast in emphasis, whereat the mail beneath his vestments rattled.

"My lord! your conscience clatters," quoth Gavin drily.

He returned to Angus and bade him make ready for the inevitable fray, while he, Gavin, would retire to his closet and offer prayers for victory. The rest of the events of that day will be told when the career of Angus comes to be traced. Angus held the field, and, despite his wife's overtures to Arran, remained in power till Albany returned from France in November 1521, and at once gave events another turn.

On 26th January 1522 decree of forfeiture was passed upon Angus, who, seeing that the game was up, had already, on 14th December, commissioned Bishop Gavin His intrigues with England, 1522. to the "ferme credence" of Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. Gavin was instructed to impress King Henry with the great danger in which young

James v. stood of his life, because of the machinations of Albany, who had won over the Queen-mother, and imploring King Henry that he should on no account conclude peace or armistice with the Scottish Government without the advice of the Lords Angus, Home, and Somerville.¹

Bishop Gavin had scarcely started for London before Albany and Arran opened overtures with Angus,² with the view of pacifying the realm and healing feuds. Angus,



Fig. 17.—Seal of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld (1516-1522).

aware of the peril to his neck should King Henry persist in his refusal to embroil himself with his sister Margaret, lent a willing ear to the proposal for his divorce from the said Margaret. Tidings of this reached Gavin in London before the end of January, and filled him with dismay.

"I am," he writes to Cardinal Wolsey on the 31st, "and haif bene, so dolorous and full of vehement ennoye, that I dar nocht auentour cum into youre presence, quhilk causis me thus wryte to youre noble grace, beseking the samyn of youre grete goodnes to haif compatiencie of me, desolatt and wofull wycht."

He proceeds to vow that he will have nothing more to

¹ Fraser, iv. 77-82.

² Lesley says that Angus was the first to seek reconciliation.

do with "the vnworthy Erl of Anguse," who has thrown him over so heartlessly, nor will he ever pass into Scotland so long as the "wikkyt Duke of Albany has rewle thairof."

Gavin found shelter in the house of his warm-hearted friend, Lord Dacre, till the following September, when he died of the plague, and was buried in the Savoy Chapel before the altar of St. John, beside his friend Bishop Halsey of Leighlinn. The epitaph of both is inscribed on a small brass plate let into a black slab in the centre of the chancel; the bodies were inspected not very many years ago in the vault underneath.¹

His death,
September
1522.

Hic iacet Thomas Halsey Teglinensis Episcopus in Basilica Sancti Petri Roma nationis Anglicorum penitenciararius summæ probitatis vir qui hoc solum post se reliquit, vixit dum vixit bene. Cui lebus conditur Gaban Douglas natione Scotus Dunkellensis Presul patriæ suæ exul. Anno Fli mdxxii.

Gavin's elegy is touching in its simplicity, but one is disposed to detect a covert satire in that of his friend—*vixit dum vixit bene*, while he lived he lived well—for in 1517 Bishop de Giglis of Worcester, English ambassador at Rome, wrote to Henry VIII. announcing the death of Thomas Colman, Master of St. Thomas's Hospital at Canterbury, and expressing regret that there was no suitable person to fill his office, because Halsey was an idle debauchee and Pennant was a fool.

Gavin Douglas left, *teste* Godscroft, a natural daughter Margaret, who was married—first, to Robert Crawford of Auchinames, in Renfrewshire, slain at Flodden; second, to Semple of Fulwood, whose second son, Robert, married his stepmother's daughter, Margaret, by her first husband.

William [xlix.], the third and youngest son of the Master of Angus [xlv.], was born not later than 1495, was trained for the Church, and about 1519 was appointed Prior of Coldingham. This desirable preferment was conferred upon him during the absence of Albany, the temporary ascendancy of William's elder brother,

xlix. Wil-
liam Douglas,
Prior of
Coldingham
and Abbot of
Holyrood,
c. 1495-1528.

¹ Lodge's *Memorials of the Savoy*, p. 167.

the 6th Earl of Angus [l.], and of his uncle, Bishop Gavin [xlvi.].

The priory of Coldingham had been for many generations an appanage of the Earls of Douglas and Angus; they were its "baillies," and under them the Homes acted at first as baillies-depute, administering its temporalities and collecting its rents. At length the Homes, as they rose in power, acquired the bailiary itself, and in 1515 David, youngest brother of Lord Home, became prior. But David was slain in 1519 by his kinsman, James Hepburn of Hailes, whereupon Robert Blackadder succeeded to the priorate. His tenure of this coveted post was still more brief than Home's, for he fell a few months later to the sword of a Home, David of Wedderburn, to wit. Lord Dacre, who kept his master, Henry VIII., fully apprised of

Becomes
Prior of
Coldingham,
1519.

the course of Scottish affairs, is authority for the seizure of the priory by William Douglas.¹ Against this, Archdeacon Blackadder of Dunblane, cousin of the latest murdered prior, protested that the Pope, with Albany's consent, had conferred the benefice upon him. John Home made short work of the archdeacon's claim; meeting him one day near Edinburgh, he slew him; which left William Douglas unchallenged as Prior of Coldingham until 1522, when he was charged with treason, and had to go into exile with his brother Angus.

Still he clung tenaciously to his priorate, travelling to Rome in 1524 to lay his case before the Pope. Thereafter he joined Angus in London, and took part in his intrigues with Henry VIII. and Wolsey for the disgrace of Albany, and enlisted their good offices with the Court of Rome in the matter of Coldingham. Meanwhile, the Angus influence being ruined, James V. had been made to bestow the disputed priorate upon Adam Blackadder, and Queen Margaret, inspired by hatred of the Douglasses, used all her power to dissuade her brother of England from lending any ear to William's grievance. Wolsey, however, success-

¹ *Letters and Papers, etc., Henry VIII.*, iii. No. 480.

fully supported William's cause, and the exile returned to Coldingham in November 1524, whence he was warned to depart by a message from Queen Margaret.

In 1526 Angus was once more in power. Bishop Gavin of Dunkeld was dead; George Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood, had been appointed to his vacant see, and William Douglas, while retaining the priorate of Coldingham, was given the abbacy of Holyrood, his election being confirmed by Parliament on 15th June.¹ Angus was in power, indeed, but precarious as ever was the tenure of political office in Scotland. As usual, when the King was a minor, everything depended upon which party should have possession of his person. The King was lodged in Edinburgh in the house of the Bishop of St. Andrews; night after night, William and his brother, Sir George of Pittendreich [li.], relieved each other in watching his slumbers, guarding against any attempt on the part of the opposition to kidnap him.²

When, at last, the dreaded catastrophe befel in 1528, and Angus was preparing for his long exile, William received him to shelter in the priory of Coldingham. But on 2nd October, when King James appeared in force before the priory, summoning it to surrender, William had passed beyond reach of punishment in this world. He died,³ and was buried, says Godscroft, in the church of Preston, in the Merse.

Appointed
Abbot of
Holyrood,
June 1526.

His death,
1528.

¹ *Acts Parl. Scotland*, ii. 300, 305.

² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, iv. No. 2449.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. No. 4830.

CHAPTER IV

PAGE	PAGE
64 l. Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, c. 1488-1556.	77 Escapes from France, 1524.
65 Marries Queen Margaret, 1514.	78 Returns to Scotland, 1524.
67 Albany comes to Scotland, May 1515.	81 Queen Margaret's duplicity, 1525.
68 li. Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, c. 1499-1552.	82 Angus appointed Warden of the Marches, 15th March 1525.
69 Angus and his brother proclaimed traitors, October 1515.	83 Feud of the Douglasses and Hamiltons, 1525.
70 Their restoration, 1516.	84 Angus declines to surrender the King, 1st November 1525.
71 Is appointed to the Council of Regency, June 1517.	84 Concludes peace with England, 15th January 1526.
71 Schism between Angus and Queen Margaret, 1517.	85 Defection of the Earl of Lennox, 1526.
73 "Cleanse the Causeway," 30th April 1520.	86 Branxholm's attempt to capture the King, 1526.
75 Return of Albany, 21st November 1521.	87 Defeat of Lennox at Avonbridge, 1526.
76 Angus goes into exile, March 1522.	88 Action against the Border clans, 1527-1528.

HAVING now briefly noticed some of the cadets and laterals of the line of Angus, we may regain the main stem in the person of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus [l.], who was about five-and-twenty when his father George, Master of Angus, died at Flodden in September 1513. Five years previously, or thereby, Archibald had married Margaret Hepburn, daughter of the 1st Earl of Bothwell. This lady, according to Godscroft, died in childbed in the fatal year of Flodden, and left no offspring.

On 29th November 1513 Archibald Douglas, knight, was served heir in the estates which Bell-the-Cat had made

over to the Master, comprising nearly all the Douglas territory.¹ By the death of Bell-the-Cat, Archibald became 6th Earl of Angus before 31st January 1514, and was infeft in Tantallon and Bothwell under that style.² In personal appearance and chivalrous demeanour, if not in intellect, the new earl already gave promise of fitness for rule and discharge of the obligations of his high station. With Huntly, Arran, and Archbishop Beaton, he was appointed to advise Queen Margaret in her guardianship of James v., her child of eighteen months. Margaret bore a second and short-lived prince, Alexander, in April 1514, after which her brother, Henry VIII. of England, set diplomacy to work to obtain her another husband, seeking first the Emperor Maximilian, and next, Louis XII. of France. But Margaret Tudor was no weak puppet; she preferred to play her own cards, and led an honour which set the tables awry for many a year to come.

The consort which the Scottish Estates would have chosen for the Queen-mother was John, Duke of Albany, son of James III.'s exiled brother, and heir-presumptive to the throne,³ and him they invited to become Governor of Scotland during the long minority of the monarch. Margaret would none of him; beautiful, imperious, of strong passions, and much intellectual force, she chose her own mate in the person of the handsome young Earl of Angus. He was a widower—she a widow—of less than a year's standing; but no conventional ideas of etiquette were allowed to interfere, and they were married on 6th August 1514. The Council of State endeavoured to enforce the late King's will, in accordance with which Queen Margaret should have resigned her guardianship of James v. on her remarriage; but Angus and Margaret set the authority of the councillors at defiance.

Unhappy Scotland! her very life-blood had been

¹ Fraser, iii. 213.

² Originals at Douglas, quoted by Fraser, ii. 177, 178.

³ *Letters and Papers*, i. Nos. 4666, 5208, 5368; ii. No. 1830.

drained to the fainting-point on the slopes of Flodden; of any strength she might recover there was sorest need to keep Dacre at bay on the Borders; yet here was faction at its old deadly work—Scot marshalling force against Scot, joining in mortal strife about political ascendancy and ecclesiastical preferment. Corruption and violence form so much of the material of Scottish history in this century—ecclesiastical as well as political—that it is not easy to realise that in Scotland, as in other parts of Christendom, if sin did abound, grace did much more abound. No record has been preserved of thousands of diligent pious pastors, whose existence has been eclipsed by the acts of ambitious and unscrupulous prelates, and but for whose patient work the Church must have lost all hold on the affection of the people. So also, overshadowed and concealed by the conspicuous figures of certain turbulent laymen, there must have been the mass of gentry, merchants, farmers, and labouring men, whose concern in affairs of State was disinterested and limited, yet by whom the national life was sustained and the national character formed.

As mentioned already, Queen Margaret, in November 1514, nominated Angus's uncle, Gavin Douglas [xlvii.], to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, promptly besieged the archbishop-elect in the castle of that town, which brought Angus in haste to succour his kinsman, leaving Margaret in Stirling Castle, which was her dower house. Arran, next heir to the throne after the Duke of Albany, and Home, Chamberlain of Scotland, were bitterly jealous of Angus's preferment. They swooped upon Stirling and carried Queen Margaret off to Edinburgh. Margaret appealed to her brother, Henry VIII., begging him to send an army to her relief. This Henry would not do; but furnished safe-conducts to enable Margaret and her husband to come to England, bringing with them the royal princes. To this extreme step Angus would not consent; much bickering and display of force followed between the rival factions before Queen Margaret was allowed to rejoin her husband.

John, Duke of Albany, had become a naturalised Frenchman; nevertheless, for his promised coming all peaceable Scotsmen languished, as the one hope of redemption from civil war. At last he landed in May 1515, matters being patched up for the occasion between Angus and Arran. At the opening of Parliament on 10th July, Arran bore the sword of state before Albany; Angus and Argyll placed a coronet on his head, and he was proclaimed Protector of the realm till the King should be eighteen years of age. Men reckoned in months the interval which should elapse before the crown of Scotland should take the place of that coronet, for of the six legitimate children of James IV., four had already died in infancy; a fifth, the posthumous Alexander, Duke of Ross, did not survive the year 1515; only James, Prince of Scotland and the Isles, stood between Albany and the succession.

Albany had all the will to govern firmly, despite the serious disability of being unable to speak or understand the language of Scotland. Most of the nobles, and the people in general, were favourably disposed to him, but Angus and the Queen-mother still held the master-key in the person of the young King. Albany proceeded to imprison Lord Drummond, grandfather of Angus, in Blackness Castle, and Bishop Gavin Douglas [xlvii.], uncle of Angus, in St. Andrews Castle, doubtless on suspicion of being implicated in a plot with Cardinal Wolsey for the removal of the infant King and his brother to the English court. At Albany's instance, Parliament appointed four lords as guardians of the princes, but when these lords presented themselves before the gate of Stirling Castle, the Queen-mother flatly refused to admit them. Angus, having the Heading Hill, with all its sinister associations in full view from the windows, tried to persuade her to submit to the will of Parliament, and, when she remained obdurate, "craved instruments" in testimony that he wished to act constitutionally, and departed to his estates in Forfarshire. He left instructions that, in the event of Albany laying siege

Albany comes
to Scotland,
May 1515.

to the Queen, the boy-King was to be set on the ramparts in view of all men, crowned and sceptred, so that there might be no doubt that Albany was raising rebellion.

The next act in this drama, so strangely consistent with the tenour of Scottish history, was the appearance of Albany on 4th August in force under the walls of Stirling. Angus was not suffered to be neutral. Albany had commanded him to return from Forfar, and report himself with the army intended to starve his wife into submission. His brother, Sir George of Pittendreich [li.], and Lord Home were admitted to an interview with the Queen. In the end, seeing further resistance to be useless, Margaret yielded unconditionally, pleading for her husband's pardon. Albany declared that, while he would respect the persons of Margaret and the princes, he would make no terms with traitors. Therefore Angus kept at a safe distance, crossing to the English side of the Border, where Margaret, having managed to escape from custody, joined him in the autumn. On 7th October she gave birth to a daughter, who on the following day was christened Margaret "with such provisions as couthe or mought be had in this baron and wyld country."¹ This babe was afterwards to become Countess of Lennox and mother of Darnley.

Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich [li.], younger brother of the Earl of Angus, by his marriage with Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendreich, became possessed of the lands of Pittendreich, Levingshauch, Darcle, Caldoits, half of Surestoun, and one-third of Duffus, all in the county of Elgin. Able and adroit, the constant counsellor of his elder brother, a firm supporter of his sister-in-law, Queen Margaret, in her controversy with Albany, he applied his diplomatic talents, which were considerable, to obtaining that alliance with England which was so objectionable in the view of those who wished to preserve the ancient league with France.

Albany, greatly concerned at the flight of Queen

¹ Ellis's *Historical Letters*, 2nd Series, i. 265.

li. Sir George
Douglas of
Pittendreich,
c. 1499-1552.

Margaret, wrote letters praying her to return, or, at least, to send her husband and brother-in-law as her hostages, to whom he promised a free pardon. Margaret was greatly inclined to yield, but it was Lord Dacre's business to prevent any such reconciliation taking place. He had accepted the office of "fiddling stick to hold Scotland in cumber and business";¹ and discharged the part with equal zeal and success. Lord Home, the Chancellor, had been foremost in promoting and welcoming Albany's return to Scotland. Dacre, by his machinations, had managed to detach Home from the French party, and inspire him with active hostility to the Regent. But if Margaret were allowed to come to terms with Albany, Home would make his peace also, and return to duty; whereby England would be confronted by a united government instead of by groups of hostile factions.

Dacre, therefore, as he explained to King Henry, was at pains to avert a development so unfavourable to his policy, and "penned her [Margaret's] letters in such wise as the Duke [of Albany] would not consent, to prevent any renewal of friendship between them."² Under Dacre's adroit guidance, therefore, Margaret insisted upon being allowed the custody of her sons, not because she was their mother, but because she was the King of England's sister, and that one of her sons happened to be King of Scots, and the other was heir-presumptive. As soon as Albany received Mar-

Angus and
George
Douglas pro-
claimed
traitors,
October 1515.

garet's answer, he issued a proclamation against Angus and Sir George as traitors, and seized the castles of Tantallon and Bothwell. He also managed to entrap Lord Home at Douglas Castle, seizing him when he went thither for an interview under promise of pardon, and putting him in close ward under custody of the Earl of Arran. Now Arran was Home's brother-in-law; it is scarcely surprising, therefore, that Home should have managed to escape from prison and make his way to join his ancient rival, Angus, in Northumberland. They spent the winter concocting

¹ *Letters and Papers*, ii. No. 2417.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 1350, 1387, 1557, 1598, 1671.

intrigues against Albany, probably in close connivance with Arran; but groups of conspirators changed form and object so rapidly, that it is difficult to identify them at all points. Arran was certainly in rebellion during the winter of 1515-1516, but had made his peace by the month of March. It behoved him and Home and George Douglas to give heed to their position, which had become exceedingly critical. Angus had to choose between accompanying his wife to the court of Henry VIII. and making submission to Albany.

It is easy to hold these men up to obloquy as self-seeking traitors to their country; but it is also permissible to discern practical statesmanship in their preference for a close alliance with England, their nearest neighbour, to the ancient league with France. Except occasional subsidies and armed contingents on a moderate scale, what benefit had the Scottish Government ever derived from France, except in the power of that country to create diversions against England? Henry VIII. had never, as yet, renewed the odious claim of suzerainty, and Angus was probably acting with perfect integrity in resisting the French policy of his countrymen, and preferring, in their interest as well as his own, to cultivate a good understanding with his brother-in-law, the King of England. The advantage of a lasting peace with England, with which the French alliance was wholly incompatible, must have been almost as obvious to far-seeing men in those days as it is to us here and now.

However, when Queen Margaret persisted in her resolve to go to London, Angus shrank from a step which should sever him from all share in the destiny of his native land. She left Morpeth in April 1516, "in much heaviness," says Dacre, because Angus and Home had decided to return to Scotland and submit to Albany's government. There they were received to pardon and their estates were restored to them, although Home's day of grace proved to be a short one, for in September he and his brother were arrested and suffered on the scaffold, doubtless for some renewed intrigues with Dacre, whereof all record has perished.

Restoration of
Angus and
Home, 1516.

In June 1517 the Duke of Albany sailed for France, ostensibly to renew the ancient league with that country, but really to refresh himself, weary as he was of Scottish affairs and Scottish society. He left the government of

Angus is appointed one of the six regents, June 1517.

Scotland in the hands of the Earls of Arran, Angus, Argyll, and Huntly, with the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow. Within a week of Albany's departure, Queen Margaret returned

to Scotland, being met at Lamberton kirk by Angus with a large following. But, as happens sometimes in love-matches like this, husband and wife had grown sadly estranged. Angus, it appears, was not a model of fidelity; Lesley speaks of another lady to whom the earl paid successful court in Douglasdale, but is too discreet to mention her name. The more garrulous Godscroft says she was a daughter of the laird of Traquair. Margaret wrote to her brother, King Henry, expressing her intention to get a divorce, and declaring she would never marry again without his consent.¹

Nevertheless, the return of the Queen affected unfavourably Angus's relations with his colleagues in the Regency.

Schism between Angus and Queen Margaret, 1517.

They detected therein a recrudescence of the English scheme, and their suspicion was strengthened by the action taken by the Homes, allies of Angus for the time being. Albany had

placed the important castle of Dunbar in the keeping of a French knight, *Sieur de la Bastie*. The Homes, nourishing vengeance for the fate of their chief against every representative of the absent Albany, succeeded in luring *de la Bastie* out of his stronghold, and the laird of *Wedderburn* slew him at *Batty's Bog*. *Sir George Douglas* [li.] was imprisoned on a charge of complicity in this outrage, and the wardenry of the East Marches was given to Arran in place of Angus, who conceived that, as a *Douglas*, he held the prior claim thereto.

King Henry VIII., not as yet even a "prentice hand" in divorce, strenuously opposed his sister's intention to

¹ *Letters and Papers*, iii. No. 166.

separate from Angus, and with success at first, for which the earl expressed his gratitude with much effusion and in excellent Scots:—

“Maist excellennt and redoutit prince it lysis not in my little possibilite to rendir thankis unto your maist nobill hyenes, that has intendit and procurit sa exceedand wiselye this my pure¹ causs, quhilk elikewiss is Goddis causs, and alsua the honour and weillfare of youre deirest sister, the Quenys grace forsaid, and, with that, richt weiray² acceptable till every welemyndit personage of gude zele within this realme. Quhairfor, besyde the³rewarde of God, quhilk I doute nocht bot youre grace sall ressaif for sa meritable labour, I sall endeavour and abandoune perpetually my pure¹ service in every behalf and sort to me possible, unto youre maist nobill excellence, abufe all uther prince or creature levand,³ myne allegiance to oure souerane lord, your deirest nevo, alanerlie⁴ exceptit; and salbe all tymes redy eftir my pure¹ power, allthocht it war sua that youre hienes commandit me furthwith to pas one fute to Jerusalem, and fecht with the Turkis to the dede⁵ for youre causs.”⁶

Fig. 18.—Signature of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1518).

He finished this long letter by beseeching King Henry to use his influence to obtain the release of his brother, George Douglas, from attendance upon the Duke of Albany in France, where he had been detained for more than two years “to na plessur nothir to him nor his frendis.”

In October 1519 Angus met the Queen once more, and escorted her into Edinburgh with four hundred horsemen, where the noble-looking pair were welcomed “with great triumph in shooting of guns and great melody of instruments playing.”⁷ The Queen’s faction was strong in the capital, including Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Moray, the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Morton [xxxiv.],

¹ Poor.

² Very.

³ Living.

⁴ Only.

⁵ To death.

⁶ Original in British Museum.—Fraser, iv. 75.

⁷ *Letters and Papers*, iii. Nos. 467, 481, 482.

Glencairn, Errol, Crawford, and Marischal, and the Lords Ruthven, Glamis, Hay, and Gray. Moreover, they held the winning card—the King. The chiefs of the Albany faction assembled at Glasgow—Archbishop Beaton, the Bishops of Argyll and Galloway, the Earls of Arran, Cassillis, and Lennox, and the Lords Fleming, Maxwell, Ross, and Sempill.

Arran, having been ousted from the provostship of Edinburgh to make way for Douglas of Kilspindie [xlviii.], was repulsed with slaughter on attempting to enter the capital; and his natural son, Sir James Hamilton, was defeated in the raid of Jedwood which arose out of an attempt by Ker of Ferniehirst to hold courts within Angus's jurisdiction [January 1520].

Three months later a more serious affray took place between the factions of Douglas and Hamilton, the cause whereof has been explained in the notice of Bishop Gavin Douglas.¹ In order to allow the Earl of Arran, without breach of peace, to discharge his duty in the Parliament summoned to assemble on 29th April, Angus had caused Kilspindie to demit his provostship, and had sent most of his own retainers out of town. These were immediately replaced by men in the Hamilton liveries. Having obtained this advantage, Arran and Archbishop Beaton, with the rest of the Albany faction, resolved to make use of it by capturing the Earl of Angus. Warned by his uncle, Bishop Gavin [xlvii.], who had vainly undertaken to conciliate parties, Angus made his dispositions in a masterly manner. He had but fourscore followers with him, but he was popular in the town, and the citizens worked with him in barricading all the wynds leading into High Street. Posting a few spears at each of these points, Angus formed the rest of his party at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, and awaited events.

Confident in greatly superior numbers, Arran and his colleagues broke up their council in the church of the

¹ See p. 59, *supra*.

“Cleanse the Causeway,”
30th April
1520.

Dominicans and formed their men for attack. "Cleanse the Causeway!" was the cry, and Sir Patrick Hamilton led the attack upon the Douglas spears. He fell in the first onslaught by the hand of Angus; in the fierce struggle which followed the Hamiltons were badly beaten, and their repulse was turned into a rout by the appearance of a strong reinforcement under William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood [xliv.], and Home of Wedderburn, who had forced the city gates and hurried to support their kinsmen. The Master of Eglinton and seventy or eighty of Arran's men were slain; even Archbishop Beaton, who sought refuge at the altar of the Dominicans, would have received short shrift, it is said, but for the intervention of Bishop Gavin. Arran and his son, Sir James Hamilton, escaped together through the Nor' Loch to the fields on the back of a coalheaver's cart horse, and left Angus in possession of the capital.

For more than a year Scotland existed under a kind of makeshift dual government, Angus holding sway in the south and east, Arran in the north and west, while Albany still lingered in France. The heads of the Homes, executed by Albany, still grinned upon the wall of the Tolbooth; in July 1521 Angus came to Edinburgh and gave these remains of his friends formal sepulture, which was accomplished with "great offerings and banquets." Arran had summoned his supporters to meet him in Stirling, whither Angus marched in force against him, but his foe, caring not to await attack, gave him the slip.

Meanwhile there had been defections among the victors of "Cleanse the Causeway." The Kers, an important border clan, went over to Arran, and a section of the Edinburgh bailies, hitherto warm supporters of Angus, also gave him their support.¹ Worst of all, the *spretæ injuriæ formæ* of Queen Margaret poisoned her against her husband; she was now wholly of the party of Albany, with whom she corresponded constantly, and who sent her money and promised to move the Pope to grant her a divorce.

¹ Original at Hamilton, quoted by Fraser, ii. 194.

Finally, Albany himself returned to Scotland [21st November] after an absence of more than four years, and

immediately things assumed an aspect sinister to the Douglas interest. Many officials appointed by Angus were dismissed, and on 9th December Angus himself and his brother Abbot William [xliv.], with sundry of the Douglas party, were summoned to appear before the Parliament which was to meet in January, to stand their trial for high treason. Angus withdrew to Kirk of Steyl,¹ whence he sent his uncle, Bishop Gavin, to press for assistance from Henry VIII. He did not scruple to insinuate that his wife's intercourse with Regent Albany was something more than political and platonic.

"We think and knowis by experience that the Queyne, be evil and senister consale, is mekill inclynit to the plessour of the Duke in al maner of thingis, and ar never syndry,² bot every day togidder owder forrow none or eftir,³ and as it is supposit hes intendit a divorce betwix the Erle of Anguss and the Queyne."⁴

Further, it was represented that the young King's life was in utmost jeopardy through the pretensions of Albany to the throne. This charge appears to have been totally

Fig. 19.—Signatures of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1518).

without foundation, for, be the Queen-mother's defects of character what they might, and they were certainly not trivial, she was never otherwise than very careful for her son.

Personal interest in ecclesiastical preferment was quite as near Bishop Gavin's heart as the safety of his sovereign or the welfare of his country; in asking Cardinal Wolsey

¹ Ladykirk in Berwickshire, close to the English border.

² Separate.

³ Either forenoon or after.

⁴ Fraser, iv. 79.

to obtain him an interview with King Henry, so that Albany's envoys, in London at the same time, might receive a proper answer, he is careful to beg him also "to remembyr my lytill materis at Rome."¹

Angus remained in Scotland, and seems to have made his own terms with Albany, greatly to the disgust of his learned and pious uncle Gavin, who, on 31st January, wrote to Wolsey washing his hands of "the vnworthy Erle of Anguse."² Whether by consent of the Regent³ or, as Angus goes into exile, March 1522. is more probable, under his compulsion, Angus went to France in March 1522, where he was hospitably received, although unable to speak a word of French. The English agent in Paris, Sir Thomas Cheyne, was puzzled, not unnaturally, to understand how the Scottish ambassador, which he believed Angus to be, could discharge his duty under such a disability; and then it was explained to him that the earl had come to secure the French King's good offices on behalf of Bishop Gavin, whom Albany had deprived of his benefices.⁴

Albany, having rid himself of his principal opponent in the State, and having secured the good graces of that opponent's wife, the Queen-mother, might now be expected to turn his regency to useful account. But matters went crossly with him. Henry VIII. resented his return as a breach of treaty, and threatened to invade Scotland if the Estates would not dismiss him. Margaret, whose real object was to obtain supreme power, played the Regent false, sending Surrey, son of the conqueror of Flodden, regular information about what went on and about the disposition of troops. Dacre's splendid mendacity wholly baffled Albany; the Scots nobles and people tired of a ruler who could speak and understand nothing but French, and whose display of military incapacity before Wark in 1523 had

¹ Fraser, iv. 83.

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ "And nowe of layte the Erle of Angus is gone in to the saide Ducke of Albany contrarye to his faith made to my lorde Dacre, and sworne vpon thevangelyst to the contrarye."—Sir Antony Ughtred, Governor of Berwick, to Cardinal Wolsey, 21st January 1522 (Fraser, iv. 323).

⁴ *Letters and Papers*, iii. No. 2224.

made him the butt for Skelton's clumsy lampoons—perhaps too near the truth to be ignored.

" This duke so fell
Of Albany,
So cowardly,
With all his host
Of the Scottish coast,
For all their boast
Fled like a beast."

The Regent, for his part, longed for the irresponsible ease of life at the French court; even the charms of frail and still beautiful Margaret Tudor were not enough to reconcile him to his irksome position. Moreover Margaret was not exclusive in her favours; so, at least, it was openly reported. Albany left Scotland, never to return, in May 1524.

Angus, meanwhile, had been a prisoner at large in France, forbidden to cross the frontier, but kept informed of the course of affairs in Scotland by his brother, Sir George, and corresponding regularly with Henry VIII., who encouraged him in trying to escape. After at least

one unsuccessful attempt by way of Calais, the exile succeeded in making his way through the

Low Countries to Antwerp and Berwick, whence he went straight to London, shortly after the final departure of Albany from Scotland. King Henry and his Chancellor wrote at once to Queen Margaret, assuming that she would now receive her husband back to his rightful position: but this was far from her intention; she would listen to no proposals for his return. On 31st July she and Arran accomplished the "erection" of James V., who had now attained his thirteenth year. In announcing these "ryght gret aktys" [there are really no limits to the orthographic eccentricity of the period], Margaret begged that King Henry would "consyder that thys gret thyng that ve have dwn, hath ben dwn vythout the helpe of the sayd Erl of Angus," whose presence in Scotland, she explained, would only work mischief.

Sir George Douglas [li.] now joined Angus in England, bringing news of the displeasure of the Scottish nobles and commonalty with the Queen-mother, who had given much offence by the openness of her amour with young Henry Stuart, a son of Lord Evandale, and had alienated from her court such important persons as the Earls of Lennox, Glencairn, and Argyll. The nation was ripe for the return of Angus, and Sir George's report was fully confirmed by English agents and spies. Arran had been brought [it were perhaps scant justice to say bought] over to the English interest by a present of £100 from King Henry, and was inclined to forgive Angus for the slaughter of Patrick Hamilton in "Cleanse the Causeway." On 4th October, the eve of their departure for Scotland, Angus and his brother George concluded a convention with Cardinal Wolsey, whereby Angus bound himself to resist any attempt at return on the part of Albany, to support the authority of the young King of Scots, and to foster his amity with his uncle, the King of England. He was also to bear himself in such "gentil and lowely maner" to his rebellious wife as would lead to their complete reconciliation. Finally, preference was to be given always to the English alliance over that with France.

Nevertheless, Angus was still under some suspicion on the part of Wolsey that he was secretly inclined to the French alliance, and although he and Sir George were dismissed from London with every token of confidence and goodwill, they were intercepted on the border by the Duke of Norfolk, and detained at Newcastle till the end of October. Wolsey's suspicion was allayed in a manner thoroughly in keeping with the age. Lord Fleming, an open and ardent French partisan, was set upon and slain by John Tweedie of Drummelzier, a kinsman and vassal of Angus, which was taken as sufficient proof of the earl's integrity towards his English patrons, especially, as Queen Margaret had informed Surrey, because Fleming's

Angus
returns to
Scotland,
1524.

sister was Albany's mistress. Therefore Angus was allowed to go forward. On 1st November he wrote from Boncle, his brother George's manor in Berwickshire, the following conciliatory letter to his wife:—

“Madame, In my mooste humble and lowly maner I commende my service to your grace. It woll pleas your grace to knowe that I have bene with the Kingis grace your brother, the whiche is oone of the moost Cristened princis, and his grace hath entreated me so mervelous welle that he hath addetted me, and all that woll do for me, to do his grace service and honour, in so farre as lyeth in my poure, myne allegaunce exceptit to the Kingis grace my souerane.

“Madame, I am comme into this realme to do the Kingis grace, my master, and your grace, honour and service, in so ferre as lyes in my poure, and shall do the same as gladly as any other in all the realme of Scotland; beseching your grace ye wold except it, for there is no maner of thing that may be wele to the Kingis grace my souerain, nor to your graces honour and pleassour, but I shalbe glad to fulfill the same.

“Madame, if there be any unfrendis that in my absence have made senestre informacion of me unto your grace, I wold beseche your grace that ye wold stand so good and gracious lady unto me that ye wold be contente that I may speke with your grace, and if I have offended to your grace any maner of waye, I shall reforme it at the sight and pleassour of your seid grace; beseching your grace that ye wold advertise me of your myende in writing, as that I shalbe redy to fulfill the same, as knoweth God, who preserve your grace eternally.

“At Boncle, the first daye of November, by the hand of your humble servant.”¹

This epistle Queen Margaret returned sealed, as if unread; but in fact she had not only read it, but shown it to the English ambassador, Dr. Magnus, who wrote to Angus highly approving of its tenour.

Angus now resumed residence at Tantallon, and had constant recourse to King Henry for advice and assistance in bringing the Queen to reason. In deference to her express wish, he did not attend the November Parliament in Edinburgh, but after it had been prorogued on the 19th, he rode to the city gate before daybreak with the Earl of Lennox, the Master of Glencairn, Scott of Buccleuch, and four hundred horse, forced an entrance, and from the Mercat Cross they proclaimed themselves true and loyal subjects of King James. Margaret caused the castle

¹ From an old copy: Fraser, iv. 90.

guns to open upon the city, but Angus refrained from any act of war, and in the evening withdrew to Dalkeith, and afterwards to Tantallon, whence he wrote to King Henry, reporting that he had done his utmost to conciliate the Queen, but without avail, and referring him for confirmation to the English "imbaxatoris" [ambassadors], Magnus and Ratcliffe.

Next he terrified the Abbot of Paisley by offering to spend Christmas with him. The abbot fled in dismay, having no stomach for party politics, and employed Dr. Magnus to dissuade Angus from his intention. The earl explained that he had only chosen Paisley as a convenient place to confer with my lord of Lennox.

At the beginning of 1525 Angus was at Melrose, where he obtained an important, though temporary, accession from the French party in the persons of Archbishop Beaton, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Prior of St. Andrews. Then followed long and angry negotiations between the Queen-mother and the lords, headed by Angus, until, on the eve of the meeting of Parliament in February, Margaret shut herself up in Edinburgh Castle, threatening to bombard the city. The magistrates invited Angus to enter the gates, which he did with 600 or 700 horse, accompanied by Lennox, leaving a strong force in support at Dalkeith. At the eleventh hour Queen Margaret feigned to give way, sending Magnus to make her reconciliation with Angus, provided he would maintain her authority in the State, and would not meddle either with her person or her dowry lands, "even gif he is her husband until Whitsunday next." To all this, and more, he willingly consented; but secured for his own party that the King should be moved out of the castle into Holyrood, and that he should act under guidance of a council appointed by Parliament, whereon the Queen-mother should have a seat.¹

Outward and visible evidence was made of the success of Angus's diplomacy, when, on the 23rd February, the

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, iv. 321-329.



Margaret Tudor
Queen of Scotland.

suspended session of Parliament was resumed under King James V. in person, Angus bearing the crown, Arran the sceptre, and Argyll the sword. Angus and Arran, laying aside their blood-feud, sat together on the Council of Regency, and the acts of forfeiture against the chief of Douglas and his kinsmen were formally repealed.

But behind all this fair show Margaret was playing a false part. Within a few hours after signing the convention with her husband and the other lords, and before it had been ratified by Parliament, she sent a messenger to Albany in France, urging him to return, promising to recognise him as Governor, and vowing that she would rather quit the country than come to terms with Angus. She admits that she has sent ambassadors to England on the part of her son, the King, but she will prevent any peace being made till she knows the King of France's intentions. If he will help her, she will do all in her power against England.¹ At the same time she received Angus, and tried to wheedle him into agreeing to a divorce, urging, as a reason, the fable that James IV. had not been slain at Flodden, seeing that his body had never been found, and that therefore her second marriage had been bigamous and illegal. Angus cannot have been selfishly anxious to retain an unwilling wife now far in the decline of beauty, but, to his credit, he declined to entertain any proposal which should affect the legitimacy of his daughter Margaret.

Failing to bend her husband to her will, Queen Margaret enlisted the services of the Duke of Albany with the Pope, and obtained her desire in the end. The case was intrusted for trial to the Cardinal of Ancona, dragged on for three years, and ended on 11th March 1528 in a decree of divorce.²

Queen
Margaret's
duplicity,
1525.

Her divorce
from Angus,
11th March
1528.

¹ *Letters and Papers*, iv. Nos. 1111, 1446. This letter, being forwarded by Albany to his factor in Rome, was intercepted and came into Wolsey's hands.

² No indication is given in the sentence of the grounds upon which it was pronounced, which is very unusual. Perhaps the Cardinal thought it discreet

Angus is appointed Warden of the Marches, 15th March 1525.

In the spring of 1525 Angus was appointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches, whereat Henry VIII. was so well pleased that he directed Dr. Magnus to present the earl with £100. For the nonce the warden had to take the will for the deed, Magnus being short of cash at the moment, but the compliment was the same.

In this mark of King Henry's favour to his brother-in-law there was nothing derogatory to the honour of Angus. At this period, and for some years later, the earl's relations with the English Government were perfectly consistent with his loyalty to James V. and the interests of Scotland. The peace of both realms was continually compromised by the lawless bands of Liddesdale on the one side and of Tynedale on the other, and Angus gave good earnest of his resolve to stop brigandage within his jurisdiction. He made a sudden raid upon the Armstrongs, most incorrigible of mosstroopers, captured many of them, burnt their houses and drove off many cattle, sheep, and horses. Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, being closely allied with Angus in policy and administration, lent the terrors of the Church to aid the civil power, and caused the greater excommunication to be pronounced against these Border clans, and circulated in the vernacular.¹

Pending judgment in the divorce case, Queen Margaret's behaviour to the husband she was trying so hard to cast off was a model of inconsistency. She would neither take her seat in the Council of Regency nor attend the Parliament which sat from 6th July till 3rd August 1525, alleging that she was afraid of Angus. She made it

not to refer to certain very solid grounds, which appear in a letter from John Duncan, one of the agents, to the Duke of Albany [29th March 1528]. Duncan informs the duke that, as the case was a very weighty one, the Cardinal and his officers expect to be liberally rewarded, and suggests 100 ducats as a suitable fee, in addition to 250 ducats already expended. Costs were given against Angus, but there were no means of enforcing them, and, in the end, the whole expense fell upon Albany.

¹ Appendix C, *Monition of Cursing against the Border Clans*, p. 90.

a condition that he should consent to the divorce, and even employed her son, the King, to try and persuade the earl to do so by promise of many favours. Angus remained firm, and insisted upon his *jus mariti* in dealing with Margaret's dowry lands. He declared his willingness to consent to a separation, if any lawful cause for divorce could be discovered; failing which, he was ready to submit the question of lands and goods to arbitration.¹ Margaret continued in close correspondence with Albany, working for the French alliance, and using her influence with the lords of council to such effect that the treaty of peace with England could not be settled. Arran held moodily aloof in the west; a conference between him and Angus came to nought; wherefore Angus, foreseeing trouble from the Hamilton faction, entered into a bond with the Earls of Lennox and Argyll for the defence of King James's person and authority.² All three earls were receiving occasional subsidies from Henry VIII. at this time; but, even if the English alliance might be held by scrupulous patriots to be an undesirable way out of the difficulties of Scotland, Angus had always been consistently of opinion that it was the best, and could hardly be blamed for his steady resistance to the return of Albany, whose intention, it was perfectly well known, was to marry Queen Margaret as soon as she should be free and as soon as he had got rid of his own wife—*la fille de Bordeaux*.

The earl's ascendancy in the Council of Regency was seriously menaced by a revival of the slumbering rivalry between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses. In the July Parliament it was decreed that the King's person should be intrusted to the custody of Angus and Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, till 1st November, of Arran and the Bishop of Aberdeen till 2nd February, of Argyll and Chancellor Beaton till 1st May, and of Lennox and the Bishop of Dunblane till 1st August. The reversal of the forfeiture of Somerville of Cambusnethan for his part in the "Cleanse the Causeway"

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, iv. 432.

² *Fraser*, iii. 222.

affair was decreed by Parliament, and was little to Arran's liking, for Somerville's lands had been bestowed upon the Hamiltons, who did not relish surrendering them. Arran, therefore, withdrew once more from public business, leaving Angus to do his appointed turn of duty as guardian of the King. The Queen-mother also left the court, and went to stay with the Earl of Moray in the Highlands, biding her time till Arran should relieve Angus in attendance, and the court should be voided of a presence so intolerable to her. But when the term of his guardianship arrived on 1st November, Angus had become aware that if he once let the King out of his keeping it was certain that he would lose, and probable that he would never regain, his legitimate influence; nay, that his very life would be in jeopardy. Therefore when the time arrived for handing over to Arran his guardianship of the King, Angus refused

to let him go, whereupon the Queen assembled her party at Linlithgow, consisting, among others, of Arran, Moray,¹ Eglinton, Cassillis, Ross, Sempill, and Evandale. The Homes and Kers, aggrieved by the discipline of Angus as Warden of the Marches, were now also of the hostile faction, and brought a large armed following. Angus promptly met this demonstration. With the Earls of Lennox and Argyll he marched to Linlithgow in force, carrying with him the King himself. Arran retired to Hamilton, and with him went the Queen; whereupon Moray and his Highlanders, having no intention of being compromised in a rebellion, came in and made their submission to the King.

Once more Angus seemed to be supreme, and before the end of the year he succeeded, despite the persistent efforts of the Queen and her party, in obtaining consent of the council to the treaty of peace which had been so long pending with England. This was concluded at Berwick on 15th January 1526, and ratified by Angus on behalf of Scotland.²

Parliament met again on 12th June 1526, two days

Angus declines to surrender the King, 1st November 1525.

Concludes peace with England, 15th January 1526.

¹ Illegitimate son of James IV.

² *Fœdera*, xiv. 114, 122.

before King James attained his legal majority of fourteen years. This involved the vacation of all offices, and the appointment, nominally by the King, of a new Privy Council. Neither the Queen nor Arran chose to attend the session; but Angus, who had succeeded Archbishop Beaton as Chancellor, adopted a conciliatory course in regard to the opposition. He caused the proceedings for treason pending against Arran, the Homes, and the Kers to be abandoned, and secured the election of Arran to a seat on the new Privy Council. Many weeks had not to pass before the prudence of this clement policy became manifest.

On the other hand, Angus lost the support of one colleague upon whom he was entitled to rely. King James had attained more than a mere formal majority; he was in a position to give effect to his preferences and dislikes. Whether he had inherited or imbibed his mother's hatred for Angus, he gave clear proof that he shared it. Choosing Lennox as his chief adviser, he entered into a secret bond with him [26th June 1526], which pledged him to do nothing without that earl's advice.¹ The immediate effect of this was that Lennox withdrew from his sealed obligation to support Angus, and King James conceived the project of escaping from his stepfather's control.

Complaints came from the English wardens of renewed outrages by the Armstrongs and others, and on 17th July Angus started with the King from Edinburgh upon a progress through the disturbed districts. A court was held at Jedburgh; many raiders were brought before it, of whom some were hanged as past praying for, others were pardoned on promising amendment, King James writing to Henry VIII. an account of his proceedings. In returning to Edinburgh with an escort of three hundred men, the King and Angus were "held up" on Melrose Bridge by Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm with a force of three thousand.

¹ *The Lennox*, by William Fraser, ii. 226.

When Angus ordered him in the name of the King to clear a passage, Scott replied that he knew the King's mind better than Angus. In truth, this demonstration was part of a conspiracy between Lennox and Scott, to which the King was party, for he longed to be free from the keeping of the austere Angus. The affair came very near success. Placing the King in charge of his brother Sir George [li.], Angus attacked Scott's position at the bridge-head. It had gone hardly with him, owing to his inferior numbers, had not a party of Homes and Kers, who had parted with the King after escorting him from Jedburgh, returned on hearing of the conflict and decided the fortunes of the day. Scott's men were put to flight with a loss of eighty slain, and thus Angus reaped the firstfruits of his clemency to the Homes and Kers.

Lennox now went wholly over to the Queen's faction and joined Margaret and Archbishop Beaton at Dunfermline, whence complaints were addressed to King Henry respecting the manner in which Angus held the King in thralldom against his will. The Master of Glencairn, also, although as Lord Treasurer a colleague of Angus in the Government, was found to be planning with the King for his escape. Angus therefore directed that James should lodge in the house of the absent Archbishop Beaton, where Sir George Douglas [li.] and the Abbot of Holyrood [xliv.] took it in turns to watch at night.

The defection of Lennox, Glencairn, and others was now counterbalanced by the reconciliation of Arran, further fruit of the judicious clemency shown by Angus on coming to power. The Queen's partisans collected an army of 10,000 or 12,000 at Linlithgow, and marched under command of Lennox towards the capital; Angus, taking the King with him, marched to oppose them. The King went very unwillingly, feigning indisposition. Sir George Douglas, who had charge of his person, rode with him in rear of the column, and when he showed some signs of attempting to

Branxholm
attempts to
capture the
King, 1526.

Defeat of
Lennox at
Avonbridge,
1526.

escape to his friend Lennox, exclaimed sternly, "Bide where ye are, sir! for if they get hold but of one of your arms, we will tear you in pieces rather than give you up."

While Angus approached from the east, Arran, coming from the west, was first to encounter the array of Lennox at the ford of Manuel, in crossing which Lennox's troops suffered severely from artillery fire. Thrown into confusion, and attacked in front by Arran, in rear by Angus, the Queen's people were speedily routed, though superior in numbers to the combined force of the two earls. Lennox was slain, greatly to the grief of his uncle Arran, who appears to have forgiven his dutiful nephew for his plot to murder him in Holyrood just two years before.

After this disaster Queen Margaret came to terms, consenting to dismiss her paramour Henry Stuart, and to sever her league with Archbishop Beaton. She came to Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in November 1526, and was escorted in state by the King and lords to Holyrood House. Archbishop Beaton, who had escaped after the battle of Avonbridge in the disguise of a herd, and hired himself to tend sheep on Bogrian Knowe, soon tired of that literal interpretation of the pastoral office, and made submission to the dominant party. Both George Douglas and the Abbot of Holyrood warned their brother against trusting the astute primate; but Angus was always inclined to conciliation, and, greatly to his own detriment, as it proved, permitted Beaton to return to court on making composition with those he had injured.¹ "He is gentill and hardy," wrote Magnus to Wolsey, criticising Angus's action in this matter, "but he wanteth witte in conveyance of grete causes, oonles the same be doone by some other thenne by hym selff." Beaton, of a surety, was not wanting in "witte." He retired with Queen Margaret to Stirling, and both sides began spinning fresh intrigues and counter-intrigues.

¹ To Arran, Beaton made some concessions about the Abbey of Kilwinning; to Angus he paid 2000 merks, and 1000 each to Sir George Douglas, Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, and Sir James Hamilton of Finnart.

Angus now set vigorously to work to put down that chronic brigandage on the Border which so gravely imperilled peaceful relations with England. Among the most distressing results of two centuries of almost incessant war with England, was the condition of the Border clans. Their means of honest living had vanished under the perennial visitations of fire and sword; when their flocks and herds were driven off, they must either recoup themselves by "lifting" from somebody else, or starve. Thus it came to pass that, as often as foreign relations permitted attention to be given

Action
against the
Armstrongs,
1527-1528.



Fig. 20.—Seal of Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus (1514-1556).

to domestic affairs, these Armstrongs and Elliots, Irvings and Olivers, Nicksons and Dicksons, the very best and hardiest light horsemen of western Europe, came under punishment, whereof the mode, unfortunately, was indistinguishable in character from the original crime. Burn their houses and crops, drive off their cattle and horses, take away their means of living, and then cut them down or hang them up by scores!

It was pitiful work for Scottish soldiers, and must have been a dreary experience for the young King, whom Angus

always took with him on these disciplinary expeditions, as much with the purpose of keeping him from the opposite faction as of teaching him his functions as a ruler.

During one such visitation in 1527 a party of Armstrongs were overtaken in Liddesdale; eighteen of them were slain in open mellay, fourteen were hanged on the spot, twelve more were taken to Edinburgh and hanged there.

Undoubtedly some degree of severity was necessary to put down lawless raiding, and good relations could not be restored or maintained with England unless it were ended. Angus had to choose between giving up his consistent policy of an English alliance, and dealing harshly with his own turbulent countrymen. That Wolsey made it his interest to foment discord between parties in Scotland is perfectly clear; it is equally clear that Angus, not realising this, was absolutely sincere in seeking the welfare of his country in a close alliance with her more powerful neighbour. The following extract from a letter written by him on 29th December 1527, as Chancellor of Scotland, to the cardinal, bears the stamp of truth in every line:—

“ My lord, plesit your grace be rememberit how my forebeiris in all tymes bipast has bene about to foster and furthebeir gud luff, peax and rest betuix thir twa realmes and athir of the princes therof, as is notourly knawin to all and sindry in thir partis succeeding efter thame; and giff I wald presume to be so bald or foilhardy, nocht followand the futsteppis of wysmenn past of before, to attempt to do ocht in contrair ther wysdomys, I micht wele be reput and haldin rycht unwyss, and, mare attour, baith unthankfull and unkynd, considering the neirnes of blud the twa princes standis in at this tyme, the greit kyndnes and humanite, speciall favoris and diverss gratitudis done to me be the Kingis hienes of England and your grace, sa that my haill mynd and intencioune has evir bene, sen I grew to ony perfectioune, and mekill mair sen I was constitut in office and auctorite, and ane hevy cure laid one me, to study always possibil for the interteyning and uphalding of gud peax, amite and concord betuix thir twa realmes, punising of trespasouris, and puttin of justice to dew execucioune, and to do that thing mycht be acceptabill or plesand to the Kingis hienes, your soverane, and your grace, above all erdly prince, his derrest nephew my soverane allanerly exceptit. Bot as for the favouris of France or ony therin, salifand the plessour of the Kingis hienes your soverane and of your grace, I set it at litill, or ellis rycht nocht, bot in gudlynes,¹ for I fand na favouris thare bot collusionone and dissait, as is wele kend.

¹ I reckon it of little or no boot [use] in value.

“ And now the noyis is the Duk of Albanie procuris saulff-conduct and licence of the kingis hienes your soverane to return here, allegeand he has my soverane's consent therto; the contrary tharof is verray threw, as his hienes has declarit before Leonard Musgraiff, gentilmann. And I traist fermly the kingis hienes of England and youre grace has providit sa surely and substantially for the wele and indemnite of his derrest nephew, enduring his lessage,¹ that ye will now continew and persevere quhen his grace is growin to consider the sammyn be perfit intelligence. And² I ma knaw the kingis hienes your soveranis gud mynd and your gracis in that behalff, I sall, with Goddis grace, resist the said Duk, and do his hienes mare steid and plessour with lefull service than he ma do.”³

APPENDIX C

MONITION OF CURSING AGAINST THE BORDER CLANS

THE following pastoral was issued by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and directed to be read by the priests of Border parishes to their flocks. Contrary to usual practice, it is expressed in the vernacular, and certainly the awful terms of the greater excommunication must thereby have sounded with more terrific effect in the hearing of rural congregations.

“ Gude Folks, heir at my Lord Archibishop of Glasgwis letters under his round sele, direct to me or any uther chapellane, makand mensioun, with greit regrait, how hevye he beris the pieteous, lamentabill and dolorous complaint that pass our all realme and cummis to his eris, be oppin voce and fame, how our soverane lordis trew liegis, men, wiffis and barays, bocht and redemit be the precious blude of our Salviour Jhesu Crist, and levand in his lawis, ar saikleslie⁴ part murdrist, part slane, brynt, heryit, spulzeit and reft, oppinly on day licht and under silens of the night, and thair takkis⁵ and landis laid waist, and thair self banyst therfra, als wele kirklandis as utheris, be commoun tratouris, revaris,⁶ theiffis, duelland in the south part of this realme, sic as Tevidale, Esdale, Liddisdale, Ewisdale, Nedisdale and Annanderdail; quhilkis hes bene diverse ways persewit and punist be the temperale swerd and our Soverane Lordis auctorite, and dredis nocht the samyn.

“ And thairfoir my said Lord Archibishop of Glasgw hes thoct expedient to strike thame with the terribill swerd of halykirk, quhilk thai may nocht lang endur and resist; and hes chargeit me, or any uther chapellane, to denounce,

¹ During his minority.

² If.

³ Original in British Museum. Given by Fraser, iv. 122.

⁴ Innocently.

⁵ Farms.

⁶ Rievers, robbers.

declair and proclame thaim oppinly and generalie cursit, at this market-croce, and all utheris public places.

"Heirfor throw the auctorite of Almichty God, the Fader of hevin, his Son, our Salvieur, Jhesu Crist, and of the Halygaist; throw the auctorite of the Blissit Virgin Sanct Mary, Sanct Michael, Sanct Gabriell, and all the angellis; Sanct Johne the Baptist, and all the haly patriarkis and prophets; Sanct Peter, Sanct Paull, Sanct Andro, and all haly appostillis; Sanct Stephin, Sanct Laurence, and all haly mertheris;¹ Sanct Gile, Sanct Martyn, and all haly confessouris; Sanct Anne, Sanct Katherin, and all haly virginis and matronis; and of all the sanctis and haly company of hevin; be the auctorite of our Haly Fader the Paip and his cardinalis, and of my said Lord Archibischop of Glasgw, be the avise and assistance of my lordis, archibischop, bischopis, abbotis, priouris, and utheris prelatis and ministeris of halykirk, I DENOUNCE, PROCLAMIS, and DECLARIS all and sindry the committaris of the said saikles murtharis, slauchteris, birnyng, heirschippes, reiffis, thiftis and spulezeis, oppinly apon day licht and under silence of nicht, alswele within temporale landis as kirklandis; together with their part takaris, assistaris, supplearis, wittandlie resettaris of their personis, the gudes reft and stollen be thaim, art or part therof, and their counsalouris and defendouris, of their evil dedis generalie cursit, waryit,² aggregeite, and reaggregeite, with the greit cursing.

"I CURSE thair heid and all the haris of thair heid; I CURSE thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair toung, thair teith, thair crag, thair schulderis, thair breist, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thair leggis, thair handis, thair feit, and everilk part of thair body, fra the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feit, befoir and behind, within and without. I CURSE thaim gangand, and I CURSE thaim rydand; I CURSE thaim standand, and I CURSE thaim sittand; I CURSE thaim etand, and I CURSE thaim drinkand; I CURSE thaim walkand,³ I CURSE thaim slepand; I CURSE thaim rysand; I CURSE thaim lyand; I CURSE thaim at hame; I CURSE thaim fra hame; I CURSE thaim within the house; I CURSE thaim without the house; I CURSE thair wiffis, thair barnis, and thair servandis participand with thaim in thair deides. I WARY⁴ thair cornys, thair catales, thair woll, thair scheip, thair horse, thair swyne, thair geise, thair hennys, and all thair quyk gude.⁵ I WARY thair hallis, thair chalmeris, thair kechingis, thair stabillis, thair barnys, thair biris, thair bernyardis, thair cailyardis, thair plewis, thair harrowis, and the gudis and housis that is necessair for thair sustentatioun and weilfair. All the malesouns and waresouns that⁶ ever gat worldlie creatur sen the begynnyn of the warlde to this hour mot licht apon thaim. The maledictioun of God, that lichtit apon Lucifer and all his fallowis, that strak thaim frae the hie hevin to the deip hell, mot licht apon thaim. The fire and the swerd that stoppit Adam fra the yettis of Paradise, mot stop thaim fra the gloir of Hevin, quhill thai forbere and mak amendis.⁷ The malesoun that lichtit on cursit Cayein, quhen he slew his brother just Abell saiklessly, mot licht on thaim for the saikles slauchter that thai commit dailie. The maledictioun that lichtit apon all the warlde, man and beist, and all that ever tuke life, quhen all wes drownit be

¹ Martyrs.

² Execrated.

³ Waking.

⁴ Excrete.

⁵ Live stock.

⁶ Curses and execrations.

⁷ As long as they forbear to make amendis.

the flude of Noye, except Noye and his ark, mot licht apou thame and droune thame, man and beist, and mak this realm cummirles¹ of thame for their wicket synnys. The thunnour and fireflauchtis² that zet down as rane apou the cities of Zodoma and Gomora, with all the landis about, and brynt thame for their vile synnys, mot rane apou thame, and birne thame for oppin synnys. The malesoun and confusioun that lichtit on the Gigantis for their oppressioun and pride, biggand the tour of Babiloun, mot confound thaim and all their werkis, for their oppin reiffis and oppressioun. All the plagis that fell apou Pharao and his pepill of Egipt, thair landis, corne and cataill, mot fall apou thaim, thair takkis rowmys³ and stedingis, cornys and beistis. The watter of Tweid and utheris watteris quhair thair ride mot droun thaim, as the Reid Sey drownit King Pharao and the pepill of Egipt, persewing Godis pepill of Isreall. The erd mot oppin, riffe and cleiff,⁴ and swelly thaim quyk⁵ to hell, as its wellyit cursit Dathan and Abiron, that ganestude Moeses and the command of God. The wyld fyre that brynt Thore and his fallowis to the nowmer of twa hundreth and fyfty, and utheris 14,000 and 700 at anys, usurpand aganis Moyses and Araon, servandis of God, mot suddanely birne and consume thaim, dailie ganestandand the commandis of God and halykirk. The maledictioun that lichtit suddanely upon fair Absolon, rydand contrair his fader, King David, servand of God, throw the wod, quhen the branchis of ane tre fred⁶ him of his horse and hangit him be the hair, mot licht apou thaim, rydand agane trewe Scottis men, and hang thaim sidlike that all the world may se. The maledictioun that lichtit apou Olieferus, lieutenant to Nabogodonoser, makand weir and heirschippis apou trew cristin men; the maledictioun that lichtit apou Judas, Pylot, Herod, and the Jowis that crucifyit Our Lord, and all the plagis and trublis that lichtit on the citte of Jherusalem thairfor, and upon Symon Magus for his symony, bludy Nero, cursit Ditius Makcensius, Olibrius, Julianus, Apostita and the laiff of the cruell tiranis that slew and murthirit Cristis haly servandis, mot licht apou thame for their cruell tyranny and murthirdome of cristin pepill. And all the vengeance that ever wes takin sen the warlde began for oppin synnys, and all the plagis and pestilence that ever fell on man or beist, mot fall on thaim for their oppin reiff, saiklesse slauchter and schedding of innocent blude. **I DISSEVER** and **PAIRTIS** thaim fra the kirk of God, and deliveris thaim quyk to the devill of hell, as the Apostill Sanct Paull deliverit Corinthion. **I INTERDITE** the places thay cum in fra divine service, ministracioun of the sacramentis of halykirk, except the sacrament of baptissing allanerlie;⁷ and forbiddis all kirkmen to schriffe or absolve thaim of thaire synnys, quhill⁸ thair be first absolyeit of this cursing. **I FORBID** all cristin man or woman till have ony company with thame, etand, drynkand, spekand, prayand, lyand, gangand, standand, or in any uther deid doand, under the paine of deidly syn. **I DISCHARGE** all bandis, actis contractis, aithis, and obligatiounis made to thaim be ony personnis, outhor of lawte,⁹ kyndenes or maurent, salang as thair susteine this cursing; sua that na man be bundin to thaim, and that thair be bundin till all men. **I TAK** fra thame and crys doune all the gude dedis that ever thair did or sall do, quhill thair ryse fra

¹ Disencumbered.² Lightning.³ Places.⁴ May the earth open, split, and cleave.⁵ Swallow them alive.⁶ Freed.⁷ Only.⁸ Until.⁹ Loyalty.

this cursing. I DECLARE thaim partles ¹ of all matynys, messis, evinsangis, dirigeis or utheris prayeris, on buke or beid; of all pilgrimagis and almouse dedis done or to be done in halykirk or be cristin pepill, enduring this cursing.

“And, finaly, I CONDEMN thaim perpetuallie to the deip pit of hell, to remain with Lucifeir and all his fallowis, and thair bodeis to the gallowis of the Burrow Mure, first to be hangit, syne revin and ruggit with doggis, swyne and utheris wyld beistis, abhominable to all the world. And thir candillis gangis fra your sicht, as mot ² thair saulis gang fra the visage of God, and thair gude fame fra the world, quhill thai forbeir thair oppin synnys foirsaidis and ryse fra this terribill cursing, and mak satisfacioun and pennance.” ³

¹ Without part in.

² So may.

³ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. 417-419.

CHAPTER V

PAGE.	PAGE.
95 Queen Margaret is besieged in Stirling Castle, 1528.	111 Diplomacy of Sir George Douglas [li.], 1543-1544.
95 Fall of Angus, June 1528.	112 Treaties concluded with England July 1543.
96 xlvi. Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, "Greysteil," <i>ob.</i> c. 1535.	113 Arran goes over to the French faction, 1543.
98 Angus rebels against James v., September 1528.	114 Angus imprisoned, 1544.
100 Goes into exile in England, May 1529.	114 Earl of Hertford's invasion, May 1544.
101 Turns renegade, August 1532.	116 Angus resigns office, 1545.
101 liii. Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, <i>ob.</i> 1537.	117 Battle of Ancrum Moor, 27th February 1545.
103 Her dreadful doom, 17th July 1537.	120 Murder of Cardinal Beaton, 29th May 1546.
105 Death of Queen Margaret, 14th October 1541.	121 Battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547.
106 Battle of Solway Moss, 24th November 1542.	124 Angus attempts reconciliation with his daughter, 1550.
107 Angus returns to Scotland, January 1543.	124 Death of Sir George Douglas [li.], 1552.
108 Sworn of the Privy Council, 1543.	125 Arran resigns the Regency, 12th April 1554.
109 Marries Lord Maxwell's daughter, 6th April 1543.	126 Death of Angus, January 1557.
111 Lennox marries Lady Margaret Douglas, July 1544.	128 liv. George Douglas, Bishop of Moray, <i>ob.</i> 1589-1590.

THE position of Chancellor Angus at the beginning of 1528 seemed almost beyond rivalry. Decree of divorce had been pronounced between him and his wife on 11th March, and the Queen had immediately availed herself thereof to marry Henry Stuart publicly, as she had probably done long before in private. But Angus, in the words of Pitscottie, "tuik lyttill sussie¹ of the samin, bot gyditt and rullit the King as he pleissit. . . . And nane at that tyme durst

¹ *Souci*, care.

stryue witht ane Douglas, nor yeit ane Douglas man, for giff they wald, they got the war."¹

Nevertheless secret influences were at work, unsuspected not only by the "witte" of the Chancellor, whereof Magnus thought so poorly, but by the infinitely keener intellects of his brothers George and William. One cannot trace the cause which induced King James to besiege his mother and Stuart in Stirling Castle, but it is scarcely possible that he acted herein independently of his stepfather. Lesley, however, makes no mention of Angus in the matter. Queen Margaret surrendered to her son on 27th March, and interceded with him on her knees for her new husband.

Next, a bewildering change comes over the course of affairs. King James was with Angus at Eastertide admonishing him, it is said, for want of energy in repressing lawlessness on the Border. Again, on 27th May, the King and his Chancellor were conferring in Edinburgh on the same matters, and Angus wrote, by direction of King James, to Dacre, assuring him that a force was to assemble on 22nd June to deal once more with the border banditti. But when the appointed day came, James wrote to Henry to say that he had been obliged to put off the expedition in order to deal with the discontent of certain persons with the administration of Chancellor Angus.²

This was, to say the least, a mild paraphrase of what had taken place. The combined exertions of Queen Margaret and Archbishop Beaton had prevailed to undermine the Douglas party. King James had escaped from control of Angus, eluding even the vigilance of Sir George Douglas, had taken up residence with his mother at Stirling, and bestowed upon his latest stepfather, Henry Stuart, the title of Lord Methven. Arran and Moray, by one of those bewildering changes of sides so characteristic of the Scottish nobility, are now found leagued with Beaton against the Douglases, who, by the sudden

¹ Got the worst of it.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, iv. 548, 557, etc.

Queen
Margaret
besieged in
Stirling
Castle, 1528.

Fall of
Angus,
June 1528.

adhesion of the King to the opposition party, have been transformed into rebels.

On 19th June King James made proclamation that neither the Earl of Angus nor any other of the name of Douglas should come within seven miles of his person. On 9th July further proclamation was issued forbidding all persons to hold any communication with Angus, his two brothers, or his uncle, Sir Archibald of Kilspindie, upon pain of death, and that no Douglas retainers were to remain in Edinburgh after four o'clock that day. Angus was deprived of the chancellorship, of course, Archbishop Dunbar succeeding to the seals. Lord Maxwell was made Provost of Edinburgh in room of the disgraced Kilspindie.

