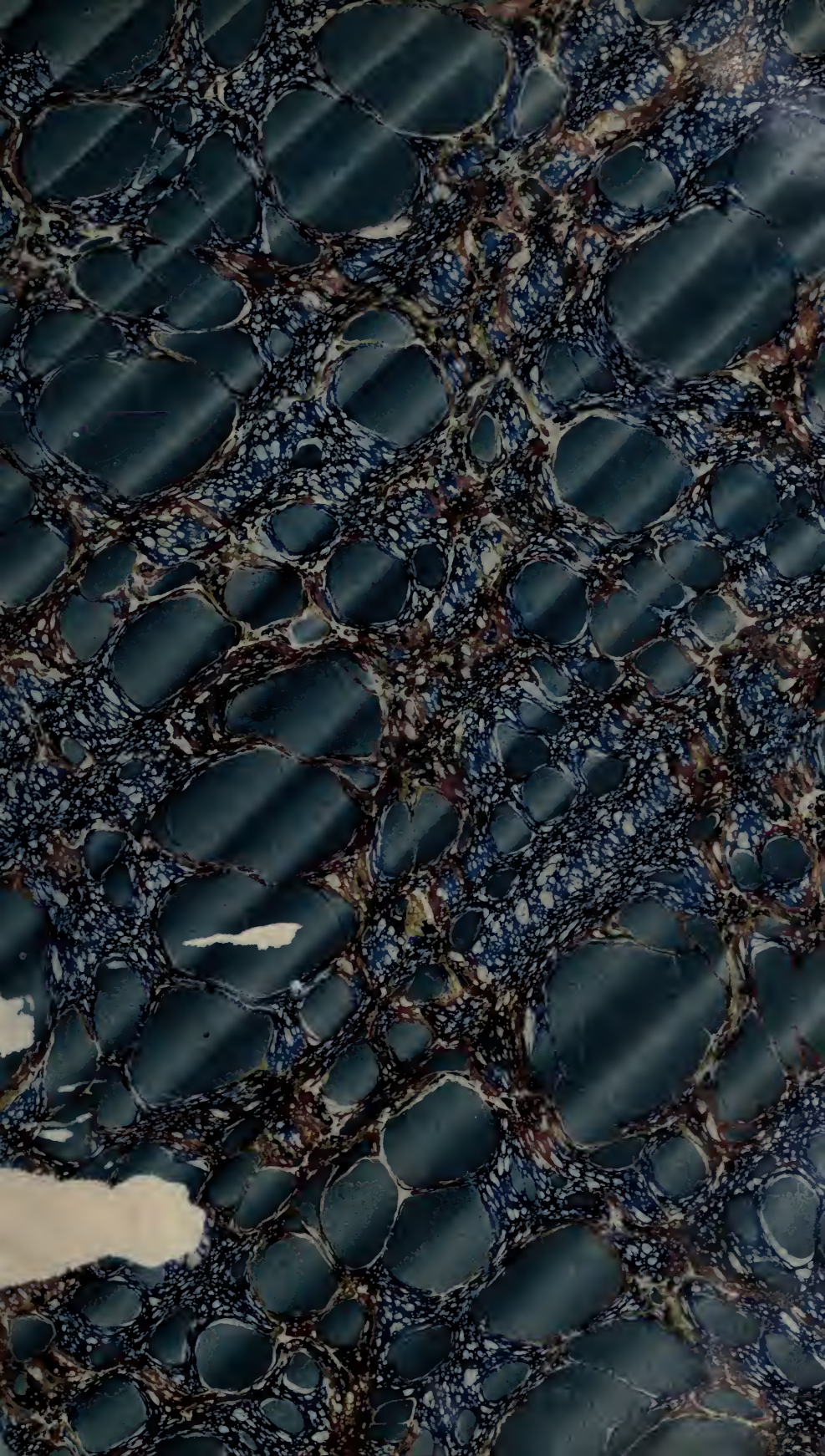






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CYRILL WALLACE SCOTTS MOST VIVID TERROR



J. Armitage



SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, SCOTSMAN OF SCOTLAND.

The
Pictorial History
of
S E O F U H M D
VOL. I.



GALGACUS ADDRESSING HIS ARMY.

"MARCH THEN TO BATTLE, AND THINK OF YOUR ANCESTORS,
AND THINK OF YOUR POSTERITY."



THE PICTORIAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

The Roman Invasion to the Close of the Jacobite Rebellion.

A.D. 79 — 1746.

BY JAMES TAYLOR, D.D.,

ASSISTED BY

PROFESSOR LINDSAY, D.D., PROFESSOR EADIE, D.D., L.L.D.,
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AND OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

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TO

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THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF WASHINGTON;

AND PRINCIPAL OF THE UNITED COLLEGE OF ST. SALVADOR AND ST. LEONARDS, ST. ANDREW'S,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

HIS FRIEND,

JAMES TAYLOR.

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GEOLOGY OF SCOTLAND.

GEOLOGY is that branch of science which relates to the structure of the earth, the mineral constituents of its mountains and other rocky masses, and the causes which have contributed to the relative distribution of land and water over its surface. It thus embraces physical geography as well as a consideration of the various changes that have rendered the planet so suitable a habitation for organised beings, recent and extinct. The researches of the geologist clearly show that the surface of the earth has not always been as it now is—that there have been various modifications, from time to time produced, of its superficial arrangements—that the sea and land have repeatedly interchanged places—and that gradually, and not all at once, it has assumed an external configuration so admirably adapted for sustaining life, more especially human life, in its highest type of organised matter.

The qualities and varieties of the rocky strata, their vertical arrangement and position, no less than their diversity into mountain and plain, river and ocean bed, demonstrate them to be the work of a designing cause, of the All-wise and Almighty Creator. Rocks are neither the offspring of chance, nor the accidental effect of causes that might have generated a wholly different product, without effecting the end for which they were created. The marks of intelligence and benevolence with which they are everywhere stamped, and the important office they fulfil in determining the condition of the human race, in their migrations and occupancy of different territories, evince a designing purpose in their arrangement, distribution, and mineral constituents. It is solely in consequence of these conditions, that the earth is fitted, in so eminent a degree, to be the residence of such an order of beings as man, whereby they are divided into nations and communities; separated by seas, continents, and islands; and are impelled to seek the means of subsistence, civilisation, and improvement, by ingenuity and exertion. This constitution of the earth has, accordingly, produced a most decisive influence on their physical, social, and moral condition. The character of the strata which constitute the surface, the nature of the metals imbedded beneath, and the broken and dislocated position into which both have been thrown, rendering them at once accessible and workable, have contributed to the very existence of our commerce and arts; to the extension and improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and navigation in every country of the world. A different arrangement of the mineral masses, or of even a few of the geographical features of the earth, would have greatly altered its physical adaptations to the human family, changed the relations of large portions of its inhabitants to each other, given a different direction to their pursuits, and issued in a different history.

Thus, for example, had any of the great mountain ranges of the world been altered in their direction and height, or of the seas and oceans in their free opening into each other, or had the continents extended from pole to pole, and what a different state of things would have prevailed over the surface? The dispersion of the race from the eastern cradle of their birth, their subsequent intermixtures, their occupation of particular countries, and their final circumnavigation of the globe, would not have taken place in the manner and time, nor been attended with the same beneficial results, that have issued under the existing disposition of things. Transplant the Himalaya, with their lofty table-lands, across Northern Europe, dividing Russia from Germany instead of Thibet from India, and, along with an entire change in the climate and productions of these nations, the agency of the tribes on one another would have operated very differently, both in Europe and in Central Asia. Instead of the hardy intelligent Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, and other races, sprung from the Japhetic stock which inhabit Great Britain, and her world-wide colonies, a degenerate caste would have risen up, and retarded the progress of civilisation. Had Africa, instead of projecting from Europe to the South, stretched to the West, and joined the continent of America, the whole history of the world, ancient and modern, would have been changed: the black Negro of the tropics, and the red Indian of the wilderness, would, ages ago, have invaded each other's territories, mingled with each other's blood, and modified each other's habits. Europe and the Atlantic side of North America would have been isolated from the southern part of the globe, and Spain and Portugal would have had no part nor lot in the produce and treasures of the western world. The plains of Italy and France, it can be established on geological data, emerged from the sea shortly before, or nearly coincident with, the historical era. Had that physical event been prevented, which it might have been, or even delayed, by the shifting of the subterranean forces that caused their elevation, and what mighty influences would have been withdrawn, through their operation upon Roman and Gallican States, from modifying the condition of every civilised people in the world—in their language, arts, literature, history, government, and religion!

Now, one main object of Geology is to investigate the nature of the causes which led to the actual condition of the earth's surface and rendered it so convenient an abode for man, as well as the kinds of animals and plants which existed in the past epochs of its history, and are now entombed in its rocky strata. The rocks, for miles deep, have been severally examined. The earliest appearances of organic life have been traced. The place of the metals and of the richest minerals have been accurately explored. Five hundred genera, and eight hundred to a thousand species of the larger families of vertebrate animals, and a thousand genera and species of fossil plants, have been restored to human investigation and spread out in the cabinets of natural history. With such disclosures it may be safely averred that no subject within the compass of human research has been attended with more beneficial practical results, or more brilliant discoveries into the past history of the planet, than have attended with such rapidity, variety, and number, the investigations of the geologist. There can be none more improving in extending our acquaintance with nature—none more calculated to give cheerful, healthful recreation—and none more directly fitted to raise the mind to wonder and admiration, while contemplating the works of the great architect of the universe. The earth has been the cradle, so will it be the grave of all our race. Hence the legitimate desire to learn its origin and its cause, the manner of its formation, and the laws of its continued course.

GEOLOGY has a claim to be regarded as History—Antiquarian History—a record of events which lie in the far distant past. The rocks of Scotland, described in the following pages, belong most of them to the oldest formations in the world. None go deeper into the crust, or can be ascribed to the operation of anterior secondary causes. The fossil remains, contained in the lower stratified series, consist of the earliest types of organised bodies anywhere detected in the strata of the earth. The testimony of their existence as living substances, vegetable and animal, in very remote periods of time, and now incorporated as parts of the solid rock, is of a nature not to be resisted: it speaks at once to the senses and the understanding as alike credible and satisfactory. The more ancient periods of Scottish history are involved in doubt and fable: the first settlers in the island, whence they came, the line of the earliest kings, and the system of the Druidical priesthood, are matters still of uncertainty. The evidences of Geology, whose memorials are infinitely older, rest upon direct observation; nay, the older the chronicles here, the less uncertainty is there as to their reading, where the registers are all engraven in the most legible characters, and, to be understood, have only to be examined and compared with existing forms of life. A state of things, in the most lucid order and form, has thereby been revealed in the vegetable, animal, and mineral kingdoms, very different from anything in existing nature—plants generically distinct from all living types—animals whose families have all passed away—and systems of rocks which can no longer be produced by any visible agencies, under existing arrangements.

The physical outline of Scotland is very much influenced by its geological conditions. The headlands, bays, creeks, and valleys, are all determined, less or more, by the peculiar formations and the disposition of the rocks. Hence the exceedingly irregular form of the coast-line, as presented on maps, where exposed to the action of the sea. The localities of the different mineral substances of the primary and secondary rocks, are readily distinguishable by the long sea-arms or other indentations upon the shores, where, in their stronger resistance to its erosive action, the older rocks generally occupy the capes and headlands, while the newer, from their softer texture, as limestone and sandstone, have been penetrated, washed away, or exposed in isolated patches. The islands, and especially the islands on the western coast, have in this manner been detached from the mainland, their chief mass and lofty ridges consisting of the hardest crystalline rocks, and presenting along the beaches only narrow stripes of those more easily eroded. The great straths and valleys, again, are all determined in their direction and extent by the position and bearing of the mountain chains, as the valleys of the Spey, Dee, Tay, Forth, Tweed, and Teviot, which have all an easterly course corresponding with the mountain summits; they all lie nearly parallel to each other, and the rivers, with their tributaries, all pour their waters into the German Sea. The line of bearing is nearly E.N.E. by W.S.W.; and with scarcely a single exception, every class of rocks, whether occupying the plains or lining the uplands, or capping the ridges, range from sea to sea across the island. Hence a description of any particular locality, in respect of the same series of rocks, will be found of general application over the mainland; where the continuity is broken by straths, lakes, or arms of the sea, the particular formation can be easily recognised on the opposite sides. The student may, therefore, indifferently as it were, begin his researches along any intermediate district as his convenience or his sojourn for the time may direct. And thus, whether it be the gneiss of Cape Wrath or Ardtornish—the granite of Aberdeen or Arran—the schists of Kincardine or

the Mull of Cantyre—the sandstones of Stonehaven or Helensburgh—the porphyry of Dundee or Largs—the carboniferous deposits of St. Andrew's or Ayr—the columnar basalts of Earlsferry or Staffa—the lesson throughout will be one and the same, either as respects the mineral constituents, or the gognostic position, or the relative ages of the rocks examined.

The causes of this parallelism in the mountain chains, and continuity in their rocky materials, are to be sought for in the elevatory movements which acted contemporaneously upon their masses, and the direction of the forces which produced them. The hypothesis of M. Elie de Beaumont implies that “continuous systems must have had a simultaneous origin,” embracing a vast extent of geographical area, and arranged into groups and systems in lines parallel to a great circle on the sphere. The various qualities of rocks in Scotland are so arranged, from the most ancient primary to the newest sedimentary formations, running in a direction from south-west to north-east, and preserving throughout the valleys, slopes, and ridges of hills one common line of bearing. As we shall afterwards see, volcanic agencies have been at work all over the island. These agencies lifted up the strata and formed them into mountains over their central nucleus. The great lines of fissure, occasioned by the disruption of the strata, would consequently partake of the same rectilinear movements; and hence the lakes, friths, and straths generally, as well as the chains of hills and mountains, all maintain an approximation to parallelism—proofs that the upheaving agency from beneath must have extended across the country in the direction thus indicated.

The mainland of Scotland lies between $54^{\circ} 38'$ and $58^{\circ} 40' 30''$ of north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 46'$ and $6^{\circ} 8' 30''$ of west longitude, and has been estimated at 26,400 square miles, and the circumference, including minor irregularities, at about 3000 miles. The islands and fresh-water lakes are reckoned to be nearly 3700 square miles, or upwards of one-ninth of its superficial area. The extent of coast-line from Duncansbay Head to Berwick is 712 miles; from Duncansbay Head to Cape Wrath 145 miles; from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Galloway 1430 miles; the south coast where washed by the Solway to the mouth of the Esk 173 miles; and of borderland the distance eastward to Coldstream is about 90 miles. Hence there are rather less than eleven square miles of surface to one mile of sea-coast, whereas in the whole of Europe, there are twenty-five miles of surface to one of sea-coast; and in the other quarters of the globe there is a still higher ratio of the former to the latter.*

The rock formations of Scotland, now to be cursorily described within this area, consist of three great divisions, namely, the primary, transition, and secondary. To these are to be added a few limited sections of new red sandstone, and the upper and still newer series of strata of which two-thirds of the superficial extent of England are covered, but of which only the smallest traces are to be found in Scotland along the north-eastern and western shores. Rocks are termed stratified or unstratified, aqueous or igneous, according as they have been supposed to be formed in water, or erupted in a melted state from the bowels of the earth. They are divided into formations, systems, and groups, according to the conditions under which they have been formed, and the mineral and organic contents by which they are distinguished. The term *formation* is applied to designate rocks which seem to have originated under nearly similar circumstances, and whose ages are relatively embraced within a definite geological epoch. The

* Nicol's *Guide to the Geology of Scotland*, pp. 9, 10.

term *system* is of a more limited application, and is intended simply to express their relation to each other as determined by their mineral and fossil characters. A *group* of rocks is still less generic than either of these; as there may be several systems in a formation, so there may be several groups in a system, such as a crystalline, sandstone, or limestone group or series of strata. The following table exhibits both divisions and sub-divisions according to their mineral connexion, chronological order, and relative superposition.

TABULAR VIEW OF ROCKS.

PRIMARY FORMATION.	TRANSITION OR LOWER SECONDARY FORMATION.	UPPER SECONDARY AND TERTIARY FORMATIONS.
Gneiss.	Grauwake.	New Red Sandstone.
Mica Schist.	Silurian Schists.	Lias. Oolite. Wealden.
Quartz Rock.	Old Red Sandstone.	Chalk.
Limestone.	Coal Series.	Tertiary Series.
Clay Slate.	Mountain Limestone.	
IGNEOUS ROCKS.		
Granite.	Felspar Porphyry:	Amygdaloid.
Basalt.	Compact Felspar.	Clinkstone.
Claystone.	Greenstone.	Tufa.

The rocks, as arranged under the head of formations, are all stratified, and are therefore supposed to owe their origin to deposition in water. The igneous rocks all belong to the unstratified class, and are consequently as justly ascribed to volcanic action, whose materials were once in a state of fusion, and ejected from beneath the crust of the earth. The primary series are by far the most widely developed of the rock formations of Scotland, covering upwards of 19,000 square miles, or about two-thirds of its superficial extent. They prevail chiefly in the northern Highland counties. The lower group of the secondary formation is, in part of the series, limited to the southern division and border districts, consisting of grauwake, silurian schists, and impure shelly limestones. The middle or central districts are occupied with the old red sandstone, the coal metals, and the mountain limestone. The upper secondary and tertiary formations are, in Scotland, of very limited extent, and chiefly confined to Dumfriesshire and the Hebrides; while again, with the exception of the granite the igneous class all lie within the area of the coal field or form its out-works, constituting the Sidlaw, Ochil, Campsie, Kilpatrick, and Pentland ranges of hills. But in proceeding with our geological description, according to the natural order of the rocks from the lower to the higher, it will be most convenient to adopt their geographical distribution from north to south, which arrangement, although necessarily attended with some repetition, will upon the whole be found the most conducive to perspicuity and systematic condensation. One of the most remarkable facts in descriptive Geology is, that in a transverse section from any two points across the mainland, as from Cape Wrath to Berwick, we pass over the whole intermediate series of rocks—system upon system—not piled up in one colossal mass, but drawn out and slipped over the edges of one another, and so arranged and disposed at successive intervals, as to be projected in regular order to the surface. The arrangement, like the drawers in a cabinet or the courses in a building, is thus uniform from below upwards, and as nearly as possible according

to lineal perspective. This arrangement is never inverted. From the blue slates of the Grampians to the new red sandstone flags of Dumfriesshire, there is a persistent succession of ascending beds of rock, lying with their outcrops one above another, chapter after chapter of the world's history stereotyped on their stony tablets, and the families of its remotest annals in countless numbers of vegetable and animal forms restored to the inspection of the curious, learned and unlearned.

The annexed section gives a condensed view of the different formations, in their natural order of superposition and geographical sequence; from the Grampians to the Solway, in which, according to their several systems and groups, the whole series of Scottish rocks are represented from the granite to the new red sandstone (see Plate I). A section from the same primary range, taken in a northern direction to the Pentland Frith, includes the same series, with the exception of the coal measures; but in their stead, there are patches at irregular distances of the overlying formations, as the oolite, wealden, chalk, and tertiaries, so abundant in England. Thus, within the circumscribed limits assigned for this sketch, rocks of every known kind meet our view, and Scotland in its mineral wealth and variety may be considered as an epitome of the globe.

THE PRIMARY FORMATION.

The rocks included under this formation consist of granite, gneiss, mica-slate, limestone, quartz-rock, and clay-slate. Their mineral constituents differ very little from each other: felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende, enter into them all; lime, talc, and chlorite, are more abundant in or exclusively confined to others; and, through the whole series, these simple minerals exist either in the form of perfect crystals, or as broken, fragmentary portions of crystals. They are all, in consequence, more or less, crystalline in their structure; and they are termed PRIMARY, because they not merely denote the absence, but are assumed to have been formed before the existence of living things, vegetable or animal.

Granite constitutes the basis of the whole; and although, according to the igneous theory of its origin, it is probably a later formation than any of them, yet as the fundamental rock, not only in this, but in all countries of the world, it falls naturally to be described as the first of the series. The prevailing constituents of granite are quartz, felspar, and mica; where hornblende is added or substituted, as it frequently is, for mica, it is then denominated sienite; and in this form it is easily distinguished by the darker colour which it assumes from the presence of the hornblende. The more usual colours of granite (which are red, grey, or whitish grey), are not unimportant as regards its texture for polishing and economic purposes. Thus the red of Peterhead and Aberdeen are found to be the most durable; the white varieties are esteemed to be the next in quality: the scale of hardness diminishes in the proportion in which hornblende, talc, and other ingredients abound. The mica sparkles like gold, and exists sometimes in crystals, as well as the talc, of more than a foot square, when it is split up into thin plates, and used as a substitute for glass. Some granites are binary, consisting only of two minerals, felspar with quartz or hornblende, and when polished break into irregular lines, resembling Arabic letters, on which account it has been called graphic granite. A vein of this rock traverses the district about a mile east of the town of Portsoy, in Banffshire, in connection with mica-slate and a bed of lustrous marble of great celebrity.

Nothing surprises one more when looking at this brilliantly diversified rock than to be told that it owes its origin to fire, and once existed in a state of fusion beneath the crust. Granite forms mountains, always the largest in volume and loftiest in elevation in the world. It environs with its rocky vesture the whole circle of the globe, and is the basis on which all the other formations rest. It has penetrated and risen above every other part of the crust, and, in beauty of colouring, closeness of texture, condensation, and other qualities of endurance, granite, even in the mass, resembles, if it does not sometimes rival, the gems and precious stones of rarer occurrence. What the precise combination of causes, and what the circumstances under which they must have acted, in order to unite the ingredients in the proportions and forms that constitute its peculiarities, there are no means, in the present state of science, of determining; but by a common observer examining a hand specimen of this remarkable rock, the agency of heat would least of all be predicated as having been concerned in its production. It is difficult still more, upon many scientific grounds, to admit the hypothesis, as, for example, the unequal fusibility of its general constituents, quartz, felspar, and mica;—quartz requires for its fusion a temperature equal to 4043° of Wedgewood's pyrometer; felspar is fusible at a varying heat of 120° to 150°, and mica can be reduced at a still lower temperature. It is argued, in these circumstances, that the tripartite crystalline structure of this rock could not be effected—that in the same mass quartz could not be fluid when felspar was solid—nor the mica in a condition to be aggregated with either—when all, if in fusion must have been consolidated at such unequal temperatures. It is farther argued, that, as regular crystals of felspar are not unfrequently found imbedded in quartz, the felspar must have become solid while the quartz remained fluid, contrary to what would have happened from the known fusibilities of these substances, if they had consolidated from fusion. Asbestos, it is likewise stated, is a foreign ingredient in granite, and which, although it melts at a lower temperature, is found penetrating in the most delicate fibres through the quartz; and, finally, that shorl, a substance of comparatively easy fusibility, is often crystallised in the quartz, shooting through it in every direction, with various wavings and incurvations, and in fibres even finer than the human hair, all tending to prove that the quartz had been completely liquid when the shorl crystallised. Whence, above all, it is demanded, the source of the immense heat, the causes of its support, and the means of its action when deprived of the vital air, that could first fuse masses of matter beyond the power of imagination to conceive, elevate these masses through the crust of the globe, and pile them up into the highest mountain chains, simultaneously in the several quarters of the globe? *

It is argued, in reply, that the fires that issue from volcanoes are evidences of heat existing in the interior of the earth; and that, in a globe of eight thousand miles diameter, there are stores enough of the combustible element for the fusion of matter elevated only four or five miles on its surface. The craters of Etna and Vesuvius have been successively augmented, and islands are frequently seen to arise out of the sea; and what, therefore, could hinder the forces that raised up the Alps, Hymalayas, and Andes, from melting and ejecting the materials of which they are composed? The state of extreme condensation in which the granite rocks are found to exist shows the presence of some cementing

* *Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian Systems*, pp. 240-1.

element, in the aggregation of their component particles, which heat only was capable of producing. The several crystals are likewise in such a condition of form, arrangement, and contact, as only fusion could have rendered possible; as, for example, when they impress each other, quartz moulded on the felspar, or, as no less frequently happens, the felspar giving its form to the quartz: a clear evidence, in either case, of a soft condition of both substances, and that softness occasioned by fusion from heat. The existence of VEINS so generally diffused among the primary rocks, and composed of the purest specimens of crystallised granite, is adduced as one of the strongest proofs of the igneous theory of its origin. These veins have the appearance of streams, of the melted substance, that have poured through fissures and rents, penetrated and broken up passages in other rocks, running in every direction, and often crossing each other, and generally traceable to some great nucleus or central mass of the formation. The rocks along their course are usually altered, or affected in such a manner by induration, discolouring, fracture, or smoothness of surface, as indicates either the presence of intense heat, or the mechanical action of a body of matter violently intruded amongst them. Lastly, the form and position of the primary mountains, the dislocation and upheaval of their exterior parts, where strata originally horizontal are now nearly vertical, and beds once united are separated, and the interspaces filled with granite, are regarded as the most direct and conclusive testimony that the disturbing agency has been produced by the expansive force of heat, and that the intruded matter, which is always granite, has been fused and ejected by its action.*

These are some of the arguments adduced on both sides of the celebrated controversy known as the Wernerian and Huttonian Theories, whereby the one ascribed the origin of all rocks to precipitation in water, while the other contended that granite at least, and some others, were produced by fusion in fire, and ejected from the interior of the earth. Hence the terms Neptunian and Plutonic rocks as applied to their respective systems. Werner, the father of systematic mineralogy, studied in Germany, and derived his knowledge chiefly from the Hartz and Swiss mountains. Hutton was a native of Scotland, traversed all the hills of Caledonia, and founded his theory mainly on the appearances of granitic veins as exhibited in Glentilt, the centre of the Scottish Grampians. Though little doubtful of the correctness of Hutton's views, Sir Charles Lyell applies the term *hypogene* to the granitoid group; that is, nether or under-formed rocks, to avoid any particular theory as to their origin. But the term has not been generally sanctioned among geologists, the prevailing opinion being that granite is of igneous origin, the result of the gradual cooling down of the globe while in an incandescent state, and is therefore inferior to all the stratified systems.