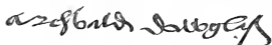


Fig. 21.—Signature of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie (1480–1540).

This Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie [xlvi.] was the fourth son of Bell-the-Cat [xliii.], and had won the affection of King James in a degree denied to his more powerful nephew. James affectionately called him "Greysteil" after the hero of a popular ballad, and in 1526, when John, Lord Lindsay was under summons for treason, before the charge was tried, the King anticipated the verdict by bestowing Lindsay's lands and goods upon Greysteil, "in cace the said Johne beis fforfatt, as said is."¹ In the same year he became Treasurer of Scotland, which office he held till the fall of his chief in 1528.

Angus was ordered to pass and remain north of the Spey, a kind of petty Siberia of the Stuart Kings, while Sir George and Greysteil were to be warded alternately in Edinburgh Castle as security for him. Angus, however, preferred to trust to his own strong walls of Tantallon, wherein he shut himself to abide the coming storm, and was joined there by George and Greysteil.

¹ Pitcairn, i. *239.

xlvi. Sir
Archibald
Douglas of
Kilspindie,
"Greysteil,"
died c. 1535.

Parliament having been hastily summoned *ad hoc*, a packed committee of five earls, five bishops, and a prior, known to be hostile to the Douglasses, decreed the forfeiture of the lives, lands, and goods of all these three chevaliers.¹ Angus's former friends, Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow and the Earl of Arran, were among his judges in this matter.

On 5th September, the day this crushing sentence was pronounced, Angus and his brother, Abbot William, rode to Norham, asked for and obtained leave of the English warden to pass into England for a few days until King James should dismiss his troops, when Angus would return and resume possession of his lands in defiance of the King.

Meanwhile these lands had been assigned to the lords who remained loyal to James and his mother. Argyll was rewarded with Abernethy, Arran with Bothwell, Moray with Boncle, Maxwell with Crawford-Douglas and Dunsyre. Douglasdale was divided between Sir James Hamilton and the Sheriff of Ayr. Scott of Buccleuch received Jedburgh Forest; Preston went to Mark Ker. Tantallon the King determined to retain in his own hands. Only Lord Home refused to enrich himself out of the spoil thrown loose by the ruin of his friend.

Thus was the Earl of Angus driven into open rebellion against his sovereign. He has been harshly judged all along by many writers; but an impartial study of the voluminous and contradictory materials for Scottish history at this period causes him and his brother George to stand out almost alone among Scotsmen of leading, consistent, up to this point at least, in endeavour to maintain the authority of their King, and to extricate him from his mother's sinister machinations, and their country from the inevitable evils of a French entanglement. They failed; the much-needed peace with England was postponed for two generations, and Scotland stood committed in the coming religious strife to the cause of papacy.

Angus returned to Tantallon in order, says Godscroft, though the anecdote is suppressed in his published history,

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 324-326.

to put his charters and family papers in safety while he should be absent from the country. This he did by stuffing them into a huge brazen beef-pot, which was buried in solid rock near the castle gate. Luckily for the cause of history, they were not disturbed in their resting-place until the earl returned after fifteen years of exile.

As Angus had foreseen, the King could not afford to keep his army together, but dismissed them to the harvest on 10th September. On that very night Angus, who had returned to Tantallon, sent a party to burn the villages of Cranston and Cousland, within sight of Edinburgh, "that the king mycht have light to see to risse withall upon Fryday in the morn- yng."¹ King James retaliated by investing, and probably capturing Douglas Castle.²

Early in October the King made an expedition to Coldingham Priory, where Angus had taken up quarters because of its proximity to the English border. Angus had but a couple of hundred men to defend it withal, too few to cope with the King's forces, so he drew off to a neighbouring height, and watched the King taking possession. Having put Lord Home in charge, James rode off towards Edinburgh. Angus, who had been reinforced in the meanwhile, immediately gave chase, and pursued his Sovereign hard to the gates of Dunbar, which was then held by a French garrison for the Duke of Albany. Then the earl returned, expelled Home, perhaps nothing loth, from Coldingham, and took up his abode there to watch the course of events. King James laid siege to Tantallon on 18th October; but the garrison were faithful to their absent lord. They made good their defence till 4th November, when James raised the siege and returned to Edinburgh. Angus straightway took possession of Tantallon; he did more; he captured the King's siege-train near Dirleton, putting to flight the infantry escort and

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, iv. 510.

² It was in his possession in 1537 when he appointed Gordon of Lochinvar its keeper.



slaying David Falconer, who was in command, an officer greatly esteemed by King James. Then, with a touch of chivalry, he released his prisoners.

"I wald nocht," he wrote to the Earl of Northumberland, "dishonour the king here sa fer as to hald his artaillie, bot convoyit the sammyn my self quhill¹ it was furthe of danger, and sufferit the maister of artaillie to pas, and prayit him to commend my lauly service unto my souerane, and to schew his grace that I have bene trew servand and subiect to the sammyn, and that I gave his grace na wyte of ocht that was done to me, bot to the evill avisit personis about his grace nocht worthy therto, and had done sic dishonour to him at this tyme thai mycht nevir amend it."²

During these events Sir George Douglas was at the English court, as his brother's representative, while King James's side of the quarrel was laid before Henry VIII. by Patrick Sinclair. The truce which Angus had effected in 1525 between the two kingdoms was on the point of expiry. James's anxiety for its renewal gave King Henry an opening to plead for the restoration of Angus, who, on his own part, sent Andrew Cairns, a friar, to King James with an offer of submission, pledging himself to surrender all his castles, and to do loyal service in the future as he had done in the past. James, with the consent of his council, accepted the offer, and gave his kingly word that he would receive Angus back to favour, provided Tantallon Castle were given up to him at once. History contained too many and too recent lessons of what came of reliance by a Douglas on the faith of a Stuart. Angus replied by calling on the King to begin doing his part of the bargain also, and added that unless the pardon extended to "the leist lad that pertains to me I had levire³ nevire haue heretage in Scotland."⁴

All negotiations and attempts at reconciliation, though renewed repeatedly by Angus, by King Henry, and by Dr. Magnus, utterly failed to move King James from his purpose. It were more accurate, perhaps, to dwell on the inflexibility of his mother, the cardinal, and others about the

¹ Until.

² Fraser, iv. 137.

³ *Liefer*, rather.

⁴ Original in British Museum, quoted by Fraser, ii. 248.

King, for, after all, James was but a lad of sixteen at this time. Angus remained at Tantallon till the middle of May 1529, supporting himself by raids in the Lothians.

The Earl of Bothwell was made Lieutenant of Lothian, and operated so effectively that, on 13th May, Angus wrote to Wolsey to inform him: "Sa scherpely I am persewit . . . that I ma nocht weill remane within this realme," and asked leave to take refuge in England. King Henry, who had desired to keep him in Scotland as long as possible, both as a means of breeding dissension in an unfriendly country, and as the best check upon the mischievous alliance with France, sent Carlisle Herald on 12th July to conduct Angus to London. He granted the earl an annual pension of 1000 merks, and smaller annuities to Sir George and Greysteil.

Angus is said to have had one more interview with his Sovereign, and one only. Calderwood is the authority for it, and for the cause which brought it about, and Calderwood, it must be remembered, was not a contemporary. He alleges that when Arran lay dying in 1529, he urged upon King James that he should receive Angus back to favour, because, of all the Scottish lords, he alone was true, and assured the King that Angus had suffered through the calumny of interested persons. Certain it is that at this time Tantallon was given up to the King¹—the first condition of the stipulated peace—"but," adds Calderwood, "hard and difficult it was to satisfy our king; the castell was raundered, but the conditionns upon the king's part were not kept."²

Angus, therefore, returned to England. The truce had been renewed, but everything pointed to hostilities between the two nations. Up to this point Angus, though he had been in arms against his Sovereign, had always professed loyalty to his person, and undoubtedly meant it. Now,

¹ Letter of Philip Dacre to Lord Dacre, 4th April 1530.—*Letters and Papers*, iv. No. 6305.

² Calderwood, i. 100.

however, he took a step impossible to justify or palliate.

Angus turns
renegade at
last, August
1532.

On 25th August 1532 he entered into an explicit agreement with King Henry, promising "by his othe and in the worde of a gentleman"

to serve, in the event of war with Scotland, "with suche his servauntis, adherentis and frendes as he can by any meanes procure"; in consideration whereof Henry bound himself to increase the earl's pension to £1000 a year, and to continue the same until he should be restored to his estates in Scotland.¹ There was more and worse. For the first time we come, in this deplorable document, upon a renewal by King Henry of the old claim of the Kings of England to the overlordship of Scotland. Angus pledged himself "at the commencement and begynning of the said warre" to take the oath of allegiance to Henry and recognise him as supreme lord of Scotland. No peace was to be made with Scotland till Angus was restored to his possessions.

Angus did not shrink from fulfilling his part of this odious compact. The war took the indefinite form of raids and counter-raids upon the Border, wherein the earl, his brother, and uncle did their utmost to inflict death and damage upon their own countrymen. A truce was patched up in May 1534, in which, although Henry failed to fulfil his obligation to insist upon the restitution of the Douglasses as a condition, he continued to urge his nephew to take them back into favour.

It was in vain. As he grew in years James became more implacable against the whole house of Douglas, and concentrated his vengeance upon one of them who remained within his power. Mention has been

The case of
Janet, Lady
Glamis [liii.],
1528-1537.

made above² of Janet [liii.], third sister of the Earl of Angus. Her first husband, the 6th

Lord Glamis, is supposed to have died in December 1527, a few months before Angus was forfeited. Not unnaturally, Lady Glamis persisted in holding

¹ Original in British Museum, quoted by Fraser, iv. 139.

² See p. 53, *supra*.

intercourse with her brothers, Angus and George, after the proclamation against them, and for this offence was twice summoned before Parliament.¹ Failing to appear, she was "put to the horn" — outlawed — her possessions being forfeited and bestowed upon Gavin Hamilton. This was done during her absence abroad upon a pilgrimage, by special licence under the Privy Seal.² Returning to Scotland in 1531, fresh summonses were issued against her for treason "or for ony vthir crimes,"³ but a jury could not be got to pass upon her assize, many gentlemen being fined for declining to serve. Next, in January 1532, she was arraigned upon a totally different charge, namely, that of having caused the death of her husband *per intoxicationem*, which probably meant by potions, poison, or charms. The same difficulty as before arose to delay the trial, no less than thirty-two gentlemen paying the statutory fine rather than have any hand in such detestable proceedings.⁴

Defects in the criminal records prevent us tracing the consecutive steps in the persecution of this unfortunate lady; it was not until the year 1537 that her trial finally took place. This time the charge had undergone a third metamorphosis, fabricated, it is alleged, by one William Lyon, a relative of the deceased Lord Glamis, in revenge for Lady Glamis's refusal to listen to his dishonourable addresses. The two articles in this new dittay set forth that she had "committit art and part of the tressonable conspiratioune and ymaginatioune of the slauchter and destructioun of our souerane lordis maist nobile persone be poysoned, and for art and part of the tressonable assistance, supplé, ressett, intercomonyng and fortifying of Archibald, sumtyme Erll of Anguse and George Douglas hir brether, traytouris and rebellis, in tressonabill maner."⁵ Before the trial came on, Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, whom Lady Glamis

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 331.

² *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, 20th September 1530.

³ Pitcairn, i. *189.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *191.

had married two or three years before, was arrested and imprisoned, as were also her sons, John, Lord Glamis and George Lyon, and an aged priest called John Lyon.

The jury, which included the Earls of Athol and Buchan, Robert, Lord Maxwell, the Master of Glencairn and Home of Cowdenknowes, convicted the accused; but, affected, it is said, by her eloquent defence, and perhaps by her great beauty, before pronouncing doom, sent two of their number to move the King to exercise his prerogative of mercy, or at least to order sufficient delay to allow inquiry to be made into the character and antecedents of certain witnesses for the prosecution. But King James knew no mercy for a Douglas: he refused to interfere, and sentence was pronounced that Lady Glamis was to be taken to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh "and thair brent in ane fyre to the deid"—to be burnt alive—which execrable act was performed on 17th July 1537, five days after the Master of Forbes suffered the more merciful doom of decapitation for part in the same alleged conspiracy. In reporting the circumstances to Henry VIII., Sir Thomas Clifford passed the comment that Lady Glamis's doom was, "as I can perceyue, without any substanciall ground or proyf of mattir."

There was more. James seemed determined to purge the land of all in whose veins the blood of Douglas ran. On the day following his mother's execution, the young Lord Glamis was tried and convicted on a charge of knowledge and concealment of the alleged conspiracy against the King. A confession was extracted from him by means afterwards explained in an Act of Parliament [15th March 1542], namely, that he made it under threat of the rack, and after witnesses had been severely tortured on the rack in his presence. He was condemned to be hanged and drawn, but there James, by the grace of God King of Scots, found enough grace to remit the sentence upon the lad to one of imprisonment for life and forfeiture of all his estates. Five years later, after the death of King James, this doom was revoked by

Parliament, and Lord Glamis was restored. The tale of this inhuman tragedy was completed by the fate of Lady Glamis's husband, Campbell of Skipnish, who fell over the rocks in trying to escape from Edinburgh Castle on the day after his wife's execution, and was dashed to pieces, and by the decapitation of John Lyon for art and part in the forged conspiracy.

With all the fell hatred that is born of fear, King James, haunted by apprehension of the return of the Douglasses, continued relentless in punishing all who were suspected of friendly relations with Angus. "Few do escape," wrote the Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell, "that may be known to be friends to the Earl of Angus, or near kinsmen. They be daily taken and put in prison. It is said that such as have lands of any good value shall suffer at this next Parliament, and such as have little shall refuse the name of Douglas and be called Stuarts. . . . So sore a dread King and so ill-beloved of his subjects was never in that land; every man that hath any substance fearing to have a quarrel made to him therefore."¹

Upon one branch of the house of Douglas, indeed, the "Red Tod" cast a mingled aspect of love and hate. His former mistress, Margaret, daughter of Lord Erskine, had become the wife of Robert Douglas of Lochleven. She had borne the King a son, afterwards to become famous as the Regent Moray; and in 1536 James entertained serious intentions of obtaining her divorce from Douglas in order to make her his queen, and addressed the Pope to that end.² Had that been carried into effect, and the bastard legitimised by a trifling feat of ecclesiastical legerdemain, what fine scope for speculation there is about the results of an able Stuart of full age succeeding as James VI.

But this was not to be. James chose a French wife, and the realm of Scotland had to "dree its weird." An

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, v. 98, 108, 109, 112, 141.

² *Letters and Papers*, x. No. 1229.

evil weird, truly, under this fifth James. Like so many of his race, he had entered upon the kingly office full of intentions of firm and just governance; but everything went awry under his hand. In the north, the Clan Chattan were decreed to extermination, no creature of them to be spared but priests, women, and children. In the west, the Macdonalds and Macleans were at destructive war with the Campbells, whose chief, the Earl of Argyll, upon whom James could place reliance, died in 1530. In the south, after the removal of the Douglasses, no better means than the gallows-tree could be devised for the disposal of Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie and his mossriders, the hardiest cavalry in Europe. For heretics, the horrid bale-fires of persecution were kindling here and there; upon the whole land descended clouds of inarticulate dread and helpless dolour.

In 1441 Queen Margaret, stricken with palsy, died at Methven. On her deathbed she is said to have repented for her conduct to Angus, and charged her confessors "that thay shold seek on thar knees befor the kyng, and to besече hem that he wold be good and grachous unto the Erell of Anguyshe, and dyd extremly lament and aske God marcy that she had afendet unto the sayd Erell as she hade."¹ It is wise to give restricted credence to reports of deathbed confessions. A woman dying in four days of paralysis is scarcely likely to have been capable of speech; but was a very fit subject for the representations of interested bystanders. The land was full of King Henry's spies.

Whether his mother's message had any effect in softening the King's feelings towards Angus we have no means of judging, for James's own sands had nearly run out. Calderwood, indeed, declares that he resolved to recall the earl for the defence of the realm, but in this Calderwood's testimony is of dubious weight. Neither need we scan

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, v. 194.

Death of
Queen
Margaret,
October
1541.

too critically Sir Walter's Scott's picture of the King's remorse:—

“Why is it at each turn I trace
Some memory of that exiled race?
Can I not mountain maiden spy,
But she must bear the Douglas eye?
Can I not view a Highland brand,
But it must match the Douglas hand?
Can I not frame a fevered dream,
But still the Douglas is the theme?”¹

Angus was far from faultless; indeed no defence need be attempted of the renegade from the time he signed the damning compact with King Henry in 1532. James might well feel unable to pardon the past, yet at the same time sigh for the strong hand of Angus and the clever head of George Douglas to extricate him from the troubles which culminated in the scandal of Fala Moor [31st October 1542] and the dishonouring disaster of Solway Moss [24th November].

In August 1542 Angus had been fulfilling his compact with King Henry by riding with Sir Robert Bowes in an expedition upon the Merse, and lost seventy of his men in the defeat inflicted upon the raiders at Hadden Rig by the Earl of Huntly. More of his movements we do not learn till the end of that year, but his brother George was active in collecting information about the Scottish army with which James determined to follow up the success at Hadden Rig. Lord Maxwell, says Buchanan, offered to lead 10,000 men across the Esk; but the affront of Fala Moor still rankled; the King would read a lesson to his proud nobles, and appointed Oliver Sinclair, an obscure gentleman of his household, to the chief command. It was a hazardous experiment in an army recruited by the feudal following of the nobles themselves. Under a leader to their liking these men would have fought and fallen, if need be, as their sires had fought and fallen at Flodden, but to a mere gentleman of cloak and sword they yielded little heed

Battle of
Solway Moss,
24th Nov-
ember 1542.

¹ *Lady of the Lake*, i. 35.

and less confidence. "Better," runs an Italian proverb, "an army of stags commanded by a lion than an army of lions led by a stag." In the action of Solway Moss, fought on 24th November 1542, Pitscottie says that but ten Scots and fifteen English fell, sure token of the hollowness of the affair. Surer token is found in the number of prisoners taken, not less than 1200, including Oliver Sinclair and his three brothers, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, Lord Maxwell and his brother John, the Lords Fleming, Oliphant, Somerville and Gray, Stewart of Garlies, and many others of good rank.

The disgrace of it all broke King James's heart. "Fie! fled Oliver," he moaned on his deathbed at Falkland, and expired on 14th December, within a week of the birth of his daughter Mary, leaving his realm once more under the true "curse of Scotland," a long minority.

"The kyng of Scotis is sekened," wrote Sir George Douglas from Berwick on the 17th to Lord Lisle, "and toyke his bed the vi day of this monthe of Decembre, and departyd of Thowrsday the xv at xii of the cloke at night, and all this tyme he dyd raege and crye owt and spake bad fewe wysse wordes, and so departyd."¹

The "Red Tod's" death removed all bar to the return of the exiled Douglases. James, Earl of Arran, who had been elected Regent, invited Sir George Douglas to come to Edinburgh under safe-conduct, to confer with him upon the terms of the restoration of his family. After a friendly interview with the Regent, Sir George met Cardinal Beaton in Holyrood Church. They embraced each other; all went smoothly towards complete reconciliation, and on the following day, 16th January 1543, proclamation was made that the Earl of Angus and his brother were restored to their estates.² This was ratified by Parliament in March, the decree of forfeiture being annulled and the

Return of
Angus to
Scotland,
January 1543.

¹ As Sir Archibald Dunbar has pointed out, that Thursday fell on 14th December [*Scottish Kings*, p. 241].

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, v. 238, 239, 585.

Regent delivering sceptre and baton to Angus in token of his restoration.¹

The Douglas lands had been granted by James v. to various nobles and others; but in the course of subsequent disputes with his subjects the King had resumed most of these gifts and added them to the patrimony of the Crown,

Fig. 22.—Signature of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, Master of Angus (c. 1547).

thereby removing difficulties which might otherwise have proved dangerous to concord in the restoration of the Douglasses.

Angus, having been sworn of the Regent's Privy Council, found himself, as a consistent supporter of the English alliance, in direct opposition to Cardinal Beaton, whom the English Reformation had confirmed as leader of the French party. King Henry's claim to the suzerainty was an awkward feature to be got round, but that must be kept out of public ken, if possible, until the problem should solve itself by the union of the Crowns in the projected marriage of the infant Mary Queen of Scots to Henry's son Edward, Duke of Cornwall [afterwards Edward VI.]. Yet Angus and his party had a hard task before them to convince their countrymen of the expediency of such a match.

“If you had the las,” said Sir Adam Otterburn to Sir Thomas Sadleyr, the English ambassador at Holyrood, “and we the lad, we coulede be well content with it; but I cannot beleve that your nacyon could agree to have a Scotte to be kyng of England. In lykewise I assure you that our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be kyng of Scotland. And though the whole nobilite of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people and the stoness in the strete wold ryse and rebelle agenst it.”²

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, ii. 415.

² Sadleyr, ii. 559.

Cardinal Beaton had received George Douglas, whom he more than suspected of heretical leanings, to his fatherly embrace in the abbey church of Holyrood, spoken him fair, promised pecuniary help, and presently whispered to Arran that the same kingdom could never contain the Hamilton and the Douglas. Arran, by way of cementing the reunion of parties, revealed the Cardinal's duplicity to the Douglasses, and agreed with them that he should be seized and sent to King Henry, his presence in Scotland being utterly incompatible with the progress of negotiations with England.

Seized the Cardinal was, therefore, on 28th January, when seated at the Council, Angus telling him to his face that he was "a false trumping carle, that should answer to certain points that he had played."¹ Meanwhile it was bruited through Scotland that Angus himself had signed the compact imposed by King Henry as a condition of the release of his Scottish prisoners, whereof the tenour had oozed out pretty freely. There was more than one "false trumping carle" in the game, it would appear.

The times were too agitating, one might imagine, for marrying and giving in marriage. The English

match, to be sure, sped not at all; but Angus, who had never acknowledged the validity of his divorce from Queen Margaret, and in consequence had refrained from taking another wife, now felt free, Margaret being dead, to wed again. Among all the Scottish nobles none had stood higher in the favour of James v. than Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell, who had been an active partisan in the French



Fig. 23.—Seal of Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus.

Angus
marries Lord
Maxwell's
daughter, 6th
April 1543.

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, i. 361-402.

interest, and therefore was always in opposition to Arran. But the indignity put upon him by King James in the campaign of Solway Moss, and subsequent opportunity for reflection in the Tower of London, had caused him to recognise solid arguments in favour of the English alliance. So completely was his view changed by his imprisonment that he and his fellow-prisoners scrupled not to obtain their liberty by signing a bond as shameful as that to which Angus had set his seal in 1532, acknowledging Henry VIII. as Lord Superior of Scotland, undertaking to do all in their power to put the government and fortresses of the kingdom into his hands, and to have the baby Queen of Scots delivered in England and brought up as the bride of the Duke of Cornwall. They were then released and allowed to proceed to Scotland, on the understanding that, should they fail in accomplishing this design, they were either to return to prison in England or to remain in Scotland and assist Henry in war with that country.

Angus welcomed this important accession to the English party, and, to strengthen the confederation, married Margaret, daughter of Lord Maxwell.

The French faction in Scotland now consisted of the Earls of Argyll, Moray, Huntly, and Bothwell, with all the prelates of the realm, of course, for the cause of England had become identified with that of the Reformation. Regent Arran, heir-presumptive to the throne, as yet favoured the English policy; so the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, and Cardinal Beaton sent to France for the Earl of Lennox, who landed at Dunbarton and fortified that castle in defiance of Arran. The Regent marched against him in person, whereupon Lennox desired an interview with Angus and promised to be guided by his advice. Angus counselled him to submit, and returned to Arran with his agreement to do so; but Lennox thought better of it, and, instead of disbanding his men, withdrew into the Highlands.

It was not long before his inclination to defer to Angus was explained. He had fallen in love with the earl's

daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, and sent her father a proposal for her hand. Margaret, it seems, had not been well pleased by her father's second marriage, and resided at the Court of her uncle, King Henry, to whom Angus submitted Lennox's proposal. Henry made no objection; the parties were contracted and the marriage took place the following year [July 1544] in London. Lennox, whom all the arts of diplomacy and force of arms had failed to detach from the French faction, now threw himself with heart and soul into the English interest, and remained a pillar of that party till his life's end.

Sir George Douglas had far more hand in the negotiations with the English Court than Angus. Of firmer spirit and clearer purpose than his elder brother, he had kept out of the compromising bond which Angus and the captive lords had been induced to sign before regaining their liberty. His absence in Edinburgh at the time of this disgraceful submission accounted in part for his freedom from that particular entanglement; but he frequently reminded Sadleyr that he was not bound as his brother was, deplored the obligation which the earl had come under, and used his great diplomatic skill, on the one hand to conceal its existence from the Scottish people, on the other to temper King Henry's impatience for its fulfilment.

"Why," he told Sadleyr, "his majesty¹ shall have the marriage offered to be contracted, and they (the Scottish ambassadors) have authority to conclude it; and, having that first, the rest of his desires may follow in time. But for my part, I made no such promise as ye speak of, and they that made such promises are not able to perform them. For surely the noblemen will not agree to have her out of the realm, because she is their mistress, but they are content that the king's majesty shall appoint some gentlemen of England and some English ladies to be here about her person for her better tuition, at his majesty's pleasure; and this entry at the first may bring her wholly into his hands in short time. But I tell you all things cannot be done at once. And this I have done by my policy

¹ Almost the earliest instance of the employment of this term in referring to an English monarch. Up to this time the usual expressions were "his grace" and "his highness."

since I came hither. First, I have so to insinuate myself with the governour [Arran] that I am in chief credit with him. I have caused him to pull down the cardinal, who was, and would have been, chief enemy to the king's purposes. I have brought the said governour also wholly to the king's majesty's devotion, so that he esteemeth his majesty above all other princes; and clean have I altered him from France, so that he and all this realm shall be wholly dedicate to his majesty."¹

And so on. If George Douglas's hands were far from clean, they were not quite so deeply stained as his elder brother's, who stood doubly pledged to wage war upon his countrymen if they could not be brought to accept an English husband for the Queen of Scots.

In May 1543 Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn set out for London, carrying the authority of the Scottish Parliament for concluding two treaties with England, and these were finally settled at Greenwich on 1st July. One was for the marriage of Queen Mary to Prince Edward of England as soon as she reached the conventionally marriageable age, the other was for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.² There was no word in either document of the suzerainty or anything else that could compromise the independence of Scotland. Sir George Douglas deserves equal credit for his skill in negotiating this settlement, which, had it taken effect, would without doubt have been the best thing for both kingdoms, and for permitting nothing to be inserted but what was compatible with absolute loyalty to the Queen of Scots.

So long as Arran favoured the English match and policy Angus's course was pretty clear. He had only to fulfil the unobjectionable part of his undertaking to King Henry, which coincided with his own view of what was sound and safe. Unhappily for the peace of the realm, the two earls had stopped short with the arrest of Cardinal Beaton. They had not deported him to England, as had been their intention, and this dangerous politician had remained a prisoner at large in St. Andrews.

During the summer of 1543, Sir George Douglas

¹ Sadleyr, i. 67-71.

² *Fœdera*, xiv. 786-792.

Treaties con-
cluded with
England,
July 1543.

being absent on the mission to London, it was easy to divine which influence would prove the stronger upon the uncertain temperament of Arran—that of Angus or that of Beaton. The Cardinal won the Regent wholly over to the French interest, and the position of Angus became intolerable. He was still receiving money from King Henry to promote the English projects; he beheld in Arran's defection the withering of the chief of those projects—the royal marriage—whereon he had relied to extricate himself from such of his obligations as were treasonable. He must either prove forsworn to Henry or become a rebel against the Scottish government. To meditate upon this dilemma he retired to Tantallon, whither also the English ambassador, Sadleyr, went for shelter, feeling in jeopardy of his life in Edinburgh after the turn affairs had taken.

Some historians weary not in severe judgment of Angus and George Douglas for taking King Henry's money; bribery, they call it, yet when the King of France sends cash to promote his schemes, that is respectfully spoken of as subsidy. One of these remittances went sadly astray during this year. King Francis sent 10,000 golden crowns and fifty pieces of artillery to his good friend the Earl of Lennox at Dunbarton, who received them right enough; but having changed parties since he parted with the French King, did not scruple to apply them to ends for which they were little intended. This windfall enabled Lennox and Angus, Cassillis and Kilmaurs, to take the field with 4000 men and capture Leith. Arran, however, had been beforehand with them. When Angus in the autumn of 1543 summoned his friends and vassals to Douglas, and entered with them into a mutual bond of defence, the Regent, treating this as an act of war, besieged and took Dalkeith Castle from James Douglas, Master of Morton [xxxvi.], and Pinkie Tower, belonging to the Master's father, Sir George Douglas [li.]. George rode with 500 Border spears to Musselburgh, at the gates of Pinkie, but fell into the hands of the Earl of Bothwell, and was taken to Edinburgh.

Arran goes over to the French faction, 1543.

Cool and resourceful as ever, Sir George set to work to reconcile the Regent with Angus, and succeeded so well that the Douglasses were allowed to make their peace, Sir George being warded in Edinburgh Castle as security for Angus, and giving his son, the Master of Morton, in security for his own conduct. George Douglas warned the English Government that he feared he would be forced to write at Beaton's dictation; let not King Henry, therefore, lend credence to his letters unless they bear a privy symbol—♥—the heart of Bruce!¹

In this sudden pacification King Henry discerned the betrayal of his cause by Angus, and made instant preparation for war. Angus protested that, despite all appearance against him, he was as diligent as ever in Henry's service. His letters fell into the wrong hands. They were intercepted, and, not unreasonably, pronounced treasonable. Beaton caused the instant arrest of Angus and Sir George, imprisoned them in Blackness, where, says the Protestant Pitscottie, "he thocht to haue gart strukkin bayth the heiddis frome thame," had not an unforeseen deliverance arrived in the shape of an English fleet in the Forth under the Earl of Hertford.² Arran and Beaton were stunned with surprise; not so the wily George Douglas, who had bidden King Henry to invade in March.

Angus and George had by this time richly earned the doom of traitors, but so imminent was the danger now that Arran released them, and bade them summon their vassals to the work of national defence. Hertford, bearing instructions to put man, woman, and child to fire and sword without exception where resistance should be made, seized Leith and marched upon Edinburgh. The Cardinal fled to Linlithgow, but the burghers of Edinburgh made a gallant

Angus im-
prisoned in
Blackness,
1544.

Invasion by
the Earl of
Hertford, 1st
May 1544.

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 250.

² Afterwards Duke of Somerset and Protector of England.

defence, repelling the English assault with slaughter; Hertford had to content himself with burning down Holyrood, and wasting all the country as far as Stirling, and thence to the Border.

After this things took a curious turn. The Queen-mother was put under a council of twelve lords and four bishops; Arran shut himself up in Blackness; George Douglas, if we are to credit his own account of it, directed the whole machinery of government, and Angus was appointed Lieutenant of southern Scotland. Gray and Rothes, not long before thirsting for the Cardinal's blood, now took up arms to protect him from the people. "Every lord did for his ain particular profit, and took na heid of the common weill. . . . There was na credit among the nobilite at this present."¹ The English made fine play on the Border while Scottish lords were busy capturing each other and forming ever-changing "bands" among themselves. Angus having failed so signally in his attempt to check English raids that one is inclined to share the suspicion of his contemporaries about his integrity, took up his quarters in Stirling with the Queen-mother.

Arran had been formally removed from the regency, nevertheless he ventured back to Edinburgh, where he held a Parliament, which threatened to put the brothers Douglas "to the horn" once more for treason. This brought Angus and his following to Edinburgh on 12th December, when they obtained remission and effected another hollow reconciliation with Arran. Coldingham, being occupied by the English, was besieged by Arran, who retired on the approach of a relieving force from Berwick. Buchanan and Calderwood claim credit to Angus for saving the guns during the retreat.

After this, in February 1545, Angus, advised by his



Fig. 24.—Signet of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (1490-1552).

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 33.

brother, threw up his lieutenancy. That this was done in the English interest, and therefore under the existing circumstances treasonably, is clearly proved by Sir George's letter to Sir Ralph Eure, commander of Berwick, advising him of the state of affairs in Scotland. It was the obvious intention of the English party in Scotland to make the English union indispensable and inevitable, and George Douglas, at least, was not scrupulous about the means to that end.

Angus re-
signs his
command,
1545.

"I heif cawsit my broder the Erle of Anguse to delayver his commissioun off leutenentrie in afore the Guvernouur and Conselle, making mensiouur that the promisses that vas made to him vas nocht keptit. Thay cowlde feinde no man to exceppe the office. Thay requayrit off me qhow this contray sowld be diffendit, and I saide the Guvernouur sowld diffende it, for it vas his office, and he hade bothe the profit and the plesour, and vas ane luste yung man, and meit to be exersit in varefare, and my broder sowld be redde to serve the Queynis auctorite, siklayk as uder nowbille men off the realme didde. The Guvernouur vald nocht discharge him off his office; nocht the less I sal cawse him to use him selfe in sik ane sorte that ye sal heif no cawse to complene off our kayndnes, the King standing gud and grasius prence to use and our freindes."¹

But King Henry had thrown up the part of "gud and grasius prence." He deeply distrusted the Douglasses, paid no heed to frequent letters from the same hand, but set an inverse value on their respective intellects by offering 2000 crowns for the head of Angus, of 1000 for that of Sir George.² Although Henry failed to obtain these heads, he held much of the Angus estates, and handed over a good cantle of them to Sir Walter Eure and Sir Bryan Layton, his officers on the Border. This roused the Douglas blood in Angus, who vowed that their sasine should be written on their own skins with sharp pens and bloody ink. He caused the Regent to issue summonses for the muster of an army, and, accompanied by Arran, pushed on to reconnoitre with a small force, for news had come that the two English knights were doing great destruction in Tweeddale, and had wantonly wrecked the Douglas tombs in Melrose Abbey.

Even in this her sore and sad extremity Scotland,

¹ Fraser, iv. 154.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 538.

to quote one of her own proverbs, was "no a beast to play wi'." What followed was token of what the strength of the little realm might have been, could the deadly work of faction have been stayed.

Arran and Angus came in touch with the columns of Eure and Layton retiring upon Jedburgh, and kept them in view till they drew up near Liliatcross on Ancrum Moor, some five thousand strong, including the men of Ferniehirst and Cessford, who had been pressed into the English service—"assured men," as they were termed, and marked as such by the red cross of St. George sewed upon their sleeves.

The two earls had started on their reconnoissance with an escort of but 300 spears, but Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, and Scott of Buccleuch, famous fighters both, had joined with small contingents, bringing up the Scottish force to about a thousand men. Advised and guided by Buccleuch, Arran caused his men to dismount and post themselves in ambush at Penielhaugh, sending their horses to the rear. The English, mistaking the movement of the horses for a retreat, started gaily in pursuit, and came suddenly upon the Scottish position between them and the sun. In the conflict which followed the English broke in fury upon the phalanx of spears; their Scottish contingent tore off the red badges and ranged themselves with their own countrymen; the assailants wavered a moment, it cannot have been more, for the Scots admitted no more than a loss of two or three slain; then they turned, and the Scottish spears began to ply to purpose. The English dead were reckoned by hundreds; among them were Eure and Layton; while upwards of a thousand prisoners were taken and twelve guns. "Ah, welaway!" sighed Arran over Eure's stark corpse, "that ever such slaughter and bloodshed should be among Christian men."¹

The effect of this victory was to restore the Scottish frontier to its normal position. Angus received the congratulations of Francis I. of France, together with "the

¹ Shrewsbury to Henry VIII.—*Hamilton Papers*, ii. 565.

Battle of
Ancrum Moor,
27th February
1545.

cockle" of the Order of St. Michael, a golden collar, and a *douceur* of 4000 crowns to be divided between him and George. Francis had just lost Boulogne to Henry VIII., and, rejoicing in the revival of the power of Scotland, sent a contingent of men under Lorge Montgomerie and a subsidy of money to help the war against England.

In June 1545 the Scottish Parliament at Stirling ordained that all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty should assemble under arms upon Roslyn Moor on 28th July following. Angus and George Douglas were among those who subscribed a new bond with France, pledging themselves to harass the English to the utmost of their power, and Angus was one of the special council appointed to assist the Queen, the Regent, and Cardinal Beaton in deciding the proper time for invading the realm of King Henry. Yet, incredible as it may seem, both Angus and George kept up a constant correspondence with the Earl of Hertford, who had succeeded Eure on the Border, assuring him of their support, and actually advising the precise time and route to be chosen for the invasion of Scotland. On 16th August, Angus, the Earl Marshal and Cassillis, addressed Hertford in the following terms, wherein may easily be recognised George Douglas in his finest diplomatic vein:—

"Right woorshipfull, after most hartly commendacioun. Ye shall understand, that we have comuned together and is determynd all in oone of unyon to serve the Kynges majeste [Hemy] at thuttermost of our powers in the setting forwardes of the peax and mariage, whiche we knowe surelie standes with the pleasure of God, the Kynges majestes contentacioun, the common weale and quyetnes of bothe realmes. Therfor we thinke for our opinion, if it standes with the Kinges majesties pleasure, that his grace shulde haseilie prepare his substancious armyes in this tyme of harvest, bothe at th'est and west bordres, provided to remayne a good tyme; for without long remayning there can no hohe purpose be made to the Kynges majestes pleasure. Therefore looke well on that poynte, and when the Kynges armyes cummes in this realme, ye must set forward your proclamacions declaring howe that your purpose is not to hurte this realme, nor no subject that is in it that will assist to the sure perfourmyng of the peax and marriage. . . . Further, as to this last journey of ours,¹ it was devised by the Quene, Cardinall and this Frenche capitayne Lorge Mangummary. Huntley fortifyed this armye at his power, not-

¹ The expedition of the army mustered on 28th July.

withstanding—at short—all that they devised was stopped by us, that are the Kynges freendes. Their hole intent was to have besieged the Kynges howses, unto the tyme they had gotten bargayn; but all was stopped, whereof they stode nothing content. This capitain Lorge will not remayne on our bordres; wherefore the people thinks it a sure argument that he is not come into this country for our weales, but onelie to put forwardes the pleasure of Fraunce, and to cause us to make battel togethers."¹

Now which monarch and which realm were these men really serving in this tortuous intrigue? Were they true in purpose to either, or false to both? Their motives were often so complex, and the means adopted to give them effect so tortuous, as to baffle all attempt at unravelment. Henry by no means lent credence to his professing "freendes," Hertford warning him that George Douglas and Buccleuch were secretly in the Scottish interest. Buccleuch held a licence, signed by Arran and under Queen Mary's privy seal, authorising him to "intercommune with the Protector and Council of England, and sic utheris Inglismen as he pleissis, for saiftie of him, his kin, friendis and servandis fra heirschip and distruction of the Inglismen in tyme cuming, *and for the commoun wele of our realme*, als aft as he sall think expedient"; provided that he held himself ready, on the Regent's command, "to renunce and ourgif² all bandis, contractis, and wrytingis maid be him to the Inglismen,"³ and stand in defence of his country. Now, whenever it came to fighting, Angus and George Douglas undoubtedly ranged themselves under the Scottish standard, and Sir William Fraser suggests that the confederation of the Douglasses with the English Government was perfectly well known to Arran and the Scottish Council, and was reckoned fair finesse according to the accepted doctrine of Machiavelli. Whichever view be taken, whether Angus and Douglas be pronounced true Scots and pretended English, or false alike to their own country and to their recent bond to France, the transactions of these dark years carry a peculiarly odious complexion. One circumstance throws a specially sinister gleam upon the situation. During the spring of 1545

¹ Fraser, iv. 160.

² Give up.

³ *The Scotts of Buccleuch*, by William Fraser, i. 110.

the Earl of Cassillis, intimately associated, as has been shown, with Angus in his negotiations with England, wrote to Sadleyr offering to procure the murder of Cardinal Beaton if King Henry would pay the blood-money. King Henry relished the notion well enough, but was nervous about his name coming to light in the plot. He told Sadleyr to advise Cassillis to carry it out, trusting for reward to his kingly liberality.¹ When, just a year later, Beaton was done to death near St. Andrews, Norman Leslie was foremost in the gang of sixteen assassins, but the agency of Cassillis cannot be traced.

Sir William Fraser was entitled to submit the view which he considered most favourable to his clients the Douglasses, but which, even could it be proved to be the right one, were but a flimsy palliation of monstrous duplicity and heartless indifference to the lives and property of the Queen's subjects. In effect, Angus and George between them persuaded Arran to disband his army, while Hertford wrecked what remained of the lovely fanes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh. Some of the French auxiliaries, disgusted, as well they might be, with the Scottish leaders, deserted to help the English in the work of ruin.

If Angus must be exonerated, in the absence of evidence, of the murder of Beaton [29th May 1546], he profited so directly by the removal of that powerful rival that he seems to have been really earnest in his purpose of washing his hands of the English. He secured the abbacy of Arbroath, one of the Cardinal's benefices, for his illegitimate son George Douglas [liv.], and was appointed one of twenty lords who were to relieve each other, four at a time, as advisers to Regent Arran. Angus and his brother took part in passing the Act of Parliament whereby the English contract of marriage was annulled, and repudiated all bonds they had entered into with the King of England.

Angus sealed his new compact on the field of Pinkie. Henry VIII. was dead [28th January 1547], leaving upon

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, v., iv. 449-451.

Murder of
Cardinal
Beaton, 29th
May 1546.

the Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, his dying injunction to crush the Scottish monarchy. Somerset began by recapturing a number of places in the south-west; then, in the early days of September, he advanced across the East March, having a powerful fleet on his right flank, and, on 8th September, encamped at Prestonpans in presence of the Regent's army. On the 9th, Somerset offered to make peace, provided that Mary Queen of Scots should not be given in marriage to a French prince until she should be old enough to decide for herself. Where was Angus—where George Douglas—that this proposal, precisely what they had professed for years to have at heart, was rejected? The Scots outnumbered the invaders, and Arran, thinking these overtures but showed Somerset's weakness, decided to give battle.

There was a story that Huntly sent a chivalrous challenge to Somerset to meet him in personal combat, but Patten, an English writer who was with Somerset's army, gives probably the true version. Huntly was taken prisoner in the battle, and Patten states that he heard him declare he had sent no such challenge, but that it was a ruse of George Douglas to obtain information as to the English force. Upon hearing this, another Scottish prisoner exclaimed with an oath that it was like enough, "for he kend George ful well, and sayd he was a mete man to pike wharels¹ for oother men to fight for."

Early on 10th September the Regent ordered Angus, commanding the advanced guard, to attack the English columns, which were moving to a fresh position near Inveresk. The earl refused to do so upon tactical grounds; whereupon Arran sent a herald and ordered him to comply on pain of treason. Then Angus crossed the Esk, Arran following with the second division, Huntly with the third. Lord Grey² charged the advanced guard with 3000 horse;³

¹ To pick quarrels.

² There is sometimes confusion between the English Lord Grey and the Scottish Lord Gray.

³ Pitscottie, ii. 97.

but Scottish pikemen, well led, were ever a match for the finest cavalry. Grey was repulsed, suffering severely, and Angus moved forward, leaving his course strewn with dead bodies of the enemy. Arran's Highlanders could not resist this bait; they broke their ranks and fell to stripping the slain, Arran and Huntly sitting on their horses in a garden hard by. Angus, seeing himself unsupported, sent them a message, bidding them come out and not trample the poor wife's kail, but they made no move.¹

At this time the English were in retreat, and the Scottish guns opened fire. There was a dense dust in the plain, rising from the fallow ground. The Highlanders, unable to see what was going on, and terrified at the din of artillery, scampered off with their booty. The panic spread; Somerset and Warwick, seeing the second and third Scottish divisions in confusion, took heart, advanced again upon Angus's column, outflanked it, and forced it to give ground under a severe archery fire. There ensued one of the bloodiest routs in Scottish history. The Regent's army was almost annihilated by death and capture, the price paid by the victors being stated at 200 slain.

The effect of such a crushing defeat was mitigated by the enforced return of Somerset to attend to political troubles in the south, when immediately [20th October] the indefatigable George Douglas again opened communication with the English, furnishing Lord Grey, the English warden, with a complete and detailed plan of fresh invasion, which he prays may be undertaken within a month "or vi weekes at the furdest," in order to force on the marriage of Queen Mary to Edward VI., which he and Angus had most solemnly repudiated. Proclamation was to be made of clemency to all who submitted, but, adds this patriotic Scot, "refusers to comme in to be executed with the feyre and swerde."² In an interesting postscript are added, "the requestes of George Duglas for his own parte." These include a payment of £1000 within fifteen days,

¹ Godscroft's MS., quoted by Fraser, ii. 278, note.

² Fraser, iv. 164.

delivery within the same time of his "goodes, sylkes, money, plate and apparell," left in Berwick when he had to quit his lodgings in haste, an annuity of £500 a year, custody of Eyemouth Tower, and possession of Coldingham, besides compensation for all the damage done on his lands by English troops. "Your grace," wrote Grey to Somerset in withering terms, "I doubt not, considereth that this man wold not be wonne without money, and albeit he demandeth a thousand pound in hand, yet I doubt not but he will be satisfiye with a thousand markes."¹ About £50 sterling! Into deeper abyss of dishonour the Douglas name could scarcely come.

Angus tried the same dastardly game. Wharton and Lennox, Angus's own son-in-law, were preparing a raid upon Douglas of Drumlanrig's lands, which was part of the scheme drawn up by George Douglas for the simultaneous invasion of Scotland by the East and West Marches. Angus wrote to both Wharton and Lennox imploring them to desist, and declaring that he had never departed from his obligations to the English Government, "quhilk I never brak nor never intendis to brak." But Wharton put little faith in traitors; Lennox knew his father-in-law too well to trust him; both had learnt from Pinkie to despise his prowess in the field. The raid went forward. Angus, always a hard hitter when free from his brother's influence, encountered the invaders in Nithsdale, and drove them before him as far as Carlisle with heavy loss. This reverse involved Lord Grey's retreat on the east coast, where he had advanced as far as Haddington. But he returned the following year and took Dalkeith Castle with Sir George Douglas's wife and son, the Master of Morton [xxxvi].²

Dalkeith was levelled to the ground, but Grey wrote to Angus on 4th June, telling him not to be vexed by any apparent unfriendliness to the Douglases.

"Ye must take it to be done of necessitie and not otherwise, but bothe you and yours shalbe spared somoche as I maie convenientlie; and in that either you

¹ Fraser, iv. 168.

² See vol. i. p. 249.

or yours nowe shalbe damaged, I promise you sufficient recompence yf ye stonde fendlye in the godly purpose, like as I trust ye will." ¹

Before that same month of June had sped Angus had shown how near to his heart lay the "godly purpose," *i.e.* the English marriage, by assenting in Parliament to the betrothal of Queen Mary to the Dauphin. He seems to have taken no further part in military operations before the settlement of the triple peace between England, Scotland, and France in 1550. Men aged early in those times; Angus was past threescore, and yearned for reconciliation with his daughter, the Countess of Lennox, who had never pardoned him for giving her a Maxwell as stepmother, and disappointing her expectation in the Angus estates by devising them to the sons of his astute brother George.

Early in 1550 Lennox sent his servant Paterson to Douglas for a cast of hawks promised him by Angus. There is a curious memorandum, drawn up by Lennox, of Paterson's report upon his return. Angus had sent for him and questioned him closely about the Lennoxes; and then went on—"I will brek a litill of my mynde to the"—to say how sore his heart was because of his daughter's behaviour to him. He wished Lennox to get leave to bring her to Carlisle, "that I may se hir or I die."² This brought a letter from the Countess of Lennox, charging her father with "gret unnaturalnes" towards her, reproaching him with unfaithfulness to his pledges in regard to the English marriage, but appointing to meet him at Carlisle soon after Easter.

Sir George Douglas died in 1552, his last public appearance having been at the Privy Council in March of that year. By his wife, Elizabeth Douglas, with whom he inherited the estates of Pittendreich, etc.,³ he left two sons—(1) David [lv.], who succeeded as 7th Earl of Angus; and (2) James [xxxvi.], who became 4th Earl of Morton and Regent of

Angus attempts reconciliation with his daughter, 1550.

Death of Sir George Douglas [li.], 1552.

¹ Fraser, iv. 171.

² *Ibid.*, 172.

³ The origin of Douglas of Pittendreich is obscure. The first of the family recorded is James Douglas, King's Chamberlain in Moray in 1466. Possibly



*Lady Margaret Douglas
Countess of Lennox
Mother of Lord Darnley
From a painting at Dalmeida*

Scotland. David having been well provided for, by his uncle's disposition of the Angus estates in his favour, to the exclusion of the Countess of Lennox, Sir George left Pittendreich to James, who afterwards bestowed it upon one of his illegitimate offspring, Archibald Douglas. Upon the execution of Regent Morton in 1581 Archibald was forfeited and banished, and with him ended the line of Douglas of Pittendreich.



Fig. 25.—Seal of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich (1490-1552).

The Hamilton-Douglas feud had slumbered for ten years, during which Angus appears to have acted fairly in concert with the Regent. But in 1554 Arran resigned the regency, unwillingly enough, in favour of the Queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, with whom Angus soon fell into disgrace. Coming to Edinburgh to attend the Council, where he was to lead the opposition to new taxation devised by the Queen-regent, he brought a following of 1000 horse. This was contrary to an edict which prohibited any baron riding abroad attended by more than his household servants. When he arrived before the city gate it is said that the wicket only was opened for him, whereupon some of his men thrust in before him, overpowered the warders, and threw open the gate, and the whole troop passed in. For this offence the Queen-regent moved the Council to issue a warrant for the earl's arrest, and he received an order to surrender to ward in the castle. In obedience to this he presented himself at the castle gate, again

Arran resigns
the regency,
12th April
1554.

this may have been a son of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray [xxi.], slain at the battle of the Sark in 1455, who is known to have left a son James, of whom all traces have been lost.

accompanied by his armed followers, and demanded admission.

"My lord," said the constable, "this is an order to which I am little used. Have you your warrant?"

Angus handed the order to the constable, who said—

"But, my lord, I am here directed to receive you with but three or four to serve you."

"Just what I told my lads," replied the earl, "but they said they durst not and would not go home to my wife Meg without me."

The constable declined to receive his prisoner in that fashion, whereupon Angus "took instruments" in proof that he had complied with the Regent's command and had been refused admission. He then rode off with his train to Douglas, remarking to a friend—

"I tell thee these Douglas lads are wise lads; they think it best at the present time to be loose and lievand."¹

Few, very few, of his race had exceeded the age to which Angus had now attained. "The worlde is veery strange," he had said to Lennox's servant Paterson in the interview above referred to, "I have sene mony thenges." In 1556 he suffered from St. Anthony's fire, as men then called erysipelas, died at Tantallon towards the end of January 1557, and was buried at Abernethy.

There are many blots in this earl's career and character, yet in fairness many of his actions must be attributed to a desire for the good governance of Scotland. Historians are too prone to classify public men rigidly as good or bad; the truth must be sought by regarding them with the same discrimination we apply to our private acquaintance. In this, as in so many other matters, Shakespeare touched the clue—"The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together; our virtues would be proud if our faults whipp'd them not, and our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues." Angus

¹ Godscroft's MS., quoted by Fraser, ii. 283—"Loose and lievand," *i.e.* free and living, passed into a proverb in Douglasdale, says Godscroft.

lived in distracting times, when it was vain to look to the Church for guidance, and a man could but serve his country by uniting with one or other of the fierce factions which divided the State. In following his purpose of casting off France and uniting with England, Angus certainly went through miry places and emerged none the cleaner for it; but it is difficult to detect in his conduct as much of private interest as actuated that of most of his compeers. Always when he went farthest wrong it was in following the lead of his evil genius, George of Pittendreich.¹

By his first marriage with Margaret Hepburn, daughter of the 1st Earl of Bothwell, Angus had no children; Margaret, Countess of Lennox, was his only child by Margaret, Queen of Scots; and by his third wife, Margaret Maxwell, he had a son, James, Master of Angus, upon whom the estates were bestowed in fee, but he died in infancy, and the inheritance was devised in favour of Sir George's elder son David [lv.]. Other legitimate children he had also, but they died young.

Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus, survived her husband, and married—first, Sir William Baillie of Lamington, by whom she had two daughters, the eldest of whom, Margaret, was ancestress of the present Lord Lamington. She died in 1593.

The amour of Angus with the daughter of Stewart of Traquair, so deeply resented by his second wife, resulted, it is believed, in three illegitimate children. Of these, one was Elizabeth Douglas, in favour of whom letters of legitimation were procured on 2nd March 1526,² while the divorce of the Earl of Angus was proceeding, but there is no record of her subsequent fortunes. Another was Janet, who, according to Godscroft, married Patrick, Lord Ruthven. The third was George, who obtained letters of

¹ Care has to be observed in studying the records of this time. Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich [li.] is not always easily recognised under the style of Master of Angus which he adopted, his second son being Master of Morton [xxxvi.].

² *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, MS. lib. vii. fol. 61; cited by Fraser, ii. 288.

legitimation on 14th March 1543, and in 1546 was nominated for the abbacy of Arbroath by Regent Arran and the Council. But the Pope bestowed it upon James Beaton, nephew of the murdered Cardinal, who had been previously nominated by Arran. When Beaton was made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1552, Douglas—the Postulate, as he was usually named—attempted to instal himself in the abbey, but a third claimant put in an appearance in the person of Arran's second son, John Hamilton.

George Douglas was amongst the foremost of Rizzio's assassins, being the one who first stabbed him, and, with the rest, was proclaimed rebel. It is probable that he got the better of Hamilton in the struggle for the benefice of Arbroath, for in 1570 the Earl of Huntly besieged him there on Hamilton's behalf until Regent Lennox sent Morton to relieve him. In 1572 he appears in the Privy Council as Commendator of Arbroath. In this very year complaint was lodged against this exemplary cleric for an act of piracy, having with an armed party seized at Earnmouth a boat-load of merchandise on its way from Dundee to Perth Fair. Other boats he tried to capture, firing upon and wounding their crews.¹ It is not recorded that any judgment was passed upon him for this exploit; in the following year he was appointed Bishop of Moray, and John Hamilton, who at last succeeded to possession of Arbroath, lodged charges against him of having spoiled and defrauded the abbey and its revenues.

In 1584 Bishop Douglas was imprisoned for eighteen months upon no definite charge, but in fact he was utterly unfit for any sacred office, and was continually pulled up by the General Assembly, not only for incompetency but for scandalous living. He died in 1589 or 1590, having added nothing either to the welfare of the Church of Scotland or to the renown of the great house whereof he was a spurious scion.

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, ii. 163.

liv. George Douglas, Bishop of Moray, died 1589-1590.

CHAPTER VI

PAGE	PAGE
129 lv. David, 7th Earl of Angus, died 1557.	141 Seizure of Stirling Castle, April 1584.
130 lvi. Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus and 6th Earl of Morton, 1555-1588.	142 Angus flies again to England, 1584.
132 Marries Mary Erskine, 13th June 1573.	144 Reconciliation with the Hamiltons, October 1584.
133 Marries Lady Margaret Leslie, 25th December 1575.	145 Return of the exiles, October 1585.
135 Appointed Warden of the West Marches, 11th June 1577.	146 Restoration of Angus, 4th November 1585.
136 And Lieutenant-General of the realm, 1578.	146 Becomes 6th Earl of Morton, 29th January 1586.
138 His attainder and forfeiture, 2nd June 1581.	147 Return of the Earl of Arran, 1587.
138 Repairs to the English Court, 1581-1582.	147 Death of Angus, 4th August 1588.
139 Returns to Scotland, 28th September 1582.	150 lvii. William, 9th Earl of Angus, c. 1532-1591.
	151 His succession disputed by James vi., 1589.
	153 His death, 1st July 1591.

IT has been explained already how, on the demise of the 3rd Earl of Morton [xxxv.] in 1552, and of the 6th Earl of Angus [l.] in 1557, the divergent Douglas lines of Morton and Angus were brought together in the persons of David [lv.] and James [xxxvi.], sons of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich [li.]. Thirty years had to elapse before these two earldoms should be united for a brief space in the person of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus and 6th Earl of Morton [lvi.];¹ meanwhile we have to resume the chronicle of the Earls of Angus, wherein David, 7th earl, fills a very small space; so small, indeed, that it is doubtful whether he ever took up the title, or was feudally vested in the estates. He died

lv. David,
7th Earl of
Angus,
died 1557.

¹ Reckoning John, 8th Lord Maxwell, as 5th Earl of Morton.

at Cockburnspath in June 1557, only six months after succeeding his uncle. In 1552 he had married Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton of Samuelston, a natural brother of Regent Arran [who in 1448 had been created Duke of Chatelherault]. Margaret was the widow of James Johnstone, younger of that ilk. To her second husband she bore—(1) a son, Archibald, who succeeded his father as 8th Earl of Angus [lvi.]; (2) a daughter, Margaret, who married, first, Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch, and had issue; second, Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell; (3) another daughter, Elizabeth, who married, first, in 1572, John, 8th Lord Maxwell, created Earl of Morton after the execution of James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton [xxxvi.] in 1581; second, Alexander Stewart of Garlies, father of the first Earl of Galloway; and third, John Wallace of Craigie.

Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus, succeeded his father in 1557, being then not more than two years of age. His succession was opposed by his father's first cousin, Margaret, Countess of Lennox, daughter of the 6th Earl of Angus [l.], who at once assumed the style of Countess of Lennox and Angus.

lvi. Archibald,
8th Earl of
Angus and
6th Earl of
Morton,
1555-1588.

Fig. 26.—Signature of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox and Angus (c. 1565).

But Lennox still lay under the decree of forfeiture pronounced against him in 1545, and although his countess from time to time endeavoured to push her claims they were finally abandoned in 1565, by agreement between her, her husband, and her son Lord Darnley on the one side, and Morton and his nephew on the other side, Queen Mary approving.¹ This was the price paid by Lady Lennox for Morton's consent to Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley.

The Countess of Lennox was a woman of beauty and

¹ Original at Buchanan.—Fraser, iii. 255; *The Lennox*, ii. 260-262.

much strength of character. During her residence at Henry VIII's Court, as Lady Margaret Douglas, she cherished a close friendship with her cousin, Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of England, to which frequent testimony is borne in the account of Mary's privy purse.

June 1538.	Item payed to the lady m'garet Dowglas by h ^r layed out for my lady's grace	xx s.
Nov. 1543.	Item Delyuered to my lady m'garet by my lady's grace comaundment	iiij l.
April 1540.	Item Payed for a Frountlet loste in a wager to my lady margaret	iiii l.
Jan. 1543.	Item geuen to my lady m'garet seruante bringing to my lady's grace a gowne of Carnation Saten of the venice fascion	xx s.
Jan. 1543.	Item p ^d to Busshe the goldesmythe for the fascion of a Broche and the gold that wente to it: the same geuen to my lady m'get for a newyers gift	lxxv s.
Jan. 1544.	Item geuen to my lady m'garet's iii gentlewomen iii Souaigns	lxvii s. vi d.
	Item given to hir men Servunts	xx s.
12 Dec. 1542.	Geuen to my lady m'garet at her mariage. Item oon other Balace w ^t oon Diamonde table on it and iii meane perles pendant at the same.	

Similar references to Lady Margaret appear in the privy expenses of her uncle, King Henry.

Dec. 1530.	Item to my lady margaret Anguisshe by the king's comaundmēt for to disporte her withall this x ^p emas	vi l. xiii s. iiij d.
Dec. 1531.	Item to my lady margaret Douglas by the king's comaunde ^t to passe the tyme in Cristemas	vi l. xiii s. iii d.

and a like sum at Christmas 1532.

Camden described her in later life as "A matron of singular piety, patience, and modesty; who was thrice cast into the Tower (as I have heard her say herself), not for any crime of treason, but for love matters; first, when Thomas Howard, son of Thos. Howard, the first Duke of Norfolk of that name, falling in love with her, died in the Tower of London; then for the love of Henry, Lord Darnley, her son, to Mary Queen of Scots; and lastly, for

the love of Charles, her younger son, to Elizabeth Cavendish, mother to the Lady Arabella."

A more formidable menace to the young earl's succession was a project on the part of the Queen-dowager to appropriate the earldom of Angus on behalf of the Crown. But this danger was averted by the vigilance of Morton [xxxvi.], who acted as tutor and guardian to his nephew. Morton's political support was of supreme importance to the Queen-dowager in the accumulating difficulties of government, and, having secured the good offices of the French ambassador, D'Oysel, he succeeded in effecting the return of the rightful heir in 1559.¹

In 1566, when Morton had to fly from Scotland in consequence of his share in the murder of Riccio, young Angus passed under the guardianship of the Earl of Athol, but Morton probably resumed his duties to his nephew when he returned in the following year, and Angus was included in a new entail of the Morton estates.² The young earl was educated under a distant relative, John Douglas, then provost of the New College of St. Andrews, afterwards Protestant archbishop of that diocese. He was early entered to state ceremony, being only twelve years old when he discharged his hereditary privilege of bearing the crown at James VI.'s first parliament in 1567,³ and his name stands first on the roll of that assembly.⁴ In January 1573, when his uncle, Morton, succeeded Mar in the regency, Angus was sworn of the Privy Council, and in June of that year he married Mary Erskine, natural daughter of the deceased regent. In the same year he was appointed to succeed Lord Home, who had taken up arms for Queen Mary, in the sheriffship of Berwickshire and bailiary of Lauderdale; and in July 1574 he was made lieutenant-general south of the Forth.⁵ "Unto him that hath shall be given"; already an enormous landed proprietor, Angus received

Marries
Mary Erskine,
13th June
1573.

¹ Fraser, iii. 250.

² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, ii. 562-571.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 126.

⁴ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, iii. 3.

⁵ Commission at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 327.

Gerveston and other lands, some of the property forfeited by Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell; Oxnam, etc., forfeited by Ker of Fernihurst, and the gift of the marriage of the heir of Branxholm.¹

The Countess of Angus died within two years of her marriage [3rd May 1575], and before the year was out her husband wedded another bride. Lindsay of Pitscottie describes the wedding with so much unction that he must have been an eye-witness.

“At Couper, the xxv day of december the yeir of god IthV^olxxv yeiris: The quhilk day Archbaldy Dowglas, erle of angus war maryed solempniouslie in the presens of chrystis congregatioun with margret leslie lawfull dochter to Andro leslie erle of rothus and Schereff of fyff and this war done verrie tryvmphandlie with gret mirrienes and guid cheir, and mony nobill men was thairat of quhome James Dowglas Erle of mortoun and regent of Scotland Patrick lord Lyndesay of the byres with nobill lordis and gret barronis of the cuntrie with mony fair and lustie lady with mony and coistlie and riche abuilzementis,² that siclyk was nevir seine in this realme.”³

It might be considered that for a nobleman of eighteen years of age, Angus had received advancement and emolument in no illiberal measure at the hand of his uncle the Regent, whose power in matters of patronage was absolute; but his friends persuaded him otherwise, and he sent some of them to make further demands. These were — first, that Morton should render exact account of his guardianship;

Fig. 27.—Signature of Margaret Leslie, and Countess of the 8th Earl of Angus (1586).

¹ Deeds at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 328.

² Habiliments, dresses.

³ Pitscottie, ii. 322.

second, that he should justify the gift of his paternal estate of Pittendreich to his bastard son, Archibald, and of a prebend in Abernethy to another bastard son, George, details in which Angus felt an interest as being himself in the Morton entail; and lastly, that the great brass pot of Tantallon should be restored, in which the 6th earl had buried his charters on going into exile, and which Morton had taken away. Morton received the deputation civilly enough. As to his accounts of guardianship, he referred them to his successful resistance of the Countess of Lennox's claims against his nephew as sufficient answer; in regard to the lands of Pittendreich, they were his private property, and not part of the earldom; and for the brass pot, "I have

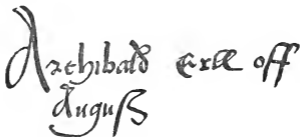

 A handwritten signature in black ink on a light background. The text reads "Archibald Earl of Angus" in a cursive script. "Archibald" is written on the top line, "Earl of" is on the second line, and "Angus" is on the third line. The signature is fluid and characteristic of the 16th century.

Fig. 28.—Signature of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1565).

had more broth to put in it than my nephew these seventeen years; fitter that I had the use of it than that it should stand empty at Tantallon." He went on to observe that he had hitherto kept his nephew in view in connection with the earldom, but now he felt at liberty to please himself.

The last observation was not thrown away upon the young earl's friends; the earldom of Morton was "too bonny a plack" to be risked for the sake of a brass pot, and they counselled their patron to make peace with his formidable uncle. This was done later in a written form of submission, which Morton received very graciously, and afterwards invited Angus to dinner, when he handed the document back to his nephew, saying that he did not wish any evidence of their disagreement to be found among his papers. Godscroft tells this story on the authority of his

elder brother, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, who was one of the delegates from Angus.

The title of the Regent [xxxvi.] to the earldom of Morton was challenged by John, 8th Lord Maxwell, as son of the 3rd Earl of Morton's [xxxv.] second daughter. The Regent, finding that Maxwell would by no means relinquish his claim, deprived him of his office of Warden of the West Marches in 1577 and imprisoned him. The wardenship

he bestowed upon Angus, Maxwell's brother-in-law, whose correspondence for the next few months deals chiefly with affairs on the Border. These letters reveal the usual condition

of matters in that war-worn district—burning of farms, cutting of throats, driving of cattle, with perpetual recrimination and reprisals between the Scottish and English wardens—lightened by occasional courtesies as between neighbouring country gentlemen. Thus, on 13th February 1576, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, writing from Eslington bitter complaints about the lawless proceedings

of Douglas of Bonjedworth, adds: "I have provyded a huntsman for your lordship, thatt can blaw a horn excelent well, a yong man"; to which Angus replies in a few days: "Gif I had a halk presentlie meit for your purpois, I suld be laith to be in your dett. Alwyse as I gett ony, ye sall not be foryett."¹ Graver matters than hawk and hound forced themselves upon the young earl's attention before he was much older.