The Grampian range, which divides Scotland into two nearly equal parts, and separates the Highlands from the Lowlands, is the principal seat of the primary formation, and of which granite constitutes the centre or nucleus through their entire length. The great mass, forming the anticlinal axis of the district, stretches from the western shores at Oban, to Peterhead on the eastern, where some of the loftiest peaks of the Grampians consist of granite, rising in Ben Cruachan, Ben-y-gloe, Ben-Mac-Dhui, Loch-na-gar, and other distinguished mountains, to upwards of 4000 feet. Ben-Mac-Dhui, according to the latest measurement, is 4418 feet in height, and covers a superficial basis of nearly forty miles in extent,

* Playfair's *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory*.

one vast mass of reddish granite. It occupies a central position in the loftiest part of the range, in whose deep recesses are the sources of the Dee and Don, and the springs of the "deer-haunted Avon," whence ridges of granite diverge for thirty miles continuously in every direction, and extend over the whole eastern division of Aberdeenshire. A vast, but less connected range, traverses the district from Morven, on the west, to the Moray Frith, on the east, passing through Ben Nevis, Glen Roy, the mountainous shores of Loch Ness, and sending outliers along the Findhorn, to Forres, on the south, and on the north by Loch Eil, Sunart, Loch Duich, and the wild districts of Kintail. Detached mountains of great elevation, and long out-stretching hillocks in the moorland districts, occur in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness; the islands of Sky, Rum, Mull, and Arran, are all capped in their highest pinnacles by the same rock, whence it stretches, but at wide intervals, into Kireudbrightshire, through part of Wighton, Galloway, and terminates in the lofty table-land and ridge of Criffel, on the Solway. Over this wide extent of its superficial distribution granite, according to the most accurate estimates, covers about 1760 square geographical miles, or about a fifteenth part of Scotland; but, considered as an eruptive or hypogene rock, the formation may be found underneath in many localities where it is not actually visible. While, in Goatfell, and other mountain peaks, the granite protrudes through the schistose rocks that wind round their bases and sides, and often cover them to near the summits, there are many other mountains, as Ben-y-gloe, and Bernera, near Fort Augustus, where the formation is only discoverable by small out-bursts that are exposed in the ravines worn by the rivers along their acclivities, or by veins traversing the strata in their immediate vicinity.

The veins themselves form an interesting feature in the geological history of the primary rocks. The granite veins are of different dimensions, some being of the breadth of several yards, others of a few feet or inches, and some even as thin as paper. They are of unknown depth, and generally diminish in thickness as they recede from the central mass or main body of the formation. Veins also occur in many places where there is no visible connection with the parent rock, and where, for miles distant, no granite mountain appears. The presumption is, from what are actually seen, and the curious and diversified ways in which the overlying systems are penetrated, that, were the surface of the primary districts fully exposed, these remarkable phenomena would be found over the length and breadth of the country, reticulating every part as with a gigantic system of network, and showing the mighty levers employed by nature in piling up her Cyclopean masonry. They are found in most of the western islands, and in some of them, as Coll, where there is no connection with any mass of the same rock. In Arran they are beautifully developed, in Glen Rosa and Glen Sannox, also in Glen Catcol, where they penetrate in every direction, and in every degree of thickness, the clay and mica slates: in Galloway, on the banks of Loch Kin, where an interesting series occurs, varying from fifty yards to the tenth of an inch in width, and running through the schistose beds, over an area of country of nearly eight miles square. The veins in Glentilt are seen in the bed of the river, where, in the space of little more than a mile, the strata of limestone are intersected by nine or ten large, and by double the number of smaller veins, some extremely thin, and several of them, accompanied with such marks of dislocation, confusion, and induration, in the invaded rocks, as indicate very strongly the original fluidity of the granite, and the violence with which it has been injected amongst them.

They are likewise observable in several places in the district of Rannoch, at Glen-Drummond on the Spey, at Fort Augustus near Loch Clunie, in the neighbourhood of Huntly, and about eighteen miles northward, at Portsoy, where the singular graphic variety of granite is found. Veins are equally numerous in the counties of Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland; and here, in closing our description of them, we would particularly notice the promontory of Cape Wrath, "the land's end of Scotland's wildest region, and the most advanced post of its wildest seas." This majestic promontory rises about 600 feet above the sea—a bare, rugged, flinty mass of stone, and is connected with the mainland by a ledge of rocks, consisting of gneiss and quartz; the cape itself is composed of gneiss, interstratified with dark hornblende rocks, and reticulated all over with the most remarkable display of granitic veins. It is hollowed out into lofty arches and winding caverns, through which the sea passes with the velocity of a torrent; a huge pyramid, towering above the loftiest billows, and presenting, as the termination of the rude mountain ranges of Scotland, a buttress of unrivalled strength and sublimity, worthy of all their wildness and all their grandeur.

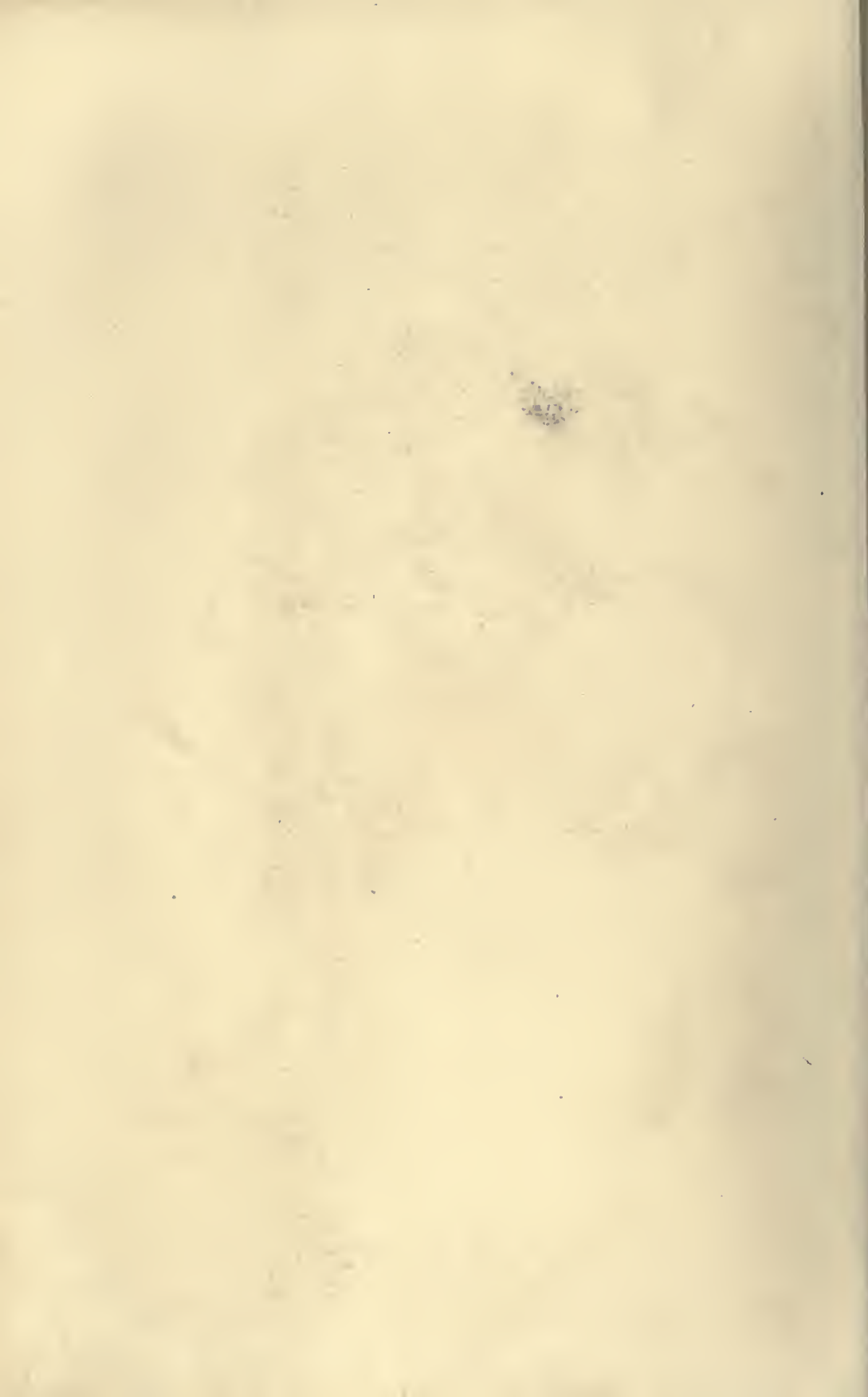
The rock which immediately overlies the granite is GNEISS, of which there are three varieties, each composed of felspar, quartz, and mica, and only distinguishable by the size, form, and arrangement of the crystals that constitute the mass. Gneiss is essentially, therefore, a granite in its component parts, but differs from granite in being always stratified, and in presenting none of the phenomena that accompany the agency of fire. It is indisputably admitted to be of aqueous origin, formed by precipitation in water, and afterwards indurated by chemical action or mechanical pressure. It consists of a series of thin lenticular plates, which give it a ribbon-like appearance, and which, according to the predominance of one of the ingredients, causes the rock to assume the slaty, granular, or aggregate structure. Talc, hornblende, chlorite, actinolite, as in granite, are not unfrequently diffused through the substance of gneiss, whence particular names have been adopted to distinguish the varieties in which they occur. Thus, when talc or chlorite is mixed in the substance, it is termed *protogine*, by the French geologists; when the crystals of felspar and quartz are very minute, the rock is named whitestone, or *leptinite*; when the hornblende and felspar predominate, mixed with actinolite, it graduates into a *primitiv greenstone*; and when the quartz and felspar are scarcely visible from their extreme attenuation, it merges into a variety of *hornstone*. Sometimes the quartz, instead of being disposed in layers or plates in the felspar, occurs in small parallel rods or bars; and when this species is cut perpendicular to the direction of the rods, especially after exposure to the atmosphere, it assumes the appearance, and in hand specimens is often mistaken for, petrified wood.

Gneiss, the lowest of the stratified rocks, is likewise the most widely diffused of the Scottish primary series, filling an area of 9600 square miles, and with scarcely a break over this extensive district of country. It occupies nearly the entire northern counties of Sutherland, Ross, and Inverness; great part of Nairn, Elgin, Aberdeen, and Perth shires; most of the western islands, as Tiree, Coll, South and North Uist, Harries, and Lewis, consist of the formation, as also considerable tracts in Orkney and Shetland. While in a soft state, or from the vast pressure to which it has been subjected, this rock often assumes the most singular contorted appearances, whole miles presenting twistings and undulations as if the substance had been moved and tossed like a stormy sea, and sometimes crumpled and bent, or rolled into gentle, unbroken flexures like a web of cloth. It will thus,



7 Coal. 6 Shales. 5 Trap. 4 Under Coal Series. 3 Yellow Sandstone. 2 Old Red S. 1 Porphyry

1 CURVED GNEISS IN LEWIS. — No 2. SECTION OF STRATHEDEN AND DURADEN. 4 MILES. — No 3 TRAP VEINS TRAVERSING LIMESTONE IN AIRDNAURCHAN



in such cases, exhibit beautiful and picturesque aspects; and where exposed in ravines along with other rocks, with which it finely contrasts, no better pictures or groupings of rock scenery are to be met with. But, in general, where the gneiss is unbroken, and as it seldom rises into peaks or serrated ridges, the districts in which it prevails are rather monotonous and unpleasing, not unfrequently disfigured by spongy heaths and boggy wastes. The most desolate, uninteresting portion of the Highlands is unquestionably the north-western districts of Ross and Sutherland, where the hills of this formation are all flat and shapeless, surrounded by unvarying solitudes of brown moor, interminable deserts of sand, and scarcely enlivened by a river, or broken in their silence by a waterfall. Gneiss is the oldest rock known in the records of Geology—the lowest floor of the most ancient seas—probably the first dry land that rose above their surface—and here in these sterile wastes presenting a scene of almost primitive chaos and desolation.

The next member of the series, in the ascending order, is MICA-SLATE, or Schist, which, as possessing more mica, and being of a more slaty structure, is so denominated. This rock is readily distinguished from gneiss by its glistening aspect, and from granite by the absence of felspar, although it occasionally seems to graduate into both when in contact. The particles of which it is composed are uniformly more broken and rounded than those of gneiss, which probably arises from their being partly derived from the granite and partly from the gneiss, and have in consequence undergone a double process of attrition. Veins of quartz, parallel with the strata or crossing them in every direction, are so predominant often as to change the usual colour from a glistening grey into a mottled white. Vertical dykes of the purest quartz, sometimes several yards in breadth, and traceable for miles along the surface, are likewise of frequent occurrence. One variety is termed garnet-schist, from the circumstance of these beautiful crystals being so abundantly distributed through the substance of the rock as to form a principal ingredient, as well as greatly to enhance the sparkling lustre of the mica. The garnets vary from the size of a small seed to an inch in diameter, are of a dark crimson colour or blackish brown, and under a bright sun look like gems in a setting of gold. They occur plentifully in the formation near Huntly, in the upper districts of Strath Tay, and of considerable dimension and very perfect in the Isle of Mull.

The geographical distribution of this rock is much inferior in extent to the gneiss: it is chiefly confined to the more central division of the Grampians, which it accompanies in one continuous envelope, along the range from sea to sea. The mica-schist thus embraces within its course the finest and most celebrated scenery of the Highlands. No lover of the picturesque, in his most favoured haunts, can fail to recognise it, whether by its bright metallic aspect or the remarkable flexures into which the strata are twisted and folded up. Suffice it to mention the beautiful ravines on the Esk and Isla, the pass of Killierankie, the Trosachs, the charming environs of Loch Ketterin and Loch Lomond, the precipitous defiles of Glencoe, and the dark rugged mountains that surround Loch Goyle, Loch Fyne, and Loch Awe. The hills of this formation are among the loftiest and most notable in the Grampian range, rising to 4000 feet and upwards; as Cairnwell, Ben-y-gloe, Schiehallion, Ben Lawers, Ben Vorlich, Ben Ledi, Ben Venue, Ben Lomond, and all the bold serrated ridges to the west. The long headland terminating in the Mull of Cantyre, great part of the islands of Bute, Arran, Jura, Isla, and the whole of Colonsay, consist of mica-slate; whence crossing to the

mainland, embracing Mull, the formation stretches from Appin through Glencoe, encircles Ben Nevis and the higher parts of Badenoch, lines the watershed of the Spey on both sides as far as Laggan, where it is interrupted by the gneiss, but reappears on the slopes of the Cairngorm mountains, and spreads over great part of the intermediate district towards Portsoy and Cullen.

We have remarked on the veins and dykes of quartz that characterise the mica-slate formation, and no one perhaps ever passes a boulder of this substance without a momentary inquiry as to the causes of its origin, or the pure region whence it has issued. The student in Geology is familiar with mountains of it. QUARTZ-ROCK exists as an independent member of the series, as well as an ingredient in every one of the primary, and of nearly all other rocks. One set of theorists regard it as only an altered sandstone, which, through the intense action of heat, has been fused, and on cooling was crystallised. The more prevailing opinion is that which ascribes it, like gneiss and mica-schist, to precipitation in water; but as it alternates with both, sometimes resting on the granite, sometimes intermediate betwixt the gneiss and schist, not unfrequently overlying the latter, and plentifully distributed through them all, in the form of veins and dykes, which penetrate, like the granite itself, the whole members of the system, it is difficult to ascribe to either view, and still more difficult to find a substitute for either theory of formation. There are problems in every subject which science has not yet solved. That there should be mysteries in Geology on the formative processes of rocks, the sources of their constituent elements, and their mode of aggregation, is according to the rule and not the exception of speculative inquiry. The quartz-rock, thus difficult in theory to be accounted for, has a range and position in the Grampians nearly co-extensive with the mica-slate, with whose substance it is so mixed up and forms so large a proportion. A belt of quartz crosses the island, having its eastern limit in Banffshire, its greatest breadth in Braemar and Athole, and attaining its culminating point on Schiehallion, which consists wholly in the upper ridges of pure granular quartz. The line of bearing is by Glenlyon and Glenorchay, where it terminates near Dalmally. The islands of Lismore, Lunga, Scarba, Isla, and Jura, are almost composed of quartz-rock, attaining in the Paps of Jura an elevation of upwards of 2000 feet, whose summits glance like polished marble under the rays of the setting sun, the Pharos of the western main. Another band of the same formation traverses the north-western coast from Loch Eishort in Sky, to Loch Eribol on the mainland; here there are several quartzose ridges of considerable altitude, among which is the Stack Balloch-nan-fey, a large conical mass of pure uncovered quartz-rock, described by Pennant as marble, and which glistens in the distance like snow. Ben Lair, Ben More, and other mountains in Ross-shire, of first-class magnitude, are composed of the same siliceous substance; likewise, the range of the Scarabins, on the southern verge of Caithness-shire, whose whiteness beautifully contrasts with the deep red of the sandstone by which they are encircled. Ben Lair exceeds 3000 feet, on which, says Dr. M'Culloch, "though it produces few Alpine plants to regale a botanist, a mineralogist will find enough employment in collecting the greatest variety of quartz that is perhaps to be found in any one place in the world, ranging from jet black, through every possible gradation to snow white, and equally differing in texture and appearance. But its great attractions are the views from the summit, and chiefly to the northward. The eye wanders far over the wildest mountains of Ross-shire, and through a county as apparently uninhabitable as it is uninhabited. It is usual, in describing

mountain scenery, to speak of rocks and precipices, whether present or not, but here they exist without any need of exaggeration. There is the reality in this district, not merely the name: mountains, whose faces show the very skeleton of the earth in all the details of its stratification, for miles together; with deep and wide valleys of enormous dimensions, bounded by vertical acclivities, just as the little ravines of torrents are in other places; everything is gigantic and terrible; wild and strange and new. From the summit of this mountain, the eye sees at once down into a valley, as if perpendicularly beneath, and at a depth of at least 3000 feet; while the various precipices that rise all round, no less than those which start immediately from beneath the feet, tending downwards into the abyss, and the deception which makes us imagine that even ourselves are suspended above it. Numerous lakes, among which Loch Fuir is conspicuous, add to the beauty of this wild and wondrous scenery; increasing also the picturesque effect produced by the infinite variety and intricacy of the mountain forms, by the deep shadows of the valleys, the reflected tints on the mountains, and the innumerable atmospheric effects in which scenery of this class always abounds."

While the eye of the geologist is thus enchanted, and the imagination regaled, amidst these sights and scenes of his apparently dry vocation, it is his province also to relate that, in an economic view, the quartz formation is neither the most valuable nor ornamental of minerals,—that for architectural purposes it is unsusceptible of polish, and to the agriculturist can be of no use,—and that, wherever it prevails, its course is marked by one continuous tract of sterility and barrenness, of spongy heaths and rocky *débris*.

But nature, who scatters her good things on the right hand and on the left, is sometimes as exuberant in her bountifulness as she is niggard and sterile in other communications. The rock which succeeds the quartz, and sometimes alternates with it, or is enclosed in its beds, is the PRIMARY LIMESTONE or marble, so extensively used for ornamental purposes. This formation consists of nearly equal parts of lime and carbonic acid, with a trace of silica. It resembles the quartz in outward appearance, in being granular, white, and lustrous in colour, and regularly stratified, and in hardness is scarcely distinguishable; but how different in its susceptibility of polish, and other practical uses. Famed among the ancients in the celebrated quarries of Paros, Pentelicus, and Carrara, their finest and most enduring specimens of sculpture were chiselled from the same family of rocks which claim a parentage with the limestone of the Grampians. There are several varieties, differing chiefly in colour, fineness of texture, or as containing imbedded crystals of tremolite, sahlite, augite, asbestos, and steatite, whence it derives its unctuous feel and variegated colours, as mottled, striped, and veined by lines of pink, green, and yellow. Its range is nearly co-extensive with that of the quartz formation, being generally imbedded in its mass, or accompanying its outcrop. It is burnt in a great many places into quicklime, but as the concretions have an extreme tendency to exfoliate and separate during the process, by the volatilisation of the carbonic acid, it is difficult to preserve its cohesive and other chemical properties, and is accordingly not rendered so applicable to economic uses as it otherwise might be, from the large proportion of calcareous matter contained in it. Preserving the same line of bearing with the quartz-rock, this limestone stretches along the more central parts of the Grampians, and is found in almost every position—in the bottoms of valleys, in the beds of rivers, on the sloping acclivities of mountains, or even capping their ridges and summits. It occurs plentifully on both sides of the

Dee, from Ballater towards the Castletown of Braemar, at which latter place it nearly composes the beautiful hill called the Lion's Face, and thence passes westward by Glen Clunie and the base of the quartz-caped Morven. Appearing at several intervening localities, it descends Glentilt, where it is so frequently penetrated by the granitic veins of Ben-y-gloe; and, crossing the river Garry, it may be observed high on the sides of the green hill of Tulloch; and spreading over the extensive tract southwards, to Loch Earn, there are various openings in the strata for quarries—in Glen Tummel, Glenlyon, near Loch Earn head, at Aberfoyle, Auchmar, Loch Lomond—when it is again traceable through all the western isles, from Lismore to the more quartz regions of Jura and Isla.

The CLAY-SLATE forms a very narrow strip, of about five or six miles in breadth, and may be described as the outer envelope of the primary series and upper crust of the Grampian range. It extends from Stonehaven, in a continuous belt, to Roseneath, and through Bute to Arran, where, at Loch Ransa, it is penetrated by the granite, and is seen in connection with the mica-slate. It consists of a fine-grained argillaceous basis, of considerable hardness, of various colours, from a greenish-black to a deep-mottled purple, and, from its splintery fissile structure, is admirably adapted for roofing-slate. Some of the smaller islands in the vicinity of Oban, as Luinng, Eisdill, and Seil, are entirely composed of the formation, where it is extensively quarried, and has long formed an article of export. Various other bands of slate occur, in groups of different kinds and qualities, among the primary mountains. They are confined to no particular mineralogical district, but are distributed at long intervals, and appear as outliers indiscriminately in the granite, gneiss, and mica-slate series. They are termed talc, chlorite, actinolite, and hornblende schists, according to the prevalence of any one of these mineral substances in the mass. They have less or more an unctuous feel, a foliated or fibrous structure, an extremely flexible texture, and a fine glossy lustre. The chlorite schist is very abundant in the Cairnwell and Glenshee group; the hornblende variety, also strongly impregnated with cubical iron pyrites, occurs at Ballahulish and Appin, and Ben Lair, in Ross-shire; talc-slate is not abundant, and is generally incorporated with the mica-slate, by the substitution of the talc for the mica plates. Actinolite schist is usually associated with, as it differs little in character from, gneiss and some specimens of granite, and is found in considerable quantity in Glenelg, and the high and beautifully sloping passes of Glen Shiel.

The rocks of the primary formation, now described, are represented in Plate I., section 2, where the granite, as figure 1, occupies the centre of the group. The rest follow in the order enumerated—2, 3, 4, 5, 6; but, of course, on so small a scale, the subdivisions, dislocations, veins, and intersections, are not exhibited. The remaining figures point out the formations yet to be described, according to their ascending order of superposition, and as far as they lie within the assumed line of section.

After this brief description of the different members of the primary rocks, it only remains to be noticed, in connection with the prevailing theory of their formation, and the law which seems to have influenced their mode of aggregation, that, in proportion to their relative distances from the fundamental granite, the greater is the comminution of their particles, and the less crystalline their structure. Assuming the igneous origin of granite, and it necessarily follows that its surface, penetrating the waters of the primitive seas, would be subject to the disintegrating influence of atmospheric, aqueous, and chemical agencies. The waters themselves, especially

those resting in the newly-formed hollows, must have been heated to a high degree, the air loaded with vapours, and the superficies of the earth raised to a comparatively high temperature. The process of disintegration would consequently be much accelerated. The runnels and streams would carry down the loose particles, disposing the heavier first and nearest; and carrying out the lighter and smaller to deeper basins. And thus the whole system of the schistose rocks, in the primary series, might have been forming at nearly one and the same time, or within a comparatively limited period of each other. The garnet-schist demonstrates of itself a very high temperature over the surface of the globe, as the garnets and other crystals denote that the rocks in which they are imbedded have experienced a degree of heat sufficient to form such fusible minerals without being able to melt the other constituents of which they are composed. The hard crystalline texture of the primary rocks, and the total absence of organic remains, also strongly warrant the inference that they have been exposed to the action of heat after the deposition and arrangement of their strata. Hence, there exists the greatest affinity often betwixt these rocks, where the granite is fused into the gneiss, the gneiss into the mica-schist, and the quartz-rock, marble, and alternating beds all welded, as it were, to each other. Heat alone, of all known causes, could produce such results. Added to the phenomena of veins, the effects of the after-fusion of the granite, the changes, dislocation, and induration invariably produced upon the strata through which they penetrate; and there are few dogmas of science that can boast of resting upon a stronger induction of facts, than that the mountains of the earth owe their elevation to the expansive force of internal fire, and that its massive foundations have been mainly consolidated through the instrumentality of the same agent. The rudiments of all other rocks, and of all after formations, are likewise there, re-compounded only from the waste and debris of the originally solid parts, or cast out from beneath them by the influence of the causes by which they were upraised. The quartz of the granite constitutes the substance of some of the more precious gems; the mica is divisible into plates of the 1-300,000th part of an inch in thickness, and enters as an ingredient into almost every combination of matter; the felspar is reduced to clay, and mixed with the hornblende forms the soil of our most fertile carses. Here, also, among these rocks, wherever existing on the globe, is the vein of the silver, and the gold, and all the rare metals; the emerald, sapphire, beryl, topaz, and amethyst are all derived from their interior. The marble to decorate our houses, and the slates to furnish a commodious roofing, are among the first of nature's offerings; and thus combining security and elegance, usefulness and beauty, variety and richness, the foundations of our steadfast earth, and the arrangement of its mineral substances, are well calculated to speak the praises of its munificent creator, and to form a noble subject of contemplation to its intelligent inhabitants.

THE SILURIAN SYSTEM.

The vast masses of crystalline rock considered above constitute, as far as the researches of Geology can determine, the original crust and dry land of the solid teraqueous globe. The mandate for producing life upon its surface was not issued when the matter of these rocks was being arranged and consolidated. Not a particle of any organised substance has been detected in any part, through all their profound depths, of the primary formation. But the whole, the entire aggregate of material substance created, arranged, and upheaved to the influences of sun, light,

and air, the living order and series of events commenced, and of which in the rocks of the SILURIAN SYSTEM there are the first intimations. Herein are contained, if we may so speak, the medal-stamps of creation in the earliest forms of organic life that came from the hands of the Creator. The fact is all-important, and the science is enabled to announce it, that in the lowest fossiliferous rocks vegetables appear to have been the first of all organic bodies—the impressions of plants and beds of carbonaceous matter are found in the deepest and oldest strata of the formation; and no less satisfactory is the discovery that the fossils which next arrest the attention, and, embalmed in their stony matrix with the vegetables, are the remains of marine animals, myriads of shells, and vast numbers of fishes—creatures all of the deep, when the command had been given, “Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life.” The geologist at once here plants his foot on holy ground, and rejoices in results that so strikingly harmonise all his speculations with the record of divine truth. These are legends of very olden times. The rocks under consideration contain them in their brightest and most legible characters.

The rocks of the Silurian formation have been divided into three systems or groups—the transition, grauwake, and Silurian proper. They are all stratified, and in their component parts are more or less siliceous and crystalline, arenaceous, argillaceous, and calcareous, in which there are alternating bands of slate, sandstone, and limestone. The term “transition” has been applied to a part of the system as not only indicating a change in the causes and conditions of their formation, but as implying that the world was then advancing from an uninhabitable to an inhabitable state. The “grauwake” is simply the German term for grey-rock, and is applied to the more coarsely granular portion of the series. Professor Sedgwick designates these and other beds as the Cambrian group, because they constitute a large part of the surface of ancient Cambria or Wales. The upper members of the series are called Silurian, as occupying the country of the Silures, an ancient people who dwelt in the district lying betwixt England and Wales, where these rocks, consisting of various groups are largely developed. The division into Cambrian and Silurian is not generally admitted by geologists, the latter designation being held as applicable to the whole, while the term transition is scarcely now theoretically necessary or admissible, since the distinction is so clearly drawn between the fossiliferous and the non-fossiliferous formations. The system is in many places upwards of 30,000 feet thick, embracing an innumerable series of strata, and all containing fossils.