In March 1578 Morton came to disgrace, when the nobles assembled at Stirling forced him to resign the regency. It is doubtful whether Angus had not by this time demitted his office of Warden of the West Marches; at all events he had accepted that of Chancellor and Treasurer, being mentioned as such in Morton's letters of 3rd and 4th March 1578.² He does not seem to have

Fig. 29.—Signature of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (c. 1576).

¹ Fraser, iv. 199-233.

² Morton, i. 90, 91.

been present when the lords in Stirling deposed his uncle, but after that event, Morton wrote to him on 19th March "as my lord and sone," protesting that "nother resson, law nor conscience can aggre" with the order he, Morton, had received to deliver up Edinburgh Castle at once, before an inventory could be made of the royal jewels, etc., therein, for which he as Regent was responsible. Angus was on the point of going to Douglas Castle for hunting; Morton implored him to give his mind to the serious matters that were pending, "and leif your pastyme till ye haue theme put to a poynt."¹

The new government removed Angus from his wardenry and reinstated Maxwell, Angus keeping very quiet until his uncle's return to power in May.² Then he became one of the sureties for Mar as the King's constable of Stirling Castle,³ and thereafter supported his uncle in the Privy Council and in Parliament, being appointed the King's lieutenant-general to act against the insurgent lords.

After the pacification on 14th August 1574, Angus had little part in public business until the beginning of May 1579, when he took the field at the head of the King's forces, proceeded against the Hamiltons, and received the surrender of Hamilton Castle.

When Morton's final misfortune befel him at the end of 1580, Angus seems at first to have played but a half-hearted part. His regard for his austere uncle and quondam guardian had perhaps always been more a matter of expediency than of inclination, and it is conceivable that, feeling himself strong in the King's favour, he viewed Morton's removal from power with some degree of equanimity. He was present at the famous scene in the council chamber of Holyrood, when James Stuart brought his accusation against Morton, and although he would not vote for his uncle's imprisonment, he did not resist it, but abstained from voting altogether. However, he presented a petition to the King requesting that he

Appointed
Lieutenant-
General of the
realm, 1578.

¹ *Morton*, i. 104. ² See vol. i. p. 276. ³ *Reg. Privy Council*, ii. 689.

might have custody of his uncle's houses, property, and other effects during his imprisonment. This was granted, and when the other Douglasses were ordered to leave the capital, Angus and the Laird of Lochleven were allowed to remain, at the special instance of the King. Angus then tried to induce the Government not to remove Morton from Edinburgh; but in vain: whereupon he assembled 2000 horse at Dalkeith, and lay in wait at the Braid Craigs, intending to effect a rescue of the illustrious prisoner while he was being conveyed to Dumbarton. Either the escort was too strong, or Angus feared that, if he attacked the party, Morton might be put to death; he allowed the King's troops to pass on their way unmolested.

Soon afterwards, Angus was back in Edinburgh, where he was well received by the King; but by this time he had realised the terrible nature of the proceedings in preparation for Morton's trial and preconcerted doom. He must have foreseen, also, that it was not against his uncle alone that the vengeance of the party in power, headed by Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and James Stuart, Earl of Arran, was directed, but that his own fortunes would assuredly be implicated in the measures which were likely to follow against the whole house of Douglas. Therefore he prepared for the storm—first, by removing all his valuables from Dalkeith and Aberdour to the stronger fortalice of Tantallon, and next by entering into treasonable negotiations with Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, Thomas Randolph.

Treasonable these proceedings undoubtedly were, technically at least, but not that kind of sordid treason which inspires disgust against the traitor. The object of the plot was twofold—self-preservation, and the delivery of Morton, the pillar of Protestantism in the north; if that end could not be attained without the slaughter of Lennox and Arran, Montrose and Argyll, when could an omelette be made without breaking of eggs?

Meanwhile Angus was himself the object of a murderous counterplot, wherein his own wife, Margaret Leslie, was said to be accomplice, and Montrose, who loved Lady Angus *par*

amours, the ringleader. This was revealed to Angus by means of intercepted letters,¹ when he was attending Parliament on 24th February under the King's safe-conduct. He immediately left Edinburgh, found his wife at Dalkeith, and sent her home to her father, the Earl of Rothes, thereby incurring the deadly hatred of both Rothes and Montrose.

Lennox now got wind of the transactions between Angus and Randolph, and on 14th March the Privy Council ordered the earl to surrender to ward at Inverness or north of the Spey,² and all men in the southern counties were warned by proclamation to abstain from assisting him in his seditious purpose. Having failed to comply with this order, Angus was proclaimed a traitor on 29th March, and on 2nd June, five days after Morton's execution, sentence of forfeiture and outlawry was passed upon him.

Angus then travelled the road so well trodden by Scottish exiles and traitors, and wrote from Carlisle explaining his position to Walsingham:—

“The frequent mutations of that cuntries [Scotland] are nocht small in number, the apparent accidentis lyk to fall out both dyvers and dangerous, so that nather the saidis accidentis nor thair apperand remedeis can be maid so sensibill to hir maiestie be wryting as I walde wishe; thairfoir I think it convenient to direct my cowsing, Maister Archibald Dowglas,³ to hir maiestie that be him my knowleg and mynd may be to hir grace wnderstand.”⁴

The result of Archibald's mission was that Angus was invited to Elizabeth's Court. To London he was accompanied by a great number of gentlemen of the house of Douglas, and also by David Home of Godscroft, whose work has been so often referred to in these pages. Godscroft says that Angus became very intimate with Sir Philip Sidney, who had just finished writing his *Arcadia*, and delighted to entertain his Scottish visitor by reading it aloud to him—a heavy price, as we should esteem it, to exact for the author's hospitality.

¹ Moysie, who reports this, says these letters were forged.—*Memoirs*, p. 30, Bannatyne Club.

² *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 365–368.

³ The infamous parson of Glasgow [xxxvii.].

⁴ Fraser, iv. 178.

Forfeiture of
the Earl of
Angus, 2nd
June 1581.

Angus at
Queen Elizabeth's
Court,
1581–1582.

Meanwhile the government of Scotland continued as much the shuttlecock of "frequent mutations" as ever. Lennox and Arran fell out, and made up their quarrel only to find that, although they had expelled the Douglas, they had raised a numerous and formidable opposition to their administration. Still, as of old, possession of the King's person was the great political prize to contend for, and this the Earls of Mar and Gowrie obtained by the well-known Raid of Ruthven [22nd August 1582], when these opposition leaders captured James VI., aged sixteen years, and

Fig. 30.—Signatures of David Hume of Godscroft.

set up a new Government. This opened the door for Angus's restoration. He went immediately to Berwick, and received the King's pardon on 28th September, accompanied with permission to live at Tantallon, although he was not to move elsewhere beyond Berwickshire and Teviotdale. In October he was summoned to Edinburgh at the time when Arran was put in ward, and, having bound himself not to proceed against either Lennox or Arran on account of Morton's execution, kissed hands on the 20th. A hideous object must have met his gaze as he rode through the West Bow—the bleached skull of his uncle Morton, which still grinned from the wall of the Tolbooth. This the King permitted him to remove and bury beside the body of the sometime Regent on 10th December.

Previous to that, on 1st November, James had directed the Chancellor to make out letters of rehabilitation for Angus, and the reconciliation appeared complete when his Majesty honoured the earl with his company at dinner.

Angus re-
turns to Scot-
land, 28th
September
1582.

Still the decree of forfeiture was in operation, and could only be revoked by Act of Parliament, and the King seemed determined not to summon Parliament for the purpose. When it was proposed to him that Parliament should meet in April 1583, he burst into passionate tears, and could only be got to consent to its assembly in October.

In fact, James had never forgiven the raiders of Ruthven: he longed for the "frequent mutations" of Scottish politics to bring about a fresh change of government; it would be time enough to deal with Angus when that had been accomplished. Meanwhile the King was in secret communication through the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, with Lennox, who was in France; and it was only James's desire to keep on friendly terms with the Court of England that prevented him making short work with the Gowrie faction and the reforming lords. All this is clear enough now from the contemporary correspondence, but even at this early age James plumed himself upon his kingcraft, which was sufficient to prevent the slightest suspicion of his real design leaking out.

In May the King set out to "tak a progresse" through his realm, sorely against the wishes of his Ministers, who, having got him in their keeping, liked to have him under their eyes. With his Majesty rode three earls of the Gowrie party, namely, Angus, Bothwell, and Mar, and two of the opposition, Argyll and Montrose. At Falkland news reached them that Lennox had died in France, whose last letter to the King had urged him to put away the Douglasses, and to distrust the whole English faction. Angus and Bothwell, believing the King to be quite safe at Falkland and out of harm's way, left the court, Mar alone remaining as minister in attendance. On 27th June the King moved to St. Andrews Castle, where suddenly on the following day appeared the Earls of Argyll, Montrose, Crawford, and Huntly, each at the head of an armed contingent. It was very adroitly managed; almost before the reforming lords could communicate with each other they received notice by a herald forbidding them to assemble

their forces. They obeyed; the Gowrie government was out, and Angus, further than ever from regaining his estates, had to take measures for retaining his head. King James, who kept much of his ancient affection for Angus, bade him go quietly home to Douglas Castle, which he did, awaiting the October Parliament, hoping thereby to be restored according to the King's promise. But Arran returned in the end of August; the autumn Parliament was prorogued without fulfilling the forfeited earl's expectation, and in November Angus was ordered to pass north of the Spey, and there remain during the King's pleasure.

In this sentence of exile probably the Earl of Rothes had as much hand as Arran, for he had never forgiven Angus the indignity of having his daughter returned upon his hands.¹ At all events, Rothes turned a deaf ear to the "sweet speeches" addressed to him by King James in favour of his son-in-law.

Angus complied with the order for his banishment, but was soon up to the ears in a fresh conspiracy, not against the King, but against Arran's government. In concert with Mar, Glamis, and Gowrie, he matured a plan for the seizure of Stirling Castle. He wrote to young Robert Douglas of Lochleven, summoning him to bring all the aid he could, but Robert's mother intercepted the letter and dissuaded her son from joining such a foolish enterprise. Gowrie was not whole-hearted in the matter, but allowed himself to be taken by the King's officers at Dundee, and endeavoured to make terms for himself. Angus, who had just obtained a royal warrant to come to Dundee, and

thence pass out of the kingdom [6th April
 Seizure of Stirling Castle, April 1584.² was denounced by one of his own people, but Mar and Glamis managed to capture Stirling Castle, where Angus joined them, after sending to summon his vassals from Douglasdale.

It proved but a flash in the pan. The confederate

¹ Angus obtained a divorce from his second countess in 1587, notwithstanding the lady's strenuous assertion of her "inocensye."—Fraser, iv. 238.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 27.

lords were disappointed in the support they had expected from their people, who gave them, as Mr. James Melville expressed it, but "cauld concurrance"; they had but 300 men under arms all told; wherefore, on the approach of Arran's brother, Captain William Stuart, with a superior force, they fled under cover of darkness—southward, of course. Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, was Warden of the Marches, but secretly in sympathy with the insurgents; moreover, he was

The confederate lords fly to England, 1584.

brother-in-law to Angus. His fidelity was already suspected by the Government, so it was at the peril of his own life he let the fugitives pass, feigning pursuit for the sake of appearances, and once more Angus sought and found safety on English soil. His kinsman Archibald—not the notorious parson of Glasgow, but he who had once been constable of Edinburgh Castle—was taken on the march by an over-zealous Johnstone, sent to Edinburgh and hanged. Gowrie was executed on 2nd May, an act of discipline which was destined to bring fresh trouble hereafter; Parliament passed fresh sentence of forfeiture against the exiled lords, and their lands served to enrich the friends of Arran.¹

Had matters been stayed here, the door had been shut for ever against the return of Angus and his friends. But King James's ecclesiastical policy, inspired by Arran, turned the tide strong against the new administration. The attainder of the fugitive lords in August had been preceded in May by the restoration of episcopacy and the proscription of assemblies and synods. The Presbyterian divines had secured the entire sympathy of the people, and looked to Angus, himself a zealous Presbyterian, as the leader of their cause. Mr. James Melville, son of the more famous Andrew, and many others of the Scottish clergy, joined the earl early in August at Newcastle, where he and his brothers in exile were living under the protection of Queen Elizabeth.

"We entered," says Melville in his *Diary*, "to the practise and keeping of the [Presbyterian] order, wherein we continowed, by the grait grace of our

¹ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, lii. 332-373; *Pitcairn*, i. 119; *Border Papers*, i. 136.

merciful God, during the hail tyme of our sojourning in Eingland, with sic fruct of spirituall instruction, comfort and ioy as bathe grait and small thought it the happiest tyme that ener they spent in all thair lyff. Gud, godlie, wyse and stont Archbald Erle of Angus hes oft tymes said to me: 'Before my God, Mr. James, gif the conscience of the guid cause we haiff in hand moued me nocht, and giff I haid bot sa mikle of my awin leiving as might bot in this maner sustein ws, I wald be hartlie content to spend all my lyff in this esteat and forme.'

"This noble man was fellow weill myndit, godlie, denot, wyse and graue; and, by and besyde thir comoun exerceises, was giffen to reiding and privat prayer and meditation, and ordinarlie efter dinner and super, haid an houres, and sum tyme mair nor twa houres, conference with me about all maters, namelie, concerning our Kirk and Comounweill: what war the abuses thereof, and whow they might be amendit. Wherof he was sa cairfall, that he causit me sett tham down in wryt, and present tham to him, being in companie with the rest; quhilk, when he haid red himself and conferrit thereon with tham, he causit wryt a copie in guid wrait, quhilk he put in a litle coffer, wharin his speciall writtes and lettres war carried about with himself continualie, that he might haiff tham in memorie, and, as occasion servit, confer and reasone thereon with his consortes."¹

Arran's jealousy and distrust of Angus was probably a chief cause for his earnest attempt at this time to convince Queen Elizabeth that the Protestant religion in Scotland was safe under his administration, and that the English alliance could be confirmed and maintained without the agency of the banished lords. He did all in his power to prejudice the monarchs of both realms against Angus and Mar, working on the personal timidity of James, assuring him that Angus would never forgive him for the death of Morton, and informing Elizabeth, through her ambassador Hunsdon, that the peace of Scotland depended upon the imprisonment or death of Angus. He and Montrose even employed one Jock Graham of Peertree to kill Angus and Mar, giving him a gun and promising him a reward. Jock had no quarrel with Mar, and declined to attempt his life; but Angus he was quite willing to slay, by reason of a standing blood-feud.²

Queen Elizabeth turned a deaf ear to Arran's representations, and continued to plead with King James on

¹ Mr. James Melville's *Diary*.—Bannatyne Club, 127.

² Examination of Jock Graham of Peertree before Lord Scrope. Original at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 353, note.

behalf of the exiles.¹ The two chiefs of Hamilton, Lords Claud and John, hereditary foes of the Douglas, were also refugees in England at this time, concerning whom Elizabeth wrote to Angus and Mar [10th October 1584], reminding them how essential it was that they should lay aside all "querels and vnkindnes" between them and the house of Hamilton, and informing them that she had appointed the mayor of Newcastle to negotiate a reconciliation. Claud Hamilton had already made his peace with Arran and gone north; but Lord John, finding himself involved in common misfortune with his enemy, magnanimously forgave Angus for having been the chief agent in his expulsion from Scotland, met his advances in a friendly spirit, and cooperated cordially in the schemes of his fellow-exiles.

Reconciliation
between
Douglases
and Hamil-
tons, 1584.

The conjunction of these two families was ill to the liking of Arran, who redoubled his efforts to discredit the exiled lords with Queen Elizabeth. He formally charged them with conspiracy against the person of King James, supporting the accusation by the depositions of certain witnesses, and demanded their instant extradition. To meet these charges the lords were summoned to London in April 1585, to hear their indictment by Sir Lewis Bellenden, Scottish Lord Justice-Clerk; but they proved their innocence so clearly that Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Philip Sidney to desire them to be of good comfort, and to assure them of her continued affection.

Arran's confidential agent in England at that time was the treacherous Master of Gray, hitherto a bitter enemy of the Douglases. Perceiving, however, a change in the aspect of the political horizon, this double-faced rogue turned against his employer, and advised Queen Elizabeth and Walsingham to follow a course which should bring about the ruin of Arran and the return of the exiled Scots. In pursuance of this design, Sir Edward Wotton went as ambassador to Scotland, taking with him valuable horses and hounds as gifts to King James, and so won that

¹ Fraser, iv. 28.

monarch's favour as to coax him into an alliance with England in defence of the "trew religioun." He even succeeded in obtaining the imprisonment of Arran, because of the accidental slaughter of Lord Russell at a meeting of Border wardens. On 30th September Wotton was able to announce to Walsingham the accession to their party of a very important individual in the person of John, 8th Lord Maxwell, Angus's brother-in-law, upon whom the forfeited earldom of Morton had been conferred. Maxwell lay on the west border with a large force, which he had mustered in order to invade the lands of Johnstone of that ilk, with whom he was at deadly feud. Angus, Mar, Lord John Hamilton, the Master of Glamis, and the rest of the exiles, having obtained Queen Elizabeth's leave, hurried to Kelso, where they met the Homes and other Border gentlemen, and hastened on to a rendezvous with Maxwell, at Lanark,

on 25th October. The combination against Arran thus included those very powerful, but hitherto discordant, partisans, Angus and Mar, who had been the objects of his enmity from the first; Maxwell, who had derived so much of his power from the attainder of Morton, the uncle of Angus, and therefore owed a great deal to Arran's ascendancy, and the Hamiltons, formerly at feud both with the Douglasses and the Maxwells.

The insurgent force advanced upon Stirling, which was held by Arran, who had broken his ward. Little defence being offered, the attacking force entered the town on 2nd November; Arran took to flight, accompanied by a single horseman, while the King, with Montrose and Crawford, shut himself up in the castle. The place was then strictly invested, no provisions being allowed to enter except for the King's table. On the evening of the 3rd a flag of truce was sent out, and, on receiving assurance that no disrespect was intended towards the King's person, and that the lives of Crawford, Montrose, and all others with him would be respected, formal surrender was made to the besiegers.

On 4th November, Angus, Mar, Hamilton, and others

had audience with the King, who granted them pardon, and promised that they should be restored to their estates and dignities.¹ This promise was fulfilled in the Parliament which met in the following month;² a new government was appointed, whereof Angus was the actual leader, although he declined the chancellorship, which was bestowed on Secretary Maitland.³

Angus had no easy part to fill. King James could not consent to the repeal of the Acts against the Kirk, being a zealous Episcopalian. The clergy, of all folk the most impracticable in political matters, looked to Angus, an equally zealous Presbyterian, to obtain without delay the restoration of their Assembly and synods, and grumbled mightily because he counselled moderation. Maxwell, who had contributed so much to the success of the revolution, was a Papist, so was Home; Angus did his best to explain to impatient deputations that it would be folly to press any policy which might alienate the valuable support of such men as these.

It has been shown that upon Lord Maxwell had been conferred the earldom of Morton, after the attainder and execution of the fourth holder of that title [xxxvi.]. This notwithstanding, on 29th January 1586, King James, by a letter under the Great Seal, rescinded the forfeiture of the former Regent, and decreed that Angus, as nearest heir of line, should succeed to that earldom, with all the possessions thereof, Dalkeith Castle only excepted, which the King reserved for himself.⁴

Arran took advantage of the profound reaction in feeling against the Protestant Queen of England arising

¹ *Reg. Privy Council*, iv. 30.

² *Acts Parl. Scot.*, iii. 373-422.

³ Sir John Maitland, afterwards Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, elder brother of Queen Mary's secretary, William of Lethington.

⁴ *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, xxxvi. No. 549. Regent Morton had built a fine new palace at Dalkeith in 1575, known in the neighbourhood as "the Lion's Den." This was bought by the Earl of Buccleuch in 1642, and, passing to the Duchess of Monmouth, received its present shape according to the plans of Sir John Vanbrugh. Maxwell continued to be styled Earl of Morton until his death in

Angus and
the exiles
restored, 4th
November
1585.

Becomes 6th
Earl of Mor-
ton, 29th
January 1586.

in Scotland upon the execution of Queen Mary on 8th February 1587. The King's ministers and council exerted themselves to avert this monstrous act, both by repeated intercession with Elizabeth, and by voting money for embassies to the courts of France, Spain, and Denmark in order to secure their assistance;¹ nevertheless, Arran prevailed so far with King James as to obtain the incarceration of Angus, Mar, and others of that party who had opposed Queen Mary in arms. But they were released before 14th May, when the King held a great feast in Holyrood, whereat Angus gave his hand to Montrose, and the elaborate restoration of goodwill among ancient enemies was celebrated with fireworks and processions to and from the castle.

Angus had been reappointed Warden of the Marches in the month of March 1587; his last public appearance was in company of the King towards the end of May in that year in the course of operations against Lord Maxwell, who was once more in open rebellion. Maxwell, who had been intriguing with the Spanish Government, and assisting them in planning the descent of the Great Armada upon the Scottish coast, was taken by Arran's brother, Sir William Stuart, shortly afterwards. Angus, never of robust constitution, was attacked by "an infirmitie and flux," which baffled all the doctors, as well it might, seeing that the symptoms described correspond with those of a galloping consumption. Dr. John Craig received £100 in fees for attendance upon the earl, and no less than £241, 3s. 4d. was paid to the apothecary for drugs "employit on his lordship" during his last illness. Either from the disease or the drugs, Angus died at Smeaton in East Lothian on 4th August 1588, aged thirty-three years, and was buried at Abernethy, his heart having been taken out and conveyed to St. Bride's Church of Douglas.

Dr. Craig's want of professional skill found a convenient

1593. When his son, Robert, was created Earl of Nithsdale in 1620, he received precedence as from 1581, the date of his father's creation as Earl of Morton.

¹ *Reg. Privy Council*, iv. 129, 136.

Return of
the Earl of
Arran, 1587.

Death of
Angus, 4th
August 1588.

cloak in the craze for witch-hunting, to which King James's intense interest in sorcery gave such amazing vogue during his reign. It was the most natural thing in the world, as it then was, that, whereas Angus had "died of so straunge a disease as the Phisitian knewe not how to cure or remedie," some poor wretch should be accused of having bewitched him. Accordingly, one Barbara Napier was tried on the accusation of one Agnes Sampson. Barbara was acquitted, whereupon suspicion fell upon Agnes, who at first denied everything. Then her hair was all shaved off, and,



Fig. 31.—Signet of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1557-1588).

the King being present, a rope was twisted round her head, "being a payne most grevous, which shee continued almost an hower," after which she was in a state to confess anything her tormentors wished. "These confessions made the King in a wonderfull admiration, and sent for Gellis Duncane [another witch], who upon the like trump did play the saide daunce before the Kinges Majestic, who, in respect to the strangenes of these matters, tooke great delight to be present at their examinations."¹

After this, there could be no manner of doubt in well-balanced minds as to the cause of Angus's demise. Verdict accordingly, and Agnes, who really had done a vast amount of merciful work among the sick poor, was condemned to be taken to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, "and thair bund to ane staik and wirreit² quhill³ sche wes deid, and thaireftir hir body to be brunt in assis."⁴

Thick and thin partisans of Queen Mary will ever judge harshly of the 8th Earl of Angus, closely identified as he was with the Protestant cause which she detested; but it is quite consistent with profound compassion for the misfortunes of the Queen of Scots and indignation at her cruel doom to recognise him as one of the best of the Douglasses. Many modern public men have scarcely entered upon their career at the age which brought his to a term;

¹ Pitcairn, i. 217.

² Strangled.

³ Until.

⁴ Pitcairn, i. 241.

yet he committed few errors of judgment, and, while maintaining with equal sagacity and courage the political and religious faith which he professed, it is impossible to support against him any charge of disloyalty to his singularly insincere and suspicious sovereign, James VI., who though he preferred Stuart, Earl of Arran, as a councillor more inclined to the restoration and maintenance of Episcopacy, was personally very fond of Angus, and used to speak of him as the "ministers' king." As for the Presbyterian



Fig. 32.—Seal of Archibald, 8th Earl of Angus (1557-1588).

clergy, they adored him, Calderwood pronouncing him to have been "more religious nor anie of his predecessors, yea, nor anie of all the erles in the countrie, much beloved of the godlie."

Angus had no children by his first two wives, the second whereof, Lady Margaret Leslie, he divorced in 1587, and in July of that year married Jean Lyon, daughter of John, 10th Lord Glamis, and widow of that Robert Douglas of Lochleven who had been dissuaded by his mother from joining Angus in his rising in 1584. This lady bore her husband a posthumous child, named Margaret,

who died young, having been affianced to John, eldest son of John Lindsay of Balcarres, Secretary of State.¹ She afterwards took a third husband, Alexander Lindsay, brother of David, 11th Earl of Crawford.

Fig. 33.—Signature of Jean Lyon, 3rd Countess of the 8th Earl of Angus (c. 1586).

With the death of the 8th Earl of Angus [lvi.], the male line of Bell-the-Cat's [xliii.] eldest son became extinct, and the succession reverted to William Douglas of Glenbervie [lvii.], grandson of Bell-the-Cat's second son, Sir William Douglas of Braidwood [xlvi.]. Sir William's son, Archibald of Glenbervie, married Lady Agnes Keith, daughter of William, 2nd Earl Marischal, who bore the subject of this memoir about 1532, the only son among nine daughters. On St. Valentine's Day, 1552, William was contracted in marriage to Egidia or Gelis Graham, daughter of Robert Graham of Morphie,² and the marriage was celebrated shortly afterwards. Like the rest of his house, he was a Protestant, and fought in the battle of Corrichie, where the Earl of Huntly, head of the Romish faction, was slain in 1562. In 1570 he succeeded to Glenbervie on his father's death, and five years later he was retoured heir to his grandfather, Sir William, who perished at Flodden in 1513.³ He took little part after this in public affairs, both he and his wife being invalids, as appears from a licence granted to them in 1578 by King James to eat flesh in Lent "als oft as thai pleis," by reason that they were "subject to seiknes and disciss of body."⁴

Ten years later, when the 8th earl lay dying at Smeaton,

¹ *Lives of the Lindsays*, ii. 1.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 270.

³ Fraser, iii. 245-247.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 24.

he sent twice for the laird of Glenbervie to confer with him about the succession. Glenbervie's eldest son was a Roman Catholic, a sore distress to his father, all the more so because Angus seemed disposed to alter the succession upon that account. But the dying earl, though a staunch Presbyterian, and deeply concerned for the establishment of that form of religion in Scotland, was of too liberal a spirit to cause any man to suffer for his honest opinion: therefore, after questioning Glenbervie's son closely about the grounds of his faith, he declared that he would not meddle with the existing entail, made in 1547, whereby he had devised the earldom of Angus to Glenbervie, and the earldom of Morton to Douglas of Lochleven.¹

Accordingly, Glenbervie was to be served heir in the Angus earldom and estates in January 1589, and sent round

James VI.
disputes his
succession,
1589.

summonses to his kinsmen and friends to attend the court on that occasion, for the succession was to be disputed by no less formidable a litigant than King James himself, on the ground that entails excluding heirs-general, and settling the succession upon heirs-male and of provision, were against the laws of God, of man, and of nature, of all which the King considered himself an infallible exponent. His Majesty attended the court in person to hear the case argued, and had the mortification of hearing the Lords of Session pronounce unanimous judgment against him.

But the royal prerogative exercised by the Stuart Kings was far-reaching and manifold. The royal litigant indemnified himself for his disappointment by exacting from the successful suitor the sum of 35,000 merks, and the surrender of the lands of Braidwood in favour of the Chancellor, Maitland of Thirlestane. Glenbervie, an elderly invalid, had not the hardihood to resist this monstrous impost, fearing lest a worse thing might happen to him; and James adopted a characteristic means of extorting the money, in borrowing from his courtiers and sending them to the new earl for payment.² Other pecuniary transactions Angus had with his

¹ Godscroft's MS., ii. 247, cited by Fraser, ii. 370.

² Discharges at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 373, note.

sovereign during this year 1589. Huntly having raised the north in rebellion, the King marched against him, and Angus accompanied him to Aberdeen. The rising was quelled without shock of war, and the King, wishing to return to Edinburgh, found himself short of the necessary travelling expenses. Maitland suggested Angus as a good sponge to squeeze; the unhappy earl protested that, after the heavy payments already exacted from him, he had barely enough to keep his own servants. Sir John Carmichael standing by, expressed surprise that Angus did not realise how great an honour the King was doing him in stooping to ask his assistance, and luckless Angus had to go a-borrowing from the Town Council of Aberdeen to satisfy the King's requirements.¹

Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, had been a good friend to the Douglasses in their days of adversity, but when he was put on his trial for complicity in Huntly's rising, Angus was chancellor of the jury which convicted him; and, upon the prisoner being sentenced to forfeiture, protested in Parliament that Bothwell's attainder should not prejudice his own claim to the lordship of Bothwell.

The rest of this earl's acts call for little comment. He was one of the lords appointed to carry on the government during King James's wedding tour to Denmark in 1589-1590,² and carried the sword of state before Queen Anne at her coronation. Feeling his end draw near, he became uneasy about leaving his earldom and possessions to be inherited by his eldest son, William, who was a Roman Catholic, and intended to make a will in favour of his second son, George. But George died before his father, and the succession was never altered.

On 8th April 1591 Angus wrote from Glenbervie to the Earl of Morton [lvii.], informing him that he had received the King's summons to attend in Edinburgh for the trial of "sic personis as hes ettellit"³ mischewous

¹ Two thousand pounds was the sum obtained, for repayment of which the Town Council repeatedly sued the 10th and 11th earls; but the proceedings were always stopped by the King, who acknowledged the debt, but did not discharge it until 1612.

² *Reg. Privy Council*, iv. 425.

³ Ettled, attempted.

pratekceis aganis his Majesties awin estait and persoune,
 as also aganis myne and youris lordshipis w-
 Death of Angus, 1st July 1591. quhill¹ last predicessoure that died of guid mem-
 oric, . . . bot it hes-pleisit God to visit me with
 ane extreme fyfher,² . . . thairfoir your lordship mane³ tak
 burden wpon your lordship at this tyme for me becaus of
 my present diseass." The pending trial was that of the

W Douglas of Glenbarro
 Sand

Glenbarro

Angus

Fig. 33A.—Signatures of William Douglas of Glenberrie, 9th Earl of Angus.

"wich" Barbara Napier, accused of having caused the death of the 8th Earl of Angus, and the letter to Morton finishes with a postscript, in which the writer begs his "weray speciall guid lord and cousinge to assist this caus, sua that we resaue nor deserwe na sclandder of God nor the world."⁴ Angus never recovered from the "fyfher," but died at Glenberrie on 1st July, and was there buried

¹ Late.

² Fever.

³ Must.

⁴ Fraser, iv. 187.

under a sarcophagus, whereon is inscribed the genealogy of the lairds of Glenbervie carried back to the mythical founder of the house of Douglas in the year 730.

By his wife, Egidia Graham of Morphie, Angus left a numerous family :—

- (1) William, who succeeded as 10th Earl of Angus [lx.].
- (2) Archibald, parson of Glenbervie, died in 1584, *s.p.*
- (3) George, also a clergyman, while still a minor, was presented by his father to the chaplainry of Drumlithie, whereof the revenues were to be applied to his education. Angus intended to make him his heir in the earldom, to the exclusion of his elder brother William, who adhered to the old religion; but George died in 1590, and was buried at Douglas.
- (4) Robert, who obtained Glenbervie from his eldest brother in 1591, was knighted by James VI., and married a daughter of Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno. His eldest son, William, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1625, which title expired in the person of Sir Alexander Douglas, 7th baronet of Glenbervie, son of Sir Robert, 6th baronet, author of the well-known *Peerage and Baronage of Scotland*. Sir Alexander's sister, Janet, married Kenneth, second son of Alexander Mackenzie of Kilcoy. Having risen to the rank of general in the army, this Kenneth was created a baronet 30th September 1831, and assumed the name of Douglas by royal licence in the following year. From this marriage is descended the present Sir Kenneth Douglas of Glenbervie, fourth baronet of the new creation, who was born in 1868, and resides in New Zealand.
- (5) Duncan, a clergyman, appointed to the living of Glenbervie on the death of his brother, Archibald, in 1585, and died without issue before 1591.
- (6) Gavin, married Elizabeth Keith, and died before 1st October 1616, and became ancestor of the

family of Douglas of Bridgeford, which ended with his two granddaughters and co-heiresses— Isobel, married Alexander Shank of Castlerig, died in 1762, and Marjory, married John, 6th Viscount Arbuthnot, died in 1737.

- (7) John of Barras, who married Jean Fraser, and whose son, Sir John, was knighted by Charles I. in 1633. His line seems to have ended in the persons of three granddaughters, children of his fifth son, Archibald.



Fig. 34.—Seal of William, 9th Earl of Angus (1588-1591).

- (8) Francis, died in Rome after 1600.
 (9) Henry of Tannachy, died 5th October 1595.
 (10) Margaret, married William Forbes of Monymusk.
 (11) Jean, married in 1576 John Wishart of Ballisycht, nephew and heir-apparent of Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow.
 (12) Elizabeth, married Thomas Gordon, fiar of Cluny.
 (13) Sarah, married—first, Robert, eldest son of Alexander Strachan, fiar of Thornton; and second, George Auchenleck of Balmanno.

CHAPTER VII

PAGE	PAGE
156 lviii. William Douglas of Lochleven, 7th Earl of Morton, <i>d.</i> 1606.	168 Appointed King's Lieutenant in the north, 1592.
157 Was one of Riccio's murderers, 9th March 1566.	168 The "Spanish Blanks" conspiracy, 1592-1593.
157 Queen Mary escapes from Lochleven, 2nd May 1568.	169 Imprisonment of Angus, 2nd January 1593.
158 lix. George Douglas, brother of the Laird.	171 The Act of Abolition, 1593.
161 Sells the Earl of Northumberland for £2000, 1572.	171 Angus rises in rebellion, July 1594.
163 Becomes 7th Earl of Morton, 1588.	172 Embraces the Protestant religion, 1597.
165 His death, 27th September 1606.	173 Restoration of the three earls, 13th December 1597.
165 lx. William, 10th Earl of Angus, <i>c.</i> 1554-1611.	175 Angus asserts his precedence, 1599.
166 Joins the Church of Rome, 1580.	176 Reverts to the Church of Rome, <i>c.</i> 1601.
166 Marries Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Oliphant, 1585.	177 Ordered into ward, May 1608.
166 Ordered into exile, 1589.	178 Excommunicated and exiled, 21st September 1608.
	179 Death of the 10th Earl of Angus, 3rd March 1611.

SIR WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Lochleven was the eldest son of Sir Robert [xliv.] by his wife Margaret, daughter of the 4th Lord Erskine, sometime mistress of James V., by whom she had become the mother of James Stuart, Earl of Moray. Sir William was thus nearly related to three regents of Scotland, namely, Moray his half-brother, Mar his cousin, and Morton [xxxvi.], who made him second heir in his entail. He succeeded to the Lochleven estates on the death of his father at the battle of Pinkie [1547]. After Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley, Sir William was commanded, on 7th November 1565, to deliver Lochleven

Castle to the Queen's officers,¹ with all the artillery and munitions placed therein by Regent Moray; but his plea of severe illness was accepted, and he was allowed to retain the fortress on the undertaking that it should be surrendered at any time on twenty-four hours' notice.²

Sir William's malady must have been but transient, seeing that five months later he was able to bear a hand in the assassination of Riccio. He joined the confederation of lords at Stirling after the Queen's marriage to Bothwell, and on 16th June 1567 received a warrant for the commitment of her person to his castle of Lochleven.³ On hearing that the Queen had abdicated in favour of her son, Sir William executed in her presence a notarial protest [28th July 1567] to the effect that the abdication had been concluded without his knowledge, that he had taken no part in compelling or inducing her to make it, and that upon hearing thereof he had offered to escort the Queen to Stirling, that there she might declare freely her own will and pleasure.⁴ This protest was signed among others by Sir William's brother George [lix.], who was already plotting against the laird and his mother for the Queen's escape.

The Queen declined the Laird of Lochleven's offer to escort her to Stirling, saying that "for the present sche culd nocht be prepairit to pas thair, bot desirit the said William that sche micht remane in his place and vse hir self at hir eas and quietnes as sche has done heir to fore."⁵ Considering the temper prevailing among the lords at Stirling, it was well that Mary did not trust herself in their hands at this time; it might have precipitated the tragedy. Douglas's behaviour in the matter is somewhat mysterious. The instructions given by the Lords of Council little more than a month previously [16th June] had been stringent and explicit: "Patrik Lord Lindsay of the Byris, William Lord Ruthven and William Douglas of Lochlevin to pas and

Was one of Riccio's murderers, 9th March 1566.

Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, and May 1568.

¹ *Reg. Privy Council*, i. 390.

² *Ibid.*, i. 396.

³ *Morton*, i. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 26.

⁵ Douglas's notarial protest.—*Ibid.*, i. 27.

convoy hir Majestie to the said place of Lochlevin and the said lard to ressave hir thairin, and thair thay and every ane of thame to keip hir Majestie suirly within the said place, and on na wyse to suffer hir pas furth of the same . . . as thai will ansuer to God and upon thair dewitie to the commoun weill of this cuntrie." It had surely been a risky thing for Douglas to allow the Queen to go to Stirling, where she would have been, at best, only doubtfully welcome at the coronation of her son.

Mary, therefore, remained in her island prison, while the golden autumn faded away and a grim Scottish winter settled on the scene. As early as 5th August, Throckmorton had written to Queen Elizabeth, describing how Mary had won the goodwill and favour of all persons in the house, and was likely to effect her escape. Ruthven was removed from his post, under suspicion of not being proof against Queen Mary's fascination, and to another inmate of that old grey tower the Queen's gracious presence came as a strangely disturbing influence: still more so, perhaps, that of three

lix. George
Douglas,
brother of
the Laird.

fair and quickwitted maidens who were permitted to share their mistress's captivity—Mary Seton, Marie Courcelles, and Jane Kennedy. Young George Douglas was not the first of his race, nor yet the last, to betray a trust; but never was there one who had so good an excuse. Three pairs of soft bright eyes, brighter for their tears—three pairs of gentle young lips, mingling their pleadings with who shall describe what tender suggestion and alluring phrase; ay, and above and beyond these, the beauteous Queen—so patient, so sorely tried, so grievously slandered. George was neither prig nor lout; he must yield therefore to the influence which Nature has devised to be irresistible; thereby winning a place in our chronicles by an act of treachery for which all men who read the story of those times bless him in their hearts. At all events, this chapter of history had been duller and more forbidding without the gleam of George's chivalrous treachery.

George Douglas had a companion in the old tower

about his own age, a foundling, it is believed, who had been reared with him from childhood, and acted as page to the lady of Lochleven, having received the name of William Douglas. Upon these two lads during those dark winter months the charms of the Queen's ladies wrought with secret and sure effect. Mary Stuart had plenty of devoted servants in her realm, but before the greylag geese gathered for their northward flight from the Inch in the spring of 1568, none were more ready to lay down their lives for her than George and Willie Douglas. George incurred his brother's suspicion and was sent away from the castle, but Willie remained. Obediently and intelligently he carried out the instructions of Marie Courcelles, whose clear, cool head laid all the plans for escape. At last all was ready. On Sunday evening 2nd May, Willie, while waiting on the family at supper, managed to throw his napkin over the castle keys and conveyed them to Marie Courcelles. She brought her mistress to a postern gate, where a boat was waiting. The Queen, in Mary Seton's dress, was able to slip out unperceived with two of her ladies, and presently four stout arms were making the oars bend bravely as the boat, with its precious freight, sped to the western shore of the lake. There sat the faithful Lord Seton and George Douglas, with led horses for the fugitives and a small escort of cavalry. Mary stepped lightly ashore, mounted into the saddle, and the Queen of Scots was free!

The Queen's escape might well have brought trouble upon Sir William, to whom had been intrusted her safe-keeping: probably it was owing to the influence of his powerful relative Morton [xxxvi.] that suspicion of collusion or negligence was not pressed against him. He commanded part of the reserve in the Regent's army at Langside [12th May], and did good service by promptly reinforcing the right wing at a critical moment.¹

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 202.



Fig. 35.—Signet of Sir George Douglas of Lochleven (1560).

After Queen Mary's flight to England, the Laird of Lochleven, as Sir William was commonly called, was constantly in active and confidential employment by the King's party. He accompanied Moray, Morton, and Lethington to York when they laid before the English commissioners their case against the Queen of Scots [1568-1569], and after his return from that embassy was appointed to the command of St. Andrews Castle.¹ In August 1570 he was commissioned to assemble the lieges to "persew and assege" the castle of Longnewton, held by Rutherford of Fernietoun.² In January following, the Earl of Northumberland, who had headed a Catholic rising in the north of England in favour of Queen Mary,³ was driven across the border, and, at Queen Elizabeth's instance, was apprehended in Liddesdale by the Scottish Government. Lochleven Castle, from its inland, insular position, and despite the escape therefrom of Queen Mary, had come to supersede Dumbarton and Blackness as a state prison; and to this fortalice Northumberland was committed under keeping of the Laird, apparently with power to make what terms he chose either for his surrender to the English Government or for his ransom by his countess.⁴ Now Douglas, as a staunch Protestant, could not be blamed had he kept his prisoner and turned a deaf ear to the countess's repeated offers of money for his release. Had he connived at the earl's escape to the Continent, Queen Elizabeth, upon whose favour Regent Mar's government depended for its existence, would have resented it as a most unfriendly act, and trouble would have followed which it was Douglas's duty, as the Regent's trusted official, to avert. But what made his conduct in this affair peculiarly execrable, was that he encouraged the unfortunate

¹ *Morton*, i. 53.

² *Ibid.*, i. 60.

³ For which act he lately received from the Pope the posthumous honour of beatification.

⁴ "He [Sir William Douglas] soly having the order and possession of you without bonde or charge to stay him from doing for you as he shall thinke good, of whom alone you are to seke your release."—Countess of Northumberland to her husband: 21st March 1572 [*Morton*, i. 75].

countess to bid up to the sum fixed for the earl's ransom —10,000 crowns [£2000]—and then, when she wrote from Mechlin to say that she had managed at last, and after vast difficulty, to scrape the money together, and sent directions for her husband's journey to rejoin her,¹ Douglas took exactly that sum from Sir John Foster in exchange for his prisoner, who was taken to York and there beheaded. The shame of this dirty transaction has generally been laid upon the 4th Earl of Morton [xxxvi.], and quoted in support of the sweeping charges of avarice made against him. Doubtless as one practically supreme in the Scottish council at the time, Morton cannot be exonerated from his fair share of responsibility; but it does not follow that he was cognisant of the mean intrigues of his kinsman in carrying it out. Indeed Hunsdon, the English ambassador in Scotland, wrote to Cecil [11th January 1571] that Morton had originally protested to Moray against the arrest of Northumberland as "a great shame and reproach," and in violation of the Border custom "to succour banished men."

Meanwhile Regent Moray, who was primarily responsible for the imprisonment of Northumberland, had been murdered at Linlithgow a few days after the earl was committed to Lochleven; his successor, Mar, with the consent of Morton, probably sought a solution of a difficult position in allowing the Laird of Lochleven to dispose of his prisoner to the highest bidder—a clumsy and unchivalrous device to avoid offending Queen Elizabeth.

After the Earl of Morton succeeded to the regency, Sir William Douglas became more than ever his confidential agent, as is manifest by the letters preserved in the archives at Dalmahoy.² The Regent's letter to Douglas [4th March 1577] when his fall was imminent, and his defence therein against the accusations made against him, has been quoted from elsewhere,³ and when he was driven from power in

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*: Hatfield MSS., i. part 2, p. 7.

² *Morton*, i. *passim*.

³ See vol. i. p. 283.

1578, it was to Lochleven he retired, and sought relief in laying out a garden.

On 20th September 1580 the King granted to Sir William the ward of all lands pertaining to his brother, the deceased Earl of Buchan, together with the sheriffship and coronership of the county of Banff;¹ and although this was, of course, only Morton's act in the King's name, it brings into sharp relief the proceedings against the Douglasses which follow immediately next in date among the Dalmahoy papers. After Morton's arrest and imprisonment, the Laird of Lochleven was ordered to go into ward beyond the Cromarty Firth, and to remain there during the King's pleasure, under a penalty of £10,000—James Colville of Easter Wemyss and George Douglas of Rungawie being taken as his sureties [30th March 1581].² But that he was not in very deep disgrace is shown by the following letter, written to him next day by the King:—

“Traist freind, We greit yow weill. Giff we had bene present with our counsaile quhen your bill wes red We sould have insistit to haue had sumquhat of your desire aggreit unto. Alwis seing it is thocht gude be the Lordis that ye first enter in your ward conforme to thair formar ordinance quhillk we of our self may not with ressoun alter, ye sall thairfoir satisfie thair desire. . . . We commit zou to God”—³

and to prison, his Majesty might have added, which had been a better joke than most of those attributed to him.

The King's next letter to the Laird of Lochleven is of considerable interest, as illustrating the moral right to fixity of tenure enjoyed under the ancient Scottish custom by tenants so long as they paid their rents. In the discharge of his wardship of the Buchan estates, Douglas seems to have exceeded the rights of a landlord, and the King wrote as follows:—

“Forsamekill as We ar informit be oure louittis seruitouris Archibald Broky in Downe and Thomas Broky his sone in the Baddis that ye, upoun the gift of the waird gevin be ws to you of the Erledome of Buchan have causit warne

¹ *Morton*, i. 124. The deceased earl was Robert, younger brother of Sir William Douglas, who became 4th Earl of Buchan in right of his wife Christian who succeeded her grandfather, the 3rd earl.

² *Ibid.*, i. 127.

³ *Ibid.*



*William Douglas, 7th Earl of Argyll
Lord High Treasurer
From a painting at Dalmeboy.*

thame to remove from thair rowmes and possessionis quhairin thay haue remanit kyndlie and native tennentis thir mony and divers yeiris bygane committing na cryme nor offence aganis thair maisteris in tymes past nather yit to you sen your entrie to the erledome of Buchan paying alsua thair dewitie and service according to thair assedationis : Thairfoir seing the sed gift wes nocht gevin to the wrak of the saidis puir tennentis We will you that ye upoun your rycht set thame thair rowmes and possessionis for payment of thair dewitie contenit in thair auld rental and quhilk thay payit to nmquibile Robert Dowglas last Erle of Buchane and that ye remove thame nocht fra thair kyndlie possessionis and rowmes as ye will We did yow kyndnes and plesure in tymes cuming." ¹

Sir William took no part in the Raid of Ruthven [22nd August 1582], which removed the King from the guidance of Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and brought in the administration of Mar, Gowrie, and Angus [lvi.], but his son Robert shared in that enterprise, whence Sir William has often been included among the conspirators. Nevertheless, Sir William was not slow to give his approval to what had been done, by signing the bond of the confederates on 30th August for the establishment of the "trew religioun" and reform of justice.

When King James gave Mar the slip in June 1583, and James Stuart, Earl of Arran, returned to power, Sir William Douglas was forfeited ² and imprisoned in Inverness, where he remained till released on 8th December; after finding caution to the huge amount of £20,000, the forfeiture was remitted on condition of his departing from Scotland, England, and Ireland within thirty days.³ Accordingly he went to La Rochelle, where he and some of the other confederates prepared the plan which, upon the return to Scotland of Mar, Angus, Glamis, and Lord John Hamilton in October 1585, resulted in the capture of the King in Stirling, the flight of Arran, and the re-establishment of a Protestant administration.

On the death in 1588 of the 8th Earl of Angus [lvi.], upon whom the earldom of Morton had devolved
 Becomes
 7th Earl of
 Morton, 1588. in 1585, Sir William Douglas succeeded to the same, in accordance with the entail of the Regent Morton, and received renunciation by the King of all his

¹ *Morton*, i. 129.

² *Ibid.*, i. 141.

³ *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 613, 615.

claim thereto as heir-general of Margaret, Countess of Lennox.¹ The earldom of Morton, it will be remembered, had been conferred on John, 8th Lord Maxwell, after the Regent's attainder and execution. The inconvenience caused by the restoration of the Douglasses and the consequent co-existence of two earls of Morton, was diminished by the frequency with which one of these earls—Maxwell, to wit—was in prison about this time. But in September 1589 Maxwell and other lords were liberated on the occasion of King James's marriage, and from that time till his death at Dryfe Sands in 1593 there was constant friction between him and the other Earl of Morton. Indeed, on 2nd February 1593, they came to blows over it, each disputing the precedency of the other in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, until the provost had to interpose his authority to part them.

From this time forward Morton, as leader of the Presbyterians, was high in the favour and confidence of the King, who appointed him his lieutenant in the south of Scotland in September 1594. Among the Dalmahoy letters is one, undated,² from the Countess of Morton to her husband, which seems to point to some forgotten romance of the peerage. The 6th Earl of Argyll, formerly Chancellor of Scotland, died in 1584, and was succeeded by his son Archibald. This young lord, finding the prevailing Presbyterian atmosphere of Scotland very dreary, betook himself to the seat of war in the Netherlands, where he won great distinction fighting under the Spanish colours. There was little in this to commend him to the Protestant Morton, whose countess seems to have felt no little trepidation as to how he might brook the earl as a son-in-law.

“It will ples your L^o. that me Lord off Argyll is come heir to Dalkeith this satterday in the nycht and his L^o. will be mareit this Sondag with your dochter [Lady Agnes] therfoir I pray your L^o. be nocht offendit for I will tak the baldnes on me to end that turne I man craff your L^o. pardone for the same and prayis

¹ *Morton*, i. 157.

² It may probably be referred to about the year 1593 or 1594.

your L^o. nocht to be offendit at the same this is wrettin in haist this sonday in the morneing nocht ellis bot committis your L^o. to the protection of God.—Be your L^o. at hir power. AGNES, Covntes of Morttone.”

The 7th Earl of Morton died 27th September 1606.

His death,
27th Septem-
ber 1606.

By his wife, Lady Agnes Leslie, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Rothes, he had four sons and six daughters.

- (1) Robert, who married Jean, daughter of the 10th Lord Glamis, afterwards wife of the 8th Earl of Angus [lvi.]. Robert was drowned at sea in 1584, but left a son, William, who succeeded as 8th Earl of Morton [lxi.].
- (2) James, Commendator of Melrose; married—first, Jean, daughter of Sir James Anstruther of that ilk; second, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Kerr of Fernihurst.
- (3) Archibald.
- (4) George.
- (5) Margaret, married in 1574 Sir John Wemyss of that ilk.
- (6) Christian, married—first, in 1576, Laurence, Master of Oliphant; second, Alexander, 1st Earl of Home.
- (7) Mary, married Walter, Lord Ogilvie.
- (8) Euphema, married Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar.
- (9) Agnes, married Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyll; and
- (10) Isabel, married—first, Robert, Earl of Roxburgh; second, James, 2nd Marquess of Montrose.

In order to preserve as nearly as possible contemporary chronology in following the fortunes of two houses so closely allied as those of Angus and Morton, we must now return to William, who succeeded as 10th Earl of Angus [lx.] on the death of his father, the 9th earl [lvii.], in 1591. He was born about 1554, and, after leaving St. Andrews University in 1575, was employed in the household of his kinsman, the Regent Morton, for a couple of years. Thence, at the age of three-and-twenty, he went to the Court of Henry III.

lx. William,
10th Earl
of Angus,
c. 1554-1611.

of France, a strange move for one of so staunchly Protestant a stock, and one which had momentous consequence upon his after life. William's father, it may be remembered, was still only laird of Glenbervie, and did not succeed to the earldom till 1588; therefore when the heir of Glenbervie yielded to the arguments of the doctors of the Sorbonne and became a Roman Catholic, although it was doubtless a source of much concern to his family, it did not amount to a matter of national moment.

But it was far different when the succession to the premier and most powerful earldom of Scotland devolved

Joins the
Church of
Rome, 1580.

upon the knight of Glenbervie, and we have seen how the 8th earl [lvi.], when on his death-bed, sent for the knight and his son, and questioned them closely about the fixity of the young man's religious convictions, and how Glenbervie, as 9th earl, proposed to cut his eldest son out of the entail. Previous to that, in 1585, Glenbervie had chosen a Protestant wife

Marries
Elizabeth,
daughter of
Lord Oli-
phant, 1585.

for his son in the person of Elizabeth, daughter of Laurence, Lord Oliphant; but she, instead of bringing her husband back to the "trewe religioun," followed him into the fold of Rome. William Douglas, therefore, must have been a young man of considerable strength of character, seeing that he had not only the hardihood to run counter to the anxious wishes of his family and the traditions of his house, but incurred almost certain temporal ruin by adhering to the proscribed faith.

In 1589 William Douglas, by that time Master of Angus, was made to feel the full effect of his disabilities,

Ordered into
exile, 1589.

being ordered by the Privy Council to depart from the realm, "thair to remane and na wayis to returne quhill¹ he haif obeyit the kirk."² Unable to find a ship, he was permitted to remain in Aberdeen; but next year proceedings were taken against him as a Jesuit and excommunicate person, and he was ordered into ward in Dundee or Stirling Castle, until he

¹ Until.

² Fraser, iii. 295.

could find surety for his leaving the country within forty days.¹ Just at that time his father died, and the Master employed the good offices of his relative Morton [lviii.] to obtain the King's leave for him to attend the funeral at Glenbervie.² Returning to ward in Stirling, Angus submitted to the King a notarial protest against the extreme inconvenience he found in transacting the business of his estates from that place, whereupon the King obtained consent of the clergy to the Earl's ward being changed from Stirling to "owre browche of Edinbrowche, Leith or in the Cannogaitt, and ane mylle thairabowt."³

The disability of his religion notwithstanding, the new earl was served heir to his father in the lands of Angus and Glenbervie on 10th November 1591. His brother Robert held extensive mortgages over the Angus estates, which he now surrendered to the earl in exchange for Glenbervie and Kenmay, and carried on the separate line of Douglas of Glenbervie.

At the opening of Parliament in 1592, King James assigned the honour of carrying the crown to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, thereby infringing upon the hereditary privilege of the Douglas. Angus called together his friends and vassals, and, after taking counsel with them, sent Sir John Carmichael, captain of the King's Guard, to lay a protest before his Majesty. James declined to receive it, and commanded Angus to leave Edinburgh, whereupon the earl prepared to assert his privilege by force. James then began to temporise, explaining that his kingly word was pledged to Lennox, and could not be withdrawn, but promising that if Angus would waive his right upon this occasion, it would receive due recognition in future. Angus yielded to the King's will, and bore the sceptre instead of the crown; but he afterwards made open protest in Parliament that his earldom carried with it right to the higher honour of the crown. The King was as good as his word on this occasion, and an act was passed ratifying the claim

¹ Fraser, iv. 35.

² Morton, i. 177.

³ Fraser, iii. 300.

of the Earls of Angus to bear the crown at all state functions, to give the first vote in the Privy Council and in Parliament, and to lead the vanguard of the King's forces.

In this Parliament Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was attainted,¹ and it came out that Angus and Errol were implicated in his treasonable proceedings. They were both committed to ward in consequence shortly after midsummer, but regained their liberty in September, and Angus at least was received back into full favour. He

Appointed
Lieutenant
of northern
Scotland,
1592.

received a commission of lieutenant and justiciary over the whole of Scotland north of the Tay, and authority to proceed against the Earls of Athol and Huntly, either or both, then at open and deadly feud with each other, because of the murder of the "bonnie Earl of Moray"² by Huntly on 7th February. This on 9th November 1592, and by that day month Angus had succeeded so well as to have secured the submission of both earls and the pacification of the Highlands. The secret of this easy accomplishment of what had been deemed an almost hopeless mission soon came out, and landed Angus in deeper disgrace than ever.

George Ker, brother of the commendator of Melrose, was arrested as he was embarking for Spain at Cumbræ, in the Clyde. Upon his person were discovered

The "Spanish
Blanks," 1592-
1593.

eight blank sheets of paper, signed by Angus, Huntly, and Errol,³ besides a number of highly compromising letters, dated as long before as the month of October, addressed to sundry persons in Spain. George Ker on being examined, probably under torture or threat thereof, confessed that these blankseigns were intended for the use of a Jesuit priest, William Crichton, then in Spain, who was to present them to the Spanish Council, when they should be filled up with orders for men and money, to be

¹ Pitcairn, i. 274.

² *Ibid.*, i. 280; Fraser iii. 301-308; iv. 36-38.

³ Each of the earls signed two of these blank sheets separately; the two others were signed by all three earls and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendoun.—Pitcairn, i. 311.

employed in a descent upon the Scottish coast for the extirpation of the Protestant religion. Ker's deposition was afterwards confirmed by the confession of David Graham of Fintry, who was beheaded for complicity on 16th February 1593, and there can be no doubt that Angus was deeply involved in this formidable Popish conspiracy. It will be observed that he had been in disgrace and imprisoned, or at least warded, till September. When he signed the blanks and treasonable letters in October he probably foresaw no prospect before him but ruin on account of his religion. How bitterly, therefore, must he have repented of having thus committed himself, when he received the King's commission of lieutenandry on 9th November. Or are we to believe that he was acting deliberately as a traitor throughout these transactions? Unhappily there is only too much ground for putting the worst construction upon his conduct, and that King James was fully justified in denouncing him as "a traitor of traitors."



Fig. 36.—Signet of William, 10th Earl of Angus (1591-1611).

Therefore, when Angus returned to Edinburgh on 1st January 1593, instead of receiving the thanks of the Council for his effectual suppression of disorder in the north, he was ordered to ward himself in his lodging, where he was closely guarded by the townspeople, who were nervously apprehensive of any dealings with the "Spainzearts." Next day two hundred of them took the earl to the castle and demanded his imprisonment. On the 3rd a messenger carrying compromising letters from Huntly to Angus was arrested, and preparations were made for trial of Angus for high treason; but on the 13th he made his escape over the rocks by means of a rope, which his countess had managed to convey into his prison,¹ and joined Huntly and Errol in the north. Then the hue and cry went forth against the three earls, who managed to elude capture in the Cairn-

Imprisonment of Angus, 2nd January 1593.

¹ Two years later, Patrick Miller, a warder, on returning from abroad, was taken and hanged for complicity in the earl's escape.

gorm mountains, while gift of the escheat of Angus was made to Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden [lxxxiv].¹

Let it be set to King James's credit that he did not press matters against the disobedient lords, although the Kirk clamoured for their instant punishment. On the contrary, he took advantage of an alleged informality in the summons, and caused proceedings to be stayed. The clergy were not so merciful. On 25th September the Synod of Fife passed sentence of excommunication upon Angus and his confederates, whereat, it may be supposed, these Catholic lords presumed to snap their fingers. They determined to attempt a short cut to the King's grace. They issued boldly from their mountain retreat, and travelling south, intercepted the King at Fala on 11th October, as he was riding from Edinburgh to Lauder. On their knees before him they besought a fair trial, pleading the services of their ancestors in the past, which King James needed only to be fairly well versed in the history of his own realm to know had been of a very piebald description. Howbeit, this dramatic appeal was successful; the King promised his suppliants a trial at Perth on an early day, and ordered them to go into ward till then.

"A fair trial" seems to have been interpreted by the three earls as one wherein the party most strongly armed should secure a verdict, for they proceeded to summon all their friends to attend at Perth in full force on 24th October, the day fixed for the assize. The clergy were not to be outdone in such a prudent precaution; moderators of presbyteries were charged to see that every minister warned the landowners and burgesses in his congregation to muster under arms at the same time and place, and thus there was every probability of a stirring occasion. The King disappointed all concerned by revoking the order for the trial, appointing, instead, a commission to inquire into the charges against the earls. The finding of this commission was a peculiar one. They could not avoid declaring the earls and their associates guilty of

¹ One of the Douglasses of Drumlanrig.

conspiracy in the matter of the Spanish Blanks; that was proved up to the hilt in the handwriting of the accused; but the finding was followed by what was termed the Act of Abolition, whereby the charges were to be abandoned on the acceptance by the earls of one of two alternatives—voluntary exile, or the adoption of the Protestant religion. Their decision in writing was required before 1st January 1594, and until that was given, each of them was to avoid all intercourse with Jesuits, and to entertain a Protestant clergyman constantly in his house, who should be consulted in all matters of difficulty and doubt.

The earls made no answer. They remained defiantly in the Gordon country, until, having failed to comply with an order to ward themselves in certain of the King's castles, on 8th June, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against them in absence—"thair personis to vnderly the panis of Tressoune and vtter pwnishment appoyntit be the lawis of this realme."¹

The attitude of the earls was now one of open rebellion. A Spanish ship coming to Aberdeen on 16th July was seized by the townspeople, and sundry passengers therein imprisoned. Angus, Errol, and Huntly appeared in force, and wrote an ultimatum to the town council, declaring that they would burn and sack the town if the Spanish prisoners were not released.² The burgesses complied, but King James was soon on his way at the head of an army to operate against the rebels. Angus, at the head of a new confederation formed in August between himself, Huntly, Errol, Bothwell, Caithness and Gordon of Auchendoun, went off with Bothwell to raise the south country. Argyll, King's lieutenant in the north, met his personal enemy, Huntly, in battle at Glenlivet in September, and received a sharp defeat. To avenge this, James in person marched into Huntly's estates and destroyed the castle of Strathbogie. Huntly and Errol retired into Caithness, where Angus and

The Act of
Abolition,
1593.

Angus rises
in rebellion,
July 1594.

¹ Pitcairn, i. 316.

² Fraser, iv. 374.

Bothwell joined them, after failing to take Edinburgh by surprise.

The Duke of Lennox next received a commission to proceed against the insurgents, took possession of the Angus estates and dealt with the revenues thereof, while Angus himself remained in close hiding. King James, however, acted with singular forbearance towards these incorrigible rebels; when Angus made overtures for submission in 1595, James allowed him to become the guest of the Earl of Morton [lviii.] in order to facilitate his reconciliation with the Kirk, and granted him temporary immunity from the sentence of outlawry under which he lay. James did more: he tried to persuade the Synod of Lothian to enter into communications with the earl, but this was sourly declined by the clergy.

All that year and the next Angus spent in this dubious condition—a convicted traitor who had taken up arms against his sovereign, and was under sentence of death. Certainly he received more clemency than many of his line had met with from the house of Stuart. The Duke of Lennox even resigned the earldom of Angus in favour of the forfeited earl's son William.¹

Throughout all these vicissitudes there was but one admirable feature in the conduct of Angus and the other Roman Catholic lords, namely, their unwavering adherence to the unpopular religion, and their unflinching endurance of all the disabilities incurred in consequence. But in 1597 came a change, and these gentlemen no longer stand in such an edifying light. The King had been indefatigable in trying to bring about better relations between them and the Established Kirk of Scotland, and at last succeeded so far as to arrange a conference between Huntly and Errol and the General Assembly sitting at Perth in March. On the petition of the Countess of Angus, her husband was also admitted to deal with ministers at the parish kirk of Kinneff. He

¹ Procuratory of resignation, 1596, at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 393.

Embraces the
Protestant
religion, 1597.

prefaced his first interview with a notarial protest setting forth that his attendance at preachings was not to be accounted as profession of the established religion, but that he came to the kirk only to understand and learn the arguments and grounds upon which that religion rested, reserving full right to dispute the same in further conference.¹ This defensive attitude was soon abandoned. With suspicious docility Angus acknowledged that he was at last convinced, and professed himself ready to subscribe to the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, to confess in open kirk the heinousness of his apostasy, to shun the company of all Jesuits, and to keep a minister constantly in his household. Greatly did the brethren rejoice at this manifest working of the Spirit, which was the more miraculous because the hard hearts of all three recalcitrant earls were turned at the same moment. On 25th June a solemn fast was held in Aberdeen, and next day Angus, Huntly, and Errol, the last pillars of Papacy in Scotland, appeared in the Old Kirk of that city, subscribed the confession of faith before sermon, and after sermon made confession of apostasy before the whole congregation and received absolution. Then they received the communion and swore to be "good justiciars." It was a most powerful working of the Word, to be sure, as well as a signal triumph of James's kingcraft, but, in the light of what followed, it is best not to dwell over long thereon.

The immediate effect upon the temporal affairs of these illustrious proselytes was very gratifying. Parliament, meeting for the purpose in December, rescinded the act of forfeiture against them, and they were restored to all their possessions and dignities. Angus took his seat once more as a privy councillor, and in June 1598 was appointed the King's lieutenant in the south of Scotland, with full justiciary powers, authority to muster the lieges under his banner, and command of all the royal castles and houses within his jurisdiction.

Restoration
of the three
earls, 13th
December
1597.

¹ Notarial instrument at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 394.

The new lieutenant applied himself with energy to the duties of his office, which were urgent enough. All the western border district was profoundly disorganised by the long-standing mortal feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstones; many of the house of Douglas residing in those parts were implicated in lawless proceedings, and either had to be dealt with judicially by their chief, like Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, who was warded for disobedience, or pardoned in consideration of their readiness to support the lieutenant, like James Douglas, Lord Torthorwald, described in the King's letter of 16th February 1600 as "being our rebell and lying att our horne for the slaughter of our vmq^{le}¹ cousing James Stewart of Newtoun."² Angus's operations against the Johnstones assumed the dimensions of a campaign, and was known thereafter as the Raid of Dumfries. He was entitled, as King's lieutenant, to half the value of goods and cattle taken, lands forfeited and fines levied, a system of administration which certainly did not tend to leniency; but, according to Godscroft, he never received a farthing of all the spoil, but bore the whole expense himself, amounting to 60,000 merks. When George Home, Earl of Dunbar, became Treasurer in 1601, he offered to recover

¹ Late.

² Pitcairn, ii. 107. This was none other than Captain James Stuart, second son of Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, and better known as Earl of Arran, formerly Lord Privy Seal and Lord Chancellor of Scotland. To mention him is to open a long chapter of Douglas history, which must here be condensed into a few lines. Since his fall in 1585 Stuart had lived in obscurity somewhere in the Highlands, but in 1596, on the death of Chancellor Thirlestane, he ventured south to seek King James's grace, was fairly well received, and rode forward to visit his relations in Ayrshire. As he passed Symington, near Douglas, he was warned to beware of Douglas of Torthorwald, a nephew of the Regent Morton, who had been brought to his doom by Stuart. "Douglas!" cried Stuart scornfully, "I shall not go a step out of my way for all the name of Douglas." This was reported speedily to Douglas, who, true to the blood-feud, set out at once with three servants upon the track of Stuart, overtook him at a place called Catslack, and slew him without more ado. Thirteen years later, on 14th July 1609, Douglas paid his debt in the same blood-feud, being slain in the High Street of Edinburgh by William Stuart, near kinsman of Lord Ochiltree and the deceased Captain James.

what was due to Angus on condition that he, Dunbar, should receive half the money himself, but the proposal was not entertained.¹

The elevation, in April 1599, of the Earl of Huntly and Lord John Hamilton to the dignity of marquess, a grade of nobility not previously known in Scotland, involved Angus in a dispute with the King and the two marquesses concerning the ancient precedence of his earldom. The dormant feud between the Douglas and the Hamilton seemed about to break out afresh; Morton and Angus waited upon the King, and protested that the creation of a superior rank of nobility infringed the inalienable privilege of their house. James received them very graciously and spoke them fair; but all the material satisfaction they received was a document ratifying the claim of the Earl of Angus and his successors to the premier place in Parliament, Council, and Convention, "nochtwithstanding quhatsomeuir new erectioun or disposition of new honnouris, digniteis, stylis or titlis to ony personis quhatsomeuir." After his signature the King added the following postscript:—



*for my intention is not nor never was to
preiuge him of any pruiiledges that ever
his predeceffouris bruk'ie or he be any
riche can claime unto.*

Fig. 37.—Facsimile Signature and Postscript of James VI.

On the very face of it, this was an unworkable arrangement, and so it proved next year, when the sometime close

¹ Godscroft's MS., quoted by Fraser, ii. 396.

friends, Huntly and Angus, quarrelled about their relative precedence in Parliament, and, as Huntly stood on his paper rights, Angus withdrew in dudgeon to Dalkeith.

The King had no easy task to keep his nobles in good humour : maladroit attempts to please this one was sure to rouse the jealous ire of that other. Thus, in 1601, when news came that the Earl of Angus lay dying at Tantallon, King James gave too facile assent to the precipitate request of Sir George Home for the ward and marriage of the young Master of Angus [lxii.]. It turned out that the earl was not dying after all—was only temporarily sick—and presently he came to court to reproach the King for his ingratitude in forgetting his service against the Johnstones, as yet unpaid for, and for giving the wardship of his heir to an ancient unfriend of his house.

After this double slight at the hand of the monarch, to please whom Angus had done violence to his most sacred convictions, the earl cared no longer to conceal the hollowness of his conversion to the reformed religion. He persisted in wearing a cross upon his person, had been heard to claim full liberty of conscience, and had refused or omitted to attend the Presbyterian communion.

Reverts to the Church of Rome, c. 1601. Hitherto the General Assembly had neglected its duty of appointing a resident minister for each of the Catholic earls; that was now remedied, and Mr. William Law was planted in the household of Angus for three months, in order that the earl and his family might be grounded and confirmed in the "trew religioun" and godliness by means of daily catechising, and by reading, interpreting, and conferring on the Scriptures at table and on all convenient occasions. Meanwhile the earl was publicly denounced in sundry parish churches on his estates for his errors and ungodly life, which, if he did not reform, would assuredly bring him under the ban of excommunication. For some years after this Angus took no very active part in public affairs, though he attended regularly in Parliament. His health was bad, probably owing in great measure to the remedies prescribed by the "phisitians"

whom he constantly consulted. In a list of the Scottish nobility prepared about the year 1602 by the spy John Colville, who had lately recanted to Rome, he receives mention as the "Erle of Angus, callit Douglass, Catholique, of litill action."¹ His influence had ceased to be of much effect, whether to the Catholic or the Protestant party; but toleration had no place in the list of Christian virtues then taught by any section of the universal Church;

Ordered into
ward, 1608.

wherefore, in 1608, the General Assembly resumed active proceedings against him. He

was ordered to ward himself in Glasgow and to confer with representatives of the Presbytery of that city and the Synod of Clydesdale.

Against this sentence Angus addressed an earnest protest to the King on 25th May, complaining that he was not allowed to plead his cause before his Majesty in person—

"And in this laitt charge quhairby your maieste hes ordanit me to be wairdit in Glasgow, I am most humblie to requyre your maieste, in respect of the greit indispositioun of my bodie tending to deathe, as the principall doctouris of medeceane in this cuntrie be thair testimoniall vnder thair handis testefcit to your maieste as thai haue alreddie done to the Counsall, to be that gracious to me that, giff I sall be wairdit, it may ather be in Thomptalloun, Edinburgh or Leithe, quhair I may haue the help and assistance of phisitanis for my seiknes, than in Glasgow, quhilk is ane place verie vnmeit for me for sindrie respectis, but speciallie for recoverie of my helthe."²

The earl's prayer was not granted: he was confined in Glasgow all that summer, exposed to perpetual examination and rebuke by long-winded divines. The more Angus heard and saw of these gentlemen, the deeper grew his dislike to their doctrine and company, so that in July they reported to the Assembly that more than ever was he "obstinat and obdurat in heresie of Papistrie."

On 21st September 1608 sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the recalcitrant earl, after he had

¹ *Letters of John Colville*.—Bannatyne Club, 351.

² Fraser, iv. 194.

been "thryse lawchfullie admonishit with three seuerall prayeris, according to the order of the Kirk."¹ Thereafter Angus was closely imprisoned until November, when the King permitted him to go into voluntary exile in France, without undergoing the penalty of forfeiture.

The race of Douglas, owing much of their original ascendancy among the subjects of Scottish Kings to their splendid physical strength and hardihood, had sadly deteriorated in constitution, at least among the members of the chief's family. Not only was Angus a confirmed invalid, but his second son, James, a lad of about fifteen, seems to have been a weakling also. Angus wished to take him to France, but this King James would not allow, in spite of the earl's earnest request—

"Quhairis I vnderstand of your maiesties plesour for staying of my second sone now in companie with me, the boy being subiect to ane uniuersall gute, and I being consellit be phisitians to send him to the baichis in Loren, I will humlie entreate your maiesteis gracious favor that he may go with me for the recoverie of his health."²

The last years of the 10th Earl of Angus were spent in seclusion near the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where he occupied himself in constant daily attendance at the services of the church. The last letter extant from him to King James was dated 30th October 1609, in which he reminded his sovereign that, having been compelled to leave Scotland at twenty days' notice, he had been unable to make the necessary dispositions for the management of his estates, and craved leave to return—

"For some fyue or sax monethes only, vpon sick conditions as your maiesty pleases till enioyne, that I may put ordour to the disorderet estate of my leauing,³ whilk can not be done without my awen presence to my great losse, and is now all out of forme and ordour, and that I may giue my last gudnicht to my cuntrey, familie and friendes, for I am become now auld and seakly and within short tyme will be vnable to trauell."⁴

¹ *Presbytery Records of Glasgow*, ii. part i. 36, quoted by Fraser, ii. 400, note.

² Fraser, iv. 191.

³ Living.

⁴ Fraser, iv. 195.

This request was refused. The earl died on 3rd March 1611, and was buried in St. Christopher's aisle of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. A fine monument of black marble, erected over his tomb by the 11th earl [lxii.], bears a long inscription in Latin, to which the use of the first person imparts a strain of distasteful vainglory.

Death of the
10th Earl of
Angus, 3rd
March 1611.

"I was," runs one paragraph, "while I enjoyed the light so sweet to mortals, William Douglas, Earl of Angus, chief of Douglas, the most ancient noble family among the Scots, eighteenth [in descent] from William, 1st Earl of Angus. I lived in virtue and exercised myself in matters most praiseworthy, so that I was inferior to no one in the most holy religion of my ancestors towards God, in duty to my King, in love of my country, in kindness to my friends, and in goodness to all. Nor could I, who was first among the earls of the realm of Scotland, ever be inferior to another."¹

And so on in a strain of bombast which, it is to be hoped, was alien from the spirit of devotion in which this Douglas died.

Fig. 38.—Signature of William, 10th Earl of Angus (1601).

During his frequent wardings and imprisonments the earl had whiled away the hours in composing historical notes upon the history of his family and his personal adventures. These have not been preserved, but were doubtless in possession of Hume of Godscroft, who says that his history of the Douglasses had its origin therein.

¹ The whole Latin inscription and the verses which follow are printed in Fraser, ii. 405-407.

Elizabeth Oliphant, Countess of Douglas, survived her husband, and married James Hamilton before 1619.¹ By her Angus had three sons and three daughters:—

- (1) William, succeeded as 11th Earl of Angus [lxii.], and was created Marquess of Douglas.
- (2) Sir James [lxiii.], Provost of Abernethy, which dignity he must have held while still in his 'teens, for he is mentioned under that title in his father's will, dated 31st October 1608.² He was owner at one time of Parkhead in Douglasdale, but in 1621 he resigned this and the lands of Pitdreiche and Fawside in the Mearns to his elder brother, and became owner of Mordington in Berwickshire,

*Elizabeth countess
of Angus*

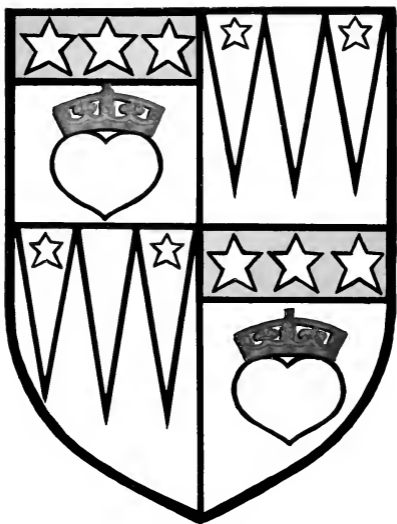
Fig. 39.—Signature of Elizabeth Oliphant, Countess of Angus.

having been knighted. In 1641 he was created Lord Mordington by Charles I. His wife was Anne, daughter of the 5th Lord Oliphant, by whom he left a son and daughter. He died on 11th February 1656. The male line of this James Douglas became extinct in the person of Charles, 5th Lord Mordington, who was imprisoned in Carlisle for taking part in the rebellion of 1715, and died without issue.

- (3) Sir Francis Douglas of Sandilands, supposed to have married a sister of the Earl of Wigtown, but left no children.
- (4) Catharine, contracted in marriage to Sir Andrew Ker younger of Ferniehirst on 28th November

¹ Papers at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 409.

² Fraser, iii. 321.



Sholto George Watson Douglas. 21st Earl of Morton, 23rd Lord Dalkeith, etc.

1600, but she died before 1608, apparently unmarried.

- (5) Mary, married the 2nd Earl of Linlithgow.
- (6) Elizabeth, married, in 1627, John Campbell, fiar of Cawdor.

Angus had also a natural daughter, Margaret, by a sister of Home of the Heugh, near North Berwick. This Margaret married John Douglas of Lintalee, taking with her a dowry of 7000 merks.¹

¹ Fraser, ii. 409-411.

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE	PAGE
183 lxi. William, 8th Earl of Morton, 1582-1644.	Earl of Selkirk and 3rd Duke of Hamilton, 1634-1694.
185 lxii. William, 1st Marquess of Douglas, 11th Earl of Angus, 1589-1660.	201 Created Duke of Hamilton, 1660.
186 Marries Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Lord Paisley, 11th July 1601.	203 Welcomes William of Orange, 1688.
188 Travels on the Continent, 1623-1625.	203 His death, 18th April 1694.
188 Created Marquess of Douglas, 14th June 1633.	204 lxix. John, 1st Earl of Ruglen and 3rd Earl of Selkirk, <i>ob.</i> 1744.
190 Douglas Castle taken by the Covenanters, 20th March 1639.	205 lxx. George, Earl of Orkney, <i>ob.</i> 1737.
190 Douglas signs the Covenant, 11th June 1644.	206 lxxi. James, Earl of Arran, 4th Duke of Hamilton, 1658-1712.
191 His death, 19th February 1660.	207 Ambassador to France, December 1683.
192 Godscroft's <i>Historie of the Douglases</i> , 1644.	207 Declares himself a Jacobite, 1688.
194 l xv. Lord James Douglas, 1617-1645.	207 Imprisoned on a charge of treason, 1689.
195 lxvii. Lord George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton, <i>c.</i> 1619-1692.	208 Created 4th Duke of Hamilton, 1698.
197 lxiv. Archibald, Master, then Earl, of Angus and Earl of Ormond, <i>c.</i> 1609-1655.	208 The Union controversy, 1705-1707.
198 Appointed a Lord of Session, 9th February 1639.	209 Hamilton disappoints the Jacobites, 1705.
199 His death, January 1655.	212 Imprisoned in the Tower, 1708.
200 lxvi. Lord William Douglas, 1st	212 Created Duke of Brandon, 10th September 1711.
	213 Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, August 1712.
	213 Duel with Lord Mohun, and death of the Duke, 15th November 1712.

THE 7th Earl of Morton's eldest son, Robert, whom his mother had hindered from joining Angus in the abortive rising of 1584, was drowned at sea shortly afterwards, and it was Robert's son, William [lxi.], who succeeded to his



*Robert Douglas,
18th Earl of Argyll
From a painting by Dalmeida*

grandfather's splendid inheritance in 1606. When war broke out between Charles I. and his Parliament, Morton stood for the King and made great sacrifices in his cause. The estate of Dalkeith and other lands, to the total value of £100,000 Scots yearly rental,¹ were sold to meet the earl's expenses, in recognition whereof King Charles gave him a charter, dated 15th June 1643, of the islands of Orkney and Zetland, and their whole jurisdiction and royalties. Power was reserved by the Crown for the redemption of this grant on payment of £30,000 sterling. Morton held the office of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and married Lady Anne Keith, daughter of George, 5th Earl Marischal. He died in Orkney on 7th August 1648, leaving nine children:—

- (1) Robert, who succeeded as 9th earl.
- (2) Sir James Douglas of Smithfield, who succeeded as 11th earl.
- (3) John, killed at the battle of Dunbar in 1650.
- (4) George, who entered the Dutch service, and died without issue.
- (5) Agnes, married George, 2nd Earl of Kinnoull.
- (6) Margaret, married her cousin Archibald, 1st Marquess of Argyll.
- (7) Mary, married Charles, Earl of Dunfermline.
- (8) Jean, married James, 1st Earl of Home. And
- (9) Isabel, married—first, Robert, 1st Earl of Roxburgh; second, James, 2nd Marquess of Montrose.

The subsequent descent of the earldom of Morton must be but briefly noticed, seeing that other branches of the house of Douglas were more conspicuous in national affairs down to the time of the Union than the lords of Dalkeith.

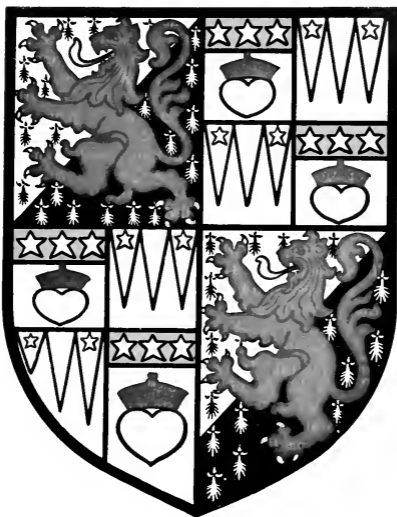
Robert, 9th Earl of Morton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, brother of George, Duke of Buckingham. He died in Orkney in 1649, and was succeeded

¹ Not much more than £5000 sterling, which, however, was a very large rental, reckoned in the value of money at that period.

as 10th Earl of Morton by his elder son William, who obtained a new grant of the islands of Orkney and Zetland. But the new grant and the original one having been challenged on behalf of the Crown, both were pronounced null and void, and the islands were vested in the Crown by Act of Parliament, 27th December 1669. Thenceforward the Earls of Morton held these islands under form of mortgage from the Crown. The 10th earl dying without issue in 1681, was succeeded by his uncle, Sir James Douglas of Smithfield, second son of the 8th earl [lxi.], who had married Anne, daughter of Sir James Hay of Smithfield. He died in 1686, and was succeeded in the earldom by three of his sons in turn, namely, James, 12th Earl of Morton, who was one of Queen Anne's commissioners for the Union, and died unmarried in 1715; Robert, 13th Earl of Morton, who died unmarried in 1730; and George, 14th Earl of Morton, Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and M.P. for Orkney. He married a daughter of William Adderley of Halstow, Kent, and at his death, in 1738, was succeeded by his elder son, James, 15th Earl of Morton, a distinguished man of science, Fellow of the Royal Society [1733], and first President of the Scottish Society for improving Arts and Sciences [1739]. In 1742 Morton, who had been installed a Knight of the Thistle in 1738, obtained an Act of Parliament vesting the absolute ownership of Orkney and Zetland in himself and his heirs for ever, and at the same time acquired a lease of the rents of the bishopric of Orkney; but so great was the difficulty of obtaining payment of his rents in those remote regions, that he soon after disposed of all his rights in the islands to Sir Lawrence Dundas for £60,000.

James,
15th Earl
of Morton,
President of
the Royal
Society,
1702-1768.

In 1746 Morton attained a hazardous distinction accorded to very few British noblemen, being imprisoned in the Bastille, with his wife, child, and sister-in-law, for the space of three months. As was usual in arrests of this kind, the reason for this imprisonment was not made public, but Horace Walpole surmised that Morton was suspected



George Sholto Douglas-Pennant, 2nd Baron Penrhyn.

of Jacobite intrigues, and that his detention was effected with the connivance of the English Cabinet.

In 1760 Morton was appointed Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, and three years later was chosen President of the Royal Society, and one of the eight foreign members of the French Academy. He died in 1768, and was succeeded by the elder surviving son of his first marriage to Agatha, daughter and heiress of James Halliburton, Esq., of Pitcur, Forfarshire—Sholto Charles, 16th Earl of Morton. By his second marriage with Bridget, daughter of Sir John Heathcote of Normanton, Bart., he had another son, John, who married Lady Frances Lascelles, daughter of the 1st Earl of Harewood. Of this marriage, the elder son, George Sholto, ultimately succeeded as 18th Earl of Morton; the third son, Edward, having married Juliana Isabella Mary, daughter and co-heir of George Hay Dawkins Pennant, Esq., of Penrhyn Castle, Carnarvonshire, assumed by royal licence the additional surname of Pennant, was created Baron Penrhyn in 1866, and became father of the present Lord Penrhyn.

George Sholto, 18th Earl of Morton, was grandfather of the present earl—Sholto George Watson Douglas, 20th Earl of Morton, Lord Dalkeith, Aberdour, and Douglas of Lochleven.

We must now take a long step backwards, to recover the line of Angus.

In 1597, when the 10th Earl of Angus [ix.] was relieved from the forfeiture pronounced against him and the other two Catholic earls in 1594,¹ he was required to give his eldest son, the Master of Angus [lxii.], as surety for his good behaviour. The lad was but eight years old, and had not been a hostage many weeks before he broke his thigh. King James, considering that "he can not be sa weill handillit and awaittit on the tyme of his diseas, as with our cousinace the Lady Angus, his moder," granted leave for him to

lxii. William Douglas, 11th Earl of Angus, 1st Marquess of Douglas, 1589-1660.

¹ See p. 171, *ante*.

remain with her through the winter of 1597-1598.¹ In 1601 the Master, being only twelve years old, was married by his father's desire to Margaret Hamilton, daughter of the 1st Lord Paisley, better known as Lord Claud Hamilton, the ardent partisan of Queen Mary. Godscroft states that the earl openly justified this precocious match, on the ground that he wished his son to grow up with Roman Catholic associates. Scarcely had the Master been served heir to his father in 1611, when he was involved in

Marries Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Lord Paisley, 11th July 1601.

Fig. 40.—Signature of Margaret Hamilton, first wife of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas.

a dispute with the Kers of Ferniehirst, who revived their ancient claim to hold courts in Jedburgh Forest, as bailies of their feudal superior, the Earl of Angus. Both parties mustered their forces, and issued summonses for a court to be held on the same day, 21st May 1612. The earl's younger brother, James, provost of Abernethy [lxiii.], sent his



Fig. 41.—Signet of William, 11th Earl of Angus, etc. (1611-1660).

cartel to Sir Andrew Ker's son, challenging him to single combat, and a collision was imminent, when the Privy Council interfered, committed James to prison in Blackness, because he had "undewtifullie behavit," and ordered Sir Andrew Ker and his son into ward in Edinburgh Castle under penalty of £10,000. Angus and Morton [lxi.], who had joined his kinsman in warlike array, got off with a reprimand, and the Council confirmed Angus in his right to hold courts within the forest, binding the Kers not to interfere with the same under penalty of 20,000 merks. And so this long-standing contention was brought to a close.

¹ Fraser, iv. 40. "Cousinace" is an interesting feminine form of "cousin."

Angus had been brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, but, having no stomach for the rôle of martyr, wrote on 10th October 1615 to King James, protesting that the complaints laid against him by the clergy were calumnious, that the "pretendit zeale whereof some makes profession causse them forgett both honestie and discretioun," and that he would never "refuiss the tuichstone of all dew tryall in geuing full satisfacione to the most worthie fateries of the church." Follows a sly allusion to the King's own disputes with the clergy. "Always it may veill content me to indure that which too often and most justlie hes moved my gracious maister and soueranes owen patience."¹

Angus had inherited the faulty constitution of his

Fig. 42.—Signatures of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas (1611–1660).

father and obtained the King's leave to go abroad in 1616, "to trauell to other cuntreis whare he may haue the aduise and consultatioun of doctoris and men of knowlege anent the cause and remedies of his disease and seiknes."² Returning in 1620, he claimed precedence of the Marquess of Huntly at the convention held in November, but, despite King James's written promise to the 10th earl,³ his claim was disallowed.

Neither the ecclesiastical nor the physical atmosphere of his native land seems to have been to the liking of this earl. The King disliked the Presbyterian Assembly

¹ Fraser, iv. 196.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 323.

³ See p. 175, *ante*.

almost as much as Angus himself did, and granted him leave of absence from Scotland for eleven years from 31st March 1623. Leaving his estates to be administered by a commission consisting of his brother James, his cousin Morton [lxi.], and others, the earl travelled to Paris and Rome. He had taken up his father's genealogical studies, and entered into communication with an Italian gentleman, the Count Marc Antonio Scoto d'Agazano, who claimed to represent a branch of the Douglas family.¹ He also met in Rome the representative of another famous Scottish family in the person of Otto Federico Cumenio, Conte di Bughuann,² the Pope's chamberlain.

Angus did not take advantage of the long term of absence permitted him by his sovereign, but returned to Scotland on the death of King James in 1625, hoping that under the auspices of King Charles the religion of his choice would enter upon brighter times. Coming straight from the seat of the Scarlet Woman, he naturally became the object of assiduous attention on the part of the clergy. The Presbytery of Lanark sent a deputation to enjoin his attendance at kirk; but, in spite of repeated admonitions, the earl neglected ordinances, and in 1627 proceedings were set on foot against him for "papistrie." These were stopped by an order from King Charles, who, by a charter dated 10th March 1631, restored the precedence and privileges of the earldom, infringed upon by King James, such as the first seat and vote in Council and Parliament, bearing the Crown on state occasions, and leading the van of the King's army. But when Charles I. visited Scotland in June 1633, Angus resigned the privilege of the first vote in Parliament on being created Marquess of Douglas.³ Thus, on the eve

Created
Marquess of
Douglas, 14th
June 1633.

¹ See vol. i. p. 12; Fraser, iv. 291-310.

² Otto Frederic Cumyn, Earl of Buchan.

³ The act whereby Angus relinquished his hereditary right to the first vote in Parliament was afterwards challenged, and declared to have been *ultra vires* of a life-renter. The ancient privileges of the earldom were restored and ratified in the last Scottish Parliament, 25th March 1707 [*Acts Parl. Scot.*, xi. 476], and are now held by the present Duke of Hamilton.

of those political convulsions which were to overthrow the Crown and Constitution together, did the rulers of the land busy themselves with the nice adjustment of the uppermost seats in the synagogues and greetings in the markets.

In the struggle between King and Covenant the Marquess of Douglas took a feeble and intermittent part, perhaps owing to his state of health. Until 1638 he lived chiefly at Douglas Castle, perpetually on the defensive against the interference of the clergy, for he continued sadly neglectful of ordinances, and even refused to send his daughter to hear sermons against her will. In 1636 he was appointed a special commissioner to pacify the border country, where English and Scots had been acting as ill neighbours to each other; but, judging from the only letter extant referring to his duties, he does not seem to have taken the matter very seriously. It is addressed to one of his colleagues in the commission:—

DOWGLAS CASTLE, 3 *September* 1636.

“MY NOBLE LORD,

“I haif ressaveit the commissioun and hes takin a double of it, and returned it with the berar. I sall subscriye and send the vther lettre to my Lord Thesaurar with a servant of my owne, and dait it the same day of our pairting at Dowglas. I expect sum sall cum to me out of Jedburcht Forrest within a day or two, and what informatioun I sall haif in any sort worthy of record I sall send it to your lordship, togidder with what salbe cum of our lettre to my Lord Thesaurar. I vnderstand your lordship is to haif sum houndis out of England from Franck Grahame. I will intreat yow thairfor to send me sum goode ones that ar fair gamestaris. Thus with my best affectioun I remaine your lordships faithfull frind and scruitore.

“To the richt honorable my yerie goode
lord the Erle of Nithisdail.”

While these noble lords were concerning themselves about English hounds, the storm was brewing slowly but

surely. The enforcement of the liturgy in 1637 brought about the crash; the Scottish bishops were swept away by the Assembly in 1638, and the land was wasted by civil war.

When Lord Fleming, on 20th March 1639, unfurled the blue banner of the Covenant before—

“The aventurous castell of Douglas
That to kep sa peralous was,”

its lord had retired to the greater security of England, leaving only his marchioness there in delicate health.

Fleming took possession without dispute, and placed a strong garrison in the place. Later in the year, after the pacification of Berwick, Douglas returned to Scotland, and, although receiving instructions from King Charles,¹ kept sedulously aloof from compromising himself with the Assembly and presbyteries. Indeed he made it his endeavour to be reconciled with the Covenanting party, taking no part in the hostilities of 1640, neglecting to attend the King when he came to Scotland in 1641, and remaining absent from Parliament in that year.

In 1644 Douglas openly joined the Scottish insurgents, signed the Covenant before the congregation of his parish kirk, and was placed on the local war committee.

But dazzled by the brilliant victories of the Marquis of Montrose, he came to the conclusion that he had thrown in his lot with the wrong party, and chose the least felicitous moment for changing sides. Immediately after the battle of Kilsyth, when all Scotland seemed about to be won by the Cavaliers, Douglas accepted from Montrose a commission as lieutenant of Clydesdale, mustered what force he could, and joined the royalist army

¹ “NITHISDAILL.—It is nou tyme for me to bidd you looke to your selfe, for longer than the 13 of the next month I will not warrant you, but that ye will heare of a breache betwixt me and my Couenanting Rebelles. Of this I haue written to the Marquis Douglas, but vnder condition of secesie, the which lykwais I requyre of you.”—*King Charles to the Earl of Nithsdale, 27th March 1640.*

Douglas
Castle taken
by the
Covenanters,
20th March
1639.

Douglas signs
the Covenant,
11th June 1644.

just in time to share in the crushing defeat of Philiphaugh [13th September 1645]. He escaped from the field, but in the following April was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.¹ Liberated in February 1647, after paying a heavy fine and offering quarters on his lands for the forces of the Covenant, he had to undergo the well-merited indignity of making public acknowledgment to the Lanark Presbytery of his breach of faith and of renewing his affirmation. Nevertheless the closing years of Douglas's life were disturbed by continual disputes with the clergy, who conceived that their office justified, and even compelled, incessant interference in the management of the marquess's household. Douglas was present at the Parliament assembled at Perth and Stirling by Charles II. in 1651, and was offered the command of a regiment in the army which the King was preparing to lead into England; but this he declined,² and thus escaped the disastrous outcome of that expedition at the battle of Worcester. Probably it was in consideration of this that, when Cromwell imposed a fine of £1000 upon the Marquess of Douglas in 1654, he afterwards reduced it to £333, 6s. 8d.³

The 1st Marquess of Douglas died on 19th February 1660, having attained seventy-one years, an age greatly exceeding that of most of his ancestors. It cannot be claimed that he discharged a part in the history of his country corresponding to his high rank and the influence within his power. He was exceedingly amiable, with some literary culture and an inclination towards such harmless, but somewhat futile, studies as genealogy and family history. Constitutionally indolent, he cannot be blamed for his dislike to theological controversy, but his endeavour to avoid it led him to considerable sacrifice of sincerity to expediency.

It was he who first imposed the imperial crown upon the crimson heart in the shield of Douglas. He took a lively interest in the compilation of the history of

Death of the
Marquess of
Douglas, 19th
February
1660.

¹ Fraser, iii. 331.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 336.

³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vi. part ii. 679.

his house by Hume of Godscroft, and wrote an introductory letter to the same, containing a dedication of the work to Charles I. The history was finished in manuscript in 1625, but licence to print was not obtained until 1631, after which publication was delayed till 1644, when the minds of most men were too full of agitating matters to pay much attention to literature of an otiose kind. Godscroft himself died in 1633, leaving Sir George Douglas of Mordington, a grandson in the illegitimate line of Sir George of Pittendreich [li.], as his literary executor, but he, too, died a few months after the author. The Marquess of Douglas then undertook to revise the manuscript for the press, and there are many additions in his handwriting, says Sir William Fraser, to the original preserved at Hamilton Palace. But apparently in the seventeenth century there were insuperable difficulties in the correction of proofs, and the marquess's letters show how little he was satisfied with the publisher and printer. Not only were there extensive omissions, including some of the most racy passages in the original, but alterations had been made in the text. Douglas was an imperfect Mæcenas; the work was not printed at his cost, but at that of Anna Home and Mr. John Home, minister of Eccles. It was suggested to him that he should "compone" with the printers in order to have the "trew richt coppie" substituted for the type already set up; but he grumbled at the cost, and would only undertake to pay part of it. "I have takin," he wrote, "moir nor extraordinar paines in that busines, sua I mvst not beir the burding of all things, for, considering all particularis, I have moir adoe nor I have quhairvpon to doe it."¹

In the end this impecunious marquess did nothing; the book came out, and displeased his heir, the Earl of Angus [lxiv.], so much that he obtained from the Privy Council an injunction against its sale. This continued in force for two years, when the Council revoked the arrest-

¹ Fraser, iv. 252.

ment and allowed the sale to proceed for the benefit of Anna and John Home.¹



Fig. 43.—Seal of William, 11th Earl of Angus, 1st Marquess of Douglas (1611-1660).

The first Marquess of Douglas was buried before the high altar in St. Bride's of Douglas. His first wife,

Mary Gordon

Fig. 44.—Signature of Lady Mary Gordon, second wife of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas.

Margaret Hamilton, having died in 1623, he married, secondly, in 1632, Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of the

¹ It is much to be desired that the "richt trew coppie" of Godscroft's history, as it exists at Hamilton Palace, should be printed under a competent editor.

1st Marquess of Huntly, and had by his two wives six sons and ten daughters.

- (1) Archibald, Master [afterwards Earl] of Angus [lxiv.], who predeceased his father.
- (2) William, infeft in 1628 in the lands of Crawford-Douglas and Crawford-Mill,¹ died probably before 1632.

lxv. Lord
James Doug-
las, 1617-1645.

- (3) Lord James Douglas [lxv.], born about 1617, and received from his father the lands of Glenbervie in 1624, and in 1628 those of Wandell in Lanarkshire. While still very young he went to France, and became a page to Louis XIII. At twenty years of age, King Louis appointed him to the command of the Scots Regiment whereof Sir John Hepburn had been colonel till he was killed in July 1636. Sir John's nephew, Sir James Hepburn, then succeeded to the command, but he, too, was killed in 1637. On Lord James taking over this fine corps its name was altered to the Scots Regiment of Douglas. It consisted of 1200 Scotsmen bound to the King of France in all service except against the King of Great Britain. In 1644 Louis XIV. increased the strength to 2000 rank and file, and its dashing young colonel was killed in command thereof in an affair near Douai, 21st October 1645. He was buried beside his grandfather [lx.] in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where his monument, executed by Michel Bourdin, still remains.

The marquess's three elder sons were by his first wife.

- (4) Lord William Douglas [lxvi.], created Earl of Selkirk in 1646 and Duke of Hamilton in 1660.
- (5) Lord George Douglas [lxvii.], created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675. In 1653 Louis XIV. appointed him to command the Douglas Regiment, in succession to his two half-brothers, Angus [lxiv.]

¹ Sasines at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 424.

lxvii. George
Douglas, Earl
of Dumbarton,
c. 1619-1692.

and Lord James [lxv.]. In 1666 the regiment was sent by King Louis to England under its colonel, landing at Rye on 11th June; and when recalled to France in 1668, officers and men joined in a petition to Charles II. to use his influence with the French King to prevent their employment on service distasteful to them. Next year the regiment was summoned home and employed in the British service, and became the original of what is now the Royal Scots Regiment, perhaps the only corps in the British service which can show an unbroken regimental record from before the Restoration. Lauderdale was concerned about the morals of the corps, which he fancied had been contaminated by service abroad, so on 3rd October 1671 he wrote to Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews asking him to send a chaplain. "I doe beseech your Grace finde out some prettie yong man of a good life and well versed in the controversies, and ordaine him for that service." In 1678 the corps, under the title of Dumbarton's Regiment, was finally withdrawn from the French army and incorporated in that of King Charles. It was very popular in the north, especially with the ladies, and secured a place in the national minstrelsy. Thus—

"Dumbarton's drums beat bonny, O!
When they mind me o' my dear Johnny, O!
Then I'll be the captain's lady, O!
Farewell a' my friends and my daddy, O!
I must stay nae mair at home,
But follow wi' the drum,
And whenever it beats I'll be ready, O!"¹

The earldom of Dumbarton was but an empty title, with no landed property attached to it, but in 1686 the

¹ The lines are set to a stirring air in R. A. Smith's *Scottish Minstrel*, iii. 6. —Edinburgh, n.d.

earl, whom James II. had made commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, and who operated in the suppression of the Earl of Argyll's rising, received from that monarch the escheat of the estates of Andrew Fletcher of Salton. When King James retired to France, Dumbarton went in his suite, and died at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 20th March 1692. It is not known with certainty who was his countess, but she having died in 1691, they were both buried in the abbey church of Saint



Fig. 45.—Signet of George Douglas, 1st Earl of Dumbarton (1686).

Germain-des-Prés. They left a son, George, who succeeded as 2nd earl, and served as British Ambassador to Russia in 1716, but as he died without issue the title became extinct. Writing in 1687 to the Tutor of Blackwood, the 2nd Marquess of Douglas [lxxii.] expressed himself rather satirically about the birth of an heir to his uncle—

“It is a great bussines for him to have a son and air . . . for his son's title is Lord Ettrick. I doe believe he hes nothing more in Ettrick than he hes in Dumbarton, but only the title. I am glad he hes got ane air, upon Duke Hamilton's [lxvi.] account, for it would have made the Duke too rich to have been my Lord Dumbarton's air. I have receaved Will. Somervell's dog and the Maidengill bitch. . . . The Earle of Buchan and I resolves to hunt on Wednesday ; wee shall see if the falconer's dun dog will beat them or not ; he is really a verie good little dog. I am sure if you have write in your letter about dogs and bitches, I have not failed to write sufficiently in mine to be equal with you. I wish wee had no more to be concerned for then hunting, wee should live at a great deale of more ease than wee doe.”¹

- (6) Lord James, of whom it is only known that he entered the French service and commanded a regiment. Confusion might easily arise between him and his elder half-brother [lxv.] bearing the same name.
- (7) Lady Margaret, married Lord Alexander, eldest son of the 1st Earl of Stirling, who died in 1638.
- (8) Lady Jean, married John Hamilton, 1st Lord Bargany, and died about 1669.
- (9) Lady Grizel, who married Sir William Carmichael of that Ilk.

¹ Fraser, iv. 281.

- (10) Lady Anna, unmarried.
- (11) Lady Henrietta, married in 1645 Lord Johnstone, afterwards 1st Earl of Annandale and Hartfell.
- (12) Lady Catherine, married Sir William Ruthven of Dunglas.
- (13) Lady Isabel, who married in 1657 William Douglas, 3rd Earl and 1st Marquess of Queensberry [lxxxii.], afterwards 1st Duke of Queensberry.
- (14) Lady Jane, married in 1670 James, 4th Earl of Perth, afterwards Chancellor of Scotland and Duke of Perth.
- (15) Lady Lucy, married in 1669 Lord Maxwell, afterwards 4th Earl of Nithsdale.
- (16) Lady Mary, died unmarried before March 1669, as in that month Lady Lucy is described in her marriage-contract as the youngest daughter.

Before the 11th Earl of Angus [lxii.] was created Marquess of Douglas in 1633, his eldest son was styled Master of Angus and Lord Douglas. While still under age the Master married, in 1628, Lady Anna Stuart, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Lennox, who brought a dowry of £48,000 Scots—a fine figure on paper, but reduced to currency value representing little more than £2500 sterling. Angus was sworn of the Privy Council in 1636, but in the civil war which followed upon the liturgy being forced upon the Kirk, he took the side of the Covenant, although his father was a royalist. Family ties and obligations had lost much of their ancient force, outwardly at least; in the civil disturbances of the seventeenth century it became far from uncommon to find members of leading and wealthy families taking opposing sides, often, no doubt, from prudential motives, so that the loss of a cause should not involve the total ruin of a house. Sagacious conduct, perhaps, but not so picturesque as the old headlong principle of staking everything on the fortune of war.

lxiv. Archibald, Earl of Angus and Ormond, son of 1st Marquess of Douglas, c. 1609-1655.

In 1637 the Scottish Privy Council yielded so far to

the popular outcry as to suspend the enforcement of the service-book upon the clergy, whereupon arrived Angus's father-in-law, the Duke of Lennox, bearing King Charles's strict orders for the compulsory use of the liturgy. Angus, Lorne [afterwards Marquess of Argyll], and Southesk were appointed by the supplicants to intercede with Lennox,



Fig. 46.—Signet
of Archibald
Douglas, Earl
of Angus
(1609-1655).

but the only answer was a proclamation threatening the severest penalties upon all who should refuse to comply with the King's command about the service-book. When this proclamation was under consideration by the Privy Council, Angus contented himself with a mild protest against constituting nonconformity an act of treason. It is evident, therefore, that his support of the Covenanters

was as circumspect and moderate as that which his father gave to the Court party.

In 1639 Angus took his seat on the judicial bench as an extraordinary Lord of Session, and shortly afterwards committed himself so far as to sign the Covenant.

Appointed an
extraordinary
Lord of
Session, 9th
February
1639.

But again he failed to show the courage of his convictions, and on the approach of the King from the south at the head of an army, he quietly withdrew to the Continent. He returned in 1641 and sat regularly as an elder in the General Assembly till 1649, but his influence on the course of events seems to have been very small. When his brother, Lord James [lxv.], was killed, the King of France appointed Angus to the command of the Douglas Regiment. This might have come as a welcome opportunity of congenial work and a means of escape from the dreary complications at home; but the earl did not avail himself thereof. He contented himself with enlisting recruits for the regiments among the disbanded soldiers of Lord Gordon and prisoners of war taken from the Marquess of Montrose, and soon resigned the colonelcy in favour of his brother Lord George [lxvii.].

When Charles II. appeared in Scotland in 1650 and

signed the Covenant, Angus presented himself as a dutiful subject, and was rewarded for his very dubious services to the monarchy in being created Earl of Angus and Ormond, the first of these titles having been borne by him hitherto merely in courtesy.¹ When the royalist cause ebbed low,


Your affectionat friend


Fig. 47.—Signature of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (1650).

Angus resumed his inglorious attitude of inaction, and allowed his servants to defend Tantallon in his absence against twelve days' bombardment by Cromwell's forces. The castle was surrendered while its owner was transacting business in the General Assembly and the Committee of Estates. From that time until his death in January 1655



Fig. 48.—Signature of Lady Jean Wemyss, second wife of Archibald, Earl of Angus.

he lived quietly in Edinburgh with his second wife, Lady Jean Wemyss, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Wemyss. By his first wife, Lady Anne Stuart, who died 16th August 1646, he had three children, namely, James, who succeeded his father as Earl

¹ The patent of this new earldom never passed the Great Seal, owing to Cromwell's conquests in Scotland.

of Angus and his grandfather as 2nd Marquess of Douglas [lxxii.], and two daughters who died unmarried.

lxviii. Archibald Douglas, 1st Earl of Forfar, 1653-1741.

By his second wife he had — (1) Archibald [lxviii.], born 3rd May 1653, who in 1661 was created Earl of Forfar. In politics he supported the party of the Prince of Orange, and voted regularly with the Government in the parliamentary contest over the Union. He married Robina, daughter of Sir William Lockhart of Lee, died in 1741, and was buried in the church of Bothwell, having received in 1669 from his elder half-brother, the 2nd Marquess of Douglas, the lands of Bothwell and Wandell.¹

Fig. 49.—Signature of Archibald Douglas, 1st Earl of Forfar (1672).

By his second wife Angus also had two other children, namely, (1) William, died in childhood, and (2) Margaret, who married the first Viscount Kingston.

As already mentioned, William, eldest son of the 1st Marquess of Douglas by his second wife, Lady Mary Gordon, was created in 1646 Earl of Selkirk, Lord Daer and Shortcleuch [lxvi.]. At the age of two-and-twenty he married Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, upon whom, on the death of her uncle, the 2nd duke, in 1651, the honours and estates had devolved. Selkirk was a strong royalist, and had a commission from General Middleton as colonel of a regiment of horse to be raised in Scotland for the King's service in 1654.² But Middleton's expedition came to nought, and Selkirk was left to make the best terms for himself that he could obtain from General Monck, Charles II. writing to him from Cologne that, "I hope

¹ His only son, Archibald, succeeded as 2nd Earl of Forfar, born 23th May 1693. He was appointed colonel of the 10th regiment of foot in 1713, acted as brigadier under the Duke of Argyll during the Jacobite rising of 1715, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir on 13th November of that year. He died unmarried, and the title became extinct, the estates reverting to his cousin, the Duke of Douglas [lxxiv.].

² *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 136.

lxvi. Lord William Douglas, 1st Earl of Selkirk and 3rd Duke of Hamilton, 1634-1694.



*William Douglas,
42^d Duke of Hamilton
From the Hunting at Hamilton Palace*

the time is drawing on that I shall be able to rewarde you better than by words, and you may then be confident that you shall have cause to believe me to be very kind to you as your very affectionate frind.—CHARLES R.”

Accordingly, in May 1655, the earl marched his men to Dalkeith, where they laid down their arms. Selkirk was fined £1000, but was allowed to go to France, and to draw recruits from Scotland, one thousand every two years, for a regiment to be raised by him in that kingdom. However, he remained in Scotland, and was imprisoned for a short time in 1656, on suspicion of complicity with an attempt to bring back the King.¹

When the King came to his own again Selkirk had no cause to complain that his services had been overlooked.

In accordance with the Duchess of Hamilton's Created Duke of Hamilton, 1660. petition, he was created Duke of Hamilton for life, and by the year 1673 had received back payment of all the money advanced by the first duke to Charles I. From the time of his marriage he applied himself with equal diligence and success to liquidating the immense load of debt which lay upon the Hamilton estates, and showed that he had capacity for discharging the responsibilities of high rank and great wealth. But he did not approve of the rigorous measures adopted against the Presbyterians by the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State and practically Governor of Scotland under Charles II. The correspondence between Hamilton and Lauderdale continued fairly harmonious down to 1673, when Lauderdale wrote that he had hoped to get the “blew ribban” of the Garter for the duke, but found that the King had promised it to another. After that date misunderstandings and differences became more frequent,² and Lauderdale's brother, Maitland of Hatton, who acted in the secretary's absence, gave great offence by “his injustice and brutalety palpable to all persons.”³ Hamilton seems to have been deprived of his seat on the Privy Council in 1676, and

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, 139-145.

³ *Ibid.*, 151.

in the following year his commission as commandant of the militia was voided.¹ For some time he continued firm in refusing to subscribe the Test, but at last, yielding to the solicitations of the Earl of Perth, the Marquess of Athol, and other friends, he complied with what was required of him, and in 1682 was installed a Knight of the Garter² and readmitted to the Scottish Privy Council.

Nevertheless his heart bled for the severities inflicted upon the westland Whigs, and he repeatedly protested against the harsh treatment of his tenants by the King's officers. "There are diverse complaints come in daylie," he wrote to Adam Urquhart [4th October 1683], "furth of my said barronie of Lesmahagow and Avendale against your soldiers, who take away the people's butter and cheese, kills their sheep and hens, takes them from their own harvest and forces them to shear others cornes and gives them no allowance or satisfaction therefor. I desire that in these things you will give just satisfaction."³

In 1687 Hamilton was sworn of the English Privy Council, and in February following, King James VII. and II. wrote demanding a "positive answer" in respect to the proposed relaxation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics. Hamilton, obviously reluctant to consent to the King's project, replied that he had been ill, and his answer was the reverse of positive. "I have been ever, and am still of the opinion that none should suffer for conscience sake, and that every peaceable subject should be allowed the exercise of their own religion, but how this is to be done with security to the Protestant religion, our laws and oaths, is, in my humble opinion, what will deserve serious consideration, and is above what I can presently determine myself in."⁴

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 155.

² Notwithstanding that the Duke of York [afterwards James VII. and II.] wrote to tell Hamilton that "the women keep a devilish coyle about it," *i.e.* wanted the Garter for some of their own favourites.

³ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 175.

Hamilton's secret opinion was that the grant of indulgences to Papists was not consistent with the safety of the realm, but that to require a test of abjuration from all the military and civil officers of a monarch who could not take that test himself, was a vicious anomaly that could not be maintained. Consequently it is not surprising to find the

duke one of the foremost to welcome the Prince of Orange; and he was elected President of the Convention of Scottish Estates, which formally acknowledged William and Mary as King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. When that Convention became a Parliament, Hamilton was appointed their Majesties' Commissioner thereto; but he was ever unstable in purpose, hesitating, and uncertain in temper. At first he declined to act, "seeing dissatisfactions and disorders of this nation mightly increasing, and particularly in the north countries, by the too sever treatment the Episcopall churchmen has mett with, and finding many of those your Majestie has employed in your affairs here rather ready to take advantage of my actings to misrepresent them than to be assisting to me."¹

However, Hamilton was persuaded to withdraw his refusal. He became Commissioner to the Parliament of 1690, and held the same high office in that of 1693, besides being President of the Council, High Admiral of Scotland, and a Lord Extraordinary of the Court of Session.

On returning from a visit to London in March 1694, the duke was struck with paralysis in his chambers at Holyrood, and died there on 16th April. A fine monument marks his tomb in the vault of the collegiate church of Hamilton. His nephew, William Johnstone, Earl of Annandale, in announcing Hamilton's demise to the Secretary of State, and urging that the late duke's offices should be bestowed upon himself, penned the following dubious eulogy upon the departed: "Iff his temper, constancie, and good humor had been suitable to his parts, his loss had been a great deal more sensible to the nation."

His death,
18th April
1694

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 178.

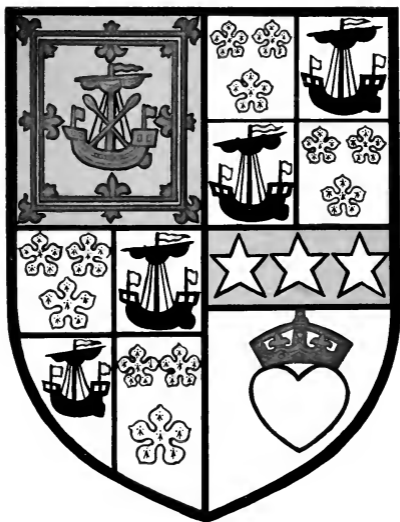
By his duchess, the Duke of Hamilton had seven sons and four daughters.

- (1) James, Earl of Arran, succeeded as 4th Duke of Hamilton [lxxi].
- (2) William, died without issue.
- (3) Charles, in whose favour his father, on being created Duke of Hamilton, resigned the earldom of Selkirk. He died unmarried in 1739, and was succeeded in the earldom by his brother—

- (4) John [lxix.], who had already in 1697, been created Earl of Ruglen, Viscount Riccarton, and Baron Hilhouse. He now became 3rd Earl of Selkirk, having married, in 1694, Lady Anne Kennedy, daughter of the 7th Earl of Cassillis, and had two daughters, of whom the elder, Anne, succeeded him as Countess of Ruglen, and married William Douglas, Earl of March, second son of the 1st Duke of Queensberry [lxxxii.]. The eldest son of this marriage was William Douglas, 4th Duke of Queensberry, popularly known as "old Q.," at whose death in 1810 the earldom of Ruglen expired, and the dukedom of Queensberry passed, with the barony and lands of Drumlanrig, to the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, whose great-grandson now holds them as 6th Duke of Buccleuch and 8th Duke of Queensberry. But while the dukedom and estates of Queensberry thus passed to the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch as nearest heir-general, the marquessate of Queensberry was claimed by his son-in-law, Sir Charles Douglas of Kelhead, as heir-male of the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, and has descended through him to the present holder, Percy Sholto, 9th Marquess of Queensberry.

lxix. John
Douglas, 1st
Earl of Ruglen
and 3rd Earl
of Selkirk, ob.
1744.

Returning to John, 3rd Earl of Selkirk and 1st Earl of Ruglen [lxix.], at his death in 1744, the earldom of Selkirk passed to his grand-nephew, Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, who



Edmund Fitzmaurice, 7th Earl of Orkney, etc.

assumed the additional surname of Douglas on becoming 4th Earl of Selkirk. He had seven sons, of whom the three elder bore the second title of Lord Daer in succession, and died without issue; the three next in succession also died before their father, and the seventh, Thomas Hamilton-Douglas, succeeded as 5th Earl of Selkirk. He died in 1820, and was succeeded by his only son, Dunbar-James, 6th Earl of Selkirk, upon whose death without issue in 1885 the earldom reverted to the Duke of Hamilton.

- (5) George, created Earl of Orkney [lxx.] in 1696, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-marischal of England, and sister of the 1st Earl of Jersey. The earldom of Orkney was granted to all heirs whatsoever of the 1st earl's body, and it is remarkable that after his death in 1737, it was held by females in three successive generations, from the last of whom is descended the present peer, Edmund Fitzmaurice, 7th Earl of Orkney.
- (6) Basil, married Mary, granddaughter and heiress of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, Wigtownshire, and was drowned in crossing the Cree in flood on the road between Ayrshire and Wigtownshire in 1701. His grandson, Dunbar Hamilton, succeeded his granduncle as 4th Earl of Selkirk.
- (7) Archibald, Governor of Greenwich Hospital and Governor of Jamaica. He married—first, Anne, daughter of the 2nd Lord Lucas and widow of Edward Cary; second, Lady Hamilton, widow of Sir Francis Hamilton; and third, Lady Jane Hamilton, daughter of the 6th Earl of Abercorn. His fourth son was Sir William Hamilton, K.B., foster-brother of George III., British Ambassador at Naples for six-and-thirty years, and husband of Nelson's Lady Hamilton.

lxx. George
Douglas, 1st
Earl of
Orkney, ob.
1737.

Of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton's four daughters, the eldest, Lady Mary, died unmarried; the second, Lady Catherine, married the 1st Duke of Athol; the third, Lady Susanna, married—first, the 2nd Earl of Dundonald, and second, the 3rd Marquess of Tweeddale; and the fourth, Lady Margaret, married the Earl of Panmure.

With the union of the Crowns there had crept in the practice of designating by courtesy the heir-apparent to a peerage by one of his father's secondary titles. Thus James, the eldest son of the 1st Earl of Selkirk [lxvi.], would have been known in the old Scottish style as the Master of Selkirk, instead of which he received the courtesy title of Lord Daer, which was changed to that of Earl of Arran when his father was created Duke of Hamilton in 1660. But novel fashion had not yet so far invaded the households of Scottish gentlemen as to make them prefer the English seats of learning to those of their native land, and young Arran was educated at Glasgow University. He then travelled on the Continent for a couple of years, and on his return to England at the end of 1678, Charles II. wrote thus kindly about him to his mother:—

“WHITEHALL, 8th Nov. 1678.

“MADAME,—This bearer your son has so much in his lookes of your father and vnclē as I cannot chuse but be very kind to him vpon that score, and I am confident [he] will deserue no less from me vpon his owne. I do make it my sute to you that you would giue him leane to returne hether, that he might make a litle voyage with a find of myne. He will tell you himselfe the particulars. I shall add no more, only to assure [you] that I am, Madame, your affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.”¹

Arran became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King in January following, and did nothing memorable while hanging for four years about that somewhat unedifying Court, except to fight a duel with Lord Mordaunt (afterwards Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth), wherein both combatants were wounded. In

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. p. 198.

December 1683 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to France, where he remained till King Charles's death in 1685, serving as aide-de-camp to Louis XIV. in two of his campaigns. He was back in England at the end of February 1685, when James VII. and II. confirmed him in his appointment as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and made him also Master of the Wardrobe.

Arran commanded a regiment of horse in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, and was one of the earliest to receive the Order of the Thistle on its revival in 1687. "The Order," wrote Melfort to him, "has had effects beyond my expectatione, so that I wold not giv a farthing betuixt the Garter and it, if both wer in my choise, and to all forraigners ours seims preferable becaus of the rise of it."¹

Arran remained faithful to King James until the last, being with him at Salisbury as colonel of the Oxford Regiment, and leaving him only when the King embarked for France, to return to England never more. When William of Orange came to Whitehall, Arran presented himself before him, and boldly declared that he did so by command of his master, King James. This act, recalling the pristine chivalry and devotion of the Douglas, deeply clouded as it had been by many later tergiversations, accorded indifferently with the attitude of the earl's father, Duke Hamilton, who had gladly transferred his allegiance, and by whose advice, it is said, Arran was committed to the Tower. Being brought up for trial in April 1689, he was remanded because of some informality in the proceedings, and was set at liberty soon afterwards.

He had not been many weeks at liberty when he was clapped in prison again, charged with intrigues for the return of King James; nor was he released before he had undergone a year's imprisonment. He was then allowed to go to Scotland on bail, where he lived quietly till 1696, when he was arrested a third

Sent as ambassador to France, December 1683.

Declares himself a Jacobite, 1688.

Imprisoned on a charge of treason, 1689.

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 11th Report, App. part vi. 199.

time on a charge of conspiracy. He was released, however, without being brought to trial, and, to the surprise of many people, was advanced to high honour by the sovereign whose favour he had taken so little pains to win. When his father died in 1694, the duchy and estates of Hamilton remained in possession of his mother, but in 1698 the King permitted her to resign these in favour of Arran, who was created Duke of Hamilton and Marquess of Clydesdale, with the precedence of the original creation in 1643.

Created Duke
of Hamilton,
1698.

Despite this signal mark of King William's favour, the new duke was not inclined to take any active share in politics under a dynasty from which he had done his best to defend the kingdom; but, having become deeply engaged in the promotion of the African Company, he took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in May 1700 in order to look after the interests of that undertaking. His efforts in that matter were unsuccessful; nevertheless, the energy and business capacity which he displayed brought him prominently before the public of Edinburgh, with whom he became a popular favourite, and when Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702 Hamilton was recognised as leader of the national and anti-union party. On the assembly of the first Parliament of Queen Anne, he declaimed against the legality of convening an old Parliament instead of a new one, and, having lodged a protest, signed by himself and seventy-nine Jacobites, withdrew from the House, and was received with cheers by the people collected outside.

The two parties in the Scottish Parliament were now each led by a James Douglas, namely, the party of the Government by the "Union" Duke of Queensberry [lxxxiii.], Queen Anne's Commissioner, and the Opposition by the Duke of Hamilton.

In the Parliamentary and popular controversy about the union of the English and Scottish legislatures, Hamilton was as energetic in resisting it as Queensberry was in promoting it. The English Parliament had decreed that there should be a Commission,

The Union
controversy,
1705-1707.

to be nominated by the Queen, for fixing the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Union. When the question came before the Scottish Estates in 1705, Hamilton moved an amendment, altering the instructions to the Commissioner so as to limit them to framing a federal, instead of an incorporating, union.

Queensberry's supporters were better whipped than the Opposition, else had Hamilton's motion been carried; in effect, he was left in a minority by only two votes. Upon his next amendment, postponing a Treaty of Union until Parliament should repeal the Act of 1704, which made Scotsmen aliens in default of the Union being carried before a given date, the Government sustained a defeat.

Up to this point the duke's conduct had been perfectly consistent and resolute, and the Jacobites were delighted with their leader; but now he steered or drifted upon a course which lost him the confidence of his friends without securing the favour of his opponents. After their victory over the Government, several members of the Opposition left the House, believing the debate to be over for the day. What was the consternation of those who remained, when Hamilton rose and moved that the nomination of the Commissioners should be left to the Queen! He had pledged himself to his party that he would insist on the nomination being assigned to Parliament, and here, in the very moment of victory, he betrayed them. The majority of eight which Queensberry secured in the second division that day did far more than wipe out the defeat of the first. The second division was taken upon a vital point, as the first had been on a trivial one, but the real triumph of the Government lay in the rift which was driven through the very centre of the Jacobite ranks. It was believed that the secret of Hamilton's desertion existed in his desire to have a seat on the Commission himself. Perhaps he saw his way clearer to wreck the projected union as one of the Commissioners than as a mere leader of Parliamentary opposition: but his followers took a far more sinister view of his action. It has come

Hamilton dis-
appoints the
Jacobites,
1705.

out since that the Duke of Argyll had undertaken to get the Queen to nominate Hamilton, but had to abandon his intention, yielding to the Earl of Roxburgh's argument that, 'though England should yield all that's reasonable, yet Hamilton would find out something to propose as would never be granted, and so popular in Scotland as would break it [the Union project] for ever.' In effect the Commission was packed: of the thirty-one Scottish Commissioners, every one, save Lockhart of Carnwath, was of the Court party.

When the bill came before the Scottish Parliament in October 1706, Hamilton took a bolder line, speaking and voting against every article in the decisive debates. He and the Duke of Athol had but to give the signal for a rising in the west and the Highlands, and the question would have been decided—ay or nay—by force of arms. If English statesmen were to effect their purpose, they would have to attempt what their predecessors in four centuries had failed in—the conquest of Scotland—for throughout the country feeling ran strong against the Union. Cameronians and Jacobites were at one in fierce opposition thereto. But Hamilton rigorously discouraged all unconstitutional resistance. Hearing that Cunninghame of Eckatt had made rendezvous in Edinburgh with a thousand armed men from the west, he frustrated that plan by sending mounted messengers throughout the district postponing the day of assembly. He then arranged for a meeting of several hundreds of country gentlemen to prepare an address to the Queen praying for a new Parliament, but he made it a condition, much against the grain with most of his party, that the address should contain a prayer for the settlement of the succession upon the House of Hanover. A puzzling stipulation, this, for a leader of Jacobites, but Hamilton's motives often baffled understanding, and he vowed he would have no hand in the address except on this condition.

On the eve of the meeting it was prohibited by proclamation, whereupon Hamilton called together his Parliamentary followers, and obtained their consent that the

Marquess of Annandale should move the Hanoverian settlement; when that motion was rejected, as it was sure to be, that they should then and there hand in a written protest, leave the House in a body, and prepare an address to the Queen.

The memorial was duly drawn up; the day of debate arrived; when, at the last moment, Hamilton declared he had such a violent toothache that he could not go to the House. His friends indignantly insisted on his fulfilling his pledge, which he did, so far as to appear in his seat; but no persuasion would induce him to speak. The protest was forced into his hands, but the opportunity passed without that resolution being moved which Hamilton had made an indispensable article in the plan of campaign. The Act passed, establishing the Treaty of Union as from 1st May 1707, and there—as Chancellor Seafeld acridly remarked in signing it—“There was an end of an auld sang.”

Hamilton's sudden paralysis of purpose has been variously explained. Lockhart alleges the influence of Queensberry; Hamilton's own son¹ declares that Lord Middleton, acting for the Pretender, interposed to stay the duke's hand; it has been hinted that Hamilton cherished visions of being called to the throne himself; probably the real cause may be found in that dread of committing himself which, on more than one critical occasion, drove his colleagues to angry despair.

Similar irresolution marked his action later in the same year when negotiating with Hooke, the French envoy, for an expedition in support of the Scottish Jacobites. Had Hamilton been able to throw himself boldly into this project, here was the most hopeful occasion that was ever to present itself for the return of the Stuarts. Scotland was all but unanimous and ripe for rising; the Queen's forces in the north under Lord Leven were few in number; ten—nay, five—thousand Frenchmen had sufficed to

¹ Charles Hamilton, natural son of the Duke by Lady Barbara Fitzroy, daughter of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland. Charles was author of *Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne*, published by his son in 1790.

make the thing secure. "But," says Hooke, "the duke did not deal fairly; he used tricks unbecoming to a person of his rank; he pretended to want to treat, but did not take any measures for it. I was tired of all his shufflings and evasions; and if he could not do anything, I should perhaps find means to save Scotland without him." While Lord Leven was drawing up his exiguous battalions on Leith sands to resist the expected landing of the Frenchmen, Hamilton was securely ensconced in his Staffordshire manor, waiting till his countrymen should invite him to put himself at their head.

Queen Anne's ministers were kept pretty well informed of Hamilton's dealings with those of Louis XIV. The duke was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower; but he soon came to terms with the Whig Ministry, and was liberated on bail after agreeing to vote for the Government candidates in the ensuing election of Scottish representative peers. He himself secured election as one of the sixteen, and returned to London as a supporter of the Whig administration. For little more than a year Hamilton served his new masters with becoming docility, but the London mob shouting "High Church and Sachaverell!" proved too much for his nerves; he deserted the Government on the impeachment of that divine. The Whig Ministry fell that summer [1710]; the Tories succeeding, rewarded Hamilton by making him Lord Lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster, and he was sworn of the Privy Council.

In September 1711 the Duke of Hamilton, hitherto sitting in Parliament only as a representative Scottish peer, was created Duke of Brandon in the peerage of Great Britain. But the House of Lords refused to acknowledge his precedence under that title, resolving, after debate and by a majority of five, that, under the 23rd article of the Treaty of Union, "no patent of honour granted to any peer of Great Britain who was a peer of Scotland at the time of the Union can entitle such peer to sit and vote in Parliament, or to sit

Imprisoned in
the Tower,
1708.

Created a
peer of Great
Britain, 20th
September
1711.



*James Douglas-Hamilton,
2^d Duke of Hamilton,
From the Painting at Holyrood House*

upon the trial of peers." Thereupon the Scottish representative peers, acting under Hamilton, ceased to attend Parliament until the disabling article was altered so as to admit Scottish peers to the peerage of Great Britain, upon the request of the House of Lords itself. Hamilton and the other Scots peers then resumed their duties in Parliament, but it is notable that the House made no such request, as had been provided, on behalf of the Duke, who continued on the roll as a Scottish representative peer.

However, there was no lack of other honours for Hamilton, who was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in August 1712, in succession to Lord Rivers, deceased, and, although already a Knight of the Thistle, obtained a Garter also, an accumulation of dignities for which there was then no precedent.

The Duke of Hamilton, being now not more than fifty-four years of age, might reasonably have looked forward to further distinction in the public service, and already was busy preparing to go to France as ambassador extraordinary on the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, when he lost his life in a lamentable quarrel. For eleven years he had been prosecuting a suit in chancery against Lord Mohun. Each of these noblemen had married a niece of

Lord Macclesfield, who, dying, left Mohun his sole heir, a disposition contested by Hamilton. At a hearing of the case on 13th November 1712, an old steward of the Macclesfield family, named Whitworth, was giving evidence. His memory being faulty, he contradicted himself, upon which the Duke of Hamilton exclaimed, "There is no truth or justice in him!" "I know Mr. Whitworth," retorted Lord Mohun, "he is an honest man, and has as much truth as your grace." A certain General Macartney officiously intervened, declaring that Lord Mohun's honour was involved, and offering his services as second. Mohun, though an old duellist, having twice already stood his trial for murder, was unwilling to fight, but Macartney and Colonel

Appointed
Master-
General of
the Ordnance,
August 1712.

Killed in duel
with Lord
Mohun, 15th
November
1712.