The clay-slate occupies an intermediate territory between the primary and transition systems, being sometimes classified with the fossiliferous and sometimes with the non-fossiliferous rocks; but, as in the Grampian range no organic remains have been detected in any part of this widely extended system, we have noticed it in connection with the more ancient series, which thus constitute one great physical group, existing in the same physical region, and formed and elevated under the same physical causes. Nor have any true Silurian strata been yet established to exist in this district, overlying and outward the clay-slate. The great valley of Strathmore, the slopes and defiles of the Sidlaws and Ochils, are occupied with rocks lithologically as well as organically distinct, and all belonging to a higher series and a later epoch in the earth's history. Still such arguments as the following may be advanced in support of a Silurian connection with the clay-slates of the Grampians.

First, this band of slate resembles in texture and colour the slates of Cumber-

land and Westmoreland, in hand specimens scarcely distinguishable, and often less crystalline than the bands overlying the dark chloritic slates of Skiddaw. The position of the clay-slate in reference to the true primary series, in the next place, is very distinct, never alternating with, nor lying conformable to, any of these rocks. It forms the outer zone of the Grampian range where porphyritic and trappean rocks are abundant, often interposed and associated with the slates sometimes reversing their dip, and at other times rendering them almost conformable to the mica-schist. Moreover, immediately overlying the clay-slate, precisely as in Cumberland and elsewhere, the old red sandstone rests unconformably; near Dunkeld, and eastward by Blairgowrie, as well as flanking Birnam hill on the south-west, the grauwake characters are strongly presented in some of the ridges. A single organism would determine the point, as yet undetected in the numerous openings and quarries along the line of deposit. But the absence of organic remains has been attempted to be partly accounted for by the fact of the vast disturbance prevailing in the seas during the deposition and upheaval of the strata, and indicated by the enormous mass of igneous matter spread over their bottom, and repeatedly intermixed with the bands of slate.

The student of Geology, however, has ample scope for examining this system of rocks, so interesting as shadowing the first dawn of life upon the earth, in the Lammermuir range, where they are developed upon a large scale. Though not so extensive and lofty as the Grampians, this group of mountains combines many of the boldest features of Alpine scenery, and are well entitled to be denominated the Southern Highlands of Scotland. The axis of the chain runs from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and extends nearly 150 miles in length, by an average breadth of thirty to forty miles. It consists of various groups of hills, divided at intervals by rivers and their divergent valleys, and forms the frontier barrier, from St. Abb's Head in Berwickshire to Port Patrick in Wigtonshire. The Lammermuir, Moorfoot, Hart Fell, Lowthers, and Queensberry, constitute the more elevated portions of the range. On the eastern extremity, where it terminates on the coast, the solid strata are singularly contorted, forming several convolutions, and bent round an axis of curvature parallel to the chain. Similar contortions and twistings are beautifully exposed near Langholm, and in several places in Upper Eskdale. As a general characteristic of the formation, it may be observed, that all the beds in the southern portion of the range are finer grained than those in the northern, more fissile and slaty, and lie at a considerably lower angle of elevation. The gigantic piles around Pecbles and Moffat are, many of them, of a flinty or sub-crystalline texture, and tilted nearly perpendicular across their line of stratification. The igneous rocks constitute at Innercithen a marked and interesting feature, where the trap assumes a granitic structure, and the grauwake at the points of junction is converted into *Lydian-stone*. This rock is often a mere siliceous variety of clay-stone, hardened by the intruding igneous matter into a consistency so as to strike fire with steel. It is of a light grey or bluish colour, sometimes of a deep black aspect, when it has been mistaken for coal, and fruitless attempts made to reach the inner beds of the valuable combustible. Alum-slate is likewise found in a few places, but in small amount. These beds are generally very soft and friable, of a saline taste, and readily distinguishable by a white efflorescent powder on their exposed surface.

The lines of cleavage are very distinctly marked in all the varieties, and they are always at right angles to the bed of stratification. Fissures or rents, often of great extent, and filled with quartz and magnesian earth, traverse indifferently the

several members of the series, dividing them into large rhomboidal or tabular masses, and running more or less oblique to the direction of the beds. Where the mica prevails the surface of the rock has a smooth, glossy appearance; and where indented by the ripple-mark—a frequent and well-marked feature of the more flaggy varieties—there is superadded a lively and agreeable aspect to the generally dull exterior. An interesting and important inquiry remains: whence the source of this enormous mass of sedimentary deposit?—a question all the more difficult and complicated by the intervening distance from the Grampians, whose primary and granitoid rocks so obviously supplied the materials of their neighbouring strata. The problem is one of still harder solution, when it is considered that nowhere, in the whole southern range, are there any imbedded fragments of granite, gneiss, or mica-schist, so as to indicate even the specific characters of the rocks whence they were derived. But still, as already shown, abundance of materials were high above the waters, and lofty pinnacles of rocks were scattered along the western shores, encircling the whole line of coast from the Grampians to the Mull of Galloway, and southwards into Wales. These doubtless, however altered and re-arranged, were of sufficient mass for all the depository sediment required, and which connects them so much in quality, structure, and age, with the Silurian formations of England, Wales, and Ireland—rocks all of them of an age anterior to that when the Alps were raised above the sea, and while the greater part of Europe was occupied by the ancient ocean.

The ORGANIC REMAINS, in this series of Scottish rocks, are not abundant, approaching in no degree to the numbers interspersed among the beds of the sister kingdom, where some of the limestones of the formation are nearly composed of animal exuvia. Here, too, they are scattered at wide intervals along the line of strata. The principal localities in which organic bodies are found are the lime quarries of Wrae, near Broughton; Greiston slate quarry, near Traquair; Girvan, in Ayr; St. Mary's Isle, Kirkeudbright; Loch Ryan and Little Ross Island clay-slates, on the western coast. These interesting relics carry the mind back, in review, to the beginning of life upon the globe, when we witness the very dawn and commencement of earthly enjoyment—the first forms and families of creatures privileged to eat at the banquet of creation. Though generally low in the scale of animated being, the forms of these earliest specimens of organisation are as perfect and beautiful as those subsequently produced, each after its kind, demonstrating how Nature at once stamped, with her plastic hand, in these morning days of existence, the lineaments of symmetry and adaptation on everything that has life. The entire casts, and even bodies, of some species are completely preserved; their organs of motion, feeding, and protection, are all fully developed; and in one tribe, the trilobites, the eye, formed of four hundred spherical lenses in separate compartments, is still entire, and in the most perfect state of keeping; whereby man learns that, many ages ago, the air he breathes and the light by which he sees were the same as at this hour, and that the waters of the sea presented to their inhabitants the same qualities of the most lucid transparency. The organisms belong exclusively to marine animals, and these chiefly to the invertebrate tribes termed graptolites, zoophites, trilobites, and molluses, all destitute of an interior bony skeleton, and suited to live in shallow water and on muddy bottoms. Nor are the remains of fishes wanting, belonging to the order of placoids, and so denominated from the broad scales or plates with which they are covered. Of these there are distinct evidences of several genera and a great many species, differing

from any now existing, but of an equally high type of organic being. Vegetables would also appear to have been abundant enough in the bays and estuaries of the Silurian seas, although the Scottish rocks have contributed as yet but comparatively little to the fossil flora of the period. The plants are allied to the ficoids and algæ of the present time, which supply the food to several existing races; and, as showing the persistent analogy of nature through her long series of creations, there were pentameri, terebratulæ, and other forms of shell-fish, that fed upon the seaweeds which covered the rocks of the Silurian age of the world. Others of the order cephalopoda were carnivorous, and adapted with organs to prey upon each other, as the orthoceratites and nautili, which have their congeners in our present seas, and still distinguished by their strong predaceous instincts and roving habits.

As the Grampians consist of the earliest series of the primary rocks, so is this southern range chiefly characterised by the fossils of the lowest palæozoic system, and therefore ranks in age with the Cambrian or oldest Silurian group of the English rocks. The district of country which it traverses, though not so bold and mountainous, partakes in many localities of the characteristic scenery of Wales, the Cumberland Lakes, and the Northern Highlands. While there is much of sweet upland pastoral, and the loveliest dales verdant to their tops, hills of a soft rounded form or with long flat summits, there are also many noble gorges and steep acclivities, and lofty peaks, which give grandeur and diversity to the borderland; otherwise famed for its classic rivers, their charming tributaries, and ancient warlike Peels. The associations here are all of early times, physically and historically—rocks worn to their bases, and ravines that scarcely admit a ray of light to the waters that have strained through them for ages—cascades and waterfalls among which the kelpies and wizards of other days have played their fantastic tricks—and beds of indurated strata which contain the relics of the earliest finny tribes of creation.

Professor Jameson says—"The mountains of this formation have usually a gentle acclivity, and its cliffs are not so steep and rough as those of mica-slate or gneiss. It is more favourable to vegetation than any of the rocks already described; and it is observed that the quantity of vegetation increases from granite to clay-slate, a circumstance which appears to depend, not so much on the lower level of the outgoings of its strata, as on the nature of the rock itself. We can thus observe a gradual change in the shape of mountains, also of their cliffs and valleys, from granite to clay-slate; and these differences are so striking and characteristic, that a long experienced eye can, at a glance from the summit of a mountain, point out with considerable certainty the different formations of which a country is composed. Landscape painters, by confounding together all these differences, or by combining them irregularly, fail not only in accuracy, but in giving their work that appearance which shows, at first glance, that it is not only a copy of Nature, but a copy by one who has formed a distinct conception of the general and particular features of the inequalities observable on the surface of the earth. Some affect to maintain that the grand features of mountains and plains are different in different zones. Thus, that in the torrid zone, for example, the shape, cliffs, and other appearances in mountains, are different from those in the temperate zone. This opinion, however, is erroneous, for the same formation in all countries presents similar external characters; and, as the great formations are universal, no such differences can exist. It is true that the blue colour of the heaven, its degree of

illumination, the appearance of distant mountain-vapour, the shape of animals, the luxuriance of vegetables, combined with the features of mountains, will form a particular character for each climate; but still the aspect of the rocks of the same formation, in whatever country they occur, will be the same. Thus, cliffs of granite and mica-slate have the same appearance in India and Siberia as in Scotland; and the valleys of the Urals do not differ in shape and other features from those formed by similar rocks in this neighbourhood.*

It is thus that Geology, under its great physical aspects, illustrates even the pursuits of the artist and furnishes the details of perspective. As far as landscape depends on forms, it will be found that it is very often essentially regulated, as to its beauty or deformity as well as its character, by the nature of the rocks of which the district consists. This is often true, even where the rocks themselves are not visible; as the character of the surface, the outlines of the hills, the forms of the shores and headlands, and other circumstances, depend on the geological nature, position, and arrangement of the rocks beneath. Nor is even the aspect of a cultivated country, where the original configuration is so obscured or obliterated almost by plantation and husbandry, so independent of the subjacent minerals as might be imagined. On the contrary, many districts in England as well as in Scotland, have a character in their vegetating surface, or agricultural aspects, so marked as not only to indicate the nature of the rocks beneath, but to enable an experienced geologist to decide where one kind terminates and another begins. Thus compare the bare rugged escarpments of Criffell, and all the bleak granite ridges of Galloway, with the rounded tops and verdant sloping sides of the Terregles, Dalveen, and Lowther hills, and no ordinary observer can fail to discern the marked distinction between the contour of the primary and the transition series of rocks. The lofty-pointed Fells around the sources of the Teviot and its tributaries, composed chiefly of trappean porphyries, so craggy and splintery, are as clearly again distinguishable in form and outline from the grauwacke-schists of the mountains from whose deep ravines issue the waters of the Tweed and Clyde. Look into the smooth upland vales of the Ettrick, Yarrow, and Gala, and, because lying on the same formation, how close their resemblance to the charming dales of Ewes, Esk, and Liddle, with scarcely a tarn or lake in all of them to break or diversify the pastoral greenness of their surface. These distinguishing features are very notable among the older systems of rocks, whose strata are nearly vertical, or all highly inclined upon the granite; but when we descend among the secondary formations, the old red sandstone and coal measures, we will find, where the rocks are seldom exposed, the physical differences and the characters of the landscape not only widely changed from all the former, but strongly contrasting with each other. The benefits of an extended agriculture, of rich, deep loamy soils, of gentle undulating plains, of diversified woodlands and verdant meadows, will accompany us henceforth in our description of the systems of rocks which characterise the Lowlands or central districts of Scotland. A Salvator Rosa drew his inspiration among the rugged defiles of the Alps; the eye of Wilkie rested upon "mine own blue Lomonds," and his quiet and gentle spirit dwelt among the homes and landscapes of village life; the smooth river for the leaping torrent—the sheltered field for the wild waste.