John Churchill egged him on. After a good deal of claret had been drunk, Mohun consented to fight, and next day General Macartney waited upon the duke with a challenge. The two peers met on the 15th at the pond in Kensington Gardens to fight with small swords. While their principals engaged, the two seconds, Macartney and Colonel Charles Hamilton, the duke's natural son, also fought. Charles having disarmed Macartney, ran to help his father, who, as he afterwards swore before the Privy Council, had succeeded in killing Lord Mohun, but was wounded himself, and was attacked as he lay on the ground and killed by General Macartney. Whatever may have been the exact circumstances,¹ the result was that both Mohun and the duke were slain; the scandal was great; the Government took up the affair as a plot by the Whigs, and offered £500 for the apprehension of General Macartney, who escaped to the Continent. Four years later he gave himself up, and, on trial, was convicted of manslaughter. The chief witness against him was Colonel Hamilton, who, his evidence not being consistent with that previously given by him before the Privy Council, was obliged to sell out

¹ They are described as follows in a doggerel ballad of the period:—

“Then these heroes' swords were drawn,
 Fal lal de lal de re, O,
 And so lustily they both fell on,
 Fal lal de lal de re, O,
 Duke Hamilton thrust with all his might,
 Unto Lord Mohun thro' his body quite,
 And sent him to eternal night,
 Fal lal de lal de re, O.

“By this time his Grace had got a wound,
 Fal lal, etc.,
 Then on the grass as he sat down,
 Fal lal, etc.,
 Base Macartney, as we find,
 Cowardly, as he was inclined,
 Stabb'd his Grace the Duke behind,
 Fal lal, etc.”

—[Set to music in R. A. Smith's *Scottish Minstrel*, vol. ii. 58.]

of the Guards and quit the country to avoid a charge of perjury.¹

The 4th Duke of Hamilton had a great part to play, and it must be owned that he played it but indifferently. An ardent Jacobite, he lacked the nerve to put to right use the extraordinary opportunities which presented themselves to his party, arising out of the unpopularity of the Union with the Scottish people and gentry. Lockhart declared that he was hampered by apprehensions for his large possessions in England; Swift pronounced him "a worthy, good-natured person, very generous but of a middling understanding";² while Burnet declined to speak of his character: "I am sorry I cannot say so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him to say any evil without necessity."³

Hamilton married—first, Anne, daughter of Robert, Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1690, leaving no surviving issue; and second, in 1698, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Digby, Lord Gerard, with whom he received his extensive estates in Staffordshire and Lancashire. By his second wife he had three sons and two daughters—(1) James, Earl of Arran, who succeeded as 5th Duke of Hamilton; (2) Lord William, who was elected member for Lanark in 1734 and died in the same year; (3) Lord Anne, named after his godmother, Queen Anne; (4) Lady Susan, married Anthony Tracy Keck of Great Tew, Oxfordshire; and (5) Lady Charlotte, married Charles Edwin.

The 5th Duke of Hamilton was succeeded by his eldest son, James, and he again by his eldest son, James George, 7th duke, upon whom, in 1761, devolved the marquessate of Douglas and earldom of Angus, upon the death of Archibald, 1st and only Duke of Douglas [lxxiv.]. Dying unmarried in 1769, the 7th duke was succeeded by his brother Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, who obtained what had been denied to his great-grandfather [lxxi.],

¹ This duel has been described by Thackeray in *Esmond*.

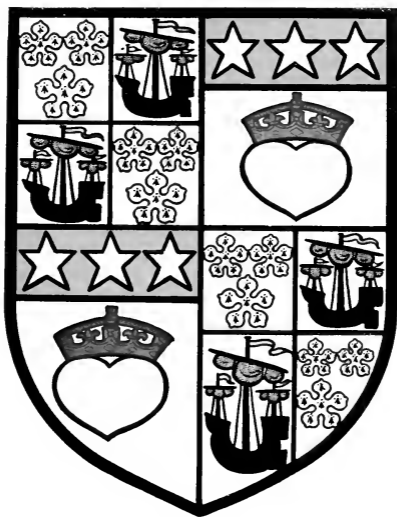
² Swift's *Collected Works*, xvii. 252.

³ *History of his Own Time*, vi. 130 [ed. 1833].

namely, the right to sit in the House of Lords as Duke of Brandon. On his demise without issue in 1799, the succession reverted to his uncle, Archibald, son of the 5th duke by his third wife, Anne, daughter and co-heir of Edward Spencer of Rendlesham. Thence the duchy passed from father to son till the death of the 12th Duke of Hamilton in 1895, who was succeeded by his cousin, Alfred Douglas-Hamilton, now 13th Duke of Hamilton; Marquess of Douglas; Earl of Angus, Arran, Lanark and Selkirk; Lord Hamilton, Avon, Polmont, Machanshire, Innerdale, Abernethy, Jedburgh Forest, Daer and Shortcleuch in Scotland; 10th Duke of Brandon and Baron of Dutton in Great Britain; premier peer of Scotland, Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood House, and heir-male of the House of Douglas.



Fig. 49A.—Seal of Sir Archibald Douglas of Spot (1616).



*Alfred Douglas-Hamilton, 13th Duke of Hamilton, 10th Duke of Brandon,
Marquess of Douglas, etc.*

CHAPTER IX

PAGE	PAGE
217 lxxii. James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas, <i>c.</i> 1646-1700.	233 Murder of Capt. John Ker, <i>c.</i> 1725.
218 Succeeds his grandfather, February 1660.	234 The duke quarrels with his sister, 1738.
219 Marries Lady Barbara Erskine, 1670.	235 Prince Charlie at Douglas, 24th December 1745.
219 Separates from his wife, 1681.	236 Marriage of Lady Jane Douglas, 1746.
224 Marries Lady Mary Ker, 13th December 1692.	238 The duke's obduracy, 1752.
226 Sale of Tantallon, 1699.	239 Death of Lady Jane Steuart-Douglas, 22nd November 1753.
227 Death of the Marquess, 25th February 1700.	240 The duke's remorse, 1753.
227 lxxiii. James, Earl of Angus, 1671-1692.	240 He marries Miss Peggie Douglas, 1758.
228 Raises the Cameronian Regiment, 1689.	242 Douglas Castle burnt down, 1758.
229 Goes to Holland, 1690.	243 Death of the duke, 21st July 1761.
230 Killed at Steinkirk, 3rd August 1692.	244 lxxvi. Archibald Steuart-Douglas, 1st Lord Douglas, 1748-1827.
230 lxxiv. Archibald, 3rd Marquess and 1st Duke of Douglas, 1694-1761.	245 The great Douglas case, 1761-1779.
232 lxxv. Lady Jane Douglas, 1698-1753.	246 Archibald Steuart-Douglas created Baron Douglas of Douglas, 9th July 1790.
232 Her flight to Paris, 1720.	246 His death, 26th December 1827.

WHEN Archibald, Earl of Angus and Ormond [lxiv.], eldest son of the 1st Marquess of Douglas [lxii.], died in 1655, James, his eldest son by his first wife, Lady Anna Stuart, succeeded as Earl of Angus, the earldom of Ormond having been limited at its creation in 1651 to the earl's heirs-male by his second wife, Lady Jean Wemyss. The marquess then made a fresh settlement of the earldom in favour of James, a boy about nine years old, and removed him, as his heir,

lxxii. James, and Marquess of Douglas, *c.* 1646-1700.

from the care of his stepmother, to place him under that of Lady Alexander, his aunt. A whole host of titled personages were nominated to assist Lady Alexander in her duties, namely, the Marquess of Douglas himself, the Earls of Lauderdale, Wemyss, Selkirk, Hartfell, and Queensberry [lxxxvi.], and the Lords Torphichen, Burley, Ruthven, and Mordington [lxiii.]. It required the wits of all of them to extract a living for the young earl out of his inheritance, so deeply had his father dipped it with debts and family provisions. His stepmother waived part of her claims under the provisions of her marriage-contract, but there remained an obligation to the extent of £84,000 Scots incurred by his father as cautioner for the Earl of Abercorn, besides other burdens which it is not necessary to specify.

On the death of his grandfather in February 1660, the young Earl of Angus became 2nd Marquess of Douglas, and being of an age to choose his own curators, Succeeds his grandfather, February 1660. nominated sixteen most nearly related to himself.¹

In the first Parliament of Charles II., held in Edinburgh in January 1661, protest was lodged by Lord Mordington and the Earl of Hartfell on behalf of the marquess, that his absence should not prejudice his hereditary claim to the first vote in Parliament, to leading the van in battle, and to carrying the crown at the riding of Parliament, "notwithstanding the title of Ducke" borne by other peers.² Two of these "duckes"—the newly-made Hamilton, to wit, and his Grace of Lennox—challenged this claim,³ but it was confirmed by an order of the Privy Council in 1669.⁴

In 1670 the Marquess of Douglas, being then about two-and-twenty, married Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest

¹ These were the Dukes of Hamilton and Richmond, the Earls of Lauderdale, Wemyss, Galloway, Hartfell, the Lords Drumlanrig [lxxxvii.], Mordington [lxiii.], Torphichen, and Aubigny, Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstown, Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, Sir Daniel Carmichael, Stewart of Kirkhill, and Stewart of Kettlestown.

² Fraser, iii. 342.

³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vii. 13.

⁴ Fraser iii. 342.

daughter of the 20th Earl of Mar; and Douglas Castle, which had never been replenished since its destructive occupation by Cromwell's troopers, received an overhaul for the reception of the young couple.

Marries Lady
Barbara
Erskine, 1670.

A most ill-starred union it proved to be; papers in the Douglas charter-chest prove that their life was one long recrimination, the marquess charging his wife with want of respect, and she accusing him of neglect of her company. She appealed to the Privy Council before 1677, applying

Separates
from his wife,
February
1681.

for a judicial separation, and this was effected by formal deed in February 1681, the marchioness receiving an allowance of 3000 merks a year.

The blame of the quarrel has been popularly attributed to the marquess's chamberlain, William Lawrie, tutor to the laird of Blackwood.¹ This man was intensely disliked by the tenantry, and bore an indifferent character from everybody except his employer, Lord Fountainhall in particular pronouncing him "a bad instrument between him [Douglas] and his lady in their differences."²

The well-known ballad, *Waly, waly!* was long believed to have been founded upon this most unhappy marriage, until the late Professor Aytoun pointed out that some of the stanzas occurred in a manuscript of 1566. But he recovered a complete version of another ballad bearing the title of *Jamie Douglas*, which described the wrongs of the ill-used marchioness. Among his other devices to alienate Douglas from his wife, Lawrie persuaded him of her infidelity, and, to prove it, is said to have placed a man's shoes under her bed, as described in the sixth stanza following:—

THE BALLAD OF "JAMIE DOUGLAS"

I was a lady of high renown,
As lived in the north countrie;
I was a lady of high renown,
When Earl Douglas loved me.

¹ Lawrie married Mariote Weir, heiress of Blackwood, and, according to Scottish custom, was known as Tutor of Blackwood after the birth of his son.

² Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 196, quoted by Fraser, ii. 451, note.

THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS

When we cam to Douglas toun,
 We were a fine sight to behold ;
 My good lord in cramoisie,
 And I mysel in shining gold.

When that my auld son was born,
 And set upon the nurse's knee,
 I was happy woman as e'er was born,
 And my gude lord he loved me.

But O, an my young son was born,
 And set upon the nurse's knee,
 And I mysel were dead and gane,
 For a maid again I'll never be.

There cam a man into this house,
 And Jamie Lockhart was his name ;
 And it was tauld to my gude lord
 That I was in the bed wi' him.

There cam anither to this house,
 And a bad friend he was to me !
 He put Jamie's shoon below my bed-stock
 And bade my gude lord come and see.

O wae be unto thee, Blackwood !
 And aye an ill death may ye dee !
 For ye was the first and the foremost man,
 That parted my gude lord and me.

When my gude lord cam into my room
 This great falsehood for to see ;
 He turned about, and wi' a gloom
 He straight did tak farewell o' me.

"O fare-thee-weel, my once lovely maid !
 O fare-thee-weel, once dear to me !
 O fare-thee-weel, my once lovely maid !
 For wi' me again ye shall never be."

"Sit doun, sit doun now, Jamie Douglas,
 Sit thee doun and dine wi' me !
 And I'll set thee on a chair of gold,
 And serve thee kindly on my knee."

"When cockle shells turn siller bells,
 And mussels they bud on a tree ;
 When frost and snaw turns fire to burn,
 Then I'll sit doun and dine wi' thee."¹

¹ This stanza has found its way into some versions of *Waly, waly!*

O wae be unto thee, Blackwood!
 And aye an ill death may ye dee!
 Ye war the first and foremost man
 That parted my gude lord and me.

When my father he heard word
 That my gude lord had forsaken me,
 He sent fifty o' his brisk dragoons
 To fetch me hame to my ain countrie.

The day that I was forced to go,
 My bonny palace for to lea'e,
 I went into my gude lord's room,
 But, alas! he wadna speak to me.

"O fare-thee-weel, Jamie Douglas!
 And fare-thee-weel, my children three;¹
 I hope your father may turn more kind
 To you than he has been to me.

"You tak every ane to be like yoursel,
 And loving ilk ane that they see;
 But I daur swear by the heavens high
 I never knew anither man but thee."

O foul fa' ye, fause Blackwood,
 And aye an ill death may ye dee,
 For ye was the first occasioner
 Of parting my gude lord and me.

When we gaed in by Edinburgh toun,
 My father and mither they met me,
 Wi' trumpets sounding on every side,
 But, alas! they couldna comfort me.

"Hold your tongue, daughter!" my father said,
 "And of your weeping let abee;
 And we'll get out a bill o' divorce,
 And I'll get a far better lord for thee."

"O hold your tongue, father!" I said,
 "And wi' your talking let me be;
 I wouldna gie ae kiss o' my ain lord's lips,
 For a' the men in the west countrie."

O, an I had my baby born,
 And set upon the nurse's knee;
 And I mysel were dead and gane,
 For a maid again I'll never be!

¹ Obviously a compliance with the exigencies of rhyme, for the marchioness had but one child.

The impression left by a perusal of the 2nd Marquess of Douglas's correspondence is that of a selfish, sour-tempered aristocrat of limited ability and small sense of responsibility. He had opportunities of public service, had he wished it, being appointed in 1674 to command a troop of horse raised among his own tenants in the Upper Ward; but the utmost service he seems to have rendered King Charles was the loan of a couple of brass three-pounders for the defence of Edinburgh Castle. His extant letters are addressed chiefly to the Tutor of Blackwood, and betray a constant struggle to maintain the dignity of his station on narrow means.

"My young coach-horse," he wrote to that worthy in 1687, "who was as well on Sundays night as any horse could be, fell sicke. James Weir tooke of the houks of him and he was well enough after, so the coachman took him out to lead him up and doune in his hand, and he drop just doune dead in his hand, as he had been thounder shut. He sent for the Quaker Bartie after, and they opened him. Everie bodie says hear he hes been witched. I have ordered James Weir and Brodie to see if they can get any ordiner coach-horse hear to buy; for me to make use of ane hackney it will be dear. Let me hear from yow by Fleming your opinion of it, and what ye think will be done for coach-horses against my sons coming doune, for yow know it is both expensive and verie unhandsom to goe in a hackney coach."¹

A little later—

"I have bought a coach-horse which will fit exactly the horse that is in Douglas; he is but five year old at this grass, exactly of the colour. As for his price, I will not tell yow, but if I will sell him again I may have 4 pound sterling of winning. . . . I thought him so good a bargain that I got the monie from Robert Murey to pay him. If he will not goe in a coach, as I doe not question, I can get four pound sterlyng more for him when I please."²

It is only fair, however, to allow that the cruel proceedings of the Government against the Covenanters may well have been distasteful to Douglas, as one whose tenantry comprised the very flower of the westland Whigs, and have deterred him from taking an active part in the royalist cause. After the Revolution he appeared more frequently in public affairs, and signed the declaration of the Convention of Estates against James VII. and II. and the invitation

¹ Fraser, iv. 279.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 282.

to William of Orange in 1689. For this, and subsequent services on the committee appointed to manage the business of government, pending the coronation of William and Mary, he received material reward in the shape of the

Fig. 50.—Signature of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1687).

estates forfeited by Claverhouse,¹ and the office of Hereditary Constable of Dundee castle and town.

The Marchioness of Douglas died in August 1690, apparently in circumstances as sorely straitened as those of the husband from whom she had separated, for in 1681 she had written to Lawrie, his chamberlain, "I intrett yow will send me as much black morallay tabie as will be a piticott and thrie ells of holland aboutt fortie shillen [Scots,

Fig. 51.—Signature of Lady Barbara Erskine, first Marchioness of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1681).

i.e. about 4s. sterling] the ell. Ther being the last things that ever I will sike from yow in my lyf, I think ye will nott refus them."²

Poor, however, as the marchioness was, it would never have done, thought her relations, to allow her obsequies to be in proportion to the cash in her coffers. Having traced

¹ Papers at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 453.

² Fraser, iv. 278.

the fortunes of the house of Douglas through its splendour and affluence, it is melancholy to note the haggling that went on therein at this period between persons of high-sounding titles. Here is a letter from the mother of the marchioness, Jane Mackenzie, Countess of Mar, to the Marquess of Douglas:—

“My lord, yovr commands war obeyed, for itt was a nightt [?] right] bvriall and svtabel to hir qualitie, and I hovp cannott be thoughtt deir, whan it coms only to a thousand thritie avghtt povnd, ten shilin Scotts.¹ This, uith what was dew to hir befor hir death of the localitie² yovr lordship aloved on yovr lady, I expeck yow will order the presantt payment, since it is ivsst; and being the mother of yovr familie, I hovp yow will nott svfer her nam to be hard by thos she is oving monie too. Itt shall allso be against my will if anie mistaks be betvixt yow and me for all the wnkyndness my daughter meett with att hir lastt. I pray God to bless the only pleg³ she hes left behind hir, that he may be as happie as hir lyf was wnfortvnatt. I beeg to knov whar and how he is.—I am, my lord, yovr most affectionatt mother and hvmbill servant,

“JANE MACKENZIE.⁴

“Mvchall, 18th August 1690.

“After all the fvnerall ar payed, if yovr lordship desir itt, yow shall have a partevlar accovnt. Mr. Mackell refers himself to yovr lordship, being yovr apotecarie befor.

“For the right honorable the Marqvss of Dowglass.”



Figs. 52, 53.—Seal and Signature of Lady Mary Ker, second Marchioness of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1695).

Douglas waited more than two years before marrying again, and then, after the death of his son and heir [lxxiii.] at Steinkirk in 1692, chose as his second wife Lady Mary Ker, daughter of the Earl [afterwards Marquess] of Lothian. This lady soon became unpleasantly aware of the almost hopeless

Marries Lady
Mary Ker,
13th Decem-
ber 1692.

¹ About £60 sterling.

³ Her son, the Earl of Angus [lxiii].

² Allowance.

⁴ Fraser, iv. 284.

insolvency of the marquess's affairs, which had gone from bad to worse under Lawrie's administration.

"I see," wrote the marchioness to this individual in 1695, "a letter of yours to my lord which gives me very mellencolly thoughts of the condition of my lord's fortoun, and that which meks it stik the more with me that I fynd so much of the difculty that my lord's afairs heth run into lugged upon the accounts of this tow years bygon or therby. I wish you had condensed on eney of the onwiser perticulers in thes accounts that they might heue bene helpt for the fewtar. . . . I shall be well pleasd, as I'm shoor my lord will, to tak your advyis in the retrinching our family from the very stabill to the hall. . . . I confess nether my peartts nor edvection qwallefies me to understand how accounts may be med up, and it might be I would heue sad thoughts of them when I considered the



Fig. 54.—Seal of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (1660-1700).

eastatt of my lords afairs in the bullk, if I did nott trust more in your integrity in the discherging of the inteyr trust you heue, both as a good morrall and relligius man, then I woud in bundills of accounts, and it is from that confidans I heue in you that you shell ever fynd me reddy to take your addvys."¹

Douglas continued to repose blind faith in Lawrie's management, "whatever ill people doe say to the contrair,"²

¹ Fraser, iv. 285.

² *Ibid.*, 287.

and paid no attention to his wife's warning about the character of his chamberlain. But despite the low estimate she put upon her own "pearths and edwcation," the Marchioness of Douglas had plenty of sound common sense, and had no intention of letting the princely dominions of her husband go to wreck for want of ordinary care. She imparted to her father, Lord Lothian, her suspicions about Lawrie's honesty, and at last the friends of both families, Douglas and Ker, insisted upon an investigation. A commission or trust was appointed, consisting of the Duke of Queensberry [lxxxii.], the Earls of Lothian, Argyll, Morton, Annandale, and Forfar [lxviii.], the Lords Basil Hamilton, Jedburgh, and Carmichael, Sir James



Fig. 55.—Signet of the Marchioness Mary (c. 1695).

Murray of Philiphaugh, Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestane, and Sir Patrick Murray of Pittidinner, who undertook sole management of the estates for nine years. Lawrie was discharged at once, although Douglas persisted in believing in his honesty; an allowance of 12,000 merks a year was settled on the marquess, in consideration of his divesting himself of all his estates in favour of his only surviving son, the Earl of Angus; and the commissioners set themselves to the task of redeeming a debt of £240,000 Scots.

In order to do so, the historic castle and barony of Tantallon had to go to the hammer in 1699, and were bought by Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, President of the Court of Session. Finally Douglas himself, convinced of the fraudulent dealings of Lawrie, admitted to the Duke of Queensberry [lxxxiii.] that he had been deceived, and consented to proceedings being taken against his late chamberlain for "his grosse, male-verse, and deceitfull dealing."¹

Life, which had dawned so full of promise for this Douglas, closed grey and drear on 25th February 1700. The one tender place in his heart had been occupied by his

¹ Fraser, ii. 457.

eldest son, Angus [lxxiii.], about whose protection from danger he was but too solicitous. When Angus fell in battle, just as he reached manhood, the marquess had little left to live for besides his worthless self. He was buried without the customary pomp beside the great ones of his race, Archibald the Grim, and the rest, in the chapel of St. Bride, leaving few to deplore his departure. His second wife survived him for six-and-thirty years, and applied her sound business faculties to the education of her son and to nursing the family estates.

By his first wife, Lady Barbara Erskine, the 2nd Marquess of Douglas had but one son, James, Earl of Angus [lxxiii], who was sent to England to be educated by one Mr. Abernethy. Charles II. took a kindly interest in the lad, and felt concern lest his father's embarrassed circumstances should interfere with his proper education.

lxxiii. James,
Earl of
Angus,
1671-1692.

"Being informed," he wrote to Lord Aberdeen, Chancellor of Scotland, "that the Lord Angus is in a private place within some miles of London, and having a more than ordinary concern in his education, both upon the account of his immediat descent from the most loyall and ancient family of Douglas (by which so many and signal services have been performed to our royal predecessors for many ages), and of the earnest desire we have that, in case of his living to represent it, he may not in his younger years be corrupted with ill principles, we have thought fit hereby to authorize and require you to speak with his father the Marques of Douglass, and to know from him to whose care he has committed a trust of so great importance to our service and to himself, as is that of his son's education, at so great a distance from all his relations, to the end that if, upon notice thereof from you, we shall not have reason to be therewith well satisfied we may order a better course to be taken in reference to his breeding. It is our will and pleasure that you call for from the Marques, and transmit unto us, an account of the present condition of his estate, particularly of the burden of debts wherewith it stands affected, and of the true extent of his yearly rent, both reall and casual; as also of the courses (if any be) set down for the discharge of these debts, wherein you are to take the assistance of some of the nearest relations of that family. For truly we have so great a regard, not only to the standing thereof, but also to its continuance in a splendid and plentiful condition, as we cannot but highly concern ourselfe in the right management of their fortune."¹

"Am I not the father of my people?" asked Charles

¹ Fraser, iv. 45.

on a well-remembered occasion, and in truth this King, who never said a foolish thing [never less so than in this admirable letter], did many less wise ones than the action he took in following the matter up. Recognising the importance to the Constitution, as it then stood, of the careful training of the heads of great historic houses, he ordered the Scottish Treasurer to pay £200 sterling a year for the education of young Angus. True, his Majesty may have neglected to satisfy himself of the sufficiency of the Scottish revenues to bear this and other charges which he laid upon it in the liberal exercise of his prerogative, and Sir William Fraser hints that it is doubtful whether much of this grant ever reached its object; but at all events the intention was good.

James VII. and II. confirmed his brother's grant, and Angus was much at his Court; nevertheless at the Revolution he exerted himself in support of William of Orange, and offered to raise a regiment of 1200 men from his father's tenantry in Douglasdale. His offer was accepted: on 14th May 1689 Angus took post as colonel at the head of the new corps paraded on the Marquess's Holm on Douglas Water. Known at first as the Angus Regiment, it received afterwards the title of "Cameronian," and, numbered XXVI. in the British Army, won high renown in Marlborough's campaigns, at Corunna, Sevastopol, Lucknow, and in Africa.¹

The Angus Regiment took immediate part in the operations in Scotland during the months following its embodiment, but not under its young colonel. The Marquess of Douglas, unwilling that his only son should be exposed to the fortune of war, sent him back to finish his education in London. But Angus, though only eighteen, had notions of his own; the part of a needy Scots gentleman in London was one he had no mind for; and he was thoroughly aware of the necessity of looking out for an heiress for the restoration of his family to their

¹ Its present designation is "The Cameronians" (Scottish Rifles).

Raises the
Cameronian
Regiment,
1689.

proper position. So on 26th December 1689 he wrote his views at great length to Lawrie of Blackwood, the unfaithful steward.

"I have wrote to my father fully about my going abroad next spring. I assure yow all my friends here are very fully satisfyd that it will be much for my advantage more then anything I can doe, and I do not doubt but both my Lord and yow will be of the same opinion, for its impossible I can expect to settle myselfe here now any way; and as I know by experience the way I live here, with only one servant, and making no great appearance, as in my cloathes and the like, has been a hindrance hitherto to that. . . . So I am sure it will be much more probable to expect a match after I have been abroad a year or two, where I am certain I can live cheaper then I could doe here after this considerable, and that I come to know the world a little more, and be known. If, when I come home, my father can allow me two or three hundred pound to make a figure with here for some few months, I say it is much likelier I shall get a fortune that way then by living here privately as I do now, by which people take notice of the lowness of the family, and think it to be worse then it really is." ¹



Figs. 56, 57.—Signet and Signature of James, Lord Angus, son of James, 2nd Marquess of Douglas (c. 1692).

The marquess offered no objection: on the contrary, he approved of a plan which should take his son far from Great Britain; for although Bonnie Dundee had fallen at Killiecrankie, still the war-cloud stooped low on the land. So King William's leave was obtained, and Angus hied him to Utrecht "to know the world a little more."

Before he had been there many weeks, echoes began to reach him of uncomely comments passed on the colonel who allowed his regiment to go to the front, while he sauntered secure in academic groves. The said regiment

¹ Fraser, iv. 284.

Goes to
Holland,
1690.

was serving in the Netherlands against the Grand Monarque. Angus wrote home to his father in January 1692, begging his permission either to join it or to return to obscurity in Scotland.¹ What reply Douglas made is not known,

Killed at
Steinkirk,
3rd August
1692.

but Angus, all inexperienced though he was in tactics and interior economy, took command of his regiment, and fell at its head in the battle of Steinkirk, where William III. was defeated by the Marechal Luxembourg.

Not many years ago the officers of the Cameronian Regiment erected a memorial of their first colonel in the shape of a bronze statue by Mr. Brock. An admirable and impressive piece of work, it stands on a green knoll above the Marquess's Holm, to the west of the village of Douglas, and represents the young lord standing with one hand extended over the glens and uplands of the Upper Ward whence he drew his recruits.² Not often does a sculptor succeed so worthily in treatment of his theme.

Of the two sons of the 2nd Marquess of Douglas [lxxii.] by his second wife, Lady Margaret Ker, the elder, William, only lived a few months. The younger, Archibald, born 1694, succeeded at the age of six years as 3rd marquess. Under his father's will, his mother became his guardian jointly with his grandfather, the Earl of Lothian, the Earl of Morton, Lord Jedburgh, and Lord Charles Ker. In 1703 Queen Anne created the boy Duke of Douglas and Marquess of Angus. She showed the same anxiety as had been felt by Charles II. for the proper education of the heir of this ancient house, and paid £400 a year out of the lordships of Dunbar and Ettrick for this purpose. The Marchioness of Douglas, assisted by the other guardians, carefully nursed the estates, but the first quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of extreme commercial and

lxxiv. Archi-
bald, 3rd
Marquess
and 1st Duke
of Douglas,
1694-1761.

¹ Original in Riddel Collection [No. 15], Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, quoted by Fraser, ii. 462.

² See frontispiece to this volume.



*Memorial of the Earl of Douglas
erected at Douglas
by the Officers of the Scottish Rifles
(20th Cameronians)*

agricultural depression in Scotland, and the reduction of debt on the Douglas estates was a slow process. Accordingly in 1710, when the duke was sixteen, the Governor of the Leeward Islands was directed by the Queen to pay him an additional pension of £500 a year. Such transactions read strangely in our day, but for long after the Revolution of 1688 it was considered essential to the security of the Crown and Constitution that territorial magnates should be bolstered up and shielded from the indignity of narrow means. In this instance Queen Anne's bounty was a singularly bad investment, as time was to prove.

Meanwhile the young duke's hereditary privileges had been closely watched by his guardians, who obtained from the Scottish Parliament before its dissolution in 1707 an act confirming and securing them; in conformity where-with the duke carried the crown when the House was closed for the last time, and deposited it in Edinburgh Castle.

It does not lie within the scope of the present work to carry the detailed narrative beyond the date of the legislative union of England and Scotland, save so far as to trace the general descent of lands and honours held by the Douglasses into the hands of their present holders; but this duke's administration of his affairs had such important effect upon the fortunes of his house as to call for more than passing notice. Of parts originally somewhat less than moderate, and afflicted with an unruly temper, he made no handsome figure in the history of his country, although in 1715 he assembled and trained three hundred of his tenantry, who garrisoned Douglas Castle and town, while he led the gentlemen of Lanarkshire to meet the Duke of Argyll at Stirling for the suppression of the Jacobite rising. He served on Argyll's personal staff at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and charged with the cavalry as a volunteer.

His mother's ability was inherited in far more liberal measure by his only sister, Lady Jane Douglas [lxxv.], whose chequered career has furnished material for more

than one volume.¹ Born in 1698, Lady Jane grew into a beautiful and witty girl, and had many suitors, including the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, the Earls of Hopetoun, Aberdeen, and Panmure. But she would none of them, choosing instead the young Earl of Dalkeith [afterwards 2nd Duke of Buccleuch], to whom she was duly betrothed in 1720. But there happened to be another Lady Jane Douglas at this time, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Queensberry [lxxxiii.], the object of tender solicitude from her sister-in-law, wife of the 3rd duke—Prior's Kitty Hyde. This Duchess of Queensberry had set her heart on Dalkeith for her sister-in-law, and prevailed so well that a letter, purporting to come from her betrothed, was handed by a stranger to the other Lady Jane, informing her that he could not fulfil his pledge to her owing to a previous attachment. "Mr. Somervill," runs a letter to Lord Royston from Dalkeith's grandmother, the Duchess of Buccleuch, "has acquainted you with my disappointment in the marage of my grandson, her nobil grace of Queensbury I imput it to, becaws she has the same falt which some others have in this worald—more powr than they deserve."²

Dalkeith was married to the Queensberry Lady Jane on 5th April 1720, while the Douglas Lady Jane, deeply wounded, set out with her French maid for Paris, disguised as a man, intending to bury her affront in a convent. She was quickly followed by her mother, the Marchioness of Douglas, who managed to dissuade her from carrying out her full purpose. The Duke of Douglas also went to Paris, after fighting a duel with Lord Dalkeith, and induced his sister to return with him to Scotland.

About five years after this, a mysterious tragedy took place at Douglas Castle, involving the death of Captain

¹ *Letters of the Right Hon. Lady Jane Douglas*. London, 1767; *Dorandé, a Spanish tale*, by James Boswell. London, 1767; *The Fate of Julia*, an elegiac poem. London, 1760.

² *Red Book of Grandtully*, by W. Fraser, ii. 307.

John Ker, a natural son of Lord Mark Ker, and an intimate friend of the Duke of Douglas. The circumstances remain very obscure, but there is no doubt that Ker fell by the hand of Douglas.

Wodrow states that Ker had tried to deliver the duke from the improper and malign influence of White of Stockbrigg, of whom more presently, and told him that it was unbecoming that he should entertain such a fellow on terms of intimacy. "The poor duke," says Wodrow, "for many years had been crazed in his brain," and revealed to Stockbrigg what Ker had said. Stockbrigg persuaded the duke that this was an insult which could only be wiped out in blood, and so worked upon his feeble mind as to induce him to go to Ker's bedroom, where he shot his sleeping guest and afterwards stabbed him twice in the breast.¹ A different explanation of the cause of the murder is given in C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe's MS. notebook.

"Archibald, the first and last Duke of Douglas, was a person of the most wretched intellect—proud, ignorant, and silly; passionate, spiteful, and unforgiving. He possessed a handsome form, and was much about court in the early part of his life, where Lady Jane, his sister, made a conspicuous figure, being a creature of much beauty and sweetness, and drew him into a duel with the Earl of Dalkeith, whom she jilted on a romantic punctilio concerning one of his former amours. Some years after this, Lady Jane commenced a flirtation with a cousin-german of her own, a Captain Kerr, of the Lothian family; and the duke, who was as jealous of his sister as if she had been his wife, or perhaps thought that she was about to degrade her family (concerning which they all made a ridiculous clamour on every occasion) by an unequal match, resolved to get to the bottom of the affair. He watched the young man the night before his departure from Douglas Castle so narrowly that he saw him enter Lady Jane's dressing-room in order to bid her farewell, and, fired with the most diabolical rage, repaired to his own apartment, and, seizing a pistol, waited until Captain Kerr should return to his chamber and go to bed. The unhappy young man had scarcely done so, when this fiend entered the room and, pulling down the bed-cloaths, shot him in the side with a deep and mortal wound."²

The law was already stronger than of yore, yet not strong enough to bring to justice the chief of Douglas. Still, the duke found it prudent to go into hiding in Holland for a while. He was back at Douglas, however,

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 208.

² C. K. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, i. 200, note.

in 1726, and, as no proceedings were taken against him, continued to live there quietly for some years. Hitherto he had been on terms of the warmest affection with his sister, Lady Jane; but from this point they became somewhat estranged, for she lived with her mother at Merchiston, near Edinburgh, while the duke remained in retirement at Douglas. Still his testamentary dispositions to "my dear sister Jeanie," which he continued to make down to 1726, were followed by other provisions for her comfort on the death of their mother in 1736. But in 1738 the estrange-

The duke
quarrels with
his sister,
1738.

ment became an open quarrel. The duke, in a fit of passion, had beat one of his dependants; from the gossip started by this unseemly incident arose a rumour that proceedings were about to be taken against him for the slaughter of Captain Ker. So when Lady Jane heard that her brother was about to leave his retirement and visit Edinburgh, she sent an express begging him on no account to do so, as his appearance in public at that particular time might lead to trouble. This letter, though written with the kindest intention, gave deep offence to the duke, who paid his visit to Edinburgh, and returned to Douglas without seeing his sister.

Unluckily this weak and irritable peer had fallen under the influence of the worst of advisers in the person of one White of Stockbrigg. This individual had his own ends to serve, and was working for a reward from the 5th Duke of Hamilton, who was nearest collateral male heir of the Duke of Douglas. Stockbrigg, who lived constantly at Douglas Castle, was persistent in his efforts to persuade Douglas to alter the succession to his estates in favour of the Duke of Hamilton. But inasmuch as Douglas had settled in 1726 all his estates upon his sister, failing heirs-male of his own body, he was hardly likely to yield to Stockbrigg's persuasion so long as Lady Jane and he were on affectionate terms. It became, therefore, the object of Stockbrigg and certain accomplices to poison their patron's mind against his sister, just as Lawrie of Blackwood had

sowed dissension between the 2nd marquess and his first wife. Stockbrigg persuaded the duke that Lady Jane was scheming to get him put under restraint in order to obtain possession of his estates; that the mob which had insulted the duke in Edinburgh, where he had become extremely unpopular, had been led by Colonel Steuart, who had been paying his addresses to Lady Jane; and that the intention was to kidnap him and carry him off to St. Kilda.

A life of retirement in the gloomy halls of Douglas, solitary, save for the never-failing company of "Stockie," had warped and narrowed an intellect never very elastic, and rendered jealous and suspicious a nature never particularly sweet. Stockie easily convinced the duke of his sister's malevolence, with the result that he refused to hold any intercourse with her.

The next one hears of the duke is in the '45, when he played the part of unwilling host to Prince Charlie, who, on his way back from Derby, lay at Douglas on Christmas eve. The duke's influence, such as it was, had always been given to the Hanoverian cause; the discipline of Prince Charlie's Highlanders had not been improved by the failure of the expedition; they did a lot of damage in the town, and, when they marched away, carried with them from the castle, among other things, the Bruce's sword with its apocryphal inscription.¹ The Duke of Athol wrote civilly to express regret for the damage done to Douglas, "the more particularly that anybody of my family has been so instrumentall in these outrages: his disloyalty and ingratitude to the King, the part he has acted by me, and now, to crown all, his tratement of your Grace, must render him odious to everybody."² Yet many for whom the exemplary Duke of Athol and the insignificant Duke of Douglas are now colourless shades, still dwell with tenderness on the memory of the warm-hearted Lord George Murray. So truly wrote Théophile Gautier: "*Après la mort des fronts obscurs*

¹ See vol. i. p. 64. The duke recovered the sword after Culloden.

² Fraser, iv. 290.

s'allument ; pour les uns, la posterité—c'est la nuit ; pour les autres—c'est l'aurore."

During the days of their affection, Douglas had often urged his sister to marry. Some time before her mother's death, Lady Jane, who had refused almost more wealthy suitors of the highest rank than she could number on the fingers of both hands, lost her heart to John Stuart, second son of Sir Thomas Stuart of Balcaskie, one of the lords of Session. Stuart, having been "out" in the '15, had left the country and entered the Swedish service, returning to Scotland somewhere before 1735 with the rank of colonel. In 1736 he was of the mature age of nine-and-forty, yet this dainty lady (who, be it said, was then eight-and-thirty), accepted his offer of marriage, and they were formally betrothed. But the engagement having been interrupted by a serious misunderstanding, what followed is best described in Stuart's own words to his son, Archibald Stuart-Douglas, written a few months before his death in 1768:—

"I then met with a strong and unexpected shock from dear Lady Jane, which was—sending me back many trifles she had vouchsafed to receive from me, without giving any reason; and from that time [I] was forbid access, and had no return to letters I sent her begging to know in what I had offended, as I could not accuse myself in thought, word nor deed. In short, on this unhappy turn I left Scotland, unable to be where she was while banished from her presence. After ten years absence I was obliged to return on the death of Lord Royston, father of my first wife, as my son succeeded to his fortune. Very soon after, I had the honour of an obliging message from Lady Jane, telling me that very soon after my leaving Scotland she came to know that she had done me injustice, that she would acknowledge it publicly if I chose, as the undeserved shock was known; *enfin*, I was allowed to visit her as formerly, and in about ten months after she honoured me with her hand."¹

They were duly married in 1746, but secretly, as Lady Jane feared the displeasure of her brother, the duke, who hated Stuart as a Jacobite and Papist, and might, in consequence, have stopped her allowance. This would have been a serious blow to the couple, for Stuart's means at this time were of the slenderest. To avoid

¹ Original at Douglas Castle, quoted by Fraser, ii. 488.

notice they left Edinburgh separately, meeting again at Huntingdon, whence they travelled to Harwich. Here they were joined by the Chevalier Johnstone, Prince Charlie's aide-de-camp, who, after the wreck of the Jacobite cause at Culloden, had found concealment in Drumsheugh House, near Edinburgh, Lady Jane's residence after her mother's death. From Harwich they sailed for Holland, Johnstone passing as Lady Jane's servant, and there they lived till the following April. All this time their marriage was kept secret from their friends, a most imprudent proceeding, as it turned out to be afterwards. But in 1748 their true relationship had to be declared, in view of Lady Jane's approaching confinement. She gave birth, in Paris, on 10th July 1748, to twin boys, whose parentage was subsequently the subject of one of the most famous causes ever heard in court—the great Douglas case.

John, 20th Earl of Crawford, being on the Continent at this time seeking relief from the suffering caused by a wound received at the battle of Krotzka in 1739, made great friends with Lady Jane and her husband, and undertook to make known to the Duke of Douglas the fact of his sister's marriage, and the birth of an heir to the Douglas estates. Unluckily the duke was more than ever under the influence of his evil genius "Stockie," who easily persuaded him that Lady Jane was endeavouring to foist spurious children upon the succession. Douglas's only reply to the announcement was made by cutting off the allowance of £300 a year which he had hitherto paid his sister.

Now although Colonel Steuart had reversionary prospects as heir-presumptive to Grandtully, he was absolutely at the end of his means at this time. He and his wife had been subsisting entirely on her allowance; when that was withdrawn, the gallant colonel had to go into confinement in the King's Bench [for they had returned to England at the end of 1749], and Lady Jane appealed to the prime minister, Mr. Pelham, for assistance. "Presumptive heiress of a great estate and

family, with two children, I want bread.”¹ A begging letter from the representative of the greatest house in Scotland! An allowance of £300 a year was settled on Lady Jane by George II.; handsome enough, considering what an incorrigible Jacobite her husband had been; she herself was received at Court with marked consideration, while all manner of influential folk bombarded the duke with remonstrance upon his heartlessness. “Dear Mr. Steuart,” wrote Lady Jane, with quaint formality, to her husband, locked up in the King’s Bench prison, “you may judge how low money matters are with me at present, by this most scurvy, poor half-crown I send you. I’m quite ashamed of it, and to conceal it from my servants, I have enclosed it well wrapt up in the pretty little money-box, which ought to contain gold; wish to Heaven I could send of that useful but rare metal with us. This poor bit of silver I send just to procure you a little rappee.”²

In 1752, leaving her luckless husband in prison, she took her two boys with her to Scotland, in the vain hope of touching her brother’s heart. The duke not only refused to see her, but expressed a wish that the Duchess of Hamilton should not return Lady Jane’s call. Finally, in desperation, she determined to beard the baron in his hall, and in April 1753 took her two sons to Douglas. When Greenshiels, the duke’s *major-domo*, told his master that his sister and nephews were at the gate, poor weak-witted Douglas began anxiously to devise means for their lodging. All might have gone well, but, as in all his difficulties, the duke sent for the rascally Stockbrigg. The result was that, finding his patron in a melting mood, and resolved at all hazards to prevent a meeting between him and his sister, Stockie left the room, locked the door behind him upon the duke, and sent a peremptory message to Lady Jane to the effect that she could not have admittance. Leaving her children in Edinburgh, she travelled back to London, where

The duke
remains ob-
durate, 1752.

¹ Fraser, ii. 498.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 500.

she heard shortly afterwards of the death of little Sholto, younger of the twins.

The shock broke the mother's heart. She returned to Edinburgh, only to die on 22nd November 1753. An express was sent to the duke at Douglas announcing his sister's death, informing him that her means would not suffice to pay her funeral expenses, and asking him to defray them. At first his Grace (Lord! what irony sometimes lurks in ceremonial titles) flatly refused to spend a penny; but the messenger, Mr. Matthew Brown, a writer in Edinburgh, represented what a scandal would be caused by such conduct, and at last the duke grudgingly signed an order for the burial of his sister in Holyrood Abbey, on condition that it was

Death of
Lady Jane
Steuart-
Douglas,
22nd Nov-
ember 1753.

Fig. 58.—Signature of Lady Jane Douglas (1746–1753).

carried out cheaply. Mr. Brown was leaving the room, when Douglas called him back and said, "Remember! if either Lord Haining or Mr. Archibald Stuart suffer that boy [meaning Lady Jane's son] to be present at Lady Jane's burial, it will be the last thing they shall do for him," or words to that purpose.¹

About Lady Jane's true character there never has been—there never will be—agreement in opinion. "She is mentioned," says C. K. Sharpe in his notebook, "in Mrs. Heywood's *Utopia* in no very flattering terms. She was suspected of being prone to gallantry; and it was said that she had a child by Lord Mansfield, who afterwards proved so favourable to the cause of her son."

Lady Jane's death left her husband in woful plight. Besides the wife whom he adored, he lost the allowance of

¹ Brown's evidence for the pursuer in the Douglas case.

£300 from the King. All that he had to maintain himself and his son withal, was a trifling sum annually from his brother, Sir George ; and so things went on till Sir George's death in 1759, when Colonel John succeeded to the baronetcy and estates of Grandtully. In 1762, being then seventy-five, Sir John Steuart married a third wife, the Hon. Helen Murray, daughter of the 4th Lord Elibank, and died at Murthly in 1764, leaving as surviving issue only his son Archibald, the elder of Lady Jane's twins.

No sooner was Lady Jane beyond reach of either kindness or cruelty than the Duke of Douglas was seized with remorse for his treatment of her. This was brought about, it is said, by the perusal of a memoir of his sister, written by herself, which came to light after her death, and which convinced him how deeply she had been wronged. In after years, and especially during his last illness, he frequently referred to the loss of his "dear sister Jeanie," alternately praying that God might forgive Stockbrigg, Lord Dundonald, and Mr. Archibald Stuart, who had turned him against her, and cursing Stockbrigg, who had locked him into his room to prevent his receiving her when she came to Douglas. Nevertheless he continued in refusal to acknowledge his nephew Archibald, who, Stockbrigg and his fellows had persuaded him, was a child stolen in Paris to impose upon him. After Lady Jane's death he made several different wills, all intended to cut Archibald out of the succession. But in

1758 the duke, being then three-score-and-two, married Margaret, daughter of James Douglas of Mains in Dumbartonshire, a cadet of the house of Morton.¹ "She was good-looking," says C. K. Sharpe, "though not handsome, with an eccentric and coarse manner, not devoid of wit, a manly courage and most enterprising temper. She resolved to marry his Grace, impelled by ambition, and a wish to mortify the Hamilton family, whom she hated with all the cordiality imaginable ;

¹ The first Douglas of Mains was Nicholas, son of Sir John Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale's brother, who was assassinated in 1350. Malcolm

The duke's
remorse.

Marries Miss
Peggie Doug-
las, 1758.

and, repairing to a small inn near Douglas Castle, by flattery and pretending to wish for his opinion concerning some law affair, contrived to get access to the duke, who first sent her a love token of an ancient piece of family plate, and finally married her to the surprise of all Scotland. On being questioned by some of her friends how she dared to wed a madman, she answered that when she pleased she could be as mad as he. She went to Douglas Castle to be married in a hack-chaise, with the clergyman. When they arrived at the Douglas Burn it chanced to be *in spait*, and the post-boy refused to drive through, but the lady held a pistol to his head, and he proceeded. She was wetted above the knees, and in that pickle married. She related the story herself, saying she was a very dragged bride. She burned down Douglas Castle to make the Duke go to Edinburgh."¹

Fig. 59.—Signature of Margaret Douglas, Duchess of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1764).

The duchess ardently championed the cause of young Archibald Douglas, vowing that he was the duke's rightful heir. This irritated her husband so much that within a

Douglas of Mains was hanged and quartered in 1584 for complicity in the Raid of Ruthven [Pitcairn, i. 142]. The last male heir was John, who died in 1705, whose daughter married a Campbell of Blythswood. Her second son James inherited Mains and took the name and arms of Douglas of Mains. Margaret, Duchess of Douglas, was daughter of this James, and left money to purchase lands to be called Douglas-Support, under the condition, approved by Lyon King, that the heirs succeeding should assume the surname of Douglas, and carry the arms of Douglas of Mains, "with the addition of a woman trampling a snake under her feet, and supporting a child in her arms crowned with laurels." Obviously the child represented Lady Jane Douglas, but it is left to conjecture whether the snake was meant for falsehood in general, or the Duke of Hamilton in particular, her opponent in the great Douglas case.

¹ C. K. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, i. 201, note.

year of their marriage they separated, the duke allowing his duchess a munificent annuity of £250, on condition that she should never see or speak to him except on his express invitation. The separation took place by deed on 6th March 1759,¹ but on 6th August following they made up the quarrel, and another deed was executed, under the terms whereof they were re-united,¹ and kept house together during the rest of the duke's life.

But "Miss Peggie," as she had been called before her marriage, was a woman of spirit, and insisted upon the disinherited heir getting his rights. She had been a beauty, too, in her younger days, and people whispered, in their amiable wont, that she acted less from motives of truth and justice than from a desire to triumph over the Duchess of Hamilton—the beautiful Elizabeth Gunning.² At all events "Stockie" and his crew had good cause to rue the day when the old duke yielded to stirring Duchess Peggie's influence; she carried her point; the Hamilton intrigues, maintained for so many weary years, withered at her touch, and in January 1760 Douglas revoked the settlements of 1754 and 1757, which destined his estates to the house of Hamilton, and made a will constituting his nephew, Archibald Steuart-Douglas, his heir, failing heirs of his own body.³



Fig. 60.—Signet of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1700-1761).

The Duke of Douglas's long years of retirement, if they bore no other good fruit, at least resulted in the restoration of his fortune. Between 1742 and 1760 he bought a great deal of land in Douglasdale and Clydesdale, including Craignethan, the original of Scott's Tillietudlem, and other estates, which now form a valuable

¹ Original at Douglas Castle, cited by Fraser, ii. 469.

² Mother of the 7th and 8th Dukes of Hamilton, upon whom, as heirs-male, the succession to the Douglas estates would have devolved, failing the recognition of Lady Jane's son.

³ *Red Book of Grandtully*, by W. Fraser, vol. i. p. ccix.

part of the Douglas property.¹ Shortly after his marriage in 1758 Douglas Castle was burnt to the ground, and the duke set to work to rebuild it. He employed the well-known architect Adam to prepare plans for a new house in accordance with the tradition, proud and prophetic, which told that as often as Douglas Castle should be destroyed, it should rise greater and grander than before. Adam had just finished Inveraray Castle for the Duke of Argyll; Douglas gave instructions for a house on a similar plan, but ten feet larger in every dimension. The new building never was finished; the present house representing no more than one wing of what the duke intended.

Driven out of Douglasdale by the destruction of his mansion, the duke lived during his last years in Edinburgh. The 2nd Earl of Shelburne [afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne] saw him there, and left an interesting vignette of this strange nobleman:—

“In Scotland I suppose I saw the last of the feudal lords . . . in the person of the last Duke of Douglas. When I was introduced to him at Holyrood House by appointment, he met me at the top of the stairs with his hat and sword. Lord Dunmore, General Scot (the father of Lady Tichfield), and Mr. John Home the poet,² went with me. He [the duke] spoke occasionally to Lord Dunmore, but not much, and did not open his lips to General Scot. When anything was said about his family, he nodded to Mr. John Home to narrate what regarded it. I happened to say something about the Highlands, which I had misapprehended or been misinformed about, at which Lord Dunmore laughed. The duke drew up and vindicated fully what I had said, signifying by his manner to Lord Dunmore his disapprobation. I told him I had seen a new house he was building in the Highlands.³ He said he heard that the Earl of Northumberland was building a house in the North of England, the kitchen of which was as large as his whole house; upon which the duchess, an enterprising woman, as may be seen from the famous Douglas cause, observed that if the Douglases were to meet the Percys once more in the field, then would the question be whose kitchen was the largest? Upon this the duke nodded to Mr. Home to state some of the great battles in which the Douglas family had distinguished themselves. I told him that I hoped to wait upon him in London. He said he feared not, he could be

¹ Fraser, ii. 471, note.

² Author of *Douglas*, a play; escaped from Doune Castle when imprisoned there by the Jacobites after the battle of Falkirk.

³ Lord Shelburne's topography was evidently somewhat imperfect.

of no use there ; he was not sufficiently informed to carry any weight there ; he could neither read nor write without great difficulty. I told him that many of the greatest men in the history of both kingdoms could do neither, to which he assented."¹

The Duke of Douglas died on 21st July 1761, having left instructions to his executors to bury him in the bowling-green at Douglas. They complied so far with his eccentricity as not to lay him among the departed great ones in St. Bride's, but placed his remains in a vault under the new parish kirk of Douglas, where at least the ground had not been tainted for this rigid Presbyterian by priestly consecra-

Death of the
Duke of
Douglas,
21st July 1761.

Fig. 61.—Signature of Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1752).

tion. The dukedom of Douglas expired with its first and only holder, but the marquessate of Douglas and the earldom of Angus passed to the Duke of Hamilton as heir-male.

Archibald James Edward Steuart-Douglas, surviving twin-son of Colonel John Steuart [afterwards Sir John Steuart of Grandtully] and his wife, Lady Jane Douglas [lxxv.], was educated at Westminster, and on the death of his uncle, the Duke of Douglas, in 1761, was served heir to the Douglas estates, without any opposition on the part of the next heir, the Duke of Hamilton. Soon after, however, an action was brought by the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Selkirk to set aside his title, which was the first step in the famous

lxxvi. Archibald Steuart-Douglas, 1st Lord Douglas, 1748-1827.

¹ *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, by Lord E. Fitzmaurice, i. 10.

Douglas case. The details of this trial are far too voluminous to be followed here;¹ it must suffice to say that, after a decision upon the first case by the Court of Session in favour of Mr. Archibald Douglas in December 1762, three fresh actions were raised in the following year; the first by the guardians of the 7th

The great
Douglas case,
1761-1779.

Fig. 62.—Signature of Archibald Stuart-Douglas, Lord Douglas (1788).

Duke of Hamilton, the second by Lord Douglas Hamilton, and the third by Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick as an heir of line. These three actions having been conjoined by the Court, and an enormous mass of evidence having been taken, judgment was given on 15th July 1767, by the casting vote of Lord President Dundas, against the claim of Archibald Douglas. This judgment was reversed by the House of Lords,² who pronounced in favour of Archibald

Fig. 63.—Signature of Frances Scott, second wife of Archibald Stuart-Douglas, Lord Douglas (1792).

on 17th February 1769. Further actions of reduction were continued for ten years longer, when the House of Lords finally disposed of the last of them. Archibald Douglas was thereafter left in undisputed possession of his heritage, and

¹ They may be studied in the *Collection of Papers* containing the whole proceedings, 1761-1769, printed in one folio and six quarto volumes.

² It was characteristic of the times, and illustrates the intense interest created by the trial, that while it was in progress, Thurlow, chief counsel for Douglas, and afterwards Lord Chancellor, fought a duel with Mr. Stuart, agent in the case for the Duke of Hamilton.

was elected member for Forfarshire. On 9th July 1790 his position as head of the house of Douglas was recognised by the bestowal upon him of a peerage of Great Britain, with the title of Baron Douglas of Douglas.

Created Lord
Douglas of
Douglas, 1790.

Lord Douglas died on 26th December 1827, having been twice married—first, to Lady Lucy Graham, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Montrose; and second, to Lady Frances Scott, posthumous daughter of the 2nd Duke of Buccleuch. Of his eight sons and four daughters, Archibald, the eldest, succeeded as 2nd Lord Douglas, and died unmarried in 1844 in his seventy-first year, when his younger brother Charles became 3rd Lord Douglas. He, too, died unmarried in 1848, the inheritance and title passing to his younger half-brother James, who married Wilhelmina Murray, niece of the 5th Lord Elibank. James, 4th Lord Douglas, who was a clergyman of the Church of England, dying without issue on 6th April 1857, the title became extinct, and the estates reverted to his half-sister, Jane Margaret, Lady Montagu. She was born on 21st December 1779, and married, in 1804, Lord Henry James Montagu, second surviving son of the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, and grandson of George, Duke of Montagu. On the death of his grandfather in 1790, Lord Henry became Baron Montagu. He died in 1845, leaving four daughters, of whom the eldest, Lucy, married, in 1832, Lord Dunglas, afterwards 11th Earl of Home. On 11th June 1875, Lord Home received a peerage of the United Kingdom, with the title of Baron Douglas of Douglas. He died on 4th July 1881, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles Alexander Douglas-Home, 12th Earl of Home, 2nd Baron Douglas [in the creation of 1875], the present representative through the female line of the ancient lords of Douglas.

His death,
26th December
1827.



*Charles Alexander Douglas Home
The Earl of Home, Lord Douglas.
From a drawing by Sir John Watson, Bart. & Co. Edin.*

CHAPTER X

PAGE	PAGE
248 lxxvii. Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, <i>c.</i> 1385-1421.	262 lxxx. Sir William Douglas, 9th lord of Drumlanrig, 1st Earl of Queensberry, died 1640.
249 William Douglas, 2nd lord of Drumlanrig, died 1458.	262 Dispute between Drumlanrig and Cashogil, May 1621.
249 William Douglas, 3rd lord of Drumlanrig, died 1464.	263 Drumlanrig is raised to the Peerage, 1st April 1628.
250 William Douglas, 4th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1484.	263 His death, 1640.
250 James Douglas, 5th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1498.	263 lxxxii. James Douglas, 2nd Earl of Queensberry, died 1671.
250 lxxviii. Sir William Douglas, 6th lord of Drumlanrig, killed at Flodden, 1513.	265 lxxxii. William Douglas, 3rd Earl and 1st Duke of Queensberry, 1637-1695.
251 lii. Sir James Douglas, 7th lord of Drumlanrig, 1498-1578.	266 Appointed Justice-General, 1680.
252 Becomes Warden of the West Marches, <i>c.</i> 1553.	266 And Lord of Session, 1681.
253 Captured by the laird of Wormeston, 23rd June 1571.	266 Created Marquess of Queensberry, February 1682.
253 The Comlongon tragedy, 1564.	266 Appointed Lord High Treasurer, 12th May 1682.
255 lxxxiv. Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, <i>c.</i> 1505- <i>c.</i> 1590.	266 Created Duke of Queensberry, 3rd February 1684.
258 Death of Sir James Douglas, 27th December 1578.	268 His dealings with the Covenanters, 1682-1685.
259 lxxix. Sir James Douglas, 8th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1615.	272 Perth and Melfort bring charges against him, 1685.
260 Slaughter of Drumlanrig's sheep, 1615.	272 Fall of Queensberry, 1686.
	273 His death, 28th March 1695.

IN order to trace the descent of the Dukes and Marquesses of Queensberry, we have to go as far back in the line of the Black Douglas, as James, 2nd Earl of Douglas [xii.], who was slain at Otterburn in 1388, leaving two illegitimate sons—Archibald, who founded the line of Douglas of Cavers, and William, upon whom he bestowed the barony of Drum-

lanrig,¹ an outlying part of the ancient earldom of Mar. The 1st Earl of Douglas [xi.] had succeeded thereto on the death of his brother-in-law, Thomas, Earl of Mar; and the association is maintained to this day by such local names as the Mar Burn, Mar Park, etc.

William, 1st lord of Drumlanrig, was knighted before October 1405, when he received a safe-conduct from Henry IV. to proceed to England with four-and-twenty horsemen in his train, "to do feats of arms," and "sauvely to duel and pas againe foroutin destroublance, question or demande for ony actionis of det or borowgang and als wele in walit townis als [wit] houte," until the 1st March following.² There were great joustings and tiltings that winter in London, and Sir William travelled in company with many of his kin, namely, Archibald, Earl of Wigtown [xvii.], and his brother, James, whose father, 4th Earl of Douglas [xvi.], was absent from his English prison on parole at the time; Sir James Douglas [xxxi.], "son and aire" to the lord of Dalkeith; Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale [xv.]; James Douglas, younger son of Archibald the Grim [xiii.], besides other knights, many of whom went as hostages for the parole of their chief, the Earl of Douglas.

In 1407 Sir William was again in England, this time himself a hostage for the earl, with sixteen other "chivalers."³ Thenceforward his life continued a very active one; he was continually passing to England, either as a commissioner for truce, as a hostage, or on diplomatic business. For instance, in June 1412, he conducted an embassy to Henry IV.'s Court to negotiate for the release of James I., being accompanied by forty knights and esquires, and eighty other persons.⁴ On that occasion he obtained from King James an autograph charter, written in characters which prove that the King was an adept in the art of penmanship, by no means a universal accomplishment in the fifteenth

¹ Original at Drumlanrig, cited by Fraser, i. 305.

² Bain, iv. 145, 146, 404.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 166.

century.¹ In 1421 Sir William was serving in France with the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown [xvii.] in support of the Dauphin, and was present at the battle of Baugé on 21st March, where the English were defeated and the Duke of Clarence slain. But the tables were turned soon after at Fresnay-le-Comte, where Drumlanrig lost his banner, which was hung by the English in the church of St. Mary at Rouen. Here, probably, he also lost his life,
 His death, for in September 1427 he is mentioned in the
 1421. retour of his son to the barony of Hawick as having been dead for six years.²

Sir William married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Durrisdeer, and was succeeded by his son William, 2nd lord of Drumlanrig, in whose life-time mention first occurs of the castle of Drumlanrig, probably built by his father. By an indenture dated 29th May 1429, William Douglas, lord of Leswalt in Wigtownshire, agreed to deliver the castle of Drumlanrig to William Douglas, lord of Douglas, which he had held from him for ten years, but retaining for himself the right of use and free entry at all times to the said castle, with many or few, Drumlanrig obtaining similar rights of access to his kinsman's castle of Lochnaw.³

This knight married Jane, daughter of Sir Herbert Maxwell of Carlaverock, by whom he had a son, William, who succeeded his father in 1458 as 3rd lord of Drumlanrig. This third William was present at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460, when James II. was killed "be ane of his awin gunis that brak rackleslie in hir schuting,"⁴ and rode with the Earl of Angus [xlii.] when he relieved the French garrison in

William Douglas, 3rd lord of Drumlanrig, died 1464.

¹ Fraser, i. xxxii. George Crawford, in his *Peerage of Scotland*, pronounces this the finest charter he ever saw.

² *The Scotts of Buccleuch*, by W. Fraser, ii. 26.

³ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, Appendix viii. p. 10. Lochnaw is now the seat of Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., M.P., whose family have held it since the fifteenth century.

⁴ Pitscottie, i. 148.

Alnwick, and withdrew them under the noses of Warwick and his army. William married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Carlyle of Torthorwald, and was succeeded at his death, in 1464, by his son, also named William, 4th lord of Drumlanrig. When the last Earl of Douglas

William Douglas, 4th lord of Drumlanrig, died 22nd July 1484. [xxiv.] joined the Duke of Albany in his futile attempt at insurrection in the summer of 1484,¹ and issued a summons to his vassals and dependants to join him, Drumlanrig not only turned a deaf ear to his feudal chief, but joined the King's force which was sent from Lochmaben to disperse the

James Douglas, 5th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1498. rebels, and lost his life in the skirmish which took place on Kirtlebank. His estates passed to his son, James Douglas, 5th lord of Drumlanrig, who in 1470 married Janet, daughter of Sir David Scott of Branxholm, and died in 1498.

lxxviii. Sir William Douglas, 6th lord of Drumlanrig, died 1513. Sir William Douglas, 6th lord of Drumlanrig [lxxviii.], the son of James, 5th lord, was infeft in the barony as his son and heir-apparent on 19th May 1492, and later received charters of his paternal inheritance, namely, Dalgarnock in 1500, the barony of Tibbers in 1509,² and the barony of Hawick in 1511.

In 1504 he became surety for Robert Grierson, one of the murderers of John M'Briar, chaplain of Dumfries.³ Grierson was probably a poor relation or tenant of Sir William's brother-in-law, Grierson of Lag, a name much to be execrated in coming years by suffering Covenanters.⁴ In 1512 Sir William himself was "panel" in a trial for slaughter, being charged with slaying Robert Crichton of Kirkpatrick. Well for him that his powerful kinsman

¹ See vol. i. p. 200.

² The ruins of the ancient castle of Tibbers may still be seen beside the Mar Burn in Drumlanrig Park. Its great antiquity has so greatly impressed local historians, that I was gravely informed by one of them that the tower was built by the Emperor Tiberius—whence its name! The real meaning of the name may be found in the Gaelic *tiobar*, a well, which still exists, deep and perennial, within the building.

³ Pitcairn, i. 39*. ⁴ Sir William's sister married Roger Grierson of Lag.

"Bell-the-Cat" [xliii.] was chancellor of the jury, and the poet Gavin Douglas [xlvii.] a member thereof. There was no doubt about the slaughter, nor, for that matter, about the slayer; but the verdict was equivalent to "justifiable homicide," for Crichton happened at the time to be an outlaw at the horn,¹ having been proclaimed not long before for waging war on the Maxwells. Drumlanrig therefore left the court with no more stain on his character than was becoming in a feudal baron, and was spared to die beside his King at Flodden in the following year.

Sir William Douglas married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, by whom he left two sons—(1) Sir James [lii.], who succeeded him; and (2) Robert, Provost of Lincluden [lxxxiv.]. He had two daughters also, the elder of whom, Janet, married Robert, 4th Lord Maxwell, and the younger, Agnes, Andrew Cunninghame of Kirkshaw.

In the person of Sir James Douglas, 7th lord of Drumlanrig, was revived for a time the ancient rivalry between the Black Douglas, whom he represented, and his own brother-in-law, the Red Douglas, Earl of Angus [l.]. True, the match, had it been single-handed, was no even one, for the earl was the most powerful noble in Scotland, and Drumlanrig was but a Border baron; but Angus had many enemies, among whom were the Scotts, a numerous clan in close alliance with Drumlanrig. Young King James v. was seeking every means to get free from Angus's control, and it is supposed, when Scott of Branxholm waylaid the King and Angus in July 1526, and barred Melrose Bridge against their passage, that James himself had been informed by the Earl of Lennox of what was coming, and did greatly approve thereof. Drumlanrig was with Branxholm on this occasion, but the affair was marred by the interference of a party of Homes and Kers, and Angus carried the King off to Edinburgh.²

Notwithstanding his action on this occasion, when King

¹ Pitcairn, i. 77*-81*.

² See p. 86, *ante*.

iii. Sir James Douglas, 7th lord of Drumlanrig, 1498-1578.