As not unconnected with the subject, and before leaving the older systems of rocks, it may not be out of place to introduce here the substance of a very curious

* *Manual of Mineralogy*, p. 363.

and important speculation of Dr. M'Culloch's, concerning the comparative earliness of the seasons in the northern districts. Like most of the Western Isles, South and North Uist, Barra, Vatersa, Sandera, and all the neighbouring islands are composed of gneiss; they are all high, attaining a general elevation of 800 to 1000 feet, and in some of them there are mountains 2000 feet high. The western shores are flat, sandy, and generally arable, followed by boggy brown tracts of low hills, interspersed with lakes, which are again succeeded by high mountains. The earliness of the harvest is a remarkable circumstance in all these islands, and certainly considering the nature of the subjacent rocks, very unexpected, as the climate is very moist, like that of most of the inner islands or the mainland, where it is a month or six weeks later. "This may be attributed," says Dr. M'Culloch, "to the dry and calcareous nature of the soil, in some measure; but I believe that it depends as much on another circumstance, which will equally explain the well-known forwardness of the harvest in Moray and on the east coast of Sutherland; a tract which, in the same manner, exceeds in earliness the districts further to the southward, and in a very great degree all those on the west coast. That to which I allude is the greater proportion of light, or sunshine, which these districts, remote and indifferently situated as they are, enjoy when compared with many other tracts in the different parts of Scotland just named. The immediate cause of this must be sought in the relative position of the mountains towards these places, and in the direction of the prevailing winds, as these act jointly in causing the detention of clouds over a particular region. The great annual supply of clouds, as of rain, is from the west; and they are brought by the predominant western winds. The western-most land, which forms this insular tract, is too low and narrow to arrest their flight, whence they pass freely over all the outer chain except Harries; which, by detaining them, becomes an exception to the rest of the Long Island, being a dark, rainy, and late country. But as they arrive at the inner islands and the mainland, they are stopped, partly by the Highlands of Skye and Mull, but still more by the great western mountainous tract of the Highlands, producing a dense and dark atmosphere through which the sun seldom shines, even for a few days, without long and frequent interruptions. An undue proportion of rain is a necessary consequence; and that of course aggravates the evil, although it must not be considered the sole cause. In that rain the clouds are partly dissipated, as they also seem to be by being re-dissolved in the air; and thus the eastern districts enjoy continuous sunshine, often for weeks, when the western are wrapt in gloom. If this view is correct, a register of light by means of a proper apparatus, ought to enter as much or even more than that of the barometer and thermometer, into the scientific means of estimating the nature of an agricultural climate."*

Geology is thus intimately connected with hygrometry, and both in many interesting relations with agriculture. The soils of the earth depend, for richness and variety, upon the qualities of the rocks beneath, and are sandy, clayey, calcareous, or loamy, according as they rest upon, or are within the influence of, the prevailing system in which these constituents exist. The dislocation and dip of the rocks afford a passage for draining. Their height and distribution collect the vapours, or give a free admission to the air and light of heaven.

* *The Highlands and Western Islands*, vol. 3, p. 21.

THE DEVONIAN SYSTEM, OR OLD RED SANDSTONE.

The system of rocks on which we are now to enter leads us a step onwards as well as upwards in our geological history, where we are presented with new aspects of the country, introduced to new forms of life in its waters, and with new features and arrangements in its mineral masses. The change is a remarkable one, in the shifting of its outer scenery no less than in the singular character of its various tribes of inhabitants. A new dynasty crosses the stage of animated existence, and is ushered in by as great a revolution in the laws that had hitherto prevailed in the mineral kingdom, as the convulsed condition of the globe has shown repeatedly to have occurred. The colour and constituents of the rocks are all wonderfully altered. The transition from the beautiful crystalline masses of the older formations into the fine grained and schistose strata of the Silurian series is gradual, and in its first stages scarcely perceptible. A type and mould of far coarser materials, and a distribution of thicker and generally less homogeneous beds, characterise the Devonian order of things; while the seas were tenanted with families of creatures dissimilar from those of the anterior era, and whose enamelled skins were of such enduring texture as to rival, in brightness and strength, the scaly appendages of every existing order of fishes. This may be justly termed the Fish Epoch, and constitutes one of the most remarkable portions of the natural history of our own country; so numerous are the fossil remains, so singular their forms, so diversified and yet so normally alike, so splendid their attire, so perfect their preservation, and all so distinct from everything that now swim the waters or occupy their deep coral caves, that we seem to be transported back in imagination to scenes of romance rather than reality—the relics of a physical drama whose agents and pageantry have become utterly extinct. The rocky matrix in which their remains are entombed is as evidently the wreck of a former world, water-worn fragments of granite, quartz, schist, and other rocks;—a reconstruction, amidst vast and sudden changes of the inorganic crystalline formations, for the still more beautiful elaborations and increasing progress of organic existence.

The old red sandstone formation, so interesting in every respect, consists of three principal series or groups of strata—lower, middle, and upper—which are all strongly characterised by a granular structure, and more or less by a reddish colour. Overlying unconformably the Silurian strata, or resting on them nearly at right angles, the beds of the old red indicate, from their position and relations, a vast shift in the sea-bottom on which their materials were collected—the steep abrupt shores consisting of the primitive formations, or lifted into bolder and loftier ridges landward. The immense thickness of the sandstone as clearly demonstrates the deep hollows or troughs into which they were cast. Hence the great mass of the conglomerate, or the lower series, consists of fragments principally derived from the older rocks in the vicinity; and so persistent is this feature of the formation, that the deposit, all over Scotland, bears a resemblance to the nature of the rocks with which it is locally connected. Thus, on the line of the Lammermuirs, grauwake, clay-slate, felspar, porphyry, and hornstone, along with a sprinkling of quartz and a few primary boulders, are the prevailing ingredients; whereas, on the line of the Grampians and the great primary mountains to the north, granite, gneiss, mica-schist, quartz, and hornblende, of every variety of size, in fragments and boulders, almost entirely exclude the transition class of rocks.

It is matter, too, of indifference, whether the geologist continues his researches into this new group of strata over the border district, whither our description in the former chapter has led us, or he returns to resume them over the northern frontier, where the old red sandstone is developed on a scale almost co-extensive in area with the primary series. The few pinnacles then above the waters still stand out in bold relief: Criffel, Queensberry, Moor-foot, Hart Fell, and others, commanding from their lofty summits all the shallows, creeks, and bays, into which their *débris* was carried; and the yet higher *Bens* of the Grampians, overlooking the great valleys, straths, and indented coast which mark the deeper basins into which their spoils were collected. Flanking the primary and transition series of the Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Welsh mountains, these sandstones are largely developed in Devonshire, and are hence denominated the DEVONIAN SYSTEM of English Geologists—their position throughout distinctly showing the various sources and the littoral character of the deposit.

The colouring matter of this formation consists of the peroxide of iron; and, though still a matter of hypothesis among geologists, the opinion which ascribes it to volcanic origin is the one generally adopted, as it is indeed the only one which seems adequate to account for the phenomenon. The period was one undoubtedly of great disturbance, when the crust of the earth was widely fused and broken up by igneous action; the seas would consequently be affected to as great an extent with metallic impregnations; the materials conveyed in a loose unaggregated state, would be easily suffused with the penetrating element; and, as a curious corroboration of its deleterious influence on animal substance, the organic remains are fewest in number, as well as in the worst state of preservation, in those groups and strata of the formation which are the most deeply tinged with the discolouring solution. The grey flagstones of Strathmore, and the yellow sandstone series of Cromarty and Dura Den, are accordingly rich in specimens of their respective flora and fauna of the period; but comparatively few of either are traceable in the more deeply reddened strata and coarser conglomerates of Ross and Sutherland.

The external characters of the formation, in its various localities, are thus too well-marked to need any minute description of its mineral constituents. Taken in the mass, it has been estimated at ten to fifteen thousand feet in thickness, presenting a succession of sandstones, alternating with subordinate layers of sandy shale, thin dark-coloured tilestone, and beds of impure concretionary limestone. The calcareous rock is termed *cornstone*; it is almost destitute of organic remains, and is of little use as a limestone. While fine-grained strata, as well as conglomerates, are found in all parts of the series, in the lower, middle, and upper divisions, it may be considered, as already stated, the general law in their order of superposition, that the coarser beds all lie nearest the great mountain ranges, and that the finer and softer ones take their positions successively more sea-ward. The Sutherland, Caithness, and northern portions of the formation, which are densely clustered round the primary series, are for this reason not only the coarsest in mass, but the oldest in age and of the greatest extent in vertical thickness. Coul Beg, Coul More, and Suil Veinn, on the north-western coast of Ross-shire, and resting unconformably on a bed of gneiss, form three immense insulated hills of about three thousand feet high. The hills of sandstone here are of every variety of aspect—round, conical, ridged, or serrated. They are sometimes isolated, sometimes in a prolonged range, with naked and precipitous rocky faces of a thousand feet in depth, and with an aspect often as rugged

as that of the mountains of Skye. The sandstone in some localities constitutes the entire mass of the mountain; in other places it is observed to rest on granite or gneiss at a considerable altitude, and in not a few of the mountains of Ross and Sutherland it is found only on their summits. The stratification is in general distinct. Where the angle of inclination is low the strata are thin and equal, possessing a schistose flaggy structure, and exhibiting on the summits of the mountain, as the two Ben Derigs in Durness, an even surface resembling a pavement of loosened tiles; but where the angle of inclination becomes considerable, the distinctness of the stratification diminishes, and wherever it assumes the vertical position the divisions of the beds are scarcely recognisable, the rock acquiring the aspect of some granites or gneiss, into which it seemingly graduates, being split into prismatic or angular fragments. Looking from an elevated summit over these northern sandstone districts, composed of so many insulated mountains which are capped in one place, encircled round their base at another, and here and there accompanied with broken fragments of the formation, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whole country has once been covered with a united stretch of sandstone, all now abraided and washed away, the harder portions remaining like pillars of gigantic masonry, and the deep gorges of the rivers showing the still older and more enduring foundations on which they rest. The extreme depth of this deposit, as far as it can now be discovered, may be measured by the Kea Clock in Ross-shire, a mountain of nearly three thousand seven hundred feet, or as high as Ben Cruachan of the primary system,—where the strata are nearly horizontal, and extend from the summit to the base, which dips into the sea. The detached portions which occupy the shore indicate the subaqueous range and connection; and in viewing its relations to the islands of similar formation, Dr. M'Culloch justly infers that the large intervals now occupied by the sea were once parts of a continuous tract of land.

Southward of the Grampians, the beds thin out, and become more slaty and fissile in their texture. This is the general character of the sandstones in Strathmore and the basin of the Tay, in Strathearn, and Menteith; while in Roxburgh and Dumfries shires they are generally more flaggy and composite in their mineral qualities. Mottled bands of a purple and fawn-coloured shale, and though close-grained yet extremely friable, are not unfrequently interspersed; as near Auchtergaven, the environs of Creiff, and the high ridges that slope westerly to Callendar. Towards the upper beds of the middle series there occurs a well-marked stratum of hard texture, and an excellent building-stone, which is dotted all over with whitish spots of a spherical form. These spots generally inclose a dark central nucleus of the size of a garden pea, and owing to which, whether of animal or metallic origin, the discharge of the oxide has been occasioned. While the highest portions of the upper series merge into, and are scarcely distinguishable from, the sandstones of the coal formation, either in mineral texture or colour; those, again, of the lower series, just as insensibly graduate in many places into the crystalline primary rocks on which they repose, the altered sandstone being fused into quartz-rock by plutonic action. This form of the sandstone occurs in various places near the southern ridges of the Grampians, in Glenshee, at Cally Bridge, and near Dunkeld, where it is in contact with the mica-slate and limestone, and has been generally described as belonging to these formations.*

* *Geo. Jour.* No. 30, p. 126.

The geographical range of the formation is of great extent, being largely developed in every quarter of the globe. It forms vast areas in Russia and Central Europe, in Siberia and Tartary, along the flanks of the Himalayas and upper plains of India; it likewise extends over large portions of Australia, the boundless deserts of Africa, whence their arid sands are mainly derived; and in North and South America it is no less abundantly distributed. In Scotland, this rock deposit ranks next in extent to the gneiss—the largest of the primary series—and covers nearly 5000 square miles of surface, of which about a half lies to the north of the Grampians. The organic remains are nearly the same in every region, the same species inhabiting the ocean at one and the same time, in India as in Russia, in Scotland as in Africa and South America. As far as the researches of geologists have yet extended, the collections of fossils from the Scottish deposits are more numerous, as well as diversified in genera and species, than those of any other country, perhaps than all the rest of the collections put together. This shows how much has still to be done in this department of geology—what spoils may yet be gathered from the buried dead of past ages—what trophies have still to be won to the science over these immense fields of research.

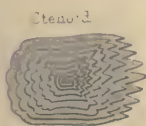
The topographical features of the old red sandstone district are in general varied and irregular; if in hills, rising in easy undulations, or swelling into round conical tops; in the plains, where the strata lie flat, the scenery is generally of great richness and amenity, the fields fertile and covered with the finest loams; where, debouching from the mountains or girdling the sea-coast, the glens, valleys, and lochs are diversified with every species of simple beauty and wild grandeur—the leaping cascade, the rushing torrent, the gentle river, having each their appropriate places in the heights and hollows of this friable formation. The picturesque character of the valleys of the Jed, Rule Water, Teviot, and Tweed, is derived from its precipitous cliffs worn by the rivers in the course of ages. The Crig-up Linn, the deep pools of the Nith, the Falls of the Clyde, the romantic shores of Largs, the Cumbraes, and Rothsay, are all cut and moulded on the same variegated flesh-coloured sandstone. The Ochils and Sidlaws may be regarded as the type of its hilly or general physical features, along with their numerous valleys and ravines; of which the more remarkable are Glen-eagles, Glen-farg, and Dura Den in the former, and in the latter the Dens of Balruddery, Rossie, and Baliggarny, which either cut through or open upon the strata of the middle and upper series.