James at last escaped from Angus, and that nobleman went into exile in 1528, James Douglas fell under the King's suspicion as one of a dangerous family. He was warded in Edinburgh Castle, his namesake, James Douglas of Cavers, Sheriff of Teviotdale, becoming his surety that he would not attempt to break his ward.¹ Thereafter little is heard of him till about the year 1550, when he was knighted by the Duke of Chatelherault, and appointed Warden of the West Marches, an office he discharged for many years.

Made
Warden of the
Marches,
c. 1553.

Like so many great landowners in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, Drumlanrig was firmly attached to the Protestant form of faith. He subscribed the *Book of Discipline* at the Convention of Estates in 1561, and, after Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley in 1565, repaired with the Master of Maxwell to the camp of Moray and the insurgent lords at Hamilton. Maxwell wrote to the Queen, informing her that he had advised the lords to disband their troops, but that they had resolved to march to Dumfries, there to consider their future course, whereof her Majesty should be duly informed. When the King and Queen advanced in force upon Dumfries, most of the Protestant lords went off to Carlisle, but Maxwell, Drumlanrig, and Gordon of Lochinvar remained to meet their sovereign, and Mary won them over to her side. Maxwell was created Lord Herries, and the Queen returned to Edinburgh, to revisit Dumfriesshire only once again, in her flight in 1568 from Langside, where Drumlanrig fought against her under the Regent Moray. He is said to have been imprisoned in 1566 for complicity in the murder of Riccio,² but there may be confusion here with others of the name, for the House of Douglas was fully represented in that tragedy. His differences with his neighbours were chiefly political, but a serious disagreement with the laird of Wormeston in 1571 led to unpleasant consequences.

¹ Pitcairn, i. 142*.

² *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 97, where it is stated that Drumlanrig's natural son James was imprisoned at the same time.

Lord Herries, who, as one of Queen Mary's most devoted supporters, may be supposed to have had little liking for Drumlanrig, appointed a meeting between the parties, and is said to have connived at an ambush laid for the old gentleman, by which Drumlanrig was taken and carried off a prisoner by Wormeston. Not knowing whether his son, Sir William Douglas of Hawick, had been taken also or not, he wrote him the following quaint letter from his prison:—

“WILLIE,—Thou sall wit that I am hail and feare. Send me word thairfoir how thou art—whether deid or levand. Gif thou be deid, I doubt not but freindis will let me know the trenth, and gif thou be weill I desyre na mair.”¹

During Drumlanrig's tenure of the wardenry he played a part in a melancholy affair, which brought him into popular disfavour for a while. A certain neighbour of his, Simon Carruthers of Mouswald, died in 1548, leaving two very young daughters, Janet and Marion, as his co-heiresses. In accordance with the usage of those times, Queen Mary granted to Drumlanrig the ward and marriage of both girls, a gift of value in proportion to the pecuniary consideration which might be obtained from suitors selected by the guardian. In this instance Drumlanrig's advantage was only prospective, for, in addition to the cost of maintaining his wards for thirteen years, he had to pay down £3000 in cash to secure their inheritance. At last, in 1561, Miss Janet, the elder sister, being of marriageable age, Drumlanrig explained to her that the estate of Mouswald lay so near the Border, and therefore “in sa troublus and brokin a cuntre that the maist part was ewthir reft and withhaldin fra him [her father] or laid waist,” that it could not be expected that Janet and Marion would get much good from it. Therefore in presenting Janet with Thomas Roreson of Bardsnooch as a husband, Drumlanrig contracted with her that she should make over to himself her moiety of the lands and barony, receiving instead a “tocher” of 1000

The Comlongon tragedy, 1564.

¹ Calderwood's *History*, iii. 105.

merks and other considerations. Janet meekly accepted her fate, and is heard of no more.

But Marion Carruthers entertained precocious opinions about women's rights, or, at least, about women's wrongs, among which she reckoned the obligation to accept any husband which her guardian might choose for her. When Drumlanrig explained to her that he had decided that on a certain day she should become the bride of John M'Math, younger of Dalpedder, and made her a similar offer for her interest in Mouswald as had been accepted by her sister, Marion told him flatly that she intended to choose a husband for herself, and would dispose of her property as she thought fit. Drumlanrig appealed to the Privy Council to enforce obedience from his rebellious ward, but all he could obtain from that authority was an order that should Marion marry a traitor or a broken man [there were always plenty of both in Dumfriesshire] she should forfeit £2000.¹ She was also directed to live at Borthwick Castle for a while, under the care of Lord Borthwick. The Privy Council had as few terrors for this bold maiden as had Sir James Douglas; she snapped her fingers at both, and, having put herself under the protection of Charles Murray of Cockpool, who lived at Comlongon Castle in Annandale, made over to him the share of Mouswald, upon which her legal guardian had set his heart. This transaction was duly confirmed by Queen Mary [24th June 1564], but Drumlanrig succeeded in getting it cancelled as an infringement of his rights in the wardship and marriage.

This last disappointment broke proud Marion's spirit. She ascended to the battlements of Comlongon tower and threw herself over, "thairthrow," to quote the words of James VI., "wilfullie breking of hir awin creg and banis, quhairof sche deit."² Under the law of Scotland the property of suicides reverted to the Crown, but King James bestowed Marion's share of Mouswald upon Sir William Douglas of Hawick, Drumlanrig's eldest son.

¹ Pitcairn i. 434*.

² Wilfully breaking her own neck and bones, whereof she died.

Something must be said about Sir James's younger brother Robert Douglas [lxxxiv.], who played a notable part in the history of Lincluden, the religious house on the banks of Nith which Archibald the Grim [xiii.] had reformed and converted from an abbey and convent into a collegiate church. Robert became provost of Lincluden on the death of Provost Marshall some time after December 1546, and, with hereditary instinct, took good care that in the approaching ruin of ecclesiastical property, and the dispersal of church lands, he, at least, should suffer no loss. It appears from the *Register Buik of Lincluden*, 1547-1564, that on one occasion the seal of the college, which could only be lawfully used by the provost and prebendar acting as a corporate body, was appropriated by Provost Douglas and applied for his own purposes. The prebendars, however, had sufficient power to check this dangerous irregularity, and insisted on the return of the seal to the appointed seal-bearer of the college.

When the doom of Church temporalities was imminent, but before their knell was sounded by the statute of 1560, Douglas called the brethren together and explained to them that, although the legislature could rob the Church, it would never touch private property. Peers would be cutting their own throats by such an act. He persuaded the prebendars, therefore, to sign an alienation in his own favour of a great part of the extensive estates of the college, promising, on his part, to protect their worldly interests in the coming trouble. Sir John Maxwell of Terregles [better known later as Queen Mary's devoted servant, Lord Herries] was bailie of the college; him also Provost Douglas "squared" by promising him the provost's beautiful house as a residence, besides various other emoluments out of the collegiate property.

The obligation of securing Maxwell's favour was nearly fatal to Douglas's scheme, for the prebendars, who had meekly signed away the college lands in favour of their provost, could not brook to see a layman, however distin-

lxxxiv.
Robert
Douglas,
Provost of
Lincluden,
c. 1505-c. 1590.

guished, infest in the mansion of their college. They held a meeting, and not only refused their consent to this new aggression, but declared that they had been deceived by the provost, who, after obtaining their lands, had not fulfilled his obligation to protect them, which, as agreed, they had set forth in a bond for his seal and signature.

“Quhairfor my lord, considerand your lordschip¹ hes nocht selit and subscrivit the said obligatioun to vs conform to your lordschipsis promis, nor hais as yit geiffin vs ony guid deid or thankis for our consent till your lordschipsis desyris, we haif the les plesour to hurt our conscience for your unfeull desyris, bot sayis with the prophait, *Emendemus in melius quia ignoranter peccavimus.*”

It was too late. The power of the college was undermined; the close of its existence as a corporate body is marked by the last charter of the *Register Buik*, which is dated 26th January 1565. It had managed to survive the edict of 1560 during five precarious years; after that, the altar lights were extinguished; the beautiful chime of bells was heard no more—the chime which the pious founder had directed should always end with three single strokes at such interval as should allow a *paternoster*, an *ave*, and a *credo* to be said before each. But the provost reaped the fruits of his foresight. He set up as a country gentleman at Greenlaw, one of the alienated estates of the college; and when the Annexation Act was passed in 1587, whereby all former Church endowments were declared to be Crown property, it contained a special clause excluding the Lincluden lands from this enactment, and declaring that—

“Notwithstanding the said annexation appoynted to take effect at the Feast of Martine-mes nixt to cum, that Maister Robert Douglas, Provest of Lincluden, and [William] Douglas, sonne to the Laird of Drumlangrig, his successor, sall bruik the fruites, profites, and dewties of the said Provestrie during their lifetimes in the same maner as they did before. And alswa ratifies and appreevis the provision maid to [William] Douglas, sonne to the laird of Drumlangrig, of the Provestrie of Lincluden, and that the Act of Satisfaction sal be extended in his favour, declaring the said provision to be sufficient for bruiking and joyssing of the said Provestrie and haill profites thereof, notwithstanding quhatsumever acts, constitutiones or lawes, civil or municipall, maid in the contrair dispensand therewith and effect theroif.”

¹ The provost was styled “my lord” by courtesy.

So good and comfortable a thing it is to have powerful friends at court!

Provost Douglas was of a temperament and habits that made such friends peculiarly useful at times. In 1571 he was indicted on a charge of taking part in Arran's conspiracy of the previous year for the recall of Queen Mary, and, failing to appear, was denounced as a rebel and put to the horn. He escaped punishment by turning Protestant. Seventeen years later, when a very old man, he was charged with complicity in the murder of Sir Robert Maxwell of Dinwiddie. Again he failed to answer the summons, upon which Lord Sanquhar went bail for him, and nothing more came of it.

Of another Douglas who obtained an interest in Lincluden during Provost Robert's lifetime it profits not to say much. William Douglas younger of Baitford or Pinzerie was a grand-nephew, some accounts say a son, of the provost. Anyhow, he proved an unmitigated ruffian, though he married Agnes, sister of John, 9th Lord Maxwell, showing that his position was such as should have saved him from bringing his name into utter degradation.

In 1610 this William Douglas, being feuar of Lincluden in right of his father, James Douglas of Pinzerie, was arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary upon a "dittay" containing many counts: first, that in company with John Cunninghame his servant, and about a score of "deboischet" men, he dragged out of his house at the Brigend of Dumfries one Thomas Softlaw, a burgess, and slew him; second, that at the same place, but on another occasion, he set upon and slew Edward Maxwell of Cros-toun; third, that when Greir, a swordslipper, one of his accomplices in the last-mentioned crime, had been "tane with the bludie hand" and lodged in prison, Douglas broke the prison, released Greir, and carried him off to his house of Lincluden; fourth, that when Lord Herries attempted to carry out the Council's order for the arrest of Douglas on account of his association with a proclaimed rebel and

murderer, Robert Lord Maxwell, Douglas violently resisted, and with his servants drove Herries and his men out of Lincluden; and lastly, he was charged not only with common and habitual theft, but, although "ane landit gentilman," with housebreaking and theft in the place of Greenlaw, the property of his cousin, William Douglas of Drumlanrig, then Provost of Lincluden.

Provost Douglas was justly indignant with his disreputable relative, and vowed he would have young Pinzerie drowned, or at least driven out of the country. Pinzerie, realising that he had gone too far, resolved to throw himself on his kinsman's mercy, and a pretty picture has been preserved of his going to Greenlaw so early in the morning that the Provost was still "lyand in his bed, and Penzerie, pulling off his breikis and schankis,¹ fell down upon his bair knees before the Provost, craving God and him for pardoun and forgiveness." Perhaps the Provost would have winked hard and let the culprit escape; but the arm of the law was stronger than of yore. Pinzerie was tried before the Justice-depute, and, albeit there were two of the name of Douglas among the jury of fifteen, he was convicted on all the counts. Thereafter he was taken to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, where first his right hand was struck off as a penalty for theft, and then this inglorious Douglas was hanged on a gibbet.²

Sir James Douglas [lii.] died in 1578, when the parson of Cummertrees, Sir John Tailzeour,³ drew up an inventory of the muniments in his charter-chest, and in doing so prefaced it with an interesting summary of what Sir James had done for the property.

"The Buke off the Inuentoure of the haill euidentis of James Douglas of Drumlanrig, Knycht, quha departit to God the xxvij day of December, the yeir of God I^mV^elxxvij yeirs; quha wes borne in the yeir of God I^m four hundreth fuor scoir xviii yeiris, and levit be the space off foure scoir yeiris or thairby; quha beidit the haill hous and pallice of Drumlanrig, and conqueist⁴ in

Death of Sir James Douglas, 27th December 1578.

¹ Long hose.

² Pitcairn, iii. 90-95.

³ Parish clergymen commonly bore the honorary prefix "Sir."

⁴ Obtained.

propertie the v lib. land of Ardocht, Knoktoun, Altoun and Crarie, within the said baronie, the hous and toure of Hawik, and conquest the Sowtre landis in Hawik, and coft and conquest the xlvij lib. landis of Ros, the xx shilling land of Glenmaid, and beidit the place and toure of the Ros; and alsua conquest the half of the nyne scoir merk landis of Mouswald extendand to four scoir ten merk landis; reformit the Toure of Mouswald; and alsua conquest the tuentie merk land of Kirkhope and Quhitecampe, and beidit the hous and Toure of Kirkhope and the hous and toure of Locharben, and alsua coft ane merk lande of Polvadoche of the baronie of Grenane, marcheand with Poskeocht on the heid of the Water of Skar," etc. etc.¹

Sir James had thus raised his family to a very high degree of influence in the south-west of Scotland. He was twice married. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of George, Master of Angus [xlv.], by whom he had three daughters, Janet, Margaret, and Nicholas, who all married into good Border families—the husband of the eldest being Sir William Douglas of Cashogil; of the second, John Jardine of Applegirth; of the third, John Johnstone of that Ilk. From his first wife Sir James obtained a divorce before 1540, when he married Christian, sister of the 2nd Earl of Eglinton, by whom he had one son, Sir William of Hawick, who died during his father's life, and four daughters.

This Sir William Douglas of Hawick married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, and left by her an only son, James [lxxix.], who succeeded his grandfather [lii.] in 1578. A somewhat stormy life he had of it, being on bad terms with some of his neighbours, notably with one of the nearest of them, Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, descended of him who gave the deathblow to the Red Comyn in Greyfriars' Church. Kirkpatrick being sheriff-depute of Dumfries, and Drumlanrig heritable bailie of the regality of Morton, their jurisdictions clashed. On 27th March 1591 Drumlanrig came with an armed force to Penpont, where Kirkpatrick was holding a court, and violently took away a prisoner undergoing trial for theft and slaughter. For this offence Sir James was suspended from discharging his office as bailie of Morton.² Later in the same year, Robert Douglas of Cashogil became surety

lxxix. Sir James Douglas, 8th lord of Drumlanrig, died 16th October 1615.

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. 5.

² Pitcairn, i. 259.

in £5000 that Sir James would not molest Kirkpatrick,¹ and in 1593 both Sir James and Kirkpatrick served on the commission appointed to restore peace between the Maxwells and the Johnstones after the battle of Dryfe Sands.

But the most notable affair with which his name is associated arose out of a question about the possession of Howpaslet, near Hawick. About the year 1614 this estate came into Sir James's hands, probably by "wadset" or some other form of legal diligence. It had long been the property of the Scott family, one of whom, known as "the Lady Howpaslet," fiercely resented this intrusion of a Douglas, and took remarkable measures to prevent his enjoyment of the possession. No family in Scotland was more closely bound together as clansmen than that of Scott. Under a bond between the chief, Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm, laird of Buccleuch, and all others of the name of Scott, each man was specially bound to respect and defend the "room" or possession of every other member of the clan. Even the chief himself, were he accused of encroaching upon his neighbour's land, had to submit to the judgment of four persons of the name of Scott. Douglas, who was lord superior of the town of Hawick, in the very heart of the Scott country, was not amenable, of course, to the provisions of this bond, but Lady Howpaslet determined that he should feel its full effect. She summoned the Scotts to a meeting in Hawick, over which she and Jean Scott, tenant of Satchells, presided, and there arranged measures to prevent Douglas stocking his farms. Four dauntless rascals were chosen, namely, "George Scott, cordiner in Hawik, 'the Souter,' callit *Mariones Geordie*; Walter Scott, sone to *Braidis Andro*; Ingrem Scott, and Jok Scott, callit *the Suckler*"; and did their work so thoroughly as to shock the public sense of humanity even in those heartless days.

"It is of veritie," runs the dittay upon which these worthies were afterwards tried, "that sic is the perverse dispositioun of dyverse persones, quha, preferring thair awin privat grudge, and revenge arrysing thairupoun, to the dew reuerance

¹ Pitcairn, i. 265.

Slaughter of
Drumlanrig's
sheep, 1615.

and obedience of his Maiesties authoritie and lawis, ceissis nocht to prosecute and follow furthe all godles and indirect meanis to effectuat thair malice, be sic monstrous and vnhard of crewaltie as the lyk quhairof hes nocht bene hard amangist the wyld Irisch and savadge people, let be within any reformat and ciuile part of his Maiestie's dominionis: and namelie, the persones particulerlie aboue writtin, *be the instigatioun, na dout, of sum persones of glitter qualitie and conditioun nor thame selffis,*" etc. etc.

Jock the Suckler turned King's evidence, and swore that Lady Howpaslet had given him instructions that the laird of Drumlanrig's sheep were all to be slaughtered, and, in accordance with her instructions, he met the others at Elrig burnfoot "in the glomeing" of an April night; whence they all went up to Howpaslet, and began the bloody work—"maist barbaruslie and inhumanely, as savadge and crewall beistis, destitute of naturale reasone, with thair drawin suordis and vtheris wappones forsaidis, ran throw the hail flock of scheip, slew, lamet and menyet¹ to the number of threscoir² of the said scheip, quhairof fouretie or thairby war slane, be streiking of thair heidis and cutting thame in tua throw thair bakis, and the rest of thame, thair spaldis³ and legis wer strukin away fra thame in maist barbarous maner, and war sa left spreuleing in thair deid-thrawis⁴ vpon the grund."⁵ Jock the Suckler saved his neck for the time being by turning King's evidence; the rest were hanged. But the Suckler, being "wanted" for something else, was clapped promptly in gaol upon a charge of sheep-stealing committed four years previously, convicted a few weeks later by a jury whereof nine out of fifteen were Armstrongs, unfriendly to the Scotts, and hanged on 21st June 1616.⁶ Lady Howpaslet got off scathless, and, what is more, carried her point, for the lands of Howpaslet soon afterwards were again in possession of the Scotts, and have remained so ever since.

Sir James Douglas did not live to see justice done upon the Scotts, for he died on 16th October 1615, leaving his eldest son William to take active measures against the

¹ Maimed.

² Shoulders.

³ Pitcairn, iii. 380-396.

² Three score.

⁴ Sprawling in death struggle.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 396.

malefactors. Unluckily, in this as in so many other instances of Scottish justice, condign punishment fell upon the instruments of the crime, while the designers and instigators went free.

Sir James married Mary, daughter of the 5th Lord Fleming, and had issue—(1) Sir William Douglas [lxxx.], who succeeded him as 9th lord of Drumlanrig, (2) James Douglas of Mouswald, (3) David Douglas of Ardoch, (4) George Douglas of Pinzerie, and two daughters.

In the year 1617 James VI. and I. indulged what he was pleased to call his "salmond-like instinct," and, after fourteen years' absence, revisited the land of his birth. Reaching Edinburgh in the middle of May, he made the return journey to England by the west coast, and on 31st July arrived at Drumlanrig as the guest of Sir William Douglas [lxxx.].

In 1621 occurred a dispute between Drumlanrig and his kinsman Sir Robert Douglas of Cashogil about some matter unknown, in which Thomas Coupland in Cashogil lost his life, and Robert Douglas, son of Sir Robert, his ear. Both parties were "dilaitit" on a charge of assembling the lieges and "beiring, weiring and schuiting of hagbuttis and pistolettis"; to which was added in Drumlanrig's "dittay" a charge of having slain Coupland and demembered Robert Douglas "of his left lug."¹ In the charge against Sir Robert Douglas were included his said "demembered" son, and thirty-two others; while seventeen persons were accused along with Drumlanrig, including his brother James of Mouswald,² his bastard brother John of Killievarrene, four other Douglasses, and three Johnstones. But in "gentle King Jamie's" days, justice, except for witches

lxxx. Sir
William
Douglas,
9th lord of
Drumlanrig
and 1st Earl of
Queensberry,
died 1640.

Dispute
between
Drumlanrig
and Douglas
of Cashogil,
May 1621.

¹ Lug=ear.

² James Douglas of Mouswald was an old offender, for in 1619 he had been denounced rebel, and put to the horn for failing to appear to answer a charge of having slain John Carruthers of Dormont, "with schottis of hagbutis and pistolettis, uithin the dwelling-hous of Johnne Mundallis in Torthorrell."—*Pitcairn*, iii. 472.

and nonconformists, was plentifully diluted with mercy, at least for those who could afford to pay for it. The judge in the case was ordered by the Lords in Council to postpone it, "because, be mediatioun of freindis the saidis actiones ar liklie to pak up and agrie, and that no forder truble be had amangis thame thairintill."¹

When Charles I. came to the throne Drumlanrig rose in the world, being created, in 1628, Lord Douglas of Hawick and Tibbers, and Viscount Drumlanrig. Raised to the Peerage, 1st April 1628. A further step was granted to him in 1633, when King Charles, eight years after his accession, went through the ceremony of coronation in Edinburgh, and conferred a number of peerages. Drumlanrig now became Earl of Queensberry. He died in 1640, having had by his wife Isabel, daughter of Mark Ker, 1st Earl of Lothian, four sons and two daughters, namely:—

- (1) James, who succeeded as 2nd Earl of Queensberry [lxxxix.].
- (2) Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, whose eldest son, James, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia during his father's life, and whose great-great-great-grandson succeeded in 1810 as 5th Marquess of Queensberry.
- (3) Archibald, who received from his father the estate of Dornock.
- (4) George, died unmarried.
- (5) Margaret, married James Johnstone, 1st Earl of Hartfell; and
- (6) Janet, married John, 2nd Lord Kirkcudbright.

The first appearance of James, 2nd Earl of Queensberry, is in 1645, when, in company with his kinsman, the Marquess of Douglas [lxxxix.], he travelled to join Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth. Their party was attacked by Baillie's Covenanters; Douglas escaped, but Queensberry was taken and lodged in Carlisle. Douglas, Hartfell, and others tried to bribe the governor of Carlisle to release his prisoner, and,

lxxxix. James Douglas, 2nd Earl of Queensberry, died in 1671.

¹ Pitcairn, iii. 500.

failing to do so, "did threaten those who wer accessory to the apprehending of the said Earle of Quenisbery with no les nor rwine." For this conduct Douglas was heavily fined by the Committee for Money and Processes, and Queensberry himself had to pay a penalty of 120,000 merks. In 1654 a further exaction of £4000 was laid upon him by Cromwell. Thus he suffered heavily in a cause to which he contributed little effective support, hesitating, like other royalists, too long before throwing in his lot with Montrose, on the eve of that great soldier's overthrow at Philiphaugh. Queensberry died in 1671, having been married—first, to Lady Mary Hamilton, daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Hamilton, by whom he had no children; and second, to Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Traquair, who bore him four sons and five daughters.

- (1) William, who succeeded as 3rd Earl of Queensberry [lxxxii].
- (2) James, first a lawyer then a soldier, and colonel of the Guards in Scotland; died at Namur.
- (3) John, killed at the siege of Trèves in 1673.
- (4) Robert, killed at the siege of Maestricht in 1676.

Of the daughters, Lady Henrietta Douglas married in 1676 Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, the terror of Covenanters and the original of "Redgauntlet." Grierson's estate was greatly impoverished by his extravagance, and he sent one of his sons to practise as an apothecary in Carlisle. "God speed ye!" was his parting blessing, "ye'll revenge the fecht at Flowden!"

Lady Margaret Douglas married—first, Sir Alexander Jardine of Applegirth, and second, Sir David Thoits. Lady Isobel married Sir William Lockhart of Carstairs.

"Lady Margaret Jardine." notes Kirkpatrick Sharpe, "and Lady Katherine Douglas were celebraied for their penurious dispositions. Lady Margaret would, for a penny, carry people across the river Annan on her shoulders, and sit for days awaiting passengers, if there was a fair or other publick meeting at Lockerby. This several of her descendants have told me, as also that she generally wore nothing but rags. Yet when she went to Rockhall to pay a visit to her sister

Lady Henrietta, she carried some articles of what she deemed finery in a bundle, and used to inquire at a cottage near the house if the laird (Sir Robert) was at home. If answered in the affirmative, she sat down under a tree and made her toilet. If Lag happened to be absent, she would say, 'My cockups'll no gae on the day,' and repair to her sister in her usual costume. Cockups was a sort of high cap which at one period gave much offence to the godly.

"When Lady Margaret's nephew James, second Duke of Queensberry, resided in Holyrood House, she paid him a visit in her wonted dishabille. The centinel at the gate mistook her for a beggar, and pushed her back very rudely; but the duke, who was at the window, called to him to let his aunt pass, to the man's great surprise, no doubt."

Born in 1637, William Douglas succeeded his father as 3rd Earl of Queensberry [lxxxii.] in 1671, having already, in 1667, been sworn of the Privy Council, and discharged the office of Sheriff of Dumfriesshire since 1664. The family estates had been sorely impoverished by the fines laid upon the 2nd earl by Argyll and Cromwell, and for that cause Queensberry had been obliged to forego the advantage of foreign travel, then considered an indispensable part of a nobleman's education. Instead of this, he studied for the bar, and gained thereby a training most useful for one in his circumstances, for as soon as he succeeded to the earldom, he applied himself wisely and resolutely to restoring the revenues thereof. At the same time he took a strong line in politics, and strenuously supported the Government in the attempt—vain as it proved—to suppress nonconformity by violence. In February 1678 he wrote to the Duke of Hamilton [lxvi.] to say that he had met with the gentlemen of Dumfriesshire as to the bond which all men were required to sign, and that all had accepted it except—

"Some few pitifull persons, inconsiderable both as to parts and interest, and thes did'nt poseteivly declyn't, bot desyrt tym to think off it, which I coud'nt grant. . . . Sutch is the greatt terror the Hylanders and methods nou taikn occasions hear, that the whoill tennentrie offers what can be desyrt tho I'm sheur nather they nor many off ther masters desyn performance. . . . My tennents ar within twenty who refeus to sygne, and thes beggers, for whois caus I fynd [it] hard the rest, and my whoill interest, suffer, so hav ordert presently to seecur what they hav for my bygon rent and turn them off my land or putt them in prisson. And its remarkable most off thes ar Annandale peopell, and knou no moir off religion or civell deportment then bruts."

lxxxii.

William

Douglas, 3rd

Earl and 1st

Duke of

Queensberry,

1637-1695.

Fortune smiled upon Queensberry through the agency of powerful friends, and in 1680 Chancellor Rothes obtained for him the appointment of Justice-General of Scotland. In the following year he was made an extraordinary Lord of Session, and in February 1682 was created Marquess of Queensberry, Earl of Drumlanrig, etc. Honours continued to descend upon him in swift succession. In April 1682 the Lyon King received a royal warrant to add the royal tressure to the arms of the Marquess of Queensberry and his heirs for ever; on 12th May this favoured peer was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle on 21st September. Finally, in February 1684, he was raised to the dignity of duke.

It must not be supposed that Queensberry had done as little to earn these accumulated honours as sufficed later to bring the highest rank to his kinsman the Duke of Douglas [lxxiv.]. On the contrary; from the moment that the Duke of York [afterwards James VII. and II.] was appointed, in 1682, the King's representative in the Scottish Parliament and Council, Queensberry became his chief adviser and confidential correspondent. One side of their correspondence, a series of letters addressed to Queensberry, extending from 1682 to 1685, has been preserved at Drumlanrig, and testifies to the great administrative talent and mastery of detail which the Duke of York undoubtedly possessed.¹ If the policy of dragooning the westland Whigs into submission ever could have been successful, no more effective combination could have been found to carry it out than York and Queensberry as principal and lieutenant. And they possessed an unflinching instrument for the execution of their measures. John Graham of Claverhouse [afterwards Viscount Dundee] had been in chief command of the forces in Dumfries and Galloway since December 1678. A true soldier, Claverhouse never questioned the policy of his masters; with that he had no concern; having undertaken

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. pp. 155-215.

their work and received their pay, he fulfilled his duty faithfully, however odious it sometimes proved to his refined nature.

In January 1682, upon Queensberry's advice,¹ Claverhouse was appointed Sheriff of Galloway, superseding the Whig hereditary sheriff, Sir Andrew Agnew. From that date his reports to Queensberry follow in regular succession² and are full of interesting matter. In the first of the series, Claverhouse indicates his plan of campaign:—

“16th February 1682.—. . . I sent yesterday tuo pairtys in search of those men your lordship gave me a list of ; on of them to a buriall in the Glencairn, the other to the fair at Thornhill : neither of them are yet returned ; but Stenes tells me that the pairty at the buriall miscaried ; that he pointed to them on of the men, and they took another for him, tho I had choysed a man to comand the pairty that was born their about. They shall not stay in this country but I shall have them. The first thing I mynd to doe is to fall to work with all that have been in the rebellion, or accessory their too by giving men, mony or armes ; and nixt, recetts,³ and after, field conventicles ; for what remaines of the lawes against the fanatiks, I will threaten much, but forbear sever excicution for a whyll, for fear people should grou desperat and increase too much the number of our enimys.”⁴

Well had it been for the Stuart dynasty—well for the report of Queensberry and Claverhouse among their countrymen at this day—had a little more patience been shown with “fanatiks” and the high-spirited people thus lashed into rebellion by their rulers. The Indulgence of 1669—Tweeddale's Act for the reinstatement in their parishes of the more moderate of the ejected ministers—had already driven a deep cleft between the sterner Presbyterians and their milder brethren ; sectarian spirit might have been trusted to complete the work begun by this measure of leniency ; discordant elements in the popular party, had time been allowed them, would soon have worked its dissolution. Unhappily the bishops, irritated by seeing the parish churches deserted for field-preachings, especially in the west, had prevailed upon the

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. pp. 157, 271, 276.

² *Ibid.*, 264-294.

³ Resets, *i.e.* persons who “reset” or harbour rebels.

⁴ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. p. 265.

Council in 1678 to require all men to subscribe the Test, whereby they bound themselves to abstain from attending conventicles. This was precisely the kind of interference with the consciences of free men which should unite moderates and irreconcilables in common resistance to tyrannical authority.

Hitherto the Covenanters, though carrying arms against the royal troops, had professed allegiance to the King. Now they rose in open rebellion, and at Sanquhar on 22nd June 1681, by the mouth of Richard Cameron, proclaimed war against "the man Charles Stuart," as having forfeited "all right, title to, and interest in the Crown of Scotland. . . . Come what may and hold silent who list, we must and will publish the truth of this cruel King, protest against his misdeeds, and proclaim in the face of Heaven that he has forfeited his claim to the throne and to our allegiance." Such was the state of matters with which Queensberry, as a high official of the Government, found it his duty to deal. The Test was rigorously enforced; a roll of the parishioners was called every Sunday after sermon; all absentees were proceeded against, and, if without valid excuse, were heavily fined. Truly, when one reflects upon the length and character of Scottish sermons of the old style, it is not possible to contemplate with indifference the sufferings of one of these compulsory congregations!

Cameron was dead, but a new sectarian leader had arisen in the person of James Renwick, who issued a new manifesto, termed the Apologetical Declaration. The enforcement of the Test, the prohibition of field-preachings, and compulsory attendance at the parish churches, were sufficient agents to provide Renwick with plenty of adherents, and in 1684 the Council decided that the Test was too wide in the mesh. A new measure for the extirpation of nonconformity was devised in the shape of the Abjuration Oath, whereby every person was required to declare his abhorrence of the Apologetical Declaration. The effect was immediate and disastrous. The desolate hillsides of Dumfries and Galloway, Ayrshire and Clydes-

dale, became populous with refugees, claiming indefeasible right to worship God in their own fashion, and to receive doctrine from their chosen pastors. To disperse these hill-meetings troops were despatched in all directions, and officers received orders more stringent than ever. Even Claverhouse protested against the harshness of the measures to be enforced by him, for what has ever since been known as "the killing time" had begun. Writing to Queensberry in October 1684 about some new regulations, he says—

"I said that befor we sawe that draught we had proposed all we thocht reasonable or practicable; but we could have easily broght them to seign the other, if we had thocht it good for anything but to insnair people. However I fynd it is the opinion of your lordships friends . . . if your lordship think fit to send it to my brother with order to see it seigned, I dout not but it will be don . . . and when it is don, I think it should be altered, for it is unjust to desyr of others what we would not doe our selfs. For I declair I think it a thing not to be desyred, that I should be forfeited and hanged, if my tenents wife, twenty mille from me, in the midst of hills and woods, give mate¹ or shelter a fugitive."²

In another letter to the Duke of Queensberry, written from Galston on 3rd May 1685, Claverhouse reports the execution of John Brown, "the Christian Carrier," whom Wodrow has accused Claverhouse of shooting with his own hand.

"On Frayday last amongst the hilles betwixt Douglas and the Plelands we perseued tuo fellous a great way throu the mosses, and in end seized them. They had no armes about them, and denyed they had any; but being asked if they would take the abjuration, the eldest of [the] tuo called John Brown refused it, nor would he swear not to ryse in armes against the King, but said he kneu no King. Upon which and there being found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable peapers, I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly."²

All through this dreary, shameful time, Claverhouse took his instructions direct from Queensberry, who was earnest and active enough in putting down rebellion and forcing upon the people that form of the Protestant religion which Parliament had decreed. Probably many of the measures of the Government were distasteful to Queens-

¹ Meat.

² *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. p. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, 292.

berry, but he knew enough of the Duke of York's secret desires to be apprehensive lest, should the Government not be supported in maintaining the Episcopal form of Protestantism, an attempt should be made to force the Roman Catholic religion upon the King's subjects. Queensberry was boldly resolute against any suggestion of this kind. Rumours were afloat as to James's intentions when he came to the throne in 1685. One of his first acts was to send for Queensberry and the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, to confer with him on the state of affairs in Scotland. King James was no stranger to the conflicting elements in that kingdom, having been his brother's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and resided in Scotland for many years. Queensberry at once informed the King that if there was any design for changing the religion of Scotland, he could not make one step with his Majesty in that matter.¹ The King declared that there should be no change, and told Queensberry that he was going to appoint him Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament about to assemble.

For the guidance of his Commissioner, King James, assisted by Perth and his brother, John Drummond [afterwards Earl of Melfort], drew up forty-one articles, supplemented by a number of others of later date, indicating the subject of the various acts which the King desired his Parliament should pass.² These instructions were varied and comprehensive. While one of them directed legislation in favour of the Protestant religion and Church of Scotland, another required that all field and conventicle preaching should be made punishable by death for the preacher, and banishment and heavy fines on the hearers. One instruction [supplementary to the first forty-one], referring to legislation for promoting Scottish trade and manufactures, was balanced by another calling for the total suppression and prohibition of the surname of Campbell and M'Allan.³ A bill of

¹ Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, iii. 34.

² *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. pp. 90-98.

³ *I.e.* MacCalain, son of Colin. The original MacCalain Mor [or Macal-

general pardon and indemnity for past rebellion was passed according to instruction, but was cancelled by the King's order on 25th May, in consequence of Argyll's rebellion.

Queensberry did his work as Commissioner very thoroughly. Of the forty-one articles in his original instructions, all but five were passed by Parliament; of twenty supplementary instructions, thirteen passed into law, four were rejected or delayed, and three were suppressed by the Secret Committee.

The measures against rebels and nonconformists were nothing mitigated under the new monarch. The Secret Committee of the Scottish Privy Council had a large number of prisoners on hand at midsummer 1685, waiting transportation to the American plantations—a penalty worse than death, for it involved not only the miseries of a long sea voyage in conditions of the utmost discomfort, filth and disease, but also being sold into lifelong slavery. In order to add to the sufferings of these wretched people, the Secret Committee now required his Majesty's consent that every prisoner should lose an ear before being driven on board ship. The King having replied that "wee doe well approve of the same," the barbarous practice became law. Queensberry, as a member of the Secret Committee which was responsible for this cruelty, might be considered not wanting in severity, but he did not possess the same ingenuity as one of his colleagues, James Drummond, Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland. This statesman had invented, at least so Macaulay affirms, a little steel thumb-screw, which inflicted such intense torture upon unwilling witnesses as to extort evidence infinitely more interesting and valuable than even the King's favourite instrument, the boot, could produce. This gave Perth and

lum More, as it is often erroneously given by English writers] was Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow in the thirteenth century. Queensberry succeeded in getting through Parliament the Act suppressing the names Campbell and Mac Calain, but the King, whose prerogative was interpreted as enabling him not only to dictate legislation, but to suspend Acts of Parliament, wrote on 1st June to say he had changed his mind, and that the clan Campbell was not to be suppressed till further notice.

his brother Melfort, the Secretary of State, a great pull over Queensberry in the royal favour, and this ascendancy was much increased when both these noblemen declared themselves converts to the Roman Catholic religion. They had long been plotting the overthrow of Queensberry, whose hasty and imperious temper had given them dire offence. They now were strong enough to adopt open measures against him. Melfort drew up a "lybell," charging Queensberry with abuse of his offices of Commissioner and High Treasurer, and laid it before the King. Perth, aware of the ancient friendship between King James and the duke, hung back at first, expressing to Lord Halifax his fear that he might injure himself if he took too active a part against Queensberry. "Be of good cheer, my lord," retorted Halifax; "thy faith hath made thee whole!" To Melfort's charges a thoroughly convincing answer was drawn up by Sir George Lockhart,¹ and the King refused to entertain them; nevertheless, the two Drummonds prevailed to oust Queensberry from the supreme place in Scotland. Alexander, 5th Earl of Moray, great-great-grandson of the Regent, having followed the Drummonds in joining the Church of Rome, was appointed by the King his Commissicner to the Scottish Parliament in place of Queensberry, who was also deprived of his office of Lord Treasurer,² receiving instead the appointment of President of the Council. It is to Queensberry's lasting honour that he disdained to retain his ascendancy in the Government, as undoubtedly he might have done, by a change of religion.

The seed sown by Melfort failed not to bear fruit. Six months after his appointment as President of the Council, Queensberry was removed from office and commanded to remain in Edinburgh until his accounts as High Treasurer had been examined and reported on. This unhandsome treatment by King James of

Fall of
Queensberry,
1686.

¹ *Historical MSS.*, 15th Report, App. viii. pp. 135-143.

² It was put in commission, as it had been formerly.

a servant who had grievously strained his conscience in carrying out his master's bidding against the Covenanters, did not prevent Queensberry from loyally supporting his King when confronted with the Revolution. But when James left England, and the Convention of Estates declared the throne vacant, the duke was a party to offering the crown to William and Mary. In November 1693 he was restored to the bench as an extraordinary Lord of Session ;

Death of the
Duke of
Queensberry,
28th March
1695.

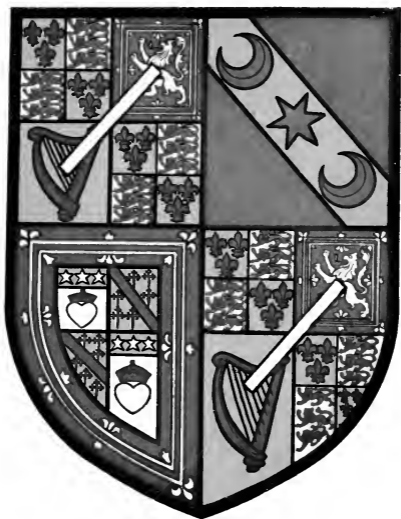
but his course was run ; he died on 28th March 1695, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried in Durisdeer church. At the age of twenty he had married Lady Isabel Douglas, daughter of the 1st Marquess of Douglas [lxii.], by whom he had issue—

- (1) James, Lord Drumlanrig, who succeeded as 2nd Duke of Queensberry [lxxxiii].
- (2) Lord William Douglas, to whom his father gave Neidpath Castle and extensive lands in Peeblesshire. In 1697 Lord William, who married Lady Jane Hay, daughter of the 1st Marquess of Tweeddale, was created Earl of March. His grandson, 3rd Earl of March, became 4th Duke of Queensberry, better known as "Old Q.," upon the death of his kinsman, the 3rd duke, in 1778.
- (3) Lord George Douglas, died unmarried.
- (4) Lady Anne Douglas, married David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of the 4th Earl of Wemyss. Lord Elcho was attainted for his share in the rising of 1745, and died without issue in 1787.

The 1st Duke of Queensberry erected a noble monument to his own memory in the shape of a new castle at Drumlanrig, which still remains "one of the finest examples in Scotland of the quadrangular mansion of the 17th century."¹ The building was begun on the site of the old house about 1676. The architect's name has not been preserved, although the master of the works is known to have been called Lukup. The design has been ascribed to Inigo

¹ M'Gibbon and Ross's *Castellated and Domesticated Architecture of Scotland*, ii. 416.

Jones, but that great architect died in 1651. It is said that the duke well-nigh ruined himself by the cost of the building, and that he slept but one night in his new house, retiring next day to Sanquhar Castle, where he afterwards lived on a very narrow income.



Sir William Henry Walter Montagu-Scott-Douglas, 6th Duke of Buccleuch, 8th Duke of Queensberry, Earl of Drumlanrig and Dalkeith, Baron Douglas of Kilmont, etc.

CHAPTER XI. AND LAST.

PAGE	PAGE
275 lxxxiii. James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry and 1st Duke of Dover, the "Union Duke," 1662-1711.	278 Appointed Secretary of State, 1702.
276 Joins the Prince of Orange, 30th November 1688.	280 His designs against Hamilton and Athol, 1703.
276 Appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1693.	281 Dismissed from office, 1704.
277 The Darien Scheme and its consequences, 1695-1700.	281 Restored to office, 1705.
278 Queensberry made King's Commissioner to Parliament, 1700.	282 The Union Act, 22nd July 1706.
	284 Madness of Lord Drumlanrig, 1707.
	284 Queensberry created Duke of Dover, 1708.
	285 His death, 6th July 1711.

IN the person of James Douglas, 2nd Duke of Queensberry, were reunited the two collateral lines of Douglas and Angus, for his mother, Lady Isabel Douglas, was the 6th daughter of William, 1st Marquess of Douglas and 11th Earl of Angus [lxii.]. He was born at Sanquhar Castle on 18th December 1662, and was educated at Glasgow University under the title of Lord Drumlanrig. On his return from a tour on the Continent in 1684 he was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed to the command of the celebrated regiment of Viscount Dundee. But though Drumlanrig was as true a royalist as any of his race, he was also as staunch a Protestant. The suspension of the Test Act by the direct interference of King James, his appointment of Roman Catholics to ecclesiastical benefices, and a number of other arbitrary violations of the constitution, were interpreted, not unreasonably, as signs of his deliberate intention to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain. Moreover, the hopelessness of dragooning the Scottish

Covenanters into conformity, and the fruitlessness of continuing the weary work of repression and slaughter, had wrought their effect upon the minds of many of the best of the Scottish nobles. Drumlanrig, enlightened, it may be supposed, by his foreign travel, was the first Scotsman, says Lockhart, to renounce his allegiance to King James, and, with the Duke of Ormonde and Prince George of Denmark, he joined the Prince of Orange at Sherborne on 30th November 1688. Drumlanrig's father, as mentioned in the last chapter, continued loyal to King James until that monarch left his realm and the throne was declared vacant.

Joins the
Prince of
Orange, 1688.

Lord Drumlanrig was appointed by William to the command of the Scottish troop of Horse Guards, with which he served in Scotland against his ancient chief, Dundee. A good deal remained of the mediæval system which recognised persons of high birth as eligible, irrespective of their training, to hold simultaneously military, judicial, and even ecclesiastical office; it is, therefore, not surprising to find this dashing colonel of heavy cavalry applying in 1690 for the post of extraordinary Lord of Session, whereof his father had been deprived by the intrigues of Perth and Melfort.¹

Appointed
Lord High
Treasurer,
1693.

He did not obtain it, however, at that time, for the old duke, his father, was reappointed to the bench in 1693; but Drumlanrig was made a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1692 and Lord High Treasurer in 1693.

On succeeding his father in 1695 as 2nd Duke of Queensberry, he attained his desire in becoming extraordinary Lord of Session, in addition to which he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Although at this time Scotland was an exceedingly poor country, so much so as to make its people a byword for indigence, the mercantile spirit was in the very blood of the Scots, seeking an outlet as soon as the clash of arms, with which the country had rung almost without cessation during four centuries, should be silenced. Accordingly,

¹ See vol. ii. p. 272.

when William Paterson, one of the founders of the Bank of England, and Fletcher of Saltoun, one of the ablest and most cultivated men of his day, set afoot a scheme for the colonisation of the Isthmus of Darien, and explained that the geographical position of that neck of land would cause the settlement to become the main channel of trade between the East and the West, the shares were eagerly taken up; and although the whole circulating medium of Scotland could not be reckoned at more than £600,000 sterling, £400,000 was quickly subscribed by the people of that country alone, whereof £219,094 was actually paid up. The company was incorporated by Act of Parliament and received a royal charter, which seemed to promoters and subscribers to constitute a State guarantee. The expedition set out with the fairest hopes, and carried with it, not only the confidence, but the entire fortune of thousands of Scotsmen. When, after many months, news arrived to shatter the golden dream—when the people learnt that the Government had lent no hand to defend the colonists either from the ravages of fever or from the attacks of hostile Spaniards—when it was told that two thousand seven hundred of the emigrants had perished, and that but a handful of survivors were seeking their way home—the nation turned its indignation upon the Government, and loudly claimed redress. But King William's rule turned out to be harsher and less sympathetic than that of the exiled Stuarts. The bishops had been swept away indeed, and the Church of their own choice had been set up among the Scottish people; but the clergy were doing their utmost to justify the title of "phanatiks," so often applied to the Covenanters in the official documents of King Charles and King James. They insisted upon their right to interfere in the most intolerant and arbitrary manner in the private affairs of every household; the slightest resistance to their pertinacious tyranny brought their victims under suspicion of being Jacobites, and rendered them liable to heavy fines. The Government dared not offend the clergy; they had no

The Darien
Scheme and
its conse-
quences,
1695-1700.

other body of men in Scotland to rely on, for already there were busy schemes on foot to bring back King James, and the clergy could only be propitiated by diligence in hunting out and prosecuting suspects in politics and religion. Martial law still rode rough-shod over the land, and King William obstinately refused for years to summon the Scottish Parliament. At last, in 1700, he gave way to the prayer of a great petition, and consented to the assembly of the Estates on 18th May. To this Parliament

Queensberry
appointed
as King's
Commissioner
to Parliament,
1700.

was appointed the King's Commissioner, in accordance with the custom of delegating to some peer of distinction and ability the duty of representing the Crown in the Scottish Parliament during the absence of the Sovereign.¹ He opened the proceedings with a conciliatory speech, undertaking to bring in a *habeas corpus* bill, and to remove many disabilities under which Scottish trade lay as compared with English. Nevertheless, a motion was carried against the Government, declaring that the collapse of the Darien Scheme was of national importance, and demanding redress; whereupon Queensberry prorogued the session from 6th February till 6th May. When Parliament reassembled, Queensberry and Argyll between them managed matters so adroitly as to obtain a majority for the Government, services which were recognised by the bestowal of a Garter upon Queensberry and a dukedom upon Argyll.

In the first Scottish Parliament of Queen Anne, Queensberry was reappointed Commissioner, and received also the office of one of the two Secretaries of State, Lord Cromartie being made the other.

The Jacobite Opposition at this time was led by another chief of the Douglas line, namely, the 4th Duke of Hamilton [lxxi.], whose action on the question of the settlement of succession to the Crown has been briefly described else-

¹ This constitutional practice exists at this day, a Lord High Commissioner being appointed in each year to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

where,¹ but Queensberry also had to reckon with the country party under Lord Tweeddale—the *squadron volante*, as they were called—whose weight, adroitly managed, should suffice to turn the balance either against or in favour of the Government.

Down to this point Queensberry's conduct had been straightforward enough. As chief agent in Scotland of Godolphin's policy, he succeeded, by help of Tweeddale's wing, in carrying through Parliament in 1702 the act necessary to establish and recognise the authority of Queen Anne. But when this was followed by the introduction of a bill of abjuration, the *squadron volante* deserted him and united with the Jacobite Opposition in resisting it; the measure had to be dropped, and Queensberry prorogued Parliament on 30th June. In truth, Queen Anne's Cabinet were in no hurry to press such extreme measures as should increase the power of the Whigs and the prospects of the House of Hanover; the immediate effect of Queensberry's vacillation was to stimulate the exiled Jacobites. James VII. and II. was dead; but his son, the Chevalier Saint-George, held his Court at Saint-Germain, waiting only the most favourable moment for action. The exiled Jacobites opened immediate communications with the Duke of Hamilton, and many of that party who had hitherto kept aloof from Parliament now hastened to take their seats. Hamilton was instructed to use every endeavour to prevent the Hanoverian settlement, and a compromise was proposed, whereby the return of the Chevalier to the throne should be secured, saving the rights of Queen Anne during her lifetime. To promote this project a close alliance was struck between the Jacobites and the Presbyterians, the first consequence of which was that a bill was carried against the Government, abolishing Episcopacy, establishing the Presbyterian religion, and confirming the Claim of Rights. Queensberry having refused assent to this measure, the Jacobites next had their innings, and the Act of Security was passed, declaring that, on the demise of the Queen, the

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 208-212.

person who should be Sovereign of England should not succeed to the throne of Scotland unless Scotland had first received redress of the inequalities complained of in trade and navigation, and that the independence of her Parliament and military forces had been secured. To this Act also Queensberry refused to give the royal sanction. Clear in his view, and that of the English Government, stood the grand object—the union of the Legislatures; that was the end for which every other consideration must be subordinate, and it was plain that before it could be reached, the composite Opposition must be broken up. To effect this, Queensberry stooped to use an unworthy instrument. The Jacobites in France, greatly exhilarated by the proceedings in the Scottish Parliament, had begun active preparations for a descent upon Great Britain in the Chevalier's interest, and employed Simon Fraser [afterwards Lord Lovat] and Captain John Murray to organise a rising in Scotland. Fraser, having a private quarrel with the Duke of Athol, Lord Privy Seal, treacherously showed to Queensberry a letter written, or purporting to be written, by the Chevalier's wife to Athol. It is uncertain whether Queensberry was deceived or not; at all events, he also was on bad terms with Athol, and lent too easy credence to a tale which not only should bring his colleague into disgrace, but should effect the ruin also of Athol's brother-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton [lxxi.], leader of the Opposition. To convict Hamilton of attempting to bring back a Roman Catholic dynasty would drive an irreparable breach between the Jacobite party in Parliament and their Presbyterian confederates.

Accordingly Queensberry took the infamous Simon Fraser into his pay as a spy, sending him in 1703, under a feigned name, to watch the proceedings of the Jacobites in France, and to keep him regularly informed. Fraser was indiscreet, and admitted another conspirator, Robert Ferguson, to a knowledge of the business, who promptly warned Athol. The whole case against Athol was a fabrication from first to last; he had never held any communication with the

Queensberry's
designs
against
Hamilton and
Athol, 1703.

Jacobites, and had no difficulty in clearing himself by a statement which he read before the Queen in Council at St. James's Palace on 18th January 1704, demanding a full inquiry into Queensberry's conduct, and also that he should make reparation for the slander.¹

Now, although it was easy for Queensberry to show that in this matter he had been hoodwinked by Fraser, yet in politics to be proved a dupe is almost as fatal as to be proved a knave. Athol was easily pacified, but Queensberry had to give up all his offices, and the Marquess of Tweeddale, leader of the *squadron volante*, succeeded him as Lord High Commissioner in Scotland. Tweeddale's administration was a failure, although the Act of Security was carried a second time, and permitted, by the adroit diplomacy of Godolphin, to receive the royal assent. Queensberry was now acting in close alliance with the young Duke of Argyll, who had earned great distinction as a soldier under Marlborough, and between them they attracted so much support in Parliament as to prove too strong for Tweeddale. In 1705 Queensberry was restored as Lord Privy Seal, and, although Argyll was set over him as Lord High Commissioner, the younger peer only served, as Lockhart described it, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

Thenceforward Queensberry threw himself heart and soul into the promotion of the Union. This is no place to repeat the history of those stormy years, but it ought to be borne in mind that the statesman who should undertake this formidable task had need not only of moral fortitude and conviction, but of personal courage. The Scottish people had never been suffered to forget the art of war; in the whole realm there were not at command of the Government more than three thousand regular troops; the Presbyterians, the Highlanders, and the *squadron volante* had sunk all difference in resistance to the odious proposal to merge their nationality in that of England; a single rash or inconsiderate act on the part

¹ *Caldwell Papers*, i. 197-203.

Dismissed
from office,
1704, and re-
stored, 1705.

of the Scottish Government might array the bulk of the population in arms against them; the forces of the Crown would be outnumbered by ten to one; armed assistance would be forthcoming from France; all sects and all classes combined to defend the independence of their country. Of the nobility, Queensberry could reckon upon few except Argyll, Seafield, Morton, Mar, and Stair; with money he might have bribed others to his side, but the excessive poverty of Scotland and the Scottish Government deprived him even of that well-recognised instrument of statecraft. But fortune threw one weighty circumstance into his scale. The vigour and skill of one Douglas were rendered doubly effective by the indecision and maladroitness of the other. It is hardly too much to affirm that had the Duke of Hamilton been at the head of the Government, charged with the duty of carrying the Union, and the Duke of Queensberry been leader of the Opposition, bent on opposing it, it would not have been in Queen Anne's reign that the Scottish Estates were merged in the English Parliament. It was Hamilton's maltreatment of his Jacobite followers¹ which enabled the Government in 1705 to secure the nomination of Commissioners to arrange the treaty of union, thus winning half the battle; and to win the first stage of a political contest generally carries the victor more than halfway to conquest, so surely does success attract support and undermine resistance.

In the last stage of the parliamentary contest about the Union, Queensberry occupied his former position as Lord High Commissioner, an office which involved the double and anomalous duty of representing the constitutional monarch and the head of a parliamentary party. When the Scottish Estates met for their last session in October 1706, he was master of the situation within the House, but it called for no mean degree of courage to proceed to use his parliamentary majority in the face of the angry aspect of the nation. Parliament could only conduct its debates under military

The Union
Act, 22nd
July 1706.

¹ See vol. ii, p. 209.

protection; the Commissioner travelled with a strong escort to and fro between Holyrood and Parliament House; even bayonets and sabres could not shield him from the curses, and even the missiles, of the rabble. Personal danger this proud duke knew how to despise; rioting, such as broke out in Edinburgh and other towns, had no terrors for him; but it required steady nerves to reflect on what would assuredly happen if Athol chose to call out the Highland clans, and Hamilton had the courage to rouse the west. Neither of these impending dangers befel; amid impassioned harangues within Parliament and violent agitation without, the Union bill took its destined course, until, towards the end of July 1706, Queensberry—the “Union Duke”—signified the royal assent by setting his hand to the Act ratifying the treaty of union and dissolving for ever the Scottish Estates.

On 2nd April 1707, just a month before the Act of Union should come in force, the King's Commissioner to Parliament left Edinburgh for the last time. Never before, even in the height of feudal magnificence, had any chief of the haughtiest house in Scotland assumed or been invested with such a measure of authority as this scion of the house of Douglas. Others of his race had ridden forth at the head of imposing armies, whether to waste English lands or to flout their own Sovereign's authority; the semblance of their power was more imposing than Queensberry's, but the reality was far less. With a modest escort of Queen Anne's Horse Guards he rode across the Border, by the track where so many of his ancestors had passed before; but neither flaming stackyards nor blackened ruins marked the route as of old. He left behind him, indeed, a sullen, angry nation, and carried with him the execrations of his countrymen; but he was sustained by the conviction that he had redeemed his country from the intolerable, incurable ferment of petty faction, and united its destiny for ever with that of a powerful neighbour. As he advanced through England he might draw good augury from the aspect of the people. His journey assumed the character of a royal

progress; peers, gentry, farmers, and peasants mustered along the route to bid him welcome; mayors and corporations emulated each other in ceremonial and laborious hospitality, until, when he reached Barnet Common, Queen Anne's ministers, and many of both Houses of Parliament, met the duke and rode with him in procession to London.

Post equitem! Queensberry had need at the moment of all the preoccupation which political excitement could afford, for upon his own household had fallen the shadow of a great horror. His eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, having become a dangerous lunatic, was kept in confinement in a cellar of Holyrood Palace. During the riots in Edinburgh, which took place while the debates on the Union Act were in progress, the duke's servants had run out to witness the exciting scenes in the streets, and left the lunatic unguarded. He escaped from his cell and wandered through the palace, till he came upon a luckless cookboy turning the spit in the kitchen. Him he attacked at once, killed, spitted, and roasted him before his own fire. This unhappy lord survived his father, and, had the law then stood as it does now, the family honours and dignity of duke must have been inherited by the lunatic. But Queensberry prudently exerted the power possessed by peers of Scotland before the Union. Resigning into the hands of the Sovereign his dukedom and the lands of the duchy, he obtained a re-grant thereof, whereby the succession was fixed upon his third son, Charles, Earl of Solway, who succeeded as 3rd Duke of Queensberry in 1711.

Queensberry's services in carrying out the Union policy of the English Cabinet, received handsome recognition.

Besides a pension of £3000 a year settled upon him out of the revenues of the post-office, he was raised to the British peerage by the title of Duke of Dover, with remainder to his third son, Charles, who had already, on 17th June 1706, been created Earl of Solway. In addition to these favours, Queensberry also was made joint Keeper of the Privy Seal, and, on 9th

Madness of
Lord Drum-
lanrig, 1707.

Queensberry
is created
Duke of
Dover, 26th
May 1708.



*William Douglas,
2nd Earl of March
afterwards
4th Duke of Buccleugh
in a painting at Grandtully*

February 1709, third Secretary of State. This third office confirmed him in what he had previously exercised, and which was by no means the least valuable of his acquisitions, namely, the chief voice in the administration of Scottish affairs, and the entire disposal of Scottish patronage. He continued to keep a vigilant eye upon Jacobite intrigues. When Nathaniel Hooke came over in 1708 to arrange for a rising, among other landowners he sounded Ker of Kersland, who immediately revealed what was in the wind to Queensberry. Statesmen had not then acquired superfluous scruples in conducting the national business, and Queensberry's advice to Ker was that he should join the plot, learn all the secrets of the conspirators, and communicate them to him as Secretary for Scotland. That Ker did not succeed in carrying out this may be inferred from Queensberry's neglect to insist upon the necessary military precautions to protect Scotland against a French landing.

The "Union Duke" died on 6th July 1711, having survived for nearly two years his duchess, who was a daughter of Charles Boyle, Lord Clifford, and
His death,
6th July 1711. granddaughter of Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork and 1st Earl of Burlington, and by whom he had four sons and three daughters. He was succeeded as 3rd Duke of Queensberry and 2nd Duke of Dover by his third son, Charles, Earl of Solway, who, by his wife, Lady Catherine Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon and Rochester, had two sons—(1) Henry, Earl of Drumlanrig, who shot himself accidentally in 1745; and (2) Charles, Earl of Drumlanrig, who died unmarried in 1756. On the death of the 3rd Duke of Queensberry without surviving issue in 1778, his English peerage expired, but the Scottish honours devolved upon William, 3rd Earl of March, grandson of the second son of the 1st Duke, who became 4th Duke of Queensberry. He never married, and almost his sole distinction was such as might have been attained by any wealthy man about town in a dissolute age. As Earl of March, indeed, he did some good service

by establishing a sound system on the turf, and in bringing the art of breeding racehorses to perfection. When George III. became king, he made March a lord of the bedchamber, and in 1761 he was elected a representative peer of Scotland. Upon succeeding his cousin as Duke of Queensberry, he took the side of the Prince of Wales, and in 1786 was created a British peer, with the title of Baron Douglas of Amesbury. A typical "Regency" profligate, "Old Q." did nothing in his later years to regain for his high rank that respect which he had forfeited in his youth,

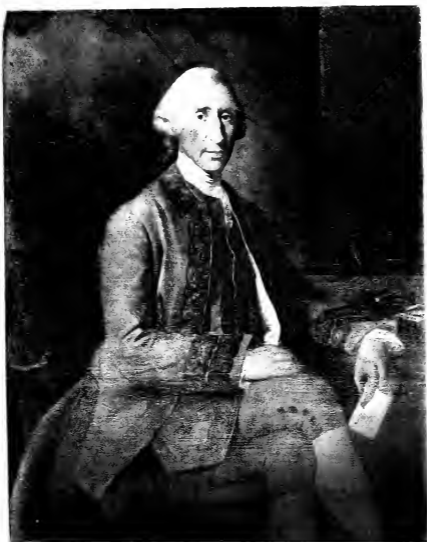
"And there, insatiate yet with folly's sport,
That polish'd sin-worn fragment of the court,
The shade of Queensb'ry, should with Clermont meet,
Ogling and hobbling down St. James's Street."

The subject of a thousand anecdotes, he endeavoured to prolong his worthless life by allowing a liberal fee to his French physician, Père Elisée, for every day he lived; notwithstanding which, one Fuller, an apothecary in Piccadilly, sued the duke's executors for £10,000, representing fees for 9340 visits and attendance on 1215 nights, during the last seven years and a half of his patient's life. Fuller actually obtained a verdict for £7500.

In his native country Old Q. is chiefly remembered for having ruthlessly felled the fine woodlands round Drumlanrig and Neidpath, to provide a marriage portion for Maria Fagniani, whom he imagined to be his daughter, when she married the Earl of Yarmouth. The ruin thus created fired even Wordsworth to unwonted bitterness:—

"Degenerate Douglas! oh, the unworthy lord!
Whom mere despite of heart could so far please,
And love of havoc (for with such disease
Fame taxes him), that he could send forth word
To level with the dust a noble horde,
A brotherhood of venerable trees,
Leaving an ancient dome and towers like these
Beggared and outraged."

Dying in 1810, at the age of eighty-six, he was buried in St. James's Church, Piccadilly. His immense fortune,



*William Douglas,
4th Duke of Queensberry
1741-1802
From a painting at Drumhargate Castle*

amounting to over a million sterling, accumulated in large measure by betting and gambling, was divided by his will among an immense number of persons. His British peerage expired with his life, but Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, succeeded under entail to the Drumlanrig estates, and, as heir of line, to the dukedom of Queensberry. The marquessate passed into another line of Douglas, being claimed by Sir Charles Douglas of Kelhead, as descended from the Hon. Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, second son of the 1st Earl of Queensberry [lxxx.], and therefore heir-male of Douglas of Drumlanrig. Sir Charles's claim was supported by his father-in-law, Henry, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, and was established in his favour by the House of Lords on 9th July 1812. This accounts for the puzzling anomaly of a dukedom and marquessate of Queensberry being held simultaneously, as they are at this day, by the heads of two different branches of the same family. The confusion is increased by the fact that, while the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry is Earl of Drumlanrig and Baron Douglas of Kinmont [Kinmont having been, until it was recently sold, the principal mansion of the Marquess of Queensberry], the Marquess of Queensberry is also Viscount Drumlanrig [Drumlanrig being the principal mansion of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry], as well as Lord Douglas of Tibbers [Tibbers being part of the estate of the said duke].¹ It is interesting to note that the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, who has inherited by descent so much of the ancient Douglas territory, is lineally descended from Sir Walter Scott, *dominus de Buccleuch*, who in 1463 received from James III. a charter to himself and his son David Scott, erecting Branksholm into a free barony, in reward for their services "in the rebellion, invasion and expulsion of James Douglas and his brothers."²

¹ Another complication may be noticed in the fact that the present Douglas, Earl of Morton, claims to be 22nd Lord Dalkeith under the creation by James I. in 1401; while the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry is Earl of Dalkeith under the creation by Charles II. in 1673.

² Nisbet's *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 86.

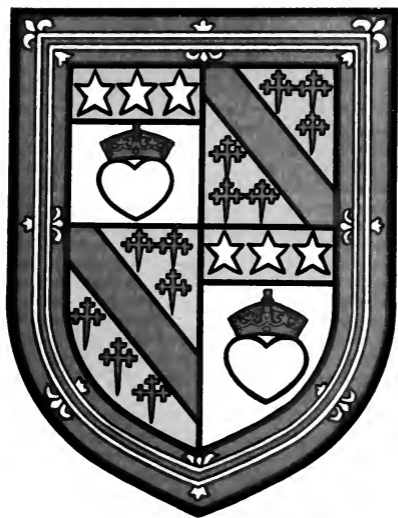
Charles, Marquess of Queensberry, was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1833, with the title of Baron Solway of Kinmont. At his death in 1837 that peerage became extinct, and the Scottish marquessate passed to his brother, whose great-grandson, Sir Percy Sholto Douglas, born 13th October 1868, is now 9th Marquess of Queensberry, Viscount Drumlanrig, Lord Douglas of Hawick and Tibbers.

* * * * *

Farther than this point I do not attempt to carry the long and chequered chronicle of the house of Douglas. In Church and State, in arms and literature, in science and commerce, many of its scions have risen to distinction in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; merely to enumerate those who have left their mark on the annals of our country would be a lengthy task. Much remains for the future historian, for the race retains all its pristine energy, now happily directed into law-abiding and fruitful channels. *Jamais arrière*—the motto assumed by the Good Sir James in the fiery struggle for national independence, is a proud vaunt and difficult to live up to, yet his posterity have well responded to the lofty summons.