It were endless to enumerate the many remarkable places and admired scenes formed in this rock, where it flanks the southern ridges of the Grampians, lines the trough of the Great Canal, or fringes the coast from the Spey to Dunnet Head, and from Cape Wrath to Loch Carron; sometimes rising into mountains two and three thousand feet high, or broken into shelving precipices and fissures of extraordinary grandeur, or hollowed into bays and caves by the unceasing action of the billows. The Orkney Islands, sixty-seven in number, are chiefly composed of the old red sandstone, and, agreeing so closely in external aspect and mineral structure with the general features of Caithness, there is little doubt of their having formed at no very remote period a continuation of the mainland. Nor may it be uninteresting to remark, as a curious illustration of the wide diffusion of the formation in every district of Scotland, that the ancient monasteries, with scarcely an exception, are chiefly constructed of this rock, from the circumstance perhaps of their lying in the immediate vicinity, or of being built directly over the convenient and easily excavated materials.

The ORGANIC REMAINS of the old red sandstone would require, of themselves, several chapters of description. It has been termed the "Fish Period," so abundant and curious are the fossil specimens preserved of it. Nothing, however, beyond a simple outline of their general features, and the more remarkable localities in which they are found, can be given according to the necessary limits of our sketch.

There are four great divisions or natural orders of fossil fishes, as admitted by geologists, distributed in the several systems of rocks which compose the earth's crust. The latest classification is that of M. Agassiz, in the *Poissons Fossiles*, the standard authority in fossil ichthyology; and where, proceeding upon the characters of the scales and plates, the following orders are described: 1. The Placoid, or broad-plated scale. 2. The Ganoid, or shining scale. 3. Ctenoid, or comb-shaped scale. 4. The Cycloid, or margined scale. Now these different orders are not promiscuously huddled together in the rocks of the earth, but have each their distinct positions in the vertical arrangement of the fossiliferous strata, and serve to characterise the formations with which they are connected. Generally speaking, the two former orders belong to the older secondary formations, and the two latter to the newer secondary and tertiary series. And so, according to the geological chronometer, were the successive periods of their introduction upon the stage of organic life. But, besides the form of the scales, the two divisions of these natural orders are no less remarkably distinguished by the qualities and form of the inner skeleton. The fishes, for example, of the present age are arranged into two great classes, the cartilaginous and osseous. To the former belong our existing rays, sharks, and sturgeons; the latter include the cod, herring, and salmon families. In the cartilaginous class, the internal framework is soft, destitute of fibre, and contains scarcely a trace of calcareous matter; while the osseous tribes, on the other hand, are constructed internally of true bone, like that of birds and quadrupeds, and which consists of a fibrous texture and of great hardness. But, as if to make up for any deficiencies in strength and firmness arising from the cartilage, nature gave to all the creatures of this class, in geologic times, a strong external armature of hard osseous scales, coated with enamel, and capable of the greatest endurance. The head sometimes consists of pure naked bone. The skeleton in all of them extends to the extremity of the tail, and hence termed *Heterocercal* or *unequally-lobed*, which serves to distinguish them from the two last orders as well as existing races with an osseous skeleton, whose tail-fins are *Homocercal* or *equally-lobed*; and thus covered cap-a-pie, over the length and breadth of the body, the placoids and ganoids of the ancient seas were admirably suited to the convulsed condition of the element in which they were placed. The ganoid order is the prevailing type of the old red sandstone. They are nearly all of a family, termed *sauroids*, as possessing in many respects a reptilian or lizard caste of organisation; the scales are thick and bony, often two or three inches broad, and combined with their curiously interlocked arrangement, artistically mailed upon each other, these creations of so early a period are recovered often in a state of perfect entireness, in colour, enamel, and freshness even finer than those of any succeeding age.

This discovery of the Swiss naturalist, whereby he finds all the important distinctions of structure to harmonise with the scales and dorsal covering, is of the greatest importance in geology. Without it, indeed, no other trustworthy method of classification could have been found. The system of Cuvier, as applied to existing fishes, and which chiefly proceeds upon their internal characters, combined



1. Trilobite.
2. Coccosteus.
3. Cephalaspis.
4. Osteolepis

5. Moptychius Anderseni.
6. Pamphrastus Anderseni.
7. Scales.



with the form and disposition of the fins, could have been of little or no use where the skeletons of fossil species are seldom detected in any considerable portions, and where the teeth, spines, and other fragments, though obtained in abundance, afford too imperfect data for arrangement. The skin, on the other hand, with all its scales and plates so remarkably preserved, is the organ which indicates not only important anatomical and functional distinctions, but also shows the relation of every creature of earth, air, or water, to the element in which it moves. Accordingly, as Cuvier, by means of a single bone, and often by the fragment of a bone, was enabled to detect the order and genus to which it belonged, and thereby to produce his wonderful restoration of the huge monsters of Montmartre and the tertiary epoch, where every part fitted so precisely to its place, so has Agassiz, by the aid of a solitary plate or scale, carried us back among the earliest creations of the deep, demonstrated the several orders to which they belonged, and pointed out the habits and conditions under which they flourished. Some were suited to muddy bottoms, some rejoiced in clear blue waters, some were herbaceous, and others carnivorous, armed with teeth and claws capable of breaking the hardest substances. The palæocarcinus, or lobster of Balruddery, was several feet in length; the cephalaspis, or scraphim of Glamis and Carmylic, consisted of a head of naked bone, nearly three times the size of the body; and the phyllolepis, or leaf-scaled fish of Clashbennie, was covered with enamelled plates of the enormous dimensions of half a foot in diameter. Such researches, and especially discoveries so minute, correct, and interesting, exalt the science with which they are connected, and show principles of investigation worthy of our closest study, which can still, at this remote distance of time, detect the surprising methods and analogies of Nature in these beautiful and enduring tissues of her earliest works. The ways of the Almighty in all ages are one and the same: the greatest diversity combined with the greatest harmony—everything adapted to its place in the scale of being, and all illustrative, in the most eminent degree, of divine wisdom and foresight.

The districts in which these interesting organic remains have been most abundantly found are the counties of Caithness, Sunderland, Ross, Inverness, Nairn, and Elgin, and, perhaps, most richly of all, in the Orkneys near Stromness. The central district of Strathmore, included betwixt the Grampians and Sidlaws, is next the most distinguished for the varieties and numbers of its fossil treasures. The Carse of Gowrie, Dura Den, and Stratheden in Fifeshire, are no less remarkable for the abundance of specimens imbedded in their strata. The border counties, and other localities of the formation, have as yet yielded them in small quantities, sufficient enough for identifying the deposit but not to claim for them any separate description. Ichthyolites, or fragments of the bones of fossil fishes, are abundant in the sandstones of Caithness and Cromarty, and other localities in Scotland, but shells are rare; while in Devonshire, and other parts in England, testaceæ and crustaceans are abundant. The geographical distribution of the old red sandstone, now referred to, may be considered as nearly as possible corresponding with the geological divisions into the lower, middle, and upper series; and, therefore, as the most characteristic of the fossils belonging to each series, it may suffice to notice those which are the prevailing types of their several districts.

1. The northern district, which contains so large a development of the lower series of the formation, is remarkable for four genera of fossil fishes, of the ganoid order, namely, the asterolepis, osteolepis, coccosteus, and pterichtys. The first

is found in the Orkneys, in a state of almost perfect preservation, and is the largest of all the genera belonging to the period. It is variously estimated, according to its ablest historian, Mr. Hugh Miller,* from eight, ten, to even twenty-three feet in length, resembling, in all its equipments of bulk and strength, the sword-fishes, sturgeons, and sharks of our present seas. The scales are round, large, and divided into grooves, radiating from the centre of the organ. Hence the term *asterolepis*, or the star-scale fish. The cranial buckler was large and flat, in some specimens about eight inches in length by six in breadth, traversed by three slightly elevated ridges, and in size might have furnished a substitute for the frontal bone of an elephant, or the largest of existing crocodiles. The under jaws were furnished with two rows of teeth, the one row small and densely set, the other thinly set, but very large, bent and twisted, and, after the reptilian type, were laterally fenced with two sharp-cutting edges. The opercles and hyoid bones were likewise of great size and massiveness, the former thickly studded with star-like tubercles, and the divisions of the arch of the latter resembled those of a small Gothic window, in which the central mullion parts into two branches at top. As with these, so with all the other portions of the ossification of this earliest vertebrate type of the lower old red, every bone, plate, and membrane being exactly suited for their place, and of the finest and most admirably formed structure. Belonging to the highest division of the animal kingdom, the *asterolepis*—all of whose organs of sight, smell, hearing, and taste, are so delicately preserved in the matrix of the rock—demonstrates a high style of organisation; showing that nature, in these morning days of existence, did not first fashion the minute and imperfect, whence were gradually eliminated the larger and more complicated structures of progressive animal life, but created at once models of the highest kind and of the fullest dimensions. No theory of development, from the little to the great, from the simple to the more perfect, from a condition of semi-animate to the higher states of functionary action, can be maintained on the palæontology of the old red sandstone. This single witness from the deep overthrows the whole baseless fabric on which the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* rests its preposterous assumptions, and shows the theory to be as devoid of any foundation in science as it is repudiated by the feelings of our moral nature. There is no progression. There is no transmutation from family into family, in all that exists in the underlying Silurian rocks, so as to give anterior geologic lineage, on a lower scale, to this earliest example of the succeeding Devonian System. The *asterolepis* moves as independently, and individually, in its orbit of animal life as the stars in their courses; the nebular and development hypothesis are equally unsupported by fact, and by the revealed law of creation.

The remains of this remarkable fish are found in the greatest abundance in the sandstones of Orkney, near Stromness; in some of the beds they are so numerous as to obliterate all traces of the rock itself; and their mode of preservation is no less singular, presenting an instance of Nature's embalming which surpasses all the most skilful manipulations of the chemist, and as simple as it is perfectly conservative of every plate, scale, tooth, and bone, in their original integrity. The substance of the creature itself seems to be the only element employed in the preparation. The animal matter has been converted into a dark-coloured pitchy mass, resembling bitumen, or coal-tar, and which, thickly enclosing the body, has subserved equally

* *Foot-Prints of the Creator.*

the purposes of shroud and coffin. It possesses the consistency as well as tenacity of wax, and has been used as a substitute. And thus steeped in the residue of its own blood, muscle, and flesh, the skeleton of the *asterolepis*, of the size of a porpoise, and whose age in the geologic scale the years of human reckoning cannot number, is again restored in all its enamelled polish and beauty, not a bone displaced nor an organ disfigured.

The pterichthys and coccosteous are more abundant than the former; so characteristic, indeed, of the series, as to be obtained in every locality of its northern range—at Cromarty, Gamrie, Lethen-bar, Seateraig, Altyre, Tynet-burn, and the Dipple on the Spey. Some of the finest specimens are found in nodules and a concretionary limestone, which have served as a better matrix than the oxidized sandstone; every part of the body, internal and external, the stomach and its contents undigested, even the pebbles and grains of sand intermixed with the food, are all there, to attest the form and the instincts of creatures of which there are no existing analogues. They are considered to be true fishes, though more resembling crustaceans from their thick bony envelopes. They are covered with nearly the same number of plates, differently disposed on the head and carapace. The tail in both is long, and belongs to the homocercal or equi-lobate structure; thus indicative of an osseous skeleton, and the cause, perhaps, of the perfect preservation of so much inner integument. The coccosteous derives its name from the berry-like tubercles which dot its plates, being the Greek compound (*kokkos*, a berry, and *osteon*, a bone) for the descriptive term. It differs from the pterichthys, besides in the number and disposition of the plates, in having a less elongated head, and the absence of arms or winged appendages, which are so characteristic of the pterichthys as to serve for its generic appellation. Hence the name—*pteron*, a wing, and *ichthys*, a fish. But whether so curiously placed on the body for defence, or as aids to locomotion, or, like the flying fish of modern times, to assist its elevation, for breathing purposes, into the air, these organs of the pterichthys have not been pronounced upon by palæontologists. There are several species of both genera; and so abundant are their remains, that the seas of the period must have been literally swarming with them, pursuing their prey among the rocks and shallows of the waters which, in the Silurian period, were occupied by the trilobites, the crustacean types of the age, as the pterichthys and coccosteous were decidedly of theirs.

The osteolepis, more fish-like in its form and general structure, is also very prevalent in the old red sandstone rocks. It was one of the earliest discovered fossils in the Caithness beds, and received its name, under the classification of Cuvier, in consequence of the osseous character of its scales (*osteon*, a bone, and *lepis*, a scale); but as all the coverings of the fishes of the period were of the substance of bone, the designation fails in some of its most remarkable peculiarities. Nature, perhaps, has never formed any similar creature with an outer vesture so brilliant in its colouring, compact in its arrangement, and enduring in its texture, as that in which she arrayed this early specimen of her marine workmanship. Combining the lightness and agility of the feathered tribes, there was the hard, impenetrable coat-of-mail over every organ, membrane, and spot of the body, which so remarkably distinguishes the sluggish tortoise and chelonians of the present time. The covering of the fishes already noticed consisted of detached plates, which met at the edges of each other, and were united like the sutures in the bones of the human skull, forming a uniform envelope round the entire body of the animal, and thus better adapted for strength than for symmetry or fleetness. But

in the osteolepis the scales are arranged alongside each other, like the bricks in a wall, disposed in regular rows, and joined in a manner calculated at once to afford protection to the internal parts, and to suit the flexures of the body while in motion. The divisions of the head are all composed of pure naked bone, and brightly enamelled. The teeth formed part of the jaws, not set in sockets, nor rising out of the fleshy cartilage. The fins and tail consisted of the same substance, hard, shining, enamelled bone; the rays of these organs were as numerous and thickly set as the feathers in the wing of a bird. The scales were all of bone, coated with enamel, and glistened like plates of gold. Thus every portion of the osteolepis was enveloped in a network of bone, elaborated into every shape and form of organic structure, and after subserving the purposes of animal life ages ago, the whole remain undisplaced and entire, as an evidence of the beautiful diversities and wonders of Creation.