“What’s in a name?” Much, it seems; for it has come to pass that we are inclined to expect more of one bearing that of Douglas than of people with less historic surnames. In these pages the virtues of individuals have not been inflated, neither have their foibles been screened nor their evil doings glozed. The record stands as the various actors have left it. They suffered and they made to suffer; they served and they made others to serve. Now they rose to the highest levels of patriotism and loyalty, and anon sank to the dark and crooked ways of treason and dishonour. A masterly, purposeful, ambitious breed, their influence cannot have been for ill upon the destiny of their country, seeing what a large share of power lay ever in their hands; and no family has furnished more material towards the ideal of a Scottish gentleman.

Sit sine labe decus!



Sir Percy Skolto Douglas, 9th Marquess and 11th Earl of Queensberry, Viscount Drumlanrig, Lord Douglas of Hawick and Tibbers.

INDEX



- ABERCORN**, i. 159.
 Abercorn Castle, i. 180, 188, 191 and *note* 2.
 Besieged, ii. 16.
 Abercorn, Earl of, ii. 218.
 Aberdeen, Bishop of, ii. 80, 83.
 President of Commissioners at Blackness, ii. 34.
 Aberdeen, rebel earls subscribe confession of faith at, ii. 173.
 Aberdeen, Robert Bruce near, i. 31.
 Aberdour, i. 159.
 Aberdour, hospital of St. Martha founded, i. 238.
 Abernethy, ii. 3, 42, 51.
 4th Earl of Angus buried at, ii. 20.
 8th Earl of Angus (lvi.) buried at, ii. 147.
 Given to Argyll, i. 97.
 Abernethy, Sir Alexander de, i. 39.
 Abernethy, Sir Hugh de, i. 19.
 Murders Duncan, Earl of Fife, i. 21.
 Abernethy, (Sir) Lawrence de, joins Douglas, i. 46.
 Abernethy, Margaret, wife of Sir John Stuart of Boncle, ii. 3.
 Abernethy, Marjory de, wife of Hugh de Douglas, i. 19.
 Abernethy, Sir William de, i. 236.
 Abjuration Oath, ii. 268.
 Act of Abolition, ii. 171.
 Act of Security passed, ii. 279, 281.
 Act of Union, ii. 283.
 Adam, architect of Douglas and Inverary Castles, ii. 243.
 Adlerley, William, ii. 184.
 African Company, 4th Duke of Hamilton promotes, ii. 208.
 Agazano, Marc Antonio Scoto d', ii. 188.
 Account of arms of Scoti, i. 12.
 Agincourt, i. 142.
 Agnes of Dunbar, wife of Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 229, 232.
 Agnew, Sir Andrew, of Lochnaw, i. 193.
 Agnew, Sir Andrew, Sheriff of Galloway, ii. 267.
 Alan the Steward, i. 6, 16.
 Alastair, Lord of the Isles, burns Inverness, ii. 10.
 Alban or Scotia proper, i. 2, 3.
 Albany, Alexander Stuart, Duke of, i. 151, 193.
 Assumes title of Alexander iv., i. 199; ii. 25.
 Intrigues with Edward iv., ii. 28, 30.
 Invades Scotland, i. 198, 200; ii. 26.
 Killed in Paris, ii. 30.
 Lieutenant of Realm and Earl of Mar, ii. 28.
 Submits to James, ii. 30.
 Albany, John, Duke of, Regent, ii. 56, 65.
 In France, ii. 58, 71, 74, 77.
 Lands in Scotland, ii. 57, 67, 75.
 Partisans, ii. 73.
 Seizes Tantallon, Bothwell, and Douglas Castles, ii. 69.
 Albany, Murdoch, Duke of, i. 142; ii. 9.
 Arrested with his son Alexander, i. 151.
 Builds Tantallon Castle, i. 164.
 Prisoner in England, i. 141, 142.
 Albany, Robert, Duke of (Earl of Fife), i. 105, 122, 131; ii. 4.
 Arrests Rothesay, i. 135.
 At Calder Moor, i. 132.
 Character, i. 141.
 Death, i. 142.
 Friendship with Douglas, i. 140.
 Guardian of Scotland, i. 121, 122.
 Alençon, Duc d', at Verneuil, i. 145.
 Alexander "the Fierce," son of Malcolm Canmore, i. 3.

- Alexander II., i. 209.
 Death and succession, i. 18.
- Alexander III.—
 Captured by Menteith party, i. 19.
 Death, i. 23.
 Gains battle at Largs, i. 2.
 Minority, i. 18.
- Alexander, Lord, son of Earl of Stirling,
 married Lady Margaret Douglas,
 ii. 196.
- Alexander of Otterburn arrested, i. 151.
- Alfonzo XI. of Castile, i. 63.
- Alnwick Castle—
 Besieged, i. 60; ii. 19.
 Burned, i. 167, 181; ii. 14.
 Malcolm Canmore slain near, i. 3.
- Ancona, Cardinal of, ii. 81.
- Ancrum Moor, fight at, i. 249; ii. 117.
- Angus earldom, ii. 2.
 Devolves on 7th Duke of Hamilton,
 ii. 215, 244.
- Angus estates, ii. 125.
- Angus, (Sir) Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl
 of, ii. 2.
- Angus, grandson of Lulach, rising under,
 i. 4.
- Angus, John Comyn, Earl of, ii. 2.
- Angus, Malcolm, last Celtic Earl of, ii.
 2.
- Angus, Margaret, Countess of Mar and,
 ii. 3, 8.
- Angus of the Isles—
 Entertains Robert Bruce, i. 33.
 Proclaimed defaulter, i. 24.
- Angus, Thomas Stewart, Earl of,
 Chamberlain of Scotland, ii. 3.
- Angus, Umfraville, Earl of, ii. 2.
 At Neville's Cross, i. 223.
 Guardian of Scotland, i. 39.
- Angus (*see also* Douglas, Earls of).
- Angus rebellion (1594), ii. 171.
- Angus Regiment (*see* Cameronian).
- Anjou, Duc d', projects of marriage, i.
 266.
- Annan Camisade, i. 72, 211.
- Annan, Sir David de, i. 210.
- Anandale, ii. 29.
 Granted to Alexander, Duke of
 Albany, i. 193.
 Granted to John of Logie, i. 86.
 Transferred to Douglas (xvi.), i. 140,
 156.
- Anandale, Marquess of, ii. 211, 226.
- Anne, daughter of Robert, Earl of
 Sunderland, wife of Hamilton
 (lxxi.), ii. 215.
- Anne, Queen, accession, ii. 208.
- Anne, Queen, pension to Duke of
 Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 231.
- Anstruther, Jean, wife of James
 Douglas, ii. 165.
- Apologetical Declaration, ii. 268.
- Arbroath Monastery, i. 165; ii. 120,
 128.
- Arbuthnot, John, 6th Viscount,
 married Marjory Douglas, ii. 155.
- Arbuthnot, Philip, married Margaret
 Douglas, i. 232.
- Argentine, Sir Giles de, slain at
 Bannockburn, i. 45.
- Argyll, Alexander of, connection with
 Comyn, i. 32.
 Surrenders Dunstaffnage, i. 40.
- Argyll, Archibald, 1st Marquess,
 married Margaret Douglas, ii. 183.
- Argyll, Archibald, 7th Earl of—
 In Netherlands, ii. 164.
 Married Agnes Douglas, ii. 165.
- Argyll, Duke of, ii. 278.
 Endeavours to get Hamilton nomi-
 nated Commissioner on Union, ii.
 210.
- Argyll, 4th Earl of, Chancellor of
 Scotland, ii. 33, 78, 83.
 Death, ii. 105.
 Mission to England, ii. 34.
- Argyll, 5th Earl of, Commander-in-
 Chief, i. 264.
- Argyll, 6th Earl of, at St. Andrews,
 Chancellor of Scotland, ii. 140,
 164.
 Hostile to Morton, i. 275, 284.
- Arkinholm battle, i. 177, 180; ii. 16.
- Account of, i. 191.
- Archibald, Earl of Moray, killed at,
 i. 177, 192.
- Armstrong, Eekie, captures Northum-
 berland, i. 270.
- Armstrong, Johnnie, of Gilnockie,
 hanged, ii. 105.
- Armstrong's mosstroopers, ii. 82, 85.
 Action against, ii. 88, 89.
- Arran, Boyd, Earl of—
 Married Mary Stuart, ii. 23.
 Mission to Copenhagen, ii. 23.
- Arran, Earl of, ii. 65, 66, 69, 71, 83,
 97.
 Death, ii. 100.
 Feud with Angus, ii. 59.
 League with Moray and Beaton, ii.
 95.
- Arran Island, i. 33.
- Arran, James Stuart, Earl of, Regent, i.
 247; ii. 107, 137, 141, 142.
 Accuses Morton of murder, i. 278,
 281; ii. 136.
- At Ancrum Moor, ii. 117.
- At Pinkie, ii. 122.

- Arran, Earl of—*continued*.
 Combination against, ii. 145.
 Distrust and jealousy of Angus, ii. 143, 144.
 Fall of, i. 289.
 In Blackness Castle, ii. 115.
 Joins French faction, ii. 113.
 Marches against Lennox, ii. 110.
 Married Margaret Douglas, i. 245.
 Resigns Regency, ii. 125.
 Return to power, ii. 163.
 Sketch of career, i. 248.
- Arundel, Earl of, raid at Jedburgh, i. 48.
- Athol, Duke of, ii. 210.
 Letter on damage done to Douglas Castle, ii. 235.
 Lord Privy Seal, ii. 280.
 Married Lady Catherine Douglas, ii. 206.
- Athol, David, Earl of, ii. 103.
 Makes terms with Edward II., i. 213.
 Slain at Kilblain, i. 215.
- Athol, Earl of, i. 32.
 At Methven, i. 31.
 Slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
- Athol, Earl of—
 Death, i. 277, 284.
 Guardian of Angus (lvi.), ii. 132.
 Head of Catholic lords, i. 260, 261.
 Hostile to Morton, i. 276.
- Athol, John Stewart, Earl of, i. 202.
 Loyal to James, ii. 34.
 Married Margaret Douglas, widow of 8th and 9th Earls of Douglas, i. 202.
- Athol, Marquess of, ii. 202.
- Athol, Walter, Earl of, captured, ii. 11.
- Auchinleck, Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Douglas (xlvi.), ii. 54.
- Auchinleck, Sir George, of Balmanno, ii. 154.
 Married Sarah Douglas, ii. 155.
- Avoch, i. 159.
- Avonbridge battle, ii. 86.
- Ayr, Parliament of, i. 47.
- Ayton, truce with England at, i. 230.
- Aytoun, Professor, on ballads *Waly, waly* and *Jamie Douglas*, ii. 219.
- BAILLIE, Sir William, of Lamington, ii. 127.
- Bain identifies "Lyliat Cross," i. 91.
- Baird, William, i. 211.
- Balfour, Sir James, witness against Morton, i. 280.
- Baliol, Edward—
 At English Court, i. 71.
 Crowned at Scone, i. 72, 213.
- Baliol, Edward—*continued*.
 Lands in Fife, i. 211.
 Surrenders lands to Edward III., i. 69.
- Baliol, (Sir) Henry de, i. 47.
 Slain at Annan, i. 73.
- Baliol, John de, holds Parliament at Scone, i. 24.
- Ballad of *Jamie Douglas*, ii. 219.
- Balloch, Donald, i. 196, 197.
 In Clyde, i. 187.
- Balvay lands, i. 159, 180.
- Bamborough Castle captured, ii. 19.
 Edward II. at, i. 46.
- Bannatyne, Richard—
 Account of examination of Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow, i. 259.
 On hanging of prisoners, i. 269.
 On Morton's last speech, i. 281.
- Bannockburn, battle of, i. 42, 44.
 Sir James Douglas (vii.) at, i. 43, 45.
- Barbour—
 Account of Edward's flight, i. 46.
 Chronology, i. 35.
 Estimate of Bruce's followers, i. 36, 38, 42.
 On Douglas' conduct after Loudon Hill, i. 37.
 On Douglas Larder, i. 35.
 On James of Douglas and Edward I., i. 30.
 On rivalry between Douglas and Moray, i. 50.
 On Robert Bruce's death, i. 61.
 Quotes Douglas' fable, i. 59.
 Sketch of Black Douglas, i. 64.
- Barclay, Sir David—
 Arrests William Bullock, i. 220, 224.
 Murdered, i. 78, 224.
- Bargany, John Hamilton, 1st Lord, married Lady Jean Douglas, ii. 196.
- Barnton Castle besieged, i. 164.
- Bartholomew, William, i. 217.
- Bastie, de la, murdered, ii. 71.
- Battlehaugh, duel at, i. 141.
- Baugé, battle of, i. 143, 146, 150.
 Douglas (lxxvii.) at, ii. 249.
- Beaton, Cardinal—
 Arrested, ii. 109, 112.
 Heads French faction, i. 247, 248.
 Interview with Sir George Douglas, ii. 107.
 Murdered, ii. 120.
- Beaton, James, Abbot of Arbroath, ii. 128.
- Beaton (*see* Glasgow, Archbishop of).
- Beaumont, (Sir) Henry de, at Bannockburn, i. 44.

- Bedford, John, Duke of, i. 142.
 Besieges Ivy Castle, i. 145.
- Bedrule Barony, i. 52.
- Bell, George, captures Morton, Glencairn, and Lennox, i. 269.
- Bellenden, Sir Lewis, Scottish Lord Justice-Clerk, ii. 144.
- Beroald the Fleming, i. 5.
- Berwick, Marshal of, takes Edinburgh Castle, i. 273.
- Berwick-on-Tweed—
 Attacked by Bruce and Douglas, i. 47.
 Besieged, i. 49, 50 *note*, 73.
 Captured, i. 91.
 Sacked, i. 25.
 Taken by English, ii. 26, 29.
 Treaty with Queen Elizabeth ratified at, i. 251.
- Berwick, Peace of, ii. 84.
- Biggar, Walter, Lord of, Chamberlain of Scotland, ii. 3.
- Biland battle, i. 55.
- Binning, Thomas, i. 259.
 Attempts Morton's life, i. 266.
 Hanged, i. 289.
- Bishops as peers of the realm, i. 14 and *note*.
- Blackadder, Adam, Prior of Coldingham, ii. 62.
- Blackadder, Robert, married Alison Douglas, ii. 52.
- Blackadder, Robert, Prior of Coldingham, ii. 62.
- Blackness Castle, i. 272.
 Angus imprisoned in, ii. 114.
 Arran in, i. 248.
 Lord Drummond imprisoned in, ii. 67.
- Blackness treaty, ii. 34.
- Blucher at Ligny, i. 136.
- Bocharm, i. 159.
- Boece, Hector, i. 7: on—
 Douglas (xxiii.), John, i. 180.
 Douglas' (xx.) mile, i. 169, 170.
 6th Earl of Douglas, i. 154.
 8th Earl of Douglas, i. 163.
 Douglases at Stirling, i. 183.
 Sark battle, i. 178.
- Boharm, i. 180.
- Bohun, Sir Henry de, single combat with Robert Bruce, i. 43.
- Boncle Manor, ii. 79.
 Given to Moray, ii. 97.
- Boniface VIII., Bull *Detestando feritatis abusum*, i. 61.
- Bonjedworth lands, ii. 6.
- Bonkill, Sir Alexander of, i. 40.
Book of Discipline subscribed by Douglas (lii.), ii. 252.
- Border clans, monition of cursing against, Appendix C., ii. 90.
- Borgue lands, Galloway, i. 236.
- Boroughbridge, battle of, i. 53.
- Borough Muir battle, i. 212.
 James Douglas slain at, i. 213.
- Borthwick Castle, Mary Queen of Scots and Bothwell in, i. 260.
- Borthwick, Janet, wife of—(1) Lord Dalkeith (xxx.); (2) Sir George Crichton, Earl of Caithness, i. 237.
- Borthwick, Lord, Marion Carruthers under care of, ii. 254.
- Borthwick, Margaret, wife of—(1) Sir William de Abernethy; (2) William Douglas, i. 236.
- Bothwell Barony, ii. 54, 200.
 Given to Arran, ii. 97.
 Owned by Earl of Home, ii. 39.
- Bothwell Castle, Douglas genealogical table in, i. 13.
- Bothwell Castle seized by Albany, ii. 69.
- Bothwell, Earl of, ii. 110.
 Lieutenant of Lothian, ii. 100.
- Bothwell, Earl of, takes George Douglas prisoner, ii. 113.
- Bothwell, Francis, Earl of, i. 285.
 Attainted, ii. 168.
 Married Margaret Douglas, widow of Sir Walter Scott, ii. 130.
 Tried for complicity in Huntly's rising, ii. 152.
- Bothwell, James Hepburn (Duke of Orkney)—
 Escapes from Carberry Hill, i. 261.
 Joins Mary Queen of Scots at Dunbar, i. 256.
 Marries Mary Queen of Scots, i. 260.
 Obtains Morton's pardon, i. 257.
 Tried for Darnley's murder, i. 259, 260.
- Bothwell, John Ramsay, Lord, favourite of James III., ii. 32, 37, 39.
 At Lauder Bridge, ii. 28.
- Bothwell, Patrick Hepburn, Earl of, ii. 38, 39.
 Married Janet Douglas, i. 239.
 Property forfeited, ii. 133.
- Bothwell, Sir Thomas Moray, Lord of, i. 118.
- Botriphny, i. 180.
- Boulogne lost to Henry VIII., ii. 118.
- Bourdin, Michel, monument to James Douglas (lxv.), ii. 194.
- Bower, Walter, Abbot of Inchcolm, Chronicle, i. 1; quoted on—
 Archibald Douglas (xiii.), i. 115.
 Baliol's escape from Annan, i. 73.
 Borough Muir battle, i. 212.

- Bower, Walter—*continued*.
 David II., i. 224.
 David, Duke of Rothesay, i. 134.
 Douglas' (xi.) pretensions to throne, i. 87.
 Edward III. and Hundred Years' War, i. 214.
 Homildon Hill, i. 137.
 Influenza, i. 232.
 Malcontents' submission, i. 83.
 Master of Douglas (xvi.), i. 130.
 Murder of Sir Alexander de Ramsay, i. 219.
 Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, ii. 3.
 William Douglas, i. 210.
- Bowes, Robert, English ambassador at Scottish Court, i. 276, 278, 280.
 Commends Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.) to Burghley, i. 287.
 Expedition upon Merse, ii. 106.
- Bowton on Morton's share in Darnley's murder, i. 283.
- Boyd, (Sir) Alexander, executed, ii. 24.
- Boyd, Elizabeth, wife of Earl of Angus (xlili.), ii. 23, 40, 45.
- Boyd, (Sir) James, agreement with Lords Fleming and Kennedy, i. 240.
- Boyd, Mary, i. 243.
- Boyd of Kilmarnock arrested, i. 151.
- Boyd, (Sir) Robert, attacks Brodick Castle, i. 33.
- Boyd, Robert, Lord, Chamberlain and Justiciary of Scotland, ii. 23.
- Boys, Sir Humphrey de, i. 211.
- Brachly, i. 159.
- Braidwood lands, ii. 40, 42, 54.
 Surrendered, ii. 151.
- Brechin, "battle of the Billmen," i. 176.
- Brézé, Pierre de, captures Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwick, ii. 19.
- Brodick Castle, i. 33.
 Burned, i. 187.
 Raid on, i. 33.
- Brodie family, arms, i. 12.
- Brok, Hugh, i. 169.
- Brown, John, "the Christian Carrier," executed, ii. 269.
- Brown, Matthew, mission to Duke of Douglas, ii. 239.
- Bruce, Alexander, lands in Loch Ryan, i. 34.
- Bruce, David (*see* David II.).
- Bruce, Edward—
 At Bannockburn, i. 42, 45.
 At Craighcallie, i. 36.
 At Methven, i. 31.
- Bruce, Edward—*continued*.
 Besieges Stirling Castle, i. 41.
 Death, i. 50.
 King of Ireland, i. 48.
 Raids in England, i. 46.
- Bruce, Marjorie, i. 31.
 Betrothed to Walter the Steward, i. 47.
 Death, i. 50.
- Bruce, Nigel, i. 32.
- Bruce, King Robert—
 At Aberdeen, i. 31.
 At Bannockburn, i. 42.
 At Brodick Castle, i. 34.
 At Methven, i. 31.
 Charge to Douglas, i. 61.
 Crowned at Scone, i. 31.
 Death, i. 61.
 Escapes from Glen Trool, i. 37.
 First Parliament, i. 40.
 Guest of Angus of the Isles, i. 33.
 In Glen Trool, i. 35.
 In Ireland, i. 48, 57.
 Kills John Comyn, i. 30.
 Number of followers, i. 36, 38.
 Raids in England, i. 47, 53.
 Sacks Douglas Castle, i. 27.
 Single combat with Bohun, i. 43.
 Strategy, i. 40, 54, 74.
- Bruce, Thomas, lands in Loch Ryan, i. 34.
- Brus, Robert de, Earl of Carrick—
 Fights in Stephen's army, i. 4.
 Proclaimed defaulter, i. 24.
- Buccleuch, Duchess of, letters to Lord Royston, ii. 232.
- Buccleuch, 2nd Duke of, duel with Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 232.
- Buccleuch, 2nd Duke of, married Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 232.
- Buccleuch, Henry, 3rd Duke of, Duke of Queensberry, ii. 287.
- Buchan, Beaumont, Earl of, i. 71.
- Buchan, Earl of, i. 199; ii. 103.
- Buchan, Earl of, defeated at Old Meldrum, i. 39.
- Buchan, John Stuart, Earl of—
 In French army, i. 143.
 Married Elizabeth Douglas, i. 140.
 Slain at Verneuil, i. 146.
- Buchanan, George, i. 7.
 On retreat from Berwick, ii. 115.
 On Solway Moss battle, ii. 106.
 Story of James III. and Angus, ii. 33.
- Buckingham, George, Duke of, ii. 183.
- Bughuann, Otto Federico Cumenio, Conte di, ii. 188.
- Builtle Castle, i. 41.

- Bnittle lands, i. 57, 76, 94; ii. 6.
Buke of the Howlat, i. 175, 198.
 Bullock, William, Chamberlain to Edward Baliol, i. 215, 216.
 Fall of, i. 220.
 Bunch, William, Abbot of Kilwinning, ii. 42.
 Burghley, Lord, Hunsdon's letter to, quoted, i. 291.
 Burghley, Lord, settlement with Mary Queen of Scots, i. 267.
 Burgundy, Jean-sans-peur, Duke of, alliance with Douglas, i. 141, 144.
 Burnet on Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 215.
 "Burnt Candlemas," i. 80.
- CAERLAVEROCK Castle, i. 41.
 Cairns, Andrew, ii. 99.
 Caithness, (Sir) George Crichton, Earl of, i. 237.
 Caithness, John, Earl of, proclaimed defaulter, i. 24.
 Calais, siege of, i. 221.
 Calder Castle, ii. 6.
 Calderwood on—
 Angus (lvi.), ii. 149.
 James V. and Angus, ii. 100, 105.
 Morton saving Mary Queen of Scots' life, i. 262.
 Retreat from Berwick, ii. 115.
 Cambuskenneth, Parliament at, i. 47.
 Camden quoted on Lady Margaret Lennox, ii. 131.
 Cameron, Richard, leader of Covenanters, ii. 268.
 Cameronian Regiment raised, ii. 228.
 Camisade of Annan, i. 72, 211.
 Camisade of Douglas, i. 59.
 Campbell, Archibald, of Skipnish—
 Death, ii. 104.
 Married Janet Douglas, widow of John, Lord Glamis, ii. 53, 102.
 Campbell, (Sir) Duncan, of Glenorchy, married Margaret Douglas: ancestor of Earls of Breadalbane, ii. 21.
 Campbell, John, of Cawdor, married Elizabeth Douglas, ii. 181.
 Campbell, Nigel, at Methven, i. 31.
 Canmore (*see* Malcolm Canmore).
 Canonbie, Dacre and Douglas meet at, ii. 50.
 Canonbie, James IV. at, ii. 41.
 Carberry Hill, fight at, i. 261.
 Cariel, Gautier de, on gunpowder, i. 113.
 Carlisle besieged, i. 47.
 Carlisle, Bishop of, i. 183.
 Carlyle, Margaret, wife of 3rd Douglas of Drumlanrig, ii. 250.
- Carmichael, Sir John, ii. 152, 167.
 Warns Hunsdon against Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.), i. 291.
 Carmichael, Sir William, married Lady Grizel Douglas, ii. 196.
 Carrick, Alexander, Earl of, slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
 Carrick earldom, i. 34.
 Carrick, John, Earl of (*see* Robert III.).
 Carruthers, Janet, wife of Thomas Roreson, ii. 253.
 Carruthers, Marion, sketch of, ii. 254.
 Carruthers, Simon, of Mouswald, his heiresses, ii. 253.
 Cary, Edward, ii. 205.
 Casket Letters, i. 262, 283.
 Cassillis, Earl of—
 Address to Hertford, ii. 118.
 Offer to Sadleyr, ii. 120.
 Taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
 Cathcart, Lord, i. 241.
 Separates Morton and James Stuart, i. 279.
 Cavers lands, i. 94, 112; ii. 6.
 Granted to Sir David Fleming, i. 112, 159.
 Celtic risings, i. 4.
 "Chapter of Myton," i. 51.
 Charles I.—
 Confers earldom of Queensberry on Drumlanrig (lxxx.), ii. 263.
 Creates Angus Marquess of Douglas, ii. 188.
 Crowned in Edinburgh, ii. 263.
 Grant to Morton (lxi.), ii. 183.
 Orders use of liturgy in Scotland, ii. 198.
 Charles II.—
 Assembles Parliament at Perth and Stirling, ii. 191.
 First Parliament in Edinburgh, ii. 218.
 Letter to Aberdeen on Angus (lxxiii.), ii. 227.
 Letter to Duchess of Hamilton, ii. 206.
 Letter to Selkirk, ii. 200.
 Signs Covenant in Scotland, ii. 198.
 Charles le Bien-aimé (vi.), i. 126.
 Scottish Contingent, i. 143.
 Charles VII. asks 'for Douglas' assistance, i. 143, 150.
 Charles VII. grants Touraine Duchy—
 (1) to Douglas, i. 144, 167; (2) to Louis of Sicily, i. 148.
 Charlie, Prince, at Douglas, ii. 235.
 Charny, Sir Geoffrey de, in Scotland, i. 100.

- Charteris of Amisfield, i. 200.
 Chatcherault, Duke of, knights James Douglas (lii.), ii. 252.
 Chatsworth, conference of Burghley and Mary Queen of Scots at, i. 267, 270.
 Cheyne, Sir John, Commissioner for Henry VII., ii. 37.
 Cheyne, Sir Thomas, English agent in Paris, ii. 76.
 Chillingham Castle captured, ii. 43.
 Chinon granted to Douglas (xvi.), i. 144.
 Churchill, Colonel John, ii. 214.
 Clan Chattan, ii. 105.
 Clarence, Duke of, killed at Baugé, i. 150; ii. 249.
 Claverhouse estates forfeited, ii. 223.
 Claverhouse, John Graham of (Viscount Dundee), in Galloway, ii. 266, 276. Letters to Queensberry (lxxxii.), ii. 269.
 "Cleanse the Causeway," ii. 73.
 Clifford, Charles Boyle, Lord, ii. 285.
 Clifford, Sir Robert de, i. 30, 38. At Bannockburn, i. 44. Defeated in Glen Trool, i. 37. Obtains lands of Douglasdale, i. 28. Rebuilds Douglas Castle, i. 35.
 Clifford, Sir Thomas, on Lady Glamis' doom, ii. 103.
 Cluny lands, ii. 12.
 Cobham, Sir Ralph de, at Biland, i. 55.
 Cochrane, Thomas, hanged at Lauder Bridge, ii. 28.
 Cochrane, Thomas, revenues of Mar granted to, ii. 25.
 Cockburn lands, i. 52.
 Cockermonth raided, i. 105.
 Coldingham Priory, ii. 62. Besieged by Arran, ii. 115. James V.'s expedition to, ii. 98. Monks' complaint to David II., i. 67. Revenues, ii. 32.
 Collingwood, Sir Cuthbert, complains of Douglas of Bonjedworth, ii. 135.
 Colman, Thomas, Master of St. Thomas', Canterbury, ii. 61.
 Colville, James, of Easter Wemyss, ii. 162.
 Colville, John, spy, ii. 177.
 Comlongon tragedy, ii. 253.
 Comyn, John, Earl of Angus, ii. 2.
 Comyn, John, slain at Dumfries, i. 30.
 Comyn, Walter, Earl of Menteith, heads national party, i. 18.
 Comyn, (Sir) Walter, slain at Annan, i. 73.
 Confederate lords—
 In England, ii. 142, 144.
 Return to Scotland, ii. 145, 146.
 Convention of Scottish Estates acknowledges William and Mary, ii. 203.
 Copenhagen, Arran's mission to, ii. 23.
 Corrichie, ii. 150.
 Earl of Huntly slain at, i. 252.
 Couci, Marie de, i. 18.
 Coupland, John, captures David II., i. 223.
 Coupland, Thomas, killed, ii. 262.
 Courcelles, Marie, plans escape from Lochleven, ii. 158, 159.
 Covenanters rebel, ii. 268.
 Covenanters, severities against, ii. 202.
 Craig, Dr. John, attends Angus (lvi.), ii. 147.
 Craigencallie, Bruce and Douglas meet at, i. 36.
 Craigmillar Castle, i. 198.
 Crawford, (Sir) John de, i. 16.
 Crawford, 3rd Earl of, i. 151. Excommunicated, i. 165.
 Crawford, 4th "Tiger Earl," i. 165, 184, 241. League with Douglas (xx.), i. 171, 172, 187.
 Crawford, 5th Earl, Duke of Montrose, lands forfeited, ii. 40.
 Crawford, Earl of, at St. Andrews, ii. 140.
 Crawford, John, 20th Earl of, on continent, ii. 237.
 Crawford lands granted to Angus (xliii.), ii. 40.
 Crawford, Margaret de, wife of Sir Archibald Douglas, i. 209.
 Crawford, Robert, of Auchinames, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 61.
 Crawford-Douglas given to Maxwell, ii. 97.
 Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-Douglas Barony, ii. 41, 51.
 Cressingham, Hugh de, i. 17.
 Crevant battle, i. 150.
 Crichton, Andrew, commands at Barn-ton Castle, i. 164.
 Crichton, George, Abbot of Holyrood, ii. 63.
 Crichton, (Sir) James, of Fren draught, i. 176.
 Crichton, Janet, wife of Sir James Douglas (xxxv.), i. 242.
 Crichton, John, Vicar of Dalkeith, i. 242.
 Crichton of Sanquhar at Lochmaben, i. 200.

- Crichton, Robert, of Kirkpatrick, murdered, ii. 250.
- Crichton, William, Jesuit priest, ii. 168.
- Crichton, (Sir) William, Chancellor of Scotland, i. 154, 156, 163.
At Dunbar, ii. 10.
Governor of Edinburgh Castle, i. 153.
League against Douglas, i. 169, 187.
Raid in Abercorn and Strabrock, i. 164, 165.
Restored to office, i. 168.
Submits to King, i. 166.
- Crocket, Andrew, i. 235.
- Cromartie, Lord, Secretary of State, ii. 278.
- Cromwell, Oliver, first 1st Marquess Douglas, ii. 191.
- Cullen, Captain, i. 285.
- Culloden, ii. 237.
- Cumberland, raid into, i. 104.
- Cumbria, i. 2, 3.
Divided, i. 3.
- Cumnock, i. 38.
- Cunninghame, Andrew, of Kirkshaw, married Agnes Douglas, ii. 251.
- Cupar Castle, i. 215, 216.
- Curry, Wat, at Edinburgh Castle, i. 217.
- DABTON lands bestowed on Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 230.
- Dacre, Lord, ii. 44, 62.
At Flodden, ii. 55.
Entertains Bishop Gavin, ii. 61.
Interview with Douglas, ii. 50.
Policy in Scotland, ii. 69, 76.
- Daer, Lords, ii. 205, 206.
- Dalgarnock estate, ii. 250.
- Dalkeith Barony, i. 220.
Dispute about lands, i. 227.
Resigned, i. 87.
Sold, ii. 183.
- Dalkeith Castle, i. 237, 241; ii. 146.
Armour in, i. 234.
Besieged, i. 248, 249.
Chapel in, i. 231.
Taken, ii. 113, 123.
- Dalkeith Church (St. Nicholas)—
Founded, i. 231, 235.
Monument of Earl and Countess of Morton, i. 240.
Re-endowed, i. 238.
- Dalmellington, i. 30.
- Dalmeny, i. 167.
- Dalry, Bruce attacked at, i. 32.
- Dalry, Sir James Douglas (vii.) wounded at, i. 32.
- Dalrymple, Sir Hew, action against Stewart-Douglas (lxxvi.), ii. 245.
- Dalrymple, Sir Hew, buys Tantallon, ii. 226.
- Dalswinton Castle, i. 41.
- Darien scheme, ii. 277.
- Darnaway Castle, i. 175.
- Darnley, Henry, Lord, i. 252, 255; ii. 130.
Murdered, i. 259.
Plot against, i. 257.
- David I., i. 3.
Sketch of reign, i. 4.
- David II.—
Death, i. 87.
Exile in France, i. 69.
Grants to Douglas (xxviii.), i. 220.
Invades England, i. 222.
Marriage, i. 60, 71, 82.
Ransom, i. 79, 81.
Returns to Scotland, i. 76, 218.
Secret treaties with England, i. 83, 84.
Taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, i. 76, 223.
- Davidson, John, lampoon on Morton, i. 274.
- De Coussy on Earl of Douglas' army, i. 168.
- Derby, Sir Henry de Lancaster, Earl of, i. 217.
Challenges Douglas (xxviii.), i. 218.
- Devorguille's Abbey of Holywood, i. 118, 125.
- Dickson, Thomas, at Hazelside, i. 34.
- Dicksons, action against, ii. 88.
- Dirleton Castle seized by Douglas, i. 82.
- Donald Ban, contest with Duncan, i. 3, 7.
- Donald Ban, rising under, i. 7.
- Doon Loch, i. 36.
- Douglas case, ii. 237, 245.
- Douglas Castle, i. 166.
Assault on (second), i. 35.
Assault on (third), i. 38.
Bruce's sword in, i. 64; ii. 235 and *note*.
Burnt down, i. 35; ii. 241, 243.
Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.) at, ii. 231, 235.
1st Marquess at, ii. 189.
Invested by James v., ii. 98.
Muniments in charter-chest, ii. 258.
Prepared for 2nd Marquess Douglas (lxxii.), ii. 219.
Prince Charlie at, ii. 235.
Rebuilt, i. 35; ii. 243.
Sacked, i. 27, 38.
Seized by Albany, ii. 69.
Sir Walter Scott at, i. 111.
Taken by Covenanters, ii. 190.

- Douglas Crag levelled, i. 169; ii. 15.
- Douglas estates, ii. 6, 18, 24, 40, 54, 68, 132, 242, 250.
- Commission appointed, ii. 226.
- Divided, i. 156.
- Forfeited, i. 11, 180, 192; ii. 16, 97.
- Granted to Knight of Liddesdale, i. 225.
- Impoverished by fines, ii. 265.
- Douglas Family, ii. 288.
- Arms, i. 11, 19 *note*; ii. 191.
- Branches of, i. 13.
- Charters, i. 10, 170, 209; ii. 15, 19.
- Connection with house of Moray, i. 9.
- Dalmahoy papers, ii. 161, 162, 164.
- Doubtful origin of, i. 7.
- Feud between Black and Red, i. 165; ii. 12, 251.
- First appearance of name, i. 6.
- Intermarriages with Stuarts, ii. 8.
- Lands in possession of, i. 13, 19, 52, 57, 170 *note*, 230, 244, 247.
- Meaning of name, i. 8.
- (For principal individuals referred to see separate list, vol. i. p. xix.)
- Douglas Larder, i. 34.
- Douglas, Margaret, Duchess of, ii. 240.
- Champion of Archibald Stewart-Douglas, ii. 241.
- Douglas Marquessate devolves on 7th Duke of Hamilton, ii. 215, 244.
- Douglas parish, St. Bride's Church, i. 17.
- Douglas (lxxii.) buried in, ii. 227.
- 1st Marquess buried in, ii. 193.
- Douglas Regiment (*see* Scots Regiment of).
- "Douglas wars," i. 270.
- Douglasdale, i. 9, 13, 31, 34; ii. 97.
- Lands bestowed on Sir Robert de Clifford, i. 28.
- Restored to Lord de Clifford, i. 69.
- Dover, 1st Duke of (lxxxiii.), ii. 284.
- Secretary of State, ii. 285.
- D'Oysel, French ambassador, ii. 132.
- Dregborn, William of, i. 235.
- Drumcork lands bestowed on Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 230.
- Drumlanrig Barony, i. 82; ii. 6, 204, 247.
- Drumlanrig Castle, ii. 249.
- Correspondence between James II. and Queensberry (lxxxii.) at, ii. 266.
- James VI. at, ii. 262.
- Drumlanrig Castle, new, ii. 273.
- Drumlanrig, Charles, Earl of, ii. 285.
- Drumlanrig, Henry, Earl of, ii. 285.
- Drummond, Elizabeth, wife of—
- (1) Sir David Fleming.
- (2) George Douglas (xlv.), ii. 48, 52.
- Drummond, James, on monument to Earl and Countess of Morton, i. 240.
- Drummond, Lord, imprisoned, ii. 67.
- Drummond, Lord, ii. 36; rebels, ii. 33.
- Drummond, (Sir) Malcolm, disputes earldom of Douglas, i. 115.
- Drummond, (Sir) Malcolm, married Isabel Douglas, i. 94, 96.
- Drummond, Margaret, ii. 49.
- Drummond, Margaret, wife of David II., i. 82.
- Appeal to Urban v., i. 116.
- Drury, description of Morton, i. 265.
- Drury, English Commander in Berwick, i. 266.
- Dryburgh Monastery burned, i. 54, 105.
- Dryburgh wrecked, ii. 120.
- Dryfe Sands battle, ii. 260.
- Duffus in Elgin, i. 159.
- Dukes (Scottish) created, i. 122.
- Dumbarton Castle—
- Angus (xliii.) in, ii. 41.
- Morton prisoner in, i. 279.
- Thomas Stuart, Earl of Angus, died in, ii. 3.
- Dumbarton earldom, ii. 195.
- Dumbarton Regiment, ii. 195.
- Dumfries—
- James IV. at, ii. 41.
- John Comyn slain at, i. 30.
- Mary Queen of Scots advances against, ii. 252.
- Peace Conference at, i. 46.
- Dumfries Castle, i. 41.
- Burned, ii. 14, 167.
- Dunaverty Castle, Cantyre, i. 33.
- Dunbar—
- Burned, i. 167.
- Held by French, ii. 98.
- Mary Queen of Scots at, i. 256.
- Dunbar, battle of, i. 25.
- Dunbar Castle, i. 124, 131, 132.
- Burned, ii. 14.
- Duke of Albany at, ii. 28, 30.
- In keeping of de la Bastie, ii. 71.
- Surrendered, ii. 10.
- Dunbar, Elizabeth, wife of—
- (1) Archibald, Earl of Moray, i. 174.
- (2) Gordon, i. 177.
- (3) Sir John Colquhoun, i. 177.
- Dunbar, Gavin (*see* Glasgow, Archbishop of).
- Dunbar, George, at Nesbit-Moor, i. 136.
- Dunbar, George Home, Earl of, ii. 174.

- Dunbar, Janet, wife of Sir James Crichton of Frendraught, i. 174, 176.
- Dunbar, Mary, wife of Basil Douglas, ii. 205.
- Dunbar, Patrick, Earl of, dispute with monks of Melrose, i. 14.
- Dunblane, Bishop of, ii. 83.
- Duncan, Archdeacon of the Isles, i. 196.
- Duncan, Earl of Fife, murdered, i. 21.
- Duncan, son of Malcolm Canmore, taken as hostage, i. 3.
- Dundalk, battle of, i. 50.
- Dundas, lands of, i. 167, 168.
- Dundas, (Sir) Lawrence, buys Orkney and Zetland, ii. 184.
- Dundas, Lord President, vote in Douglas case, ii. 245.
- Dundee, Viscount (*see* Claverhouse).
- Dundonald, 2nd Earl, married Lady Susanna Douglas, ii. 206.
- Dunfermline, Charles, Earl of, married Mary Douglas, ii. 183.
- Dunkeld, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of—
Mission to England, ii. 34.
Sketch of, ii. 55.
- Dunkeld garrisoned against Bishop Gavin, ii. 58.
- Dunkinty, Huntly defeated at, i. 176.
- Dunstaffnage, siege and capture of, i. 40.
- Dunstanborough Castle captured, ii. 19.
- Duntreath estate, ii. 7.
- Durward, Alan, Justiciar of Scotland, envoy of Henry III., i. 18.
- EADGAR Aetheling at Scottish Court, i. 2.
- Eadgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, i. 3.
- Eadmund, son of Malcolm Canmore, i. 3.
- Earnmouth, merchandise seized at, ii. 128.
- Easter Cluny lands, ii. 8.
- Echlin, i. 167.
- Edderdar, i. 159.
- Edinburgh—
Angus enters, ii. 79, 80.
"Cleanse the Causeway," ii. 73.
French knights in, i. 100.
- Edinburgh Castle—
Besieged, i. 132, 268, 273; ii. 13.
Captured, i. 41, 217.
Douglas (lii.) prisoner in, ii. 252.
Held for Queen Mary, i. 265.
James III. in, ii. 34.
- Edinburgh Castle—*continued.*
1st Marquess Douglas imprisoned in, ii. 191.
Morton prisoner in, i. 279.
Seized by Reformers, i. 250.
- Edmonstone, Sir John de, i. 111.
- Edmonstone, Sir William, of Culloden, ii. 7.
- Edward I.—
Besieges Stirling, i. 30.
Character, i. 37.
Death, i. 37.
Orders to Guardians of Scotland, i. 22.
Presentation to Church of Douglas, i. 17.
Rejects Douglas' fealty, i. 31.
Triumphal progress through Scotland, i. 25.
- Edward II.—
At Bannockburn, i. 45.
Invades Scotland, i. 38, 40, 54.
Truce with Scotland, i. 57.
- Edward III.—
Burns Aberdeen, i. 215.
Court at Bothwell, i. 69.
Employs Knight of Liddesdale on mission to Scottish nobles, i. 225.
Invades Scotland, i. 217.
Negotiates for peace, i. 57.
Supports Baliol's claim, i. 72.
Treats for peace, i. 80.
Treaty of peace with Scotland, i. 60, 87.
- Edward IV.—
Gifts to Douglasses, i. 181, 197.
Retakes Bamborough and Dunstanborough Castles, ii. 19.
Sends Douglasses to Earl of Ross, i. 196.
- Edwin, Charles, married Lady Charlotte Douglas, ii. 215.
- Egidia (Gelis), wife of Sir William Douglas (xiv.), i. 126.
- Egidia (Giles) wife of—
(1) Sir James Lindsay.
(2) Sir Hugh Eglinton.
(3) Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 232.
- Eglinton, Christian, sister of 2nd Earl, wife of James Douglas (lii.), ii. 259.
- Eglinton, (Sir) Hugh, i. 232.
- Eglinton, Hugh, 3rd Earl of, married Joanna Hamilton, i. 238.
- Eital captured, ii. 43.
- Elcho, David, Lord, married Lady Anne Douglas, ii. 273.
- Elgin burned, i. 176.
- Elgin, episcopal see removed to, i. 14.

- Elisée, Père, physician to 4th Duke of Queensberry, ii. 286.
- Elizabeth, daughter of Digby, Lord Gerard, wife of Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 215.
- Elizabeth, daughter of Robert III., wife of Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 236.
- Elizabeth of Dunbar betrothed to Duke of Rothesay, i. 123.
- Elizabeth, Queen, Scotch policy, i. 264, 267, 269, 279; ii. 143.
- Elliots, action against, ii. 88.
- Elphinstone, Bishop, ii. 33.
- Emerald Charter, i. 56.
- Errol, Earl of, signs "Spanish Blank," ii. 168.
- Errol, Earl of, subscribes confession of faith, ii. 173.
- Errol, Sir William Hay, 1st Earl of, married Beatrix Douglas, i. 161, 238.
- Erskine, Lady Barbara, wife of 2nd Marquess Douglas (lxxii.), ii. 218, 223, 227.
- Erskine, Margaret, mother of Regent Moray, ii. 104, 156.
- Erskine, Mary, wife of Angus (lvi.), ii. 132.
- Erskine of Gogar, i. 276.
- Erskine, Sir Robert, embassy to England, i. 84.
- Erskine, Sir Thomas, married Mary of Douglas, i. 226.
- Erskine, Sir William, taken prisoner at Weardale, i. 59.
- Eskdale, ii. 49, 50.
Angus (xlvi.) resigns, ii. 41.
- Ettrick Forest, i. 52, 69, 76.
Knight of Liddesdale killed in, i. 78, 226.
Owned by Sir James Douglas, i. 52.
- Eure, Sir Ralph, Commander of Berwick, ii. 116.
- Eure, Sir Walter, ii. 116.
At Ancrum Moor, i. 249; ii. 117.
- Eustace of Bikerton presented to Church of Douglas, i. 17, 24.
- Eyncourt, Sir William d', slain at Bannockburn, i. 44.
- FAGNIANI, Maria, wife of Earl of Yorkmouth, ii. 286.
- "Fair Maid of Galloway" (Margaret Douglas) married—
(1) 8th; (2) 9th Earls of Douglas, i. 154, 163, 174, 185, 194, 202.
(3) John Stewart, Earl of Athol, i. 202.
Sketch of, i. 201.
- Fairley, William, i. 217.
- Fala Moor, ii. 106.
Earls appeal to James at, ii. 170.
- Falconer, David, ii. 99.
- Family names in twelfth century, i. 6, 64.
- Fawdon purchased by Sir William de Douglas (iv.), i. 19, 20.
- Fénélon, La Mothe, French ambassador, ii. 140.
- Fergus, Lord of Galloway, i. 119 and *note*.
- Ferguson, Robert, warns Athol, ii. 280.
- Ferrers, Eleanor de, i. 21, 27.
Fined, i. 23.
- Fethane lands, i. 230.
- Fetherstonhaugh surrenders Lochmaben Castle, i. 92.
- Fiennes, Sir William, wounded at Roxburgh Castle, i. 41.
- Fife, Malcolm, Earl of, charter of lands of Herdmanston, i. 208.
- Fife, Robert, Earl of (*see* Albany, Robert, Duke of).
- Finhaven Castle, i. 165.
- Fleming, (Sir) David, ii. 48.
- Fleming, (Sir) David, of Biggar and Cumbernauld, i. 112, 158.
Killed by Douglas (xix.), i. 159.
Prisoner at Tantallon, i. 165.
- Fleming, John, 5th Lord—
Agreement with Lord Kennedy and Sir James Boyd, i. 240.
At Langside, i. 264.
- Fleming, Lord, murdered, ii. 78.
- Fleming, Lord, taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Fleming, Lord, takes Castle Douglas, ii. 190.
- Fleming, (Sir) Malcolm, of Cumbernauld, arrested, i. 151, 155.
- Fleming, Mary, wife of James Douglas (lxix.), ii. 262.
- Fleming, Robert, 1st Lord of Cumbernauld, married Janet Douglas, i. 161.
- Fleming, (Sir) Robert, captured by Angus, ii. 13.
- Fleming, Thomas, sells earldom of Wigtown, i. 118.
- Flemings in Moray, i. 5.
- Fletcher, Andrew, of Salton, ii. 196.
- Fletcher of Saltoun, Darien scheme, ii. 277.
- Flodden Field, ii. 43, 54.
Sir William Douglas (lxxviii.) killed at, ii. 251.
- Foix, Gaston de, i. 150.

- Forbes, Sir Alexander, Lord Forbes, married Elizabeth Douglas, ii. 7.
- Forbes, William, of Monymusk, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 155.
- Ford Castle, James IV. at, ii. 43.
- Fordun on complaints against David II., i. 82.
- Fordun on Parliament of 1335, i. 211.
- Forfar county, ii. 2.
- Forman, John (*see* St. Andrews, Archbishop of).
- Foster, Sir John, ii. 161.
- Foul Raid, i. 142.
- Fountainhall, Lord, on William Lawrie, ii. 219.
- Fowler, Walsingham's agent, i. 289.
- Francis I., subsidy to Scotch, ii. 113, 118.
- Fraser, Jean, wife of John Douglas of Barras, ii. 155.
- Fraser of Durris at Edinburgh Castle, i. 217.
- Fraser, Simon (*see* Lovat, Lord).
- Fraser, Sir William, of Philorth, married Eleanor Douglas, i. 112.
- Fraser, Sir William, on—
Additions to *Historie of the Douglases*, ii. 192.
Angus' safe-conduct, ii. 38.
(Sir) Archibald Douglas, i. 133.
Black Douglas' sons, i. 66.
Character of Angus (xlili.), ii. 45.
Douglas and earldom of Moray, i. 174.
Douglas (xi.) and secret treaty with England, i. 84.
Douglas (xxiv.) in England, i. 182.
Freskin de Kerdal, i. 10.
Funds for education of Angus (lxxiii.), ii. 228.
Hailes, i. 9.
Knight of Liddesdale (xxviii.), i. 77.
Views on Douglases, ii. 120.
- French expedition to Scotland, i. 100.
- Freskin de Moravia, i. 5.
His descendants, i. 6.
- Freskin, Hugh, ancestor of Earls of Sutherland, i. 6.
- Fresnay-le-Comte, ii. 249.
Rout at, i. 150.
- Froissart—
Guest of Earl of Douglas at Dalkeith, i. 87.
Quoted on—Sir Archibald Douglas (xliii.), i. 90.
Battle of Otterburn, i. 109.
Douglas (xi.) at Poitiers, i. 81.
Robert Bruce, i. 61.
Scottish army (1388), i. 105.
- GALLOWAY, i. 117.
Peculiar laws, i. 120.
Codified by William, Earl of Douglas (xx.), i. 120, 166.
Lordship, held by Duchess Margaret, i. 147.
- Galloway, Bishop of, ii. 36.
- Galloway, Gordon, Bishop of, i. 266.
- Galsewood (*see* Williamhope).
- Gascons at Berwick, i. 47.
- Gautier, Théophile, quoted, ii. 235.
- George of Denmark joins Prince of Orange, ii. 276.
- George II. grants pension to Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 238.
- Gerveston granted to Angus (lvi.), ii. 133.
- Gibson, John, i. 235.
- Gifford, Elizabeth, wife of Sir James Douglas (xxxii.), i. 237.
- Gifford, James, Constable of Dalkeith Castle, i. 237.
- Glamis, Janet, Lady—
Persecuted, ii. 101.
Sentence on, ii. 103.
- Glamis, John, 6th Lord—
Imprisoned, ii. 103.
Married Janet Douglas, ii. 53.
- Glamis, Master of, ii. 141, 145, 163.
- Glasgow, Beaton, Archbishop of, ii. 56, 59, 65, 71, 73, 80.
At Dunfermline, ii. 86.
Chancellor, ii. 83, 85.
Escapes from Avonbridge, ii. 87.
Leagued with Arran and Moray, ii. 95.
- Glasgow, Bishop of, ii. 36.
Mission to England, ii. 34.
- Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of, ii. 82, 83, 97.
Chancellor, ii. 96.
Pastoral, Appendix C, ii. 90.
- Glasgow, Robert Bruce at, i. 30.
- Glen Trool, Robert Bruce in, i. 34, 35.
- Glenbervie estate, ii. 54, 167, 194.
- Glencairn, Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs, Earl of, ii. 78, 86.
At Kilwinning Abbey, ii. 42.
Married Marion Douglas, ii. 46.
Mission to England, ii. 112.
Taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Glendower, Owen, i. 132, 138.
- Glenlivet battle, ii. 171.
- Gloucester, Duke of (Richard III.), invades Scotland, i. 198; ii. 26.
- Gloucester, Earl of, at Bannockburn, i. 43, 45.
- Godolphin, Scotch policy, ii. 279.

- Godscroft (*see* Hume of Godscroft).
- Gordon, (Sir) Adam de, i. 39, 40.
At Homildon Hill, i. 137.
Warns Douglas of raiders, i. 47.
- Gordon, (Sir) Alexander, clears Thrieve, i. 195.
- Gordon, Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Douglas (lxxviii.), ii. 251.
- Gordon, (Lady) Jane, wife of Bothwell, i. 260.
- Gordon, (Sir) John, executed, i. 252.
- Gordon, Katherine, ii. 22.
- Gordon, Margaret, wife of Sir Wm. Douglas of Hawick, ii. 259.
- Gordon, (Lady) Mary, wife of 1st Marquess Douglas (lxii.), ii. 193, 200.
- Gordon, Thomas, of Cluny, married Elizabeth Douglas, ii. 155.
- Gowrie, Earl of, ii. 139, 141, 163.
Executed, ii. 142.
- Graham, David, i. 241.
- Graham, David, of Fintry, beheaded, ii. 169.
- Graham, Egidia (Gelis), wife of Angus (lvii.), ii. 150, 154.
- Graham, Elizabeth, i. 241, 242.
- Graham, Euphemia, married—
(1) 5th Earl of Douglas.
(2) James Hamilton of Cadzow, i. 154, 186.
- Graham, Jack, of Peertree, ii. 143.
- Graham, (Sir) John, at Neville's Cross, i. 223.
- Graham, (Sir) John de, resigns Dalkeith, i. 220.
- Graham, Lady Lucy, wife of Lord Douglas (lxxvi.), ii. 246.
- Graham, Malise (*see* Strathern, Earl of).
- Graham, (Sir) Patrick, of Kincardine, i. 154.
- Graham, (Sir) Robert, assassinates James I., i. 152.
- Graham, (Sir) Robert, of Auld Montrose, ii. 18.
- Graham, Robert, of Fintry, i. 241.
- Graham, (Sir) Robert, of Fintry, married Elizabeth Douglas: ancestor of Viscount Dundee, ii. 20.
- Graham, Robert, of Morphie, ii. 150.
- Graham, William, Lord of, ii. 7.
- Graham, William, 2nd Lord, married Anne Douglas: ancestor of Marquesses and Dukes of Montrose, ii. 20.
- Gray, Andrew, Lord, ii. 36.
At Lauder Bridge, ii. 26.
Mission to England, ii. 29.
Rebels, ii. 33.
Treats with Northumberland, i. 199.
- Gray, Lord, taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Gray, (Sir) Patrick, i. 171, 172.
- Gray, Patrick, Master of, i. 289, 292.
Agent in preliminaries of Queen Mary's execution, i. 290.
Arrears agent in England, ii. 144.
- Gray, (Sir) Thomas, constable of Northham Castle, i. 79.
- Gray, (Sir) Thomas, taken prisoner at Bannockburn, i. 44.
- Gray, (Sir) Thomas (ii.), author of *Scala Cronica*, i. 79, 218.
On death of William of Douglas, i. 67.
- Greir released by Douglas, ii. 257.
- Grey, Lord—
At Pinkie, ii. 121.
Besieges Dalkeith Castle, i. 249.
Takes Dalkeith Castle, ii. 123.
- Grierson, Sir Robert, of Lag, married Lady Henrietta Douglas, ii. 264.
- Gualo, Papal legate, places Brice under interdict, i. 14.
- Gunning, Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, ii. 242.
- Guy, Count of Namur, lands in Scotland, i. 212.
- HADDEN Rig, raiders defeated at, ii. 106.
- Hailes lands, Midlothian, i. 9.
Resigned by Sir Archibald de Douglas (iii.), i. 9.
Sold to Abbot of Dunfermline, i. 208.
- Hailes, Lord, on—
Archibald Douglas, i. 67.
Douglas (xxviii.) and Robert the Steward, i. 219.
- Hailes, Lord, ii. 36.
Mission to England, ii. 34.
- Hailes village burned, i. 131.
- Haliburton, Agatha, wife of 15th Earl Morton, ii. 185.
- Haliburton, Mark, i. 187.
- Haliburton, (Sir) Walter de, i. 210.
- Haliburton, (Sir) Walter, married Marjory Douglas, widow of Duke of Rothesay, i. 124.
- Haliburton, (Sir) Walter, mediates between Douglas, March, and Albany, i. 140.
- Halidon Hill battle, i. 67, 74.
William of Douglas (viii.) slain at, i. 67, 75.
- Halifax, Lord, reply to Queensberry (lxxxii.), ii. 272.
- Halsey, Bishop of Leighlinn, ii. 61.
- Hamilton, Alfred Douglas-Hamilton, 13th Duke of, ii. 216.

- Hamilton, Anne, Duchess of, wife of 1st Earl of Selkirk (lxvi.), ii. 200.
- Hamilton, (Lord) Basil, ii. 226.
- Hamilton Castle surrenders to Angus, ii. 136.
- Hamilton, (Colonel) Charles, second to his father in duel, ii. 214.
- Hamilton, (Lord) Claud, 1st Lord Paisley, i. 268; ii. 186.
In England, ii. 144.
Lands forfeited, i. 277.
- Hamilton, (Lord) Douglas, action against Stewart-Douglas (lxxvi.), ii. 245.
- Hamilton, Dunbar, of Baldoon, 4th Earl of Selkirk, ii. 204.
- Hamilton, 4th Duke of (lxxi.)—
Created English peer, ii. 212.
Killed in duel, ii. 213.
Leader of Jacobite opposition, ii. 278, 279.
Treatment of followers, ii. 209, 282.
- Hamilton, 5th Duke of, action against Stewart-Douglas (lxxvi.), ii. 244, 245.
- Hamilton, Gavin, Lady Glamis' possessions given to, ii. 102.
- Hamilton, (Sir) James, defeated in raid of Jedwood, ii. 73, 74.
- Hamilton, (Sir) James, Lord of Cadzow, i. 163, 164, 188, 241.
At Stirling, i. 183.
Changes sides, ii. 16, 18, 23.
Deserts Douglas (xxiv.), i. 190, 191.
In Rome, i. 169.
Marriage, i. 154, 186.
- Hamilton, (Lady) Jane, 3rd wife of Archibald Douglas, ii. 205.
- Hamilton, Joanna, wife of Hugh, 3rd Earl of Eglinton, i. 238.
- Hamilton, John, claimant of Arbroath abbey, ii. 128.
- Hamilton, (Sir) John, of Cadzow, married Jean Douglas, i. 232, 235.
- Hamilton, (Lord) John, ii. 163.
Created Marquess, ii. 175.
In England, ii. 144, 145.
Lands forfeited, i. 277.
- Hamilton, Lady, 2nd wife of Archibald Douglas, ii. 205.
- Hamilton, Margaret, wife of Angus (lxii.), ii. 186, 193.
- Hamilton, Margaret, wife of—
(1) James Johnstone.
(2) Angus (lv.), ii. 130.
- Hamilton, (Lady) Mary, wife of 2nd Earl Queensberry (lxxxi.), ii. 264.
- Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh assassinates Moray, i. 265, 277.
- Hamilton, Sir Patrick, killed, ii. 74, 78.
- Hamilton, Sir William, ii. 205.
- Harda, Sir Andrew de (Earl of Carlisle), victory at Boroughbridge, i. 53.
- Hardy, John, i. 141.
- Hartfell, Earl of, protest on behalf of 2nd Marquess Douglas, ii. 218.
- Hartlepool looted by Douglas, i. 41, 47.
- Hastings, Sir Edmund de, i. 39.
- Hastings, Sir John de, custodian of Brodick Castle, i. 33.
- Hawick Barony, ii. 250.
- Hawick burned, i. 142.
- Hawick church, Ramsay seized in, i. 219.
- Hawick, Douglas, Lord of, ii. 260.
- Hay, Anne, wife of Sir James Douglas, ii. 184.
- Hay, (Sir) David, of Yester, ancestor of Marquess of Tweeddale, ii. 7.
- Hay, (Lady) Jane, wife of Lord William Douglas, ii. 273.
- Hay, (Sir) John, 3rd Lord Yester, married Elizabeth Douglas: ancestor of Marquess of Tweeddale, ii. 52.
- Hay, Margaret, wife of William, Earl of Angus (xxxix.), ii. 8, 11.
- Hay of Drummelzier married daughter of Lady Kingston, i. 237.
- Haye, Gilbert de la, at Methven, i. 31.
- Hazelside, i. 34.
- Heathcote, Bridget, wife of 15th Earl Morton, ii. 185.
- Hemingburgh, estimate of Bruce's followers, i. 36.
- Hemingburgh on Sir Archibald Douglas, i. 73.
- Henry II. expels Flemings from England, i. 5.
- Henry III. appoints regency in Scotland, i. 18.
- Henry IV.—
Attitude towards Scotland, i. 130, 131.
Complaints to Albany of Douglas, i. 139.
Gives safe-conduct to Douglas (lxxvii.), ii. 248.
Invades Scotland, i. 132.
- Henry V. grants discharge of Scottish hostages, i. 140.
- Henry VI.—
At St. Andrews, i. 196.
Convention with Angus, ii. 19.
Sends letters to James II., i. 182.
- Henry VII., agreement with Angus, ii. 37, 38.

- Henry VIII.—
 Angus intrigues with, ii. 59, 62, 77, 79, 82.
 Distrusts Douglasses, ii. 116.
 Pensions to Douglasses, ii. 100, 101.
- Hepburn, (Sir) Adam, takes Dunbar Castle, ii. 10.
- Hepburn, (Sir) James, killed, ii. 194.
- Hepburn, (Lady) Jane, wife of—
 (1) John, Master of Caithness.
 (2) Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.), i. 293.
- Hepburn, John (*see* St. Andrews, Prior of).
- Hepburn, (Sir) John, killed, ii. 194.
- Hepburn, Margaret, wife of 6th Earl of Angus, ii. 64, 127.
- Hepburn, Patrick, slain at Nesbit-Moor, i. 136.
- Hepburn, Sir Patrick, of Hailes, i. 75.
 At Otterburn, i. 109.
- Herdmanston acquired by Sir Archibald de Douglas (iii.), i. 16.
- Hermitage Castle, ii. 17, 39.
 Delivered to English, ii. 37.
 Reverts to Crown, i. 229.
- Heron, Lady, ii. 43.
- Herries, Andrew, married Janet Douglas, ii. 46.
- Herries, (Sir) Herbert, of Terregles, i. 171.
 Keeper of Lochmaben, i. 193.
- Herries, Lord, at Langside, i. 264.
- Herries, Maxwell, Lord, ii. 252, 253.
 Attempts to arrest Douglas, ii. 257.
 Bailie of Lincluden, ii. 255.
- "Hership of Buchan," i. 39 and *note*.
- Hertford, Earl of (*see* Somerset, Duke of).
- Heywood, Mrs., on Lady Jane Douglas in *Utopia*, ii. 239.
- Highlands held by Norsemen and Celtic chiefs, i. 2.
- Holland, Anne, wife of Earl of Douglas (xxiv.), i. 202.
- Holland, Richard, *Buce of the Howlat*, i. 175, 198.
- Holyrood Palace—
 Burned, ii. 115.
 Morton accused in, i. 278; ii. 136.
 Riccio murdered in, i. 255.
 Sacked, i. 54.
- Holywood Abbey, i. 118, 125.
 Lady Jane Douglas buried in, ii. 239.
- Home, Alexander, ii. 38.
- Home, Alexander, 1st Earl, Ewesdale granted to, ii. 51.
- Home, Alexander, 1st Earl, married Christian Douglas, widow of Laurence, Master of Oliphant, ii. 165.
- Home, (Sir) Alexander, of Douglas, i. 144.
- Home, Anna, pays for printing *Historie of the Douglasses*, ii. 192.
- Home, Anna, wife of James Douglas, i. 285.
- Home, Charles Alexander Douglas Home, 12th Earl of, Baron Douglas, i. 13; ii. 246.
 Restores tombs in St. Bride's Church, i. 17.
- Home, (Sir) David, of Wedderburn, married Alison Douglas, widow of Robert Blackadder, ii. 53.
- Home, David, Prior of Coldingham, ii. 62.
- Home, 11th Earl of, Baron Douglas, married Lucy Montagu, ii. 246.
- Home, George, of Spott, i. 285, 290.
- Home, (Sir) George, of Wedderburn, ii. 135.
- Home, James, Earl of, married Jean Douglas, ii. 183.
- Home, John, kills Archdeacon Blackadder, ii. 62.
- Home, John, pays for printing *Historie of the Douglasses*, ii. 192.
- Home, Lord, i. 269, 271.
 Takes up arms for Queen Mary, ii. 132.
- Home, Lord, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, ii. 47, 56, 66.
 Executed, ii. 70.
 Welcomes Albany, ii. 69.
- Home of Cowdenknowes, ii. 103.
- Home of Wedderburn, ii. 74.
 Kills de la Bastie, ii. 71.
- Homildon Hill battle, i. 136; ii. 7.
- Honorius III., i. 14.
- Hooke, Nathaniel, French envoy, ii. 211.
 Arranges rising, ii. 285.
 On Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 212.
- Horsley, Sir Roger de, defends Berwick Castle, i. 49, 50.
- Howard, Lord, at Flodden, ii. 55.
- Howpaslet estate, ii. 260.
 Drumlanrig's sheep killed at, ii. 261.
- Hume, David, of Godscroft—
 Account of siege of Abercorn quoted, i. 188.
 In London, ii. 138.
History of the Douglasses, i. 7; ii. 192; quoted on—
 Angus (xliii.), ii. 43, 45.