2. The middle group of the old red sandstone covers nearly the entire district lying between the Grampians and the Ochils, and consists of conglomerate, micaceous slaty bands, cornstone, tilestone, arenaceous marls, and thick beds of grey and flesh-red sandstone. The cephalaspis and holoptychius are the vertebrate remains that chiefly characterise the group. The relics of the cephalaspis are exceedingly abundant, and are very widely dispersed in the series, but are found most numerous, as well as in the best state of preservation, in the marls and tilestone. The cephalaspis, or buckler-headed fish, derives its name from the great size of this organ, being about three times the size of the body, and from its being covered with a buckler or shield. The shield consists of one large plate, of a lamellar structure and crescent-like form, which terminates in two long projections, or pointed horns. The other plates of the head are united into one osseous case; and the whole consisting of hard bone, protected by equally hard enamelled scales, this fish, though never found above a foot in length, must have proved no easy capture to its predaceous cotemporaries. The scales of the body formed elevated bands, and the rays of the fins were covered by the membrane which everywhere surrounds them, while the entire skeleton was wrapped in bony plates, so arranged as to join or overlap each other. The fossil specimens, accordingly, are very entire, and are lifted out of the rock, as if their interment had been but yesterday. The quarries of Carmylie, Glammis, and Balruddery are the most noted places for the relics of this remarkable genus, hundreds being disinterred within an area of a few square yards; and resembling, as they strongly do, from their cephalic shield, the trilobites of the Silurian seas, they appear to have been equally abundant with that most prolific race, and to have constituted, like them, the most singular race of their time.

The holoptychius, or the wrinkled-scale fish, belongs to a family allied on the one hand to the true finny tribes, and on the other hand, particularly in its dentition, to the order of reptiles. The scales are nearly circular, rough, and corrugated in ridges, with waving furrows intermediate, and are sometimes two inches in length, by an inch and a half in breadth. The plates covering the head have a dotted, shagreen surface. The teeth are double set, the one set long and slender, the other consisting of the sauroid or reptilian conical form, of great density. The head is comparatively small, forming in this respect a remarkable contrast to that of the cephalaspis; from the position of the mouth it required to turn on its back while striking its prey; the fins are large and distantly placed; and thus encased all over in scale-enamelled plates, articulated and mortised after the strongest

and most flexible fashion, the holoptychius and cephalaspis were not unequally matched for either attack or defence. The largest specimen yet found of the genus measures thirty inches in length by twelve in breadth. It is also the first that was found. We well remember the date—a bright autumnal day in 1839—having visited the quarry of Clasbennie, in search of relics, only the day before its discovery; but returned richly loaded with remains of other genera—namely, scales of the glyptosteus, phyllolepis, and glyptolepis; all abundant in the same beds, and all described and named in the monograph of M. Agassiz.

Of the crustacean family the fossil relics as yet detected in the old red sandstone are very rare. Any that have been found were restricted to the English rocks, until a huge specimen was cast up in the Den of Balruddery. Several specimens of the *Calymene Sternbergii* and a *Brontes signatus*, both allied to the trilobites of the Silurian period, were the only forms of the order belonging to the Devonian deposits. Fragments of “*petrified seraphim*” had been long familiar to the quarrymen in Forfarshire—a name applied by them to portions of the shell or case of a crustacean, from their fancied resemblance to the conventional figures of cherubim as seen on tombstones. Some fragments had likewise been found in the Ludlow rocks, and figured by Murchison, in the *Silurian System*, as the *pterygotus problematicus*—the provisional name assigned by Agassiz. It is described in Mantell’s *Wonders of Geology** as a *eurypterus*; and at the British Association, which met at Edinburgh in 1834, the fragments of the creature there presented went under the more euphonious cognomen of the *edotea*. The specimen found at Balruddery, embracing almost every organism of the body, and presenting at once to the common observer a most striking resemblance to the lobster, enabled the Swiss naturalist to determine its order, genus, and species, as the *paleocarcinus alatus*, or the old-winged lobster. The carapace, claws, and flaps, are all in the most perfect state of preservation, ornamented externally with circular and elliptical markings, which give them an imbricated or scaly appearance. The projections of the claws are finely developed, terminating, the larger in sharp points or hooks, and the smaller in enamelled plates like the nails of the human hand. This magnificent specimen now enriches the cabinet of Lord Kinnaird, at Rossie Priory, and occupies in its different portions ten or twelve drawers. When the portions are combined, this inhabitant of the rocks and seas of ancient Gowrie appears to have measured from five to six feet in length, and, from the great size of the shell or covering, the body might at least have been two or three feet in circumference. Along with innumerable fragments of the lobster, the Den of Balruddery abounds in fossil remains of various kinds: annelides, shells, wings of pterichthys, heads uncountable of cephalaspis, and, as described by Agassiz, portions of the *parexus recurvus* and *clematius reticulatus*.

The same bed of rock extends into the Den of Rossie, where the search has resulted only as yet in the discovery of vast numbers of curious concretionary nodules, resembling shells, and of which an elaborate account has been given by M. Parrot in describing similar bodies (*les pierres d’Imatra*), and which he affirms to be *des mollusques petrificés, sans coquilles*. The nodules occur in great numbers in Elland Water, near Melrose, and are regarded in that land of romance as “*fairy stones* ;” they are of a spherical form, more or less flattened, generally consist of laminae, are from half an inch to an inch in diameter, and, whether they are organic, or simply concretions, as Sir David Brewster thinks, formed by the dropping of

water holding in solution earthy particles which cohere on evaporation; the nodules impart a singularly striking appearance to the surface of the rock, and call back the imagination to a time when the sandstone constituted the silt of a sea-margin, whose waters, filled with so many curious forms of organic life, have long since retreated.

About a mile to the westward, in the charmingly wooded dell of Baliggarny, occurs the overlying bed of the mottled sandstone, so full of spots and blotches, which stretches over great part of the Carse of Gowrie, the southern bank of the Tay, and several places in Stratheden, dipping under the Lomonds at Glenvale. The spots are generally spherical, the transverse section forming a circle varying from a quarter of an inch to nearly a foot in diameter, and in the centre of the spheres there is generally a small pea of metallic oxide, to which the iron diffused through the stone seems to have been transferred. In accounting for the origin of these spots, Dr. Fleming has suggested that they are owing to the presence "probably of some vegetable or animal organism, the decomposition of which exercised a limited influence on the colouring matter of the surrounding rock." In corroboration of this view, two specimens have been found with the scale of a holoptychius in the middle of the white spot, one of which is in the possession of the writer, and the other in that of David Milne, Esq.; in whose *Geological Account of Roxburghshire* the author advocates the theory of a chemical process, holding that the formation of these blotches belongs to "the same class of phenomena as the blanching process which takes place along the sides of fissures or cracks in the old red sandstone rock," and where there is generally a larger development of metallic incrustations, having very beautiful dendritic forms. The chemical analysis of the spot, as compared with the red rock, yields something in support of both theories, and is not determinate as to either. Thus, in the spot, the iron is changed from a peroxide to a protoxide,* which in the red stone exists as a peroxide; and again, in the spot, there is a trace of phosphoric acid, whilst there is none in the general body of the rock, and may have been derived from the phosphate in the scale or other organisms. Assuming the organic theory as affording the readiest means of producing the discolouration, from the infinite numbers of both vegetable and animal bodies floating in the Devonian seas, the organic matter containing phosphoric or carbonic acid, it is supposed, became gradually decomposed, and the acid, set free, combined with a portion of the iron to form a protoxide, and thus discharged the red colour. The metallic nucleus, which is of a dark bluish colour, and finely contrasts with the red and white of the rock, it may be also observed, generally bears a proportion to the size of the spheres; thus showing a correspondence between the two, whether as cause or effect, whether the influence was discharged outwardly from the centre or attracted inwardly from the circumference, and in either mode confirmative of the organic hypothesis. The sandstone extends a considerable way up the Den of Baliggarny, when it abuts against the amygdaloidal trap which has thrown the strata into the perpendicular; at the point of junction, the sandstone is

* Metals, in combining with oxygen, combine with different proportions of it, and these combinations, in conformity to the usual law of chemical attraction, give rise to compounds having very different properties. Thus in minerals, through which any metallic substance is diffused, there are degrees and shades of colour corresponding with the proportions in which the oxygen is united to the metal. The protoxide denotes the oxide formed by the first degree of oxidation, and the peroxide denotes that of the highest degree of oxidation: the black coloured oxide of iron, as the central spot, contains 21 of oxygen and the red coloured stone about 33, in 100 parts.

converted into a pure quartz or flinty schist, while the trap becomes insinuated between the beds, and welded to them by the strong fusion of heat. The interest of the section here is greatly heightened by the vast overlying mass of the plutonic matter, extending several hundred feet along the uptilted edges of the sandstone strata, and displaying as perfect a profile view of the intermixture of eruptive and sedimentary rocks as curiosity or science can desiderate. The student, in his pursuits, rarely has the good fortune of seeing these junctions, as they most frequently occur upon inaccessible sea-shores, or lie concealed under too great depth of soil, or have not emerged to the surface in sufficiently extended sections.*

This beautiful den, with its sweeping row of flower-covered villas at the entrance, possesses attractions enough in itself to repay a visit, whether by naturalist, botanist, or geologist; nor will the artist fail in his object should he see it as we last saw it, in a bright autumn noon, as the rays of the sun streamed through the densely-tinted foliage, and fell upon rivulet, rock, trees, and startled deer, producing the most beautiful effects of light and shade, and lighting up a scene which the pencil may trace, but will ever fail to impress in all its vivid beauty upon the canvass. The accomplished authoress of the *Queens of England and Scotland* humorously remarked on the occasion, "that even geology could be made interesting were it found only in such delightful places;" in front the vista is no less delightful, where the eye reposes on the richest and most spacious of those river-basins which constitute so much of the physical frame-work of Scotland—the lordly Tay.

3. And other "such delightful places" do often meet the geologist on his way, whether he has to cross broad rivers, or scale rugged mountains, or tread wastes of sand to meet them. Dura Den, in Fifeshire, is one of these, a deep winding ravine formed in the upper series of the old red sandstone. The rock on both sides presents a precipitous face, in some parts nearly 200 feet in height, and rising behind into finely-wooded hills of 500 or 600 feet of the formation. Entering the Den from the north, a cornstone at Craighoodie, a conglomerate at Osnaburg, and a grey, reddish sandstone near the church—all of the middle series—arrest the attention, and will reward the inspection of the inquirer. The sandstone strata immediately change in dip, colour, and texture, when he will find himself among the newest or upper series, which are of all hues and dyes, the white-yellowish prevailing, and hence it has been termed the **YELLOW SANDSTONE**. The qualities are as various as the colours, consisting, in the lower beds, of beautifully white, hard building stone, which is succeeded by thin layers of ferruginous marls, terminating in thick bands of coarse sandstone. The fossil remains are chiefly confined to the middle parts of the series, the beds immediately beneath and above the clay marls. They are found all on the western side as well as in the bed of the stream, which, in the course of ages, appears to have been the principal agent in scooping the ravine. Five or six genera of vertebrate fossils have been described and named

* All the strata of the middle series occur in the vicinity of Perth, and extend in great thickness along the left bank of the Tay by Seone and Lethendy. It may not be out of place to notice here that the celebrated "coronation stone of Seone," now in Westminster Abbey, is formed of this rock, and not, as antiquaries say, of "merbyl." We have examined a splinter of it, when "the stone" was wickedly fractured during the fitting-up at Westminster in 1838. It is unquestionably a *bonâ fide* specimen of old red sandstone. The colour, texture, and granular qualities are identical with those of the sandstone of which Seone Palace is built. And whether, as the legend affirms, originally from Egypt or the Holy Land, true it is, that the now existing emblem of Scottish independence is a veritable product of Scotland itself, dug from the same quarry or bed of rock as that of which the modern palace is constructed.

by M. Agassiz, some entirely new, and others new species of genera found in other localities of the lower and middle series. They consist of the following kinds:-- *Glyptopomus minor*, *Holoptychius Andersoni* and *Flemingii*, *Pamphractus Andersoni* (the *Pterichthys hydrophilus* of Egerton); also *Diploterus* (new species), *Dipterus* (new species), *Glypticus Dalgleisianæ* (new genus), and one or two not as yet named. This remarkable deposit is, in many places, filled to repletion with these curious relics. A space of little more than four square yards, on a late occasion, when the writer was present, yielded about a hundred fishes perfect in their outline, and as many more in a fragmentary and broken state. The scales and fins are, in general, quite entire, the forms of the creatures often starting in their complete scaly envelope from the matrix; and the organisms being all enamelled and of a bright pink-colour, the teeth and plates of the head fresh and unbroken, one can scarcely divest himself of the idea that, instead of the innumerable series of geologic terms to be counted, he is looking upon the creations of yesterday, the relics of living things that had just ceased to breathe.

The yellow sandstone deposit extends east and west, from St. Andrews to the Cleish hills, occupying the valley of Stratheden, and dipping under the carboniferous system, from which it is generally separated by overlying masses of trap. It forms a belt of no great breadth, but is in many places of vast thickness. It is found in several other localities in Scotland—in Morayshire, Cromarty, Ayrshire, Arran, and across the Channel, in Ireland. Its fossil treasures have nowhere been so abundant as in Dura Den, which may be considered, in its palæontology as well as mineral qualities, the type of the formation.

What, in conclusion, it will now be asked, was the flora of a period so remarkable for its development of animal life? Nature everywhere delights in contrasts; and here the contrast is certainly very striking, if the measure of her vegetative powers is to be taken from the few scanty relics of fuci and algæ scattered through the lower and middle series of the old red sandstone. Not a fragment of vegetable matter has anywhere been detected in the yellow deposit