- Hume, David—*History of the Douglasses*,
 quoted on—*continued*.
 Angus (xlv.) at Flodden, ii. 51.
 Angus at Tantallon, ii. 97.
 Angus crowning James III., ii. 17.
 (Sir) Archibald Douglas, i. 114, 133.
 Black Douglasses' sons, i. 66.
 Burning of Elgin, i. 176.
 Convention between Henry VI. and
 Angus, ii. 19.
 Douglas and *Omnis terra*, i. 31.
 Execution of Cochrane, ii. 28.
 Family of Earl of Douglas (xi.), i.
 93.
 Feud between Black and Red
 Douglas, ii. 13.
 Hamilton and Douglas (xxiv.), i.
 190.
 Henry VI. and Douglas (xxiv.), i.
 188.
 Imprisonment of 4th Earl of
 Morton (xxxvi.), i. 249.
 James Douglas (xxxvi.), boyhood,
 i. 246, 247.
 Marriage of Angus (lxii.), ii. 186.
 Murder of Sir David Barclay, i. 224.
 Robert Bruce, i. 114.
 Sir William de Douglas, "Long-
 leg," i. 16.
 William Douglas, i. 210.
 William's Cross, i. 78.
 Origin of his History, ii. 179.
 Story of Alison Douglas, ii. 53.
 Story of Morton and Angus, ii. 134.
 Hunsdon, Lord, Queen Elizabeth's
 ambassador, ii. 143.
 Letter to Burghley quoted, i. 291.
 On Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.), i.
 287, 291.
 On arrest of Northumberland, ii. 161.
 Huntingdon, Earl of, military demon-
 stration on Border, i. 280.
 Huntly, Earl of—
 At St. Andrews, ii. 140.
 Besieges Arbroath, ii. 128.
 Created Marquess, ii. 175.
 Murders Earl of Moray, ii. 168.
 Rising, ii. 152.
 Subscribes confession of faith, ii. 173.
 Taken prisoner at Pinkie, ii. 121.
 Huntly, Earl of, at Brechin and Dun-
 kinty, i. 176.
 Huntly, Earl of, contract with 4th
 Earl of Angus, ii. 22.
 Huntly, Earl of, ii. 110.
 Slain at Corrichie, i. 252; ii. 150.
 Success at Hadden Rig, ii. 106.
 Hyde, Lady Catherine, wife of Charles,
 Earl of Sowlay, ii. 285.
- INDULGENCE Act, ii. 267.
 Influenza, i. 232.
 Inglis, William, duel with Thomas
 Struthers, i. 122.
 Innes, Cosmo, on—
 Douglas charters, i. 209.
 Knight of Liddesdale's will, i. 227.
 Name of Freskin, i. 10.
 Innes Family, arms, i. 12.
 Innes, John, of Leuchars, i. 285.
 Innocent III., i. 14.
 Inverary Castle, ii. 243.
 Inveravon Castle dismantled, i. 188.
 Inverkeithing looted by Douglas, i.
 83.
 Inverkip burned, i. 187.
 Inverness burned, ii. 10.
 Inverurie, Robert Bruce ill at, i. 38.
 Ireland, military situation in (1316), i.
 48.
 Irish chronicles, i. 1.
 Irvine, submission of, i. 27.
 Irvings, action against, ii. 88.
 Isabel, wife of—
 (1) James Douglas (xii.), i. 99.
 (2) Sir John de Edmonstone, i. 111.
 Isabella, Queen, at York, i. 51.
 Isle of Man, i. 85.
 Ivry Castle besieged, i. 145.
- JACOBITE reaction, ii. 279.
 Jacobites and Union, ii. 209.
 Jacobites in France prepare to invade
 Great Britain, ii. 280.
Jamie Douglas ballad, ii. 219.
 James I. of Scotland—
 Assassinated, i. 152; ii. 11.
 Charter to Douglas (lxxvii.), ii. 248.
 Letter to Albany, i. 142.
 Policy, i. 151, 155, 156.
 Prisoner in England, i. 139, 143.
 Return to Scotland, i. 151.
 James II. (England)—
 Arran (lxxi.) faithful to, ii. 207.
 Confers with Queensberry and Perth
 on Scottish affairs, ii. 270.
 Correspondence with Duke of Queens-
 berry (lxxxii.), ii. 266.
 Treatment of Queensberry (lxxxii.),
 ii. 272.
 James II. ("Fiery Face")—
 Crowned, i. 152.
 Killed at Roxburgh Castle, i. 196;
 ii. 16, 249.
 Letter to Charles VII., i. 174, 180.
 Makes war on Douglas, i. 188, 192,
 194.
 Marriage festivities, i. 168, 181.
 Murders Douglas (xx.), i. 172.

- James III.—
 As ruler, ii. 24.
 Charter to Sir Walter Scott, ii. 287.
 Crowned at Kelso, ii. 17.
 Founds Chapel Royal, Stirling, ii. 32.
 Marriage, ii. 23, 31.
 Murdered, i. 201; ii. 35.
 Puts Albany and Mar in prison, i. 108.
 Seized at Linlithgow, i. 241; ii. 23.
 Story of Angus and, ii. 33.
- James IV. crowned at Scone, ii. 35.
 In Eskdale, ii. 41.
- James V., ii. 65, 67, 73, 77.
 Besieges Queen Margaret in Stirling Castle, ii. 95.
 Besieges Tantallon Castle, ii. 98.
 Bond with Lennox, ii. 85.
 Coerces Earl of Morton to resign earldom, 243.
 Crowned at Stirling, ii. 44.
 Death, ii. 107.
 Guardians, ii. 83.
 Proclamation against Douglasses, ii. 96.
 State of kingdom during his reign, i. 242.
 Waylaid at Melrose Bridge, ii. 251.
- James VI. and I.—
 At Drumlanrig, ii. 262.
 Attitude towards Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.), i. 290, 292.
 Captured, ii. 139, 163.
 Conduct to rebel earls, ii. 170, 172, 176.
 Crowned at Stirling, i. 263.
 Disputes succession of 9th Earl of Angus (lvii.), ii. 151.
 Ecclesiastical policy, ii. 142.
 Friendship for Angus (lvi.), ii. 149.
 In Stirling, ii. 145.
 King-craft, ii. 140.
 Letters to Laird of Lochleven, ii. 162.
- Jardine, (Sir) Alexander, of Applegirth, married Lady Margaret Douglas, ii. 264.
- Jardine, (Sir) Humfrey de, i. 211.
- Jardine, John, of Applegirth, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 259.
- Jedburgh—
 Burned, i. 142.
 Muster at, i. 105.
 Raid at, i. 48.
 Wrecked, ii. 120.
- Jedburgh Forest, i. 52, 69, 76, 94; ii. 6, 12, 17.
 Douglas (xxviii.) in, i. 216.
 Given to Scott of Buccleugh, ii. 97.
 Owned by Sir James Douglas, i. 52.
- Jedburgh, Lord, guardian to Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 230.
- Joanna, Queen of David II., i. 60, 71, 76.
 Death, i. 82.
- Jocelyn, Bishop of Glasgow, grants charter to monks of Kelso, i. 6.
- John II. sends subsidy to Scotland, i. 79.
- John XXII., embassy to Robert Bruce, i. 49.
- John XXII. lays Scotland under interdict, i. 51.
- John of Fordun, History of Scotland, i. 1.
- John of Logie receives Annandale lands, i. 86.
- Johnson, Thomas, married Margaret Douglas, i. 94.
- Johnston, Laird of, at Sark battle, i. 178.
- Johnstone, Chevalier, A.D.C. to Prince Charlie, ii. 237.
- Johnstone, James, 1st Earl of Hartfell, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 263.
- Johnstone, James, jun., ii. 130.
- Johnstone, John, married Nicholas Douglas, ii. 259.
- Johnstone, 1st Earl of Annandale, ii. 203.
 Married Lady Henrietta Douglas, ii. 197.
- Johnstones and Maxwells, feud between, ii. 174.
- KECK, Anthony Tracy, married Lady Susan Douglas, ii. 215.
- Keith, Agnes, wife of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, ii. 150.
- Keith, Anne, wife of Morton (lxi.), ii. 183.
- Keith, Elizabeth, wife of Gavin Douglas, ii. 154.
- Keith, (Sir) Robert de, commands cavalry at Bannockburn, i. 43, 45.
- Keith, Robert, Lord, married Elizabeth Douglas, i. 242.
- Keith, (Sir) William de—
 At Berwick, i. 50.
 Brings back Bruce's heart, i. 64.
- Kellow, Richard de, Bishop of Durham, i. 47.
- Kelso, James III. crowned at, ii. 17.
- Kelso Monastery, i. 234.
- Kelso wrecked, ii. 120.
- Kennedy, (Lady) Anne, wife of Earl of Selkirk (lxi.), ii. 204.
- Kennedy, (Sir) James, ii. 7.

- Kennedy, Jane, at Lochleven, ii. 158.
 Kennedy, Janet, ii. 40, 47, 54.
 Kennedy, (Sir) John, arrested, i. 152.
 Kennedy, Lord, agreement with Lord Fleming and Sir James Boyd, i. 240.
 Kennedy, Lord, mission to England, ii. 32.
 Kennedy (*see* St. Andrews, Bishop of).
 Ker, (Sir) Andrew, jun., of Ferniehirst, ii. 180.
 Ker, Andrew, of Cessford, ii. 17.
 Ker, (Lord) Charles, guardian to Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 230.
 Ker, George, arrested, ii. 168.
 Ker, Isabel, wife of 1st Earl of Queensberry (lxxx.), ii. 263.
 Ker, (Captain) John, murdered, ii. 233.
 Ker, Mark, receives Preston, ii. 97.
 Ker, Mary, wife of James Douglas, commendator of Melrose, ii. 165.
 Ker, (Lady) Mary, wife of Marquess Douglas (lxxii.), ii. 224, 230.
 Letter to Lawrie, ii. 225.
 Ker of Ferniehirst, ii. 73.
 Forfeits Oxnam, ii. 133.
 Ker of Kerland, Queensberry's advice to, ii. 285.
 Ker, Ralph, of Primsidloch, ii. 50.
 Kers of Ferniehirst claim to hold courts in Jedburgh Forest, ii. 186.
 Kilblain battle, i. 215.
 Kildrummie, Athol tries to capture, i. 214.
 Kildrummie Castle, i. 32.
 Killiecrankie, ii. 229.
 Kilmalaman, i. 159.
 Kilmarnock lands granted to Angus, ii. 39, 49.
 Kilmarnock, Mowbray falls into ambush near, i. 37.
 Kilsyth battle, ii. 190, 263.
 Kilwinning, brawl in Abbey, ii. 42.
 Kincardine, William de, i. 235.
 Kingston, Alexander Seton, Viscount, married Elizabeth Douglas, i. 237.
 Kingston, 1st Viscount, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 200.
 Kinnoul, George, 2nd Earl, married Agnes Douglas, ii. 183.
 Kirkaldy of Grange—
 Death, i. 273.
 Hangs prisoners, i. 268.
 Holds Edinburgh Castle, i. 265, 271, 273.
 Reply to Regent Morton, i. 272.
 Rescues Maitland, i. 265.
 Kirkcudbright, a royal burgh, i. 195.
 Kirkcudbright, John, 2nd Lord, married Janet Douglas, ii. 263.
 Kirk-o'-field, Darnley murdered at, i. 259.
 Kirkpatrick, Alexander, i. 200.
 Kirkpatrick, Sir Roger, i. 77.
 Kirkpatrick, Thomas, of Closeburn, ii. 259.
 Kirkurde lands, i. 231.
 Kirriemuir entrusted to Sir Robert Graham, ii. 17.
 Kirtlebank, Douglas, 4th Lord of Drumlanrig, slain at, ii. 250.
 Kirtlebank, James, Earl of Douglas (xxiv.), captured at, i. 200.
 Knollys, Sir Francis, i. 266.
 Knox, John, i. 266.
 Attitude towards Mary Queen of Scots, i. 269.
 Death, i. 271.
 Draws up confession of faith, i. 251.
 Knyghton on William Douglas, i. 67.
 LA ROCHELLE, i. 144, 150.
 Confederate lords at, ii. 163.
 Lafayette, Maréchal de, at Verneuil, i. 145.
 Laing on seal of Hugh of Douglas, i. 70.
 Lalain, Jacques de, i. 181.
 Lalain, Sir Simon de, i. 181.
 Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews—
 Compact with Robert Bruce, i. 30.
 Lanark, Edward II. at, i. 40.
 Lancaster, Arthur, Earl of, rebels, i. 52.
 Lancaster, Henry, Duke of, Earl of Moray, i. 82.
 Lancaster, John of Gaunt, Duke of, i. 91.
 Invades Scotland, i. 92, 102.
 Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of, Warden of Marches, i. 48.
 Lang, Andrew, on conduct of house of Douglas, ii. 45.
 Lang, Andrew, on Douglas (xxviii.), i. 221.
 Langholm (*see* Arkinholm).
 Langside battle, i. 264.
 Drumlanrig (lii.) at, ii. 252.
 Lansdowne, 1st Marquess, account of Duke of Douglas, ii. 243.
 Largs, battle of, i. 2.
 Lascelles, Lady Frances, wife of John Douglas, ii. 185.
 Lasswade Parish Church, i. 231, 235.
 Lauder Bridge, affair of, ii. 26.
 Lauder, Sir William, of Hatton, brings summons to Douglas (xx.), i. 171.

- Lauderdale, Earl of, Secretary of State—
Measures against Presbyterians, ii. 201.
On Scots Regiment, ii. 195.
- Law, William, instructs Angus in Presbyterianism, ii. 176.
- Lawrie, William, Tutor of Blackwood, ii. 219 and *note*, 225.
Discharged, ii. 226.
- Layton, Sir Bryan, ii. 116.
At Ancrum Moor, i. 249; ii. 117.
- Leith—
Besieged, i. 251.
Captured, ii. 113.
Lennox and Morton at, i. 268.
- Lennox, Countess of, renounces claim to Angus' estates, i. 253.
- Lennox, Donald, 6th Earl of, ii. 9.
- Lennox, Duke of, ii. 218.
- Lennox, Earl of, ii. 78, 83.
Bond with James v., ii. 85.
Enters Edinburgh with Angus, ii. 80.
Fortifies Dunbarton, ii. 110.
Joins Queen at Dunfermline, ii. 86.
Rising, ii. 36.
- Lennox, Earl of, marries Margaret Douglas, ii. 111.
- Lennox, Earl of, Regent, i. 259, 265.
Murdered, i. 269, 277.
- Lennox, Esmé Stuart, Earl of—
Heads Catholic party, i. 277; ii. 137, 163.
Receives part of Morton estates, i. 282.
- Lennox, Ludovic, Earl of, ii. 167.
- Lennox, Malcolm, 5th Earl of, i. 32.
Slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
- Lennox, Margaret, Countess of, ii. 127, 130, 134, 164.
At Henry VIII.'s Court, ii. 131.
- Lesley, Bishop of Ross, ambassador in Mary's interest, i. 259, 266.
Letters to Pope (forged), i. 279, 288.
On mob, i. 251.
- Leslie, Agnes, wife of 7th Earl Morton (lviii.), ii. 165.
- Leslie, Margaret, wife of Angus (lvi.), ii. 133, 137, 149.
- Leven, Lord, commands Queen's forces in Scotland, ii. 211.
- Liddel, Sir James, mission to England, ii. 29.
- Liddel, Sir James, treats with Northumberland, i. 199.
- Liddesdale, ii. 6, 17, 29, 39, 49.
Delivered to English by Angus, ii. 37.
Dispute about lands of, i. 77.
- Liddesdale—*continued*.
Reverts to Crown, i. 229.
Wasted, i. 142.
- Lilliard's Edge, i. 91.
- Lincluden—
Douglas (lxxxiv.), Provost of, ii. 255.
Duchess Margaret's tomb in, i. 148.
Nunnery, i. 125.
- Lindores, Douglas (xxiv.) at, i. 201; buried at, ii. 31.
- Linlithgow—
Edward II. at, i. 40.
James III. seized at, i. 241; ii. 23.
James IV. at, ii. 38.
Queen's partisans at, ii. 84, 86.
- Linlithgow, 2nd Lord, married Mary Douglas, ii. 181.
- Lindsay, (Sir) Alexander de, joins Wallace, i. 26.
- Lindsay, Alexander, married Jean Lyon, widow of Angus (lvi.), ii. 150.
- Lindsay, Beatrice de, wife of—
(1) Sir Archibald Douglas (x.).
(2) Sir James de Sandilands.
(3) Sir William Tours.
(4) Sir Duncan Wallace.
(5) Sir Patrick Hepburn, i. 75.
- Lindsay, (Sir) James, of Crauford, i. 232.
At Otterburn, i. 110.
- Lindsay, Janet, wife of 6th Earl of Douglas, i. 157.
- Lindsay, John, Lord, lands bestowed on Douglas (xlvi.), ii. 96.
- Lindsay, John, of Balcarres, ii. 150.
- Lindsay, Lord, reception of French knights, i. 100.
- Lindsay, Marjory, wife of Sir Henry Douglas (xxix.), i. 227.
- Lindsay of Pitscottie (*see* Pitscottie).
- Lindsay, Patrick, 6th Lord, of Byres, ii. 157.
At Lochleven Castle, i. 262.
Challenges Bothwell, i. 261.
Gives James horse, ii. 34, 35.
Separates Morton and James Stuart, i. 279.
- Lindsay, (Sir) Walter de, entertains Edward I., i. 23.
- Lindsay, (Sir) William, of Rossie, i. 134.
- Lintalee, affair of, i. 48.
- Lintalee Tower, ii. 12, 17.
- Livingston lands, i. 208.
Acquired by Sir Archibald de Douglas (iii.), i. 16.
- Livingstone, Alexander, 5th Lord, i. 241.
Married Agnes Douglas, i. 242.

- Livingstone, (Sir) Alexander, governor of Stirling Castle, i. 153, 154, 163.
- Livingstone, (Sir) James, i. 163, 191.
Escapes from Blackness Castle, i. 168.
- Livingstone, John, of Callander, married Agnes Douglas, i. 232.
Legacy, i. 234.
- Livingstone, Lord—
At Langside, i. 264.
In London, i. 266.
- Livingstones, fall of, i. 168.
(See also Crawford, Earls of.)
- Loch Fergus, i. 119.
- Lochindort Castle besieged, i. 215.
- Lochleven Castle—
Besieged, i. 214.
Mary Queen of Scots imprisoned in, i. 262; escapes from, ii. 159.
Morton at, i. 276.
Northumberland prisoner in, i. 270; ii. 160.
- Lochmaben Castle—
Captured, i. 92.
Douglas and Albany at, i. 200.
James IV. at, ii. 41.
- Lochmabenstone battle, i. 178.
Account of, i. 203.
- Lochnaw Castle, ii. 249.
- Lockhart, Sir George, reply to Mel-fort's charges, ii. 272.
- Lockhart of Carnwath, Commissioner on Union, ii. 210.
On Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 211, 215.
- Lockhart on Drumlanrig (lxxxiii.) renouncing allegiance to James, ii. 276.
- Lockhart, Robina, wife of 1st Earl of Forfar (lxxviii.), ii. 200.
- Lockhart, Sir Simon, brings back Bruce's heart, i. 64 and *note*.
- Lockhart, Sir William, of Carstairs, married Lady Isobel Douglas, ii. 264.
- Lomond, Loch, i. 32.
- Longueville, i. 150.
- Lords of the Congregation, Morton joins, i. 250.
- Lorn, John of—
At Glen Trool, i. 36.
At Pass of Brander, i. 40.
Attacks Bruce at Dalry, i. 32.
Invests Dunaverty Castle, i. 33.
- Lothian coalfield, origin of, i. 242.
- Lothian, Marquess of, ii. 224, 226.
Guardian of Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 230.
- Lothian part of Northumbria, i. 2, 3.
- Louchurde lands, i. 231.
- Loudon Hill, battle of, i. 37.
- Louis XI., arrangement with Henry VI., ii. 19.
- Louis XI. shelters Albany, i. 198.
- Louis XIV. increases Scots Regiment, ii. 194.
- Lovat, Simon Fraser, Lord, spy, ii. 280.
- Lovel, Sir James, lands forfeited, i. 220.
- Lucas, Anne, wife of—
(1) Edward Cary.
(2) Archibald Douglas, ii. 205.
- Lucy, Sir Antony de, raid on Annandale, i. 211.
- Lumphannan, Macbeth slain at, i. 2.
- Lundin, Sir Richard de, joins English, i. 27.
- Luxembourg, Marechal, defeats William III. at Steinkirk, ii. 230.
- Lyle, Lord, rebels, ii. 33, 36.
- Lyle, Robert, married Elizabeth Douglas, ii. 46.
- Lyon, George, ii. 103.
- Lyon, Jean, wife of—
(1) Robert Douglas.
(2) Angus (lvi.), ii. 149, 165.
- Lyon, John, ii. 103; decapitated, ii. 104.
- Lyon, Sir Thomas, of Auldbar, married Euphemia Douglas, ii. 165.
- Lyon, William, ii. 101.
- MACALPINE, Kenneth, monarch of Alban, i. 2.
- Macartney, General, second to Mohun in duel, ii. 213.
- Macaulay, Lord, on Perth's invention of thumb-screw, ii. 271.
- Macbeth slain at Lumphannan (1054), i. 2.
- Mc'Briar, John, murdered, ii. 250.
- Macclesfield, Lord, leaves Mohun his heir, ii. 213.
- Macdonalds at war with Campbells, ii. 105.
- Macdouall of Galloway at Glen Trool, i. 36.
- Macdoualls of Lorn, i. 32.
- MacGill, James, embassy to London, i. 266.
- Mackenzie, Alexander, of Kilcoy, ii. 154.
- Mackenzie, Kenneth, married Janet Douglas, ii. 154.
- Macleans war with Campbells, ii. 105.
- Maclellan of Bombie, i. 171.
- Magnus, Dr., English ambassador, ii. 79, 80, 82, 99.
On Angus and Beaton, ii. 87, 95.

- Magnus Redbeard at Sark, i. 178.
- Maitland, Sir John, Chancellor, ii. 146.
- Maitland of Hatton, ii. 201.
- Maitland quoted on feud between Hugh de Douglas and Patton Purdie, i. 20.
- Maitland, Sir Richard, on Sir Archibald Douglas (xiii.), i. 117.
- Maitland, William, of Lethington—
Arrested, i. 264.
Death in prison, i. 273.
In Edinburgh Castle, i. 265, 271.
In plot to murder Riccio, i. 255.
Plot against Darnley, i. 257.
- Malcolm Canmore—
Marriages, i. 2.
Paramount in N. Britain, i. 2.
Slain near Alnwick, i. 3.
- Malcolm IV. (the Maiden) settles disturbed districts, i. 4.
- Malcolm, grandson of Lulach, rising under, i. 4.
- Mamgarvey, Donald Ban defeated at, i. 8.
- "Mammet, the," i. 131.
- Mar, Alexander Stuart, Earl of—
Married Isabel Douglas, widow of Sir Malcolm Drummond, i. 94, 96.
- Mar, Donald, Earl of—
At Weardale, i. 58.
Regent, i. 71.
Slain at Dupplin, i. 72.
- Mar, Earl of, death, i. 198; ii. 25.
- Mar, Earl of, Regent, i. 269; ii. 161.
Death, i. 271.
- Mar, Earldom of, Appendix A, i. 95-98.
- Mar, Isabel, Countess of, i. 96, 112; ii. 5, 6.
- Mar, Jane Mackenzie, Countess of, letter to Marquess Douglas, ii. 224.
- Mar, John Erskine, Earl of, ii. 139, 140, 141, 145, 163.
Seizes Stirling Castle, i. 276.
- Mar, Margaret, wife of—
(1) Earl of Douglas (xi.), i. 82, 93.
(2) Sir John de Swinton, i. 93.
- Mar, Thomas, 13th Earl of, married Margaret Stewart, ii. 3.
- Mar (*see also* Stuart).
- March, Countess of, "Black Agnes of Dunbar," i. 215, 229.
- March, George, 11th Earl of, i. 105, 151, 233.
Alliance with Hotspur, i. 131.
Appeal to Henry IV., i. 123, 130.
Bestows Morton Castle and lands on Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 230.
- March, George—*continued*.
Claims Annandale lands, i. 86, 89.
Lands forfeited, i. 156; ii. 10.
Legacy, i. 234.
Opposes Douglas (xi.), i. 87.
Political vagaries, i. 103.
Quarrel with Robert III., i. 123.
Resigns Annandale, i. 140.
- March, Patrick Dunbar, Earl of, i. 214.
At Borough Muir, i. 212.
At Neville's Cross, i. 223.
Blockades Perth, i. 72.
Lays Spalding's letter before Bruce, i. 50.
Raids Northumberland, i. 217.
Shelters Edward II., i. 46.
- Margaret of Scotland, death, i. 23.
- Margaret, Queen, wife of 6th Earl of Angus, ii. 56, 59, 62, 65, 127.
Claims custody of her sons, ii. 69.
Death, ii. 105.
Divorce, ii. 81, 83, 94.
Duplicity, ii. 81, 83.
Makes terms after Avonmore, ii. 87.
Marries Henry Stuart, ii. 94.
Negotiations with Angus, ii. 80.
Partisans, ii. 72, 84.
Schisms between Angus and, ii. 71, 77.
- Margaret, wife of Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas (xvi.), i. 129, 146.
Tomb, i. 148.
- Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, i. 3.
- Marie de Gueldres, marriage with Edward IV. proposed, i. 197.
- Marmaduke, Sir John Fitz, i. 39.
- Mary of Guise, Queen Regent, i. 248; ii. 125.
Garrisons Leith, i. 251.
Sends for Earl of Lennox, ii. 110.
- Mary Queen of Scots—
Abdicates in favour of her son, i. 263; ii. 157.
Correspondence with Bishop Leslie, i. 286.
Escapes from Lochleven, i. 263; ii. 159.
Escapes to Dunbar, i. 256.
Executed, ii. 147.
In France, i. 251.
Lands at Leith, i. 252.
Marriage to Edward VI. projected, ii. 108, 112, 122.
Married Bothwell, i. 260.
Married Darnley, i. 253; ii. 156.
Surrenders, i. 261.

- Matilda of Angus, wife of—
 (1) John Comyn.
 (2) Sir Gilbert de Umfraville, ii. 2.
- Matilda, widow of Simon, Earl of Northampton, married David of Scotland, i. 4.
- Matilda, wife of Henry I., i. 3.
- Maxwell, Angus, wife of William Douglas of Pinzerie, ii. 257.
- Maxwell, Edward, of Crostoun, murdered, ii. 257.
- Maxwell, (Sir) Eustace, of Carlaverock, i. 72.
- Maxwell, (Sir) Herbert, i. 151.
- Maxwell, Herbert, Lord, at Sark battle, i. 178.
- Maxwell, Jane, wife of William Douglas of Drumlanrig, ii. 249.
- Maxwell, John, 8th Lord, Earl of Morton, i. 245; ii. 146, 164.
 Married Elizabeth Douglas, ii. 130.
 Receives earldom and land of Morton, i. 282.
 Rising, ii. 145, 147.
- Maxwell, John, Master of, at Kirtlebank, i. 200.
- Maxwell, (Sir) John, of Carlaverock, i. 105.
- Maxwell, (Sir) John, of Pollok, at Otterburn, i. 109.
- Maxwell, (Sir) John, of Terregles (*see* Herries, Lord).
- Maxwell, John, taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Maxwell, Margaret, wife of Angus (I.), ii. 110, 127.
- Maxwell, Robert, 4th Lord, married Janet Douglas, ii. 251.
- Maxwell, Robert, 5th Lord—
 Obtains his liberty, ii. 110.
 Provost of Edinburgh, ii. 96.
 Taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Maxwell, Robert, 6th Lord, married Beatrix Douglas, i. 245.
- Maxwell, (Sir) Robert, of Dinwiddie, murdered, ii. 257.
- Maxwells and Johnstones, feud between, ii. 174.
- Melfort, John Drummond, Earl of, ii. 270.
 Charges against Queensberry (lxxxii.), ii. 272.
- Melfort on Order of the Thistle, ii. 207.
- Melok, Richard, i. 235.
- Melrose—
 Fight at, i. 90.
 Sacked, i. 54.
 Wrecked, ii. 120.
- Melrose Abbey—
 Bruce's heart buried in, i. 64.
 Burned, i. 105.
 Douglas tombs in, ii. 116.
 Knight of Liddesdale buried in, i. 226.
- Melton, William de, Archbishop of York, i. 47.
- At Myton-on-Swale, i. 51.
- Melville, Andrew, leads Presbyterians, i. 275.
- Melville, James, *Diary* quoted on Presbyterians, ii. 142.
- Melville, (Sir) James, on plot to murder Riccio, i. 254.
- Melville, (Sir) James, on Regent Morton, i. 271, 274.
- Menteith, Earl of, slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
- Menteith, (Sir) John, constable of Dunbarton, i. 32.
- Menteith, Margaret, Countess of, ii. 3.
- Meriadec, Hervé, Lord of Longueville, i. 181.
- Methven, battle of, i. 31.
 Sir James Douglas (vii.) at, i. 31.
- Methven, Henry Stuart, Lord, ii. 78, 87, 95.
- Married Queen Margaret, ii. 94.
- Middleton, General, expedition, ii. 200.
- Mildmay, Sir Walter, i. 266.
- Mohun, Lord, duel with Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 213.
- Mollance lands, i. 195.
- Monck, General, ii. 200.
- Monfode, Agnes, wife of John Douglas, i. 229.
- Monmouth's rebellion, ii. 207.
- Montagu, Jane Margaret, Lady, ii. 246.
- Montgomerie, Lorge, in Scotland, ii. 118.
- Montgomery, (Sir) John de, i. 95.
- Montgomery, Lord, i. 241.
 Arrested, i. 151.
- Montgomery, Robert de, i. 16.
- Montrose, Duke of, 5th Earl of Crawford, lands forfeited, ii. 40.
- Montrose, Earl of, ii. 137, 140.
 Reconciliation with Angus, ii. 147.
- Montrose, James, 2nd Marquess, married Isabel Douglas, widow of Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, ii. 165, 183.
- Moray—
 Connection with house of Douglas, i. 9.
 Flemings in, i. 5.
 Forfeited, i. 176.

- Moray, Alexander, 5th Earl, Commissioner to Scottish Parliament, ii. 272.
- Moray, Andrew de, joins Wallace, i. 27.
- Moray, (Sir) Andrew, of Bothwell, Regent, i. 214.
Death, i. 215.
Taken prisoner at Roxburgh, i. 73.
- Moray, James, Earl of, ii. 40, 84.
League with Arran and Beaton, ii. 95.
- Moray, James Stuart, Earl of, Regent, i. 247, 263; ii. 156.
Assassinated, i. 265, 277; ii. 161.
Interview with Mary Queen of Scots, i. 256.
- Moray, Joanna, wife of 3rd Earl of Douglas (xiii.), i. 118.
- Moray (Murray), origin of name, i. 6.
- Moray, Thomas Randolph, 3rd Earl of, i. 72, 105, 175.
At battle of Bannockburn, i. 42, 44, 45.
At Biland, i. 55.
At Borough Muir, i. 212.
At Neville's Cross, i. 223.
At Otterburn, i. 109.
Captivity, i. 213.
Captures Edinburgh Castle, i. 41.
Death, i. 71.
Raids into England, i. 52, 53, 57.
Regent, i. 51, 71.
Rivalry with Douglas, i. 50.
Taken prisoner, i. 31, 40.
- Morays of Bothwell, founder of, i. 6.
- Mordaunt, Lord (Earl of Peterborough), duel with Arran, ii. 206.
- Mordington, Charles, 5th Lord, ii. 180.
- Mordington lands, dowry of Agnes of Dunbar, i. 230, 236.
- Mordington, Lord, protest on behalf of 2nd Marquess Douglas, ii. 218.
- More, Reginald, Exchequer Account, i. 67.
- More, Reginald, marries Mary of Douglas, i. 226.
- Mortimer, Katherine, murdered, ii. 3.
- Morton Castle and lands, i. 230, 236, 241, 244.
- Morton, Earl of (*see* Maxwell, John, 8th Lord).
- Morton, 4th Earl of (xxxvi.), Regent, i. 271.
Executed, i. 281; ii. 125, 138, 139.
- Morton, James, 15th Earl, President of Royal Society, ii. 184.
Guardian to Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.), ii. 230.
- Morton, Joan, Countess of, i. 238.
- Morton, Sholto George Watson Douglas, 20th Earl of, ii. 185.
- Mouswald estate, ii. 253.
- Mowbray, Sir Alexander de, i. 212.
- Mowbray, Sir John de—
Falls into ambush, i. 37.
Lands forfeited, i. 220.
Slain at Annan, i. 73.
Warden of Annandale, i. 39.
- Mowbray, Sir Philip de, governor of Stirling Castle—
At Methven, i. 31.
Offer to Edward Bruce, i. 41.
Warning to King Edward, i. 43, 46.
- Mure, Elizabeth, wife of Robert II., i. 89, 186.
- Murray (Moray)—
Arms, i. 11.
Origin of name, i. 6.
- Murray, Charles, of Cockpool, ii. 254.
- Murray, (Lord) George, ii. 235.
- Murray, Hon. Helen, 3rd wife of Sir John Stewart, ii. 240.
- Murray, (Sir) James, of Philiphaugh, ii. 226.
- Murray, (Captain) John, organises rising, ii. 280.
- Murray, (Sir) Patrick, of Pittidinner, ii. 226.
- Murray, Wilhelmina, wife of James, Lord Douglas, ii. 246.
- Musgrave, Sir Thomas, captured at Melrose, i. 90.
- Myton-on-Swale, fight at, i. 51.
- NAPIER, Barbara, tried as witch, ii. 148, 153.
- Narbonne, Vicomte de, at Verneuil, i. 145.
- Neidpath Castle, ii. 273.
- Nesbit-Moor, i. 136.
- Nevill, Sir Robert de, combat with Douglas, i. 49.
- Neville's Cross, i. 223.
Knight of Liddesdale taken prisoner at, i. 76, 224.
- Newark Castle, i. 166.
- Newbattle Monastery, i. 62, 233, 234.
Burned, i. 105.
- Newlands Church, i. 235.
- Nicksons, action against, ii. 88.
- Nithsdale, 4th Earl of, married Lady Lucy Douglas, ii. 197.
- Norfolk, Duke of, Casket Letters shown to, i. 264.
- Norfolk, Duke of, executed, i. 270.
- Norfolk, Duke of, intercepts Douglasses, ii. 78.

- Norfolk, Duke of, on fate of Douglasses, ii. 104.
- Norham Castle besieged, i. 60, 79.
- Norham Castle captured, ii. 43.
- Norman barons owe allegiance to Kings of England and Scotland, i. 4.
- Normanville, Thomas de, i. 22.
- Northampton battle, i. 195.
- Northampton, Earl of, Warden of Marches, i. 80.
- Northampton, treaty of, i. 60, 71.
- Northumberland, expedition into, ii. 14.
- Northumberland, Henry, 1st Earl of, at Alnwick, i. 107.
- Ravages Tweeddale, i. 89.
- Northumberland, Henry, 8th Earl of— Executed at York, i. 271; ii. 161.
- Prisoner in Lochleven Castle, i. 270; ii. 160.
- Northumberland, Percy, Earl of— At Homildon Hill, i. 136.
- In Berwick, i. 158.
- Ogilvie, Walter, Lord, married May Douglas, ii. 165.
- Ogilvy of Innerquharity, i. 165.
- Ogle, Robert de, at Weardale, i. 58.
- Ogle, Sir Robert, burns Dunbar Castle, i. 167; ii. 14.
- Old Meldrum, Buchan defeated at, i. 39.
- Oliphant, Anne, wife of Sir James Douglas (lxiii.), ii. 180.
- Oliphant, Elizabeth, wife of— (1) Angus (lx.).
- (2) James Hamilton, ii. 166, 180.
- Oliphant, Laurence, 1st Lord, ii. 48.
- Oliphant, Laurence, Master of, married Christian Douglas, ii. 165.
- Oliphant, Lord, in Rome, i. 160.
- Oliphant, Lord, taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Olivers, action against, ii. 88.
- Omnis terra*, i. 31.
- Orkney and Zetland granted to Morton (lxi.), ii. 183, 184.
- Orkney earldom, ii. 205.
- Orkney, Edmund Fitzmaurice, 7th Earl of, ii. 205.
- Orkney, Henry St. Clair, Earl of— Advice to Douglas, i. 141.
- Married Egidia Douglas, i. 128.
- Orkney, William St. Clair, Earl of, i. 128.
- Married Elizabeth Douglas, widow of Sir Thomas Stuart of Mar, i. 146.
- Order of the Thistle revived, ii. 207.
- Ormonde earldom, ii. 217.
- Ormonde, Duke of, joins Prince of Orange, ii. 276.
- Ormiston, Andrew de, i. 69.
- Osmyn, Prince of Granada, i. 63.
- Otterburn*, ballad, i. 110.
- Otterburn battle, i. 29, 108.
- James, Earl of Douglas (xii.), slain at, i. 109, 121; ii. 247.
- PAISLEY, Abbot of, ii. 80.
- Pannure, Earl of, married Lady Margaret Douglas, ii. 206.
- Pass of Brander, battle of, i. 40.
- Paterston, William, Darien scheme, ii. 277.
- Patten on battle of Pinkie, ii. 121.
- Peacock of the North (*see* Nevill, Sir Robert de).
- Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, Earl of— At Bannockburn, i. 45.
- At Glen Trool, i. 36.
- Attacks Bruce at Loudon Hill, i. 37.
- Attacks Scots at Methven, i. 31.
- Pennant, Juliana Isabella Mary, wife of Edward Douglas, ii. 185.
- Penrhyn, Baron, ii. 185.
- Percy, Sir Henry de, i. 27.
- Percy, Hotspur— Alliance with March, i. 131.
- Joins Glendower, i. 138.
- Taken prisoner at Otterburn, i. 109.
- Warden of East March, i. 105, 106.
- Percy, Henry— At Neville's Cross, i. 223.
- Taken prisoner at Sark, i. 179.
- Percy, Henry, son of Hotspur, i. 142.
- Percy, Earl, Sheriff of Ayr, i. 36.
- Percy, Sir Ralph, i. 107.
- Taken prisoner at Otterburn, ii. 109.
- Percy (*see* also Northumberland, Earl of).
- Perth besieged, i. 215.
- Perth Castle, i. 41.
- Perth, James Drummond, Earl of, Chancellor of Scotland, ii. 270.
- Invents thumb-screw, ii. 271.
- Perth, James, Duke of, i. 202.
- Married Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 197.
- Perth, pacification of, i. 273, 277.
- Perth, trial of rebel earls at, ii. 170.
- Pettinain, i. 159.
- Philip of France invites Bruce to join Crusade, i. 40.
- Philippaugh battle, ii. 191, 264.
- Pinkie battle, ii. 121, 156.
- Pinkie Tower, ii. 113.
- Piperdean battle, ii. 11.

- Pitcairn, embassy to London, i. 266.
Pitcottie on—
 Angus, ii. 17, 94, 114.
 Douglas' (xx.) rule, i. 169, 170.
 James at Flodden, ii. 43.
 James II. and Bishop Kennedy, i. 190.
 Lauder Bridge, ii. 27.
 Sark battle, i. 178.
 Siege of Abercorn quoted, i. 188.
 Solway Moss, ii. 107.
 Wedding of Angus (lvi.) and Margaret Leslie, ii. 133.
Pittendreich estates, i. 285; ii. 125, 134.
 Forfeited, i. 247.
Pittenweem Priory, i. 272.
Plague, i. 91.
Poitiers, battle of, i. 80, 115.
 Archibald, Earl of Douglas (xiii.), taken prisoner at, i. 115.
Popish conspiracy, ii. 168.
Portland Tower burned, i. 107.
Presbyterianism, Morton's attitude towards, i. 275.
Presbyterians, alliance with Jacobites, ii. 279.
Prestonpans, ii. 121.
Prisoners, fate of, ii. 271.
Furdie, Patton, feud with Hugh de Douglas, i. 20.
- QUEENSBERRY, descent of dukes and marquesses, ii. 247.
Queensberry, 3rd Duchess, and Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 232.
Queensberry, 4th Duke of, "Old Q.," ii. 273, 285.
 Sketch of, ii. 286.
Queensberry dukedom, ii. 204, 287.
Queensberry marquessate, ii. 204, 287.
Queensberry, Sir Percy Sholto Douglas, 9th Marquess, ii. 288.
Quilt lands, i. 230.
- RAGMAN Roll, i. 26.
Raid of Dumfries, ii. 174.
Raid of Ruthven, ii. 139, 163.
Ramorny, (Sir) John de, i. 134.
Ramsay, (Sir) Alexander de, of Dalwalsey, i. 214.
 At Berwick, i. 91.
 At Borough Muir, i. 212.
 At Piperdean, ii. 11.
 Captures Roxburgh Castle, i. 218.
 Married Isabella Douglas: ancestor of Earl of Dalhousie, ii. 20.
 Murdered, i. 78, 219.
Ramsay, John (*see* Bothwell, Lord).
- Ramsay, Sir William, of Colluthie, i. 79.
 Taken prisoner at Poitiers, i. 115.
Ranaid of the Isles, i. 196.
 Murdered, i. 221.
Randolph, Thomas, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, ii. 137.
 Mission to Edinburgh, i. 279, 288.
 On Earl of Morton, i. 252.
Randolph, Thomas (*see* Moray, Earl of).
Raploch Moss, English defeated at, i. 36.
Rathlin Isle, Sir James Douglas in, i. 33.
Ratray, i. 159.
Redman, Sir Matthew, governor of Berwick, i. 109.
Reformers' Covenant, i. 251.
Renfrew, Edward II. at, i. 40.
Renwick, James, issues Apologetical Declaration, ii. 268.
Riccio, David, murdered, i. 255; ii. 132, 157, 252.
Richard II., i. 91.
 Invades Scotland, i. 102.
Richmond, Earl of, at Biland, i. 55.
Richmond, Sir Thomas de, slain at Jedburgh, i. 48.
Riddell, John, on William Douglas, i. 210.
Robert the Steward (Robert II.), i. 77, 213.
 Accession, i. 87.
 At Neville's Cross, i. 223.
 Crown settled on, i. 51.
 French expedition and, i. 101.
 Grants licence to Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 230.
 Grants to Sir Henry Douglas (xxix.), i. 228.
 Heir of Bruce, i. 82.
 His family, i. 86, 88, 105, 126.
 Marriage, i. 186.
 Reconciles Douglas (xxviii.) and David II., i. 219.
 Regent, i. 76, 215.
Robert III., i. 77.
 Creates dukedom, i. 122.
 Grants to George Douglas, Earl of Angus, ii. 5.
Rokeby, (Sir) Thomas de, at Neville's Cross, i. 223.
Rokeby, Thomas de, scouts at Wear-dale, i. 58.
Roreson, Thomas, married Janet Carruthers, ii. 253.
Ros, Sir William M. (of Hamelake), Guardian of Scotland, i. 39.

- Roslyn Moor, i. 249.
 Assembly at, ii. 118.
- Ross, Alexander, Duke of, ii. 34, 67.
- Ross, Earl of, Lord of the Isles, i. 168, 187, 196, 197.
- Ross, Earl of, slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
- Ross, John, of Halkhead, i. 181.
- Ross of Mountgrennan, mission to England, ii. 32.
- Roths, George, 4th Earl of, ii. 138, 141, 165.
 Married Janet Douglas, widow of David Scott, ii. 21.
- Roths, Norman Leslie, Master of, ii. 120.
 At Ancrum Moor, ii. 117.
- Rothsay, David, Duke of, i. 122.
 Character, i. 134.
 Commands at Edinburgh Castle, i. 132.
 Death, i. 135.
 Lieutenant of Kingdom, i. 133.
 Married Marjorie Douglas, i. 123, 130.
- Rouen treaty, ii. 58.
- Roxburgh Castle, i. 101, 142, 196, 216; ii. 6.
 Captured, i. 41, 218.
 Siege of, ii. 16.
 William Douglas at siege of, ii. 249.
- Roxburgh, Earl of, on Hamilton as Commissioner, ii. 210.
- Roxburgh, Robert, Earl of, married Isabel Douglas, ii. 165, 183.
- Roxburgh, treaty of, i. 73.
- Royal Scots Regiment, ii. 195.
- Ruglen earldom, ii. 204.
- Rutherford of Fernietoun holds Longnewton Castle, ii. 160.
- Ruthven, Lord, at Lochleven Castle, i. 262.
- Ruthven, Patrick, Lord, married Janet Douglas, ii. 127.
- Ruthven, William, Lord of, ii. 157, 158.
- Ruthven, (Sir) William, married Lady Catherine Douglas, ii. 197.
- Ryan, Loch, Alexander and Thomas Bruce at, i. 34.
- SACHAVERELL impeached, ii. 212.
- Sadleyr, English ambassador—
 At Tantallon, ii. 113.
 Quoted on 4th Earl of Morton, i. 250.
 Sir George Douglas and, ii. 111.
- St. Andrews Castle, ii. 160.
 James VI. at, ii. 140.
- St. Andrews, John Forman, Archbishop of, ii. 42, 58, 71.
- St. Andrews, John Hepburn, Prior of, ii. 36, 56, 66, 80.
- St. Andrews, Kennedy, Bishop of, i. 196, 240; ii. 7, 13.
 Designs for Mary Stuart, ii. 23.
 Excommunicates Douglas' party, i. 165.
 Influence over King, i. 168, 185, 190.
 League against Douglas, i. 169.
- St. Andrews, Patrick Graham, Bishop of, i. 240, 241.
- St. Andrews, Sharp, Archbishop of, ii. 195.
- St. Andrews, Wardlaw, Bishop of, i. 231.
- St. Bartholomew massacre, its effect in Scotland, i. 269.
- St. Bride's Church (*see* Douglas parish).
- St. Clair, Beatrix, wife of 7th Earl of Douglas, i. 161, 180.
- St. Clair, Margaret, wife of Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, ii. 34.
- St. Clair, Sir William de, Douglas tries to rescue, i. 63.
- St. Clair (*see* Orkney, Earls of).
- Saint-Germain, Chevalier Saint-George at, ii. 279.
- Saint-Germain des Prés—
 Angus' (lx.) tomb in, ii. 179.
 Earl and Countess Dumbarton buried in, ii. 196.
 Monument to James Douglas (lxv.) in, ii. 194.
- St. John, Sheriff of Dumfries, i. 36.
- St. Michael (? Carmichael), Sir John de, i. 224.
- St. Ninians, i. 43.
- Saltoun, Lord, in Rome, i. 169.
- Sampson, Agnes, tried as witch, ii. 148.
- Sandilands, i. 35.
- Sandilands, Sir James de, Lord of Calder, ii. 5.
 Ancestor of Lord Torphichen, i. 75.
 Mission to Mary Queen of Scots, i. 251.
- Sanguhar Castle, ii. 274.
- Sanguhar, Covenanters proclaim war at, ii. 268.
- Sanguhar, Lord, bail for Provost Douglas, ii. 257.
- Sark battle (Lochmabenstane), i. 178. (*See also* Lochmabenstane.)
- Sauchie battle, ii. 35.
- Scath Moor, i. 47.
- Schevez, Archbishop, i. 241.

- Score—
 Alexander III. crowned at, i. 18.
 Robert Bruce crowned at, i. 31.
 Seven provinces of, ii. 2.
- Scoti of Piacenza, arms of, i. 12.
- Scotland—
 Civil war in (1567), i. 260.
 Delivered to Edward I. as Lord Paramount, i. 23.
 English and French alliances, ii. 70, 78.
 Feeling against Union in, ii. 210.
 French faction, ii. 110.
 In 1514, ii. 66.
 Making of, i. 1.
 National and English parties in, i. 18.
 Rebellion of 1488, ii. 33.
 Treaties with England, ii. 112.
 Truce with England, i. 57.
- Scots Regiment of Douglas, ii. 194, 198.
- Scott, David, married Janet Douglas : ancestor of Dukes of Buccleuch, ii. 21.
- Scott, (Lady) Frances, wife of Lord Douglas, ii. 246.
- Scott, (Sir) Francis, of Thirlestane, ii. 226.
- Scott, Janet, wife of Douglas, 5th Lord of Drumlanrig, ii. 250.
- Scott, John, apprehends Douglas (xxiii.), i. 181.
- Scott, John, Canon of Inchcolm and Vicar of Aberdeen, i. 238.
- Scott, Sym, of Arkyn, ii. 50.
- Scott, (Sir) Walter—
 Albany and Douglas in *Fair Maid of Perth*, i. 135.
 At Douglas Castle, i. 111.
 On *Buke of the Howlat*, i. 175.
 On James v.'s remorse, ii. 106.
- Scott, (Sir) Walter, of Braxholm and Buccleuch, ii. 79.
 At Ancrum Moor, ii. 117.
 Attempts to capture James, ii. 86, 251.
 Married Margaret Douglas, ii. 130.
 Saves Morton from being murdered, i. 269.
- Scottish Commissioners on Union, ii. 210.
- Scottish dukes created, i. 122.
- Scottish peers in House of Lords, ii. 212, 216.
- Scott's clan, bond between, ii. 260.
- Scrope, Archbishop of York, at Neville's Cross, i. 223.
- Seafeld, Chancellor, signs Treaty of Union, ii. 211.
- Second Book of Discipline* passed, i. 275.
- Secondary titles, ii. 206.
- Selby, Sir Walter de, i. 222.
- Selkirk, ii. 6.
 Burned, i. 142.
- Selkirk earldom, ii. 204.
- Semple of Fulwood, married Margaret Douglas, widow of Robert Crawford, ii. 61.
- Seton, (Sir) Alexander de, holds Berwick for David II., i. 73.
- Seton, (Sir) Christopher de, at Methven, i. 31.
- Seton, Lord—
 Assists Mary Queen of Scots to escape, ii. 159.
 Escorts Mary Queen of Scots to Dunbar, i. 256.
 In Rome, i. 169.
- Seton, Mary, at Lochleven Castle, ii. 158.
- Shakespeare, *Henry IV.* quoted, i. 138.
- Shank, Alexander, of Castlerig, married Isobel Douglas, ii. 155.
- Sharpe, C. Kirkpatrick, on—
 Duke of Douglas and John Ker, ii. 233.
 Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 239.
- Lady Margaret Jardine and Lady Katherine Douglas, ii. 264.
 Margaret, Duchess of Douglas, ii. 240.
- Shaw of Sauchie, Castellan of Stirling, ii. 33, 35.
- Shaw, Sir Richard, at Borrough Muir, i. 213.
- Shelburne, 2nd Earl (*see* Lansdowne, 1st Marquess).
- Sherborne, Prince of Orange at, ii. 276.
- Sheriffmuir, Duke of Douglas (lxxiv.) at, ii. 231.
- Shrewsbury battle, i. 138.
- Sibbald, Isabella, wife of—
 (1) 4th Earl of Angus.
 (2) Sir Robert Douglas (xlv.), ii. 20.
- Sidney, Sir Philip, ii. 144.
Arcadia, ii. 138.
- Simon of Spalding betrays Berwick, i. 49.
- Sinclair, Eleanor, Countess of Athol, i. 202.
- Sinclair, Oliver, commands at Solway Moss, ii. 106.
- Sinclair, Patrick, ambassador to Henry VIII., ii. 99.

- Sixtus IV. invites Earl of Morton to join Crusade, i. 238.
- Skelton, lampoons on Albany, ii. 77.
- Smith, Thomas, killed in duel, i. 141.
- Softlaw, Thomas, murdered, ii. 257.
- Solway Moss battle, ii. 106.
- Solway of Kinnmont, Baron, ii. 288.
- Somerset, Duke of—
At Pinkie, ii. 122.
Invades Scotland, i. 248; ii. 114, 121.
Scotch address to, ii. 118.
- Somerville, Lord, taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Somerville of Cambusnethan, ii. 83.
- Soulis, Sir William de, i. 47.
Lands forfeited, i. 52.
Raids in England, i. 46.
"Spanish Blanks," ii. 168.
- Spencer, Anne, wife of Archibald, Duke of Hamilton, ii. 216.
- Spynie, episcopal see, i. 14.
- Stabilgorton Barony, i. 52.
- Stafford, Lord de, lays waste Douglasdale, i. 69.
- Standard, battle of the, i. 4.
- Steinkirk, Angus (lxxiii.) killed at, ii. 230.
- Stewart, Sir George, ii. 240.
- Stewart, Sir John, married—
(2) Lady Jane Douglas, ii. 236, 237.
(3) Hon. Helen Murray, ii. 240.
- Stewart, Sir Thomas, of Balcaskie, ii. 236.
- Stewart-Douglas, Archibald, 1st Lord of Douglas (lxxvi.), ii. 236, 240.
Heir of Duke of Douglas, ii. 242.
Sketch of, ii. 244.
- Stewart, Alan, Lord of Ochiltree, bestows Langnewton on Sir Henry Douglas (xxix.), i. 227.
- Stewart, Alexander, of Garlies, married Elizabeth Douglas, widow of John, 5th Lord Maxwell, ii. 130.
- Stewart, Andrew, garrisons Dunkeld, ii. 58.
- Stewart, Elizabeth, wife of Douglas of Drumlanrig (lxxvii.), ii. 249.
- Stewart, (Sir) John, of Boncle, ii. 3.
- Stewart, Lady Margaret, wife of 2nd Earl Queensberry, ii. 264.
- Stewart of Garlies taken prisoner at Solway Moss, ii. 107.
- Stewart (*see also* Stuart).
- Stewarton, i. 159.
- Stirling—
Besieged, i. 30.
Convention deposes Regent Morton, i. 276.
- Stirling—*continued.*
Douglas (xx.) murdered at, i. 172.
Douglas (xxiv.) burns, i. 183.
James III. founds Chapel Royal, ii. 32.
Surrenders, ii. 145.
- Stirling, battle of, i. 28.
- Stirling Castle—
Besieged by Edward Bruce, i. 41.
Queen Margaret at, ii. 67, 95.
Seized, i. 276; ii. 141.
- Stirling, Katherine, wife of Earl of Angus (xlili.), ii. 40, 47.
- Strachan, Robert, married Sarah Douglas, ii. 155.
- Strathavon, i. 159.
- Strathbogie Castle destroyed, ii. 171.
- Strathbogie raided, i. 176.
- Strathern, Malise Graham, Earl of—
Deprived of earldom, i. 185.
Hostage in England, i. 186.
- Stratherne, i. 159.
- Struthers, Thomas, duel with William Inglis, i. 122.
- Stuart, (Lady) Anna, wife of Angus (lxiv.), ii. 197, 199, 217.
- Stuart, Elizabeth, wife of Sir William de Douglas (vi.), i. 21, 28.
- Stuart (Stewart) Family—
Intermarriages with Douglases, ii. 8.
Origin of name, i. 6.
- Stuart, Henry (*see* Methven, Lord).
- Stuart, (Sir) James, married Queen-mother, i. 154.
- Stuart, Joanna, wife of 1st Earl of Morton, i. 238; ii. 13.
- Stuart, Katherine, wife of 3rd Earl of Morton, i. 243, 245.
- Stuart, Margaret, i. 93.
- Stuart, Mary, wife of—
(1) Earl of Angus.
(2) Sir James Kennedy.
(3) William, Lord of Graham.
(4) Sir William Edmonstone, ii. 7.
- Stuart, (Sir) Thomas, of Mar, i. 146.
- Stuart, (Sir) Thomas, of Mar, married Elizabeth Douglas, widow of Earl of Buchan, i. 146.
- Stuart, Walter, condemned to death, i. 152.
- Stuart, (Sir) William, ii. 142, 147.
- Sudrey under Norse jarls of Orkney, i. 2.
- Sully, Henri de, taken prisoner at Biland, i. 55.
- Sunderland Barony, ii. 12.
- Sunderland, Robert, Earl of, ii. 215.
- Surnames, i. 6, 64.

- Surrey, Earl of—
 Account of John, Duke of Albany, ii. 57.
 At Flodden, ii. 43.
- Surrey, Earl of, defeated at Stirling, i. 28.
- Sutherland, Earl of, raids Northumberland, i. 217.
- Sutherland, Earl of, slain at Halidon Hill, i. 75.
- Sutherland, William, of Duffus, i. 285.
- Sweetheart Abbey, i. 123.
- Swift on Hamilton (lxxi.), ii. 215.
- Swinton, (Sir) John de, i. 93.
 At Homildon Hill, i. 136.
- Swinton Manor, i. 67.
- TAILZEOUR, Sir John, parson of Cummertrees, inventory of muniments, ii. 258.
- Talbot, Sir Thomas, i. 131.
- Talla Moss, Lennox defeated at, ii. 36.
- Tantallon Castle, i. 164, 166.
 Angus in, ii. 96, 97, 100.
 Angus (lvi.) removes valuables to, ii. 137.
 Barony and Castle sold, ii. 226.
 Douglasses offer to surrender, i. 248.
 Duchess of Albany imprisoned in, ii. 10.
 Held against James by Angus, ii. 38.
 Margaret, Countess of Angus at, ii. 4.
 Seized by Albany, ii. 69.
 Surrendered, ii. 199.
- Tempest, Peter, i. 226.
- Test Act, ii. 268.
 Suspended, ii. 275.
- Teviotdale reconquered by Douglas (xxviii.), i. 216.
- Teviotdale wasted, i. 142.
- Theobaldus Flamaticus receives grant of land, i. 9.
- Thirwall, Captain, warden of Douglas Castle, i. 35.
- Thoits, Sir David, married Lady Margaret Douglas, widow of Sir Alexander Jardine, ii. 264.
- Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, supports Macbeth, i. 2.
- Thornhill lands bestowed on Sir James Douglas (xxx.), i. 230.
- Thrieve Castle, i. 166.
 Besieged, i. 194.
 Built, i. 119.
 Duchess Margaret at, i. 147.
- Tibbers Barony, ii. 250, 287.
- Tillicoultry, ii. 6.
- Tournay, siege of, i. 217.
- Tours Duchy granted to (1) Douglas (xvi.), i. 144, 152, 167.
 (2) Louis of Sicily, i. 148.
- Tours, Sir William, of Dalry, i. 75.
- Traill, Bishop, i. 134.
- Train, Joseph, story of siege of Thrieve, i. 194.
- Tranent Castle, i. 22.
- Treaty of Union signed, ii. 211.
- Tudor, Margaret (*see* Margaret, Queen).
- Tullibardine loyal to James, ii. 34.
- Turnberry Castle, i. 34, 35.
- Turnbull, William, Bishop of Glasgow, joins league against Douglas (xx.), i. 169; ii. 14, 31.
- Tweeddale—
 Douglas (vii.) in, i. 39.
 Gascons in, i. 47.
 Ravaged, i. 89.
- Tweeddale, Marquess of, leader of country party, ii. 279.
 Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, ii. 281.
- Tweeddale, 3rd Marquess, married Lady Susanna Douglas, widow of Earl Dundonald, ii. 206.
- Tweddie, John, of Drummelzier, murders Lord Fleming, ii. 78.
- Twyllyoll, Sir Robert, raid upon Eskdale, i. 81.
- Tyler, Sir Thomas, Commissioner for Henry VII., ii. 37, 38.
- UCHTRED, Sir Thomas, slain at Biland, i. 55.
- Union controversy, ii. 208.
- "Union Duke," 2nd Duke of Queensberry (lxxxiii.), ii. 281.
- Umfraville, Gilbert de, Lord of Rededale, dispute with Sir William de Douglas (vi.), i. 20.
- Umfraville, Sir Ingelram de, i. 39.
- Umfraville (*see* also Angus, Earl of).
- Urban v., i. 116.
- Urquhart, Adam, Hamilton's letter to, ii. 202.
- Utrecht, peace of, ii. 213.
- VALENCE, Aymer de (*see* Pembroke, Earl of).
- Verneuil battle, i. 145.
 Archibald, Earl of Douglas (xvi.), and James Douglas killed at, i. 146.
- Vienne, Sir John de, lands at Leith, i. 100.
- Vigoleno fortress, i. 12.
- Villiers, Elizabeth, wife of Earl of Orkney (lxx.), ii. 205.

- Villiers, Elizabeth, wife of Robert, 9th Earl Morton, ii. 183.
- Vipont, Sir Alan de, at Lochleven, i. 214.
- WAKE, Lord of Liddesdale, i. 71.
- Wallace, Sir Duncan, of Sundrum, i. 75.
- Wallace, Sir John, of Craigie, i. 161.
At Sark battle, i. 178, 179.
Married Elizabeth Douglas, widow of Alexander Stewart, ii. 130.
- Wallace, William, heads revolt, i. 26.
- Walpole, Horace, on 15th Earl Morton's imprisonment, ii. 184.
- Walsingham, Sir Francis—
Angus' (Ivi.) letter to, ii. 138.
Mission to Paris, i. 266.
On plague in Scotland, i. 91.
On Sir Archibald Douglas, i. 73.
Promises to Archibald Douglas (xxxvii.), i. 288.
- Walter the Steward—
At battle of Bannockburn, i. 43, 45.
Betrothed to Marjorie Bruce, i. 47.
Guardian of Scotland, i. 48.
Holds Berwick for Bruce, i. 51.
On lands of Douglas, i. 8.
Pursues Edward II., i. 55.
Raids into England, i. 53.
- Wanton, Sir John de, killed at Douglas Castle, i. 38.
- Wark captured, ii. 43, 76.
- Warkworth burned, i. 167; ii. 14.
- Wars of the Roses, i. 188.
- Warwick, Earl of, at Pinkie, ii. 122.
- Warwick, Earl of, besieges Alnwick Castle, ii. 19.
- Watstirker (Westerkirk) Barony, i. 52, 70.
- Waus, de, defeated in Glen Trool, i. 37.
- Weardale campaign, i. 57.
- Wedderburn, David of, i. 144.
- Weirdy, Thomas, i. 280.
- Wemyss, Lady Jean, wife of Angus (Ixiv.), ii. 199, 217.
- Wemyss, Sir John, married Margaret Douglas, ii. 165.
- Westminster Convention signed, ii. 29.
- Westmorland, Ralph Neville, Earl of, i. 202.
Joins Catholic rising, i. 270.
- Wharton, raid upon Douglas, ii. 123.
- White of Stockbrigg, influence over Duke of Douglas, ii. 233, 234, 237.
- Whittinghame lands, dowry of Agnes of Dunbar, i. 230, 236, 241.
- Whitworth, Steward of Macclesfield Family, ii. 213.
- Wigtown earldom sold, i. 118.
- William of Kilmaron, i. 208.
- William III.—
Angus (Ixxiii.) raises regiment for, ii. 228.
Arran's (Ixxi.) attitude towards, ii. 207, 208.
Douglas (Ixxii.) signs invitation to, ii. 222.
Queensberry (Ixxxii.) offers crown to, ii. 273.
Rule in Scotland, ii. 277.
Welcomed by Hamilton, ii. 203.
- William the Conqueror invades Scotland, i. 3.
- William the Lion, i. 8, 14, 120.
- Williamhope (William's Cross, Galsewood), i. 78.
- Wills, oldest, executed by Scotsmen, i. 227, 232.
- Wimund, rising under, i. 4.
- Winchburgh, i. 46.
- Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow—
Joins Wallace, i. 27.
Reception of Robert Bruce, i. 30.
- Wishart, John, of Ballisycht, married Jean Douglas, ii. 155.
- Witch-hunting, ii. 148.
- Wodran on Duke of Douglas and John Ker, ii. 233.
- Wolsey, Cardinal—
Angus intrigues with, ii. 59, 62.
Convention with Angus, ii. 78.
Scotch policy, ii. 89.
- Worcester battle, ii. 191.
- Wormeston, laird of, difference with Drumlanrig (Iii.), ii. 252.
- Wotton, Sir Edward, ambassador to Scotland, ii. 144.
- Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf's—
Account of sack of Berwick, i. 25.
Quoted on arms of Douglas and Moray, i. 11.
David, Duke of Rothesay, i. 133.
Douglas (xi.) and Robert II., i. 87.
Sir Archibald Douglas (xiii.), i. 126.
- YARMOUTH, Earl of, married Maria Fagniani, ii. 286.
- Yetholm Church, truce made at, i. 106, 133.
- York, English commissioners receive Scotch delegates at, ii. 160.
- ZOUCH, Eleanor de, i. 22.

ERRATA



VOLUME I.

- Page 28, last line but two, *for* "Hugh [viii.]" *read* "Hugh [ix.]"
.. 28, last line but one, *for* "Archibald [ix]" *read* "Archibald [x.]"
.. 47, five lines from bottom, *for* "Balliol" *read* "Baliol."
.. 65, headline, *for* "DOUGLAS" *read* "BRUCE."
.. 75, line 13, *for* "Lord of Douglas [vii.]" *read* "Lord of Douglas [viii.]"
.. 114, line 27, *for* "Good Sir James [viii.]" *read* "[vii.]"

VOLUME II.

- Page 12, line 18, *for* "Good Sir James [viii.]" *read* "[vii.]"
.. 29, second line, *for* "Sir James Liddell" *read* "Sir James Liddel."
.. 138, line 7 from bottom, *for* "David Home" *read* "David Hume."
.. 155, last line, *for* "Auchenleck" *read* "Auchinleck."
.. 165, line 15, *for* "Kerr" *read* "Ker."
.. 165, line 12 from bottom, *for* "Isabel, daughter of 7th Earl of Morton,"
read "9th Earl."
.. 183, line 10 from bottom, *for* "Isabel, daughter of 8th Earl of Morton,"
read "9th Earl."
.. 185, line 8, *for* "Halliburton" *read* "Haliburton."
.. 230, line 21, *for* "Lady Margaret Ker" *read* "Lady Mary Ker."

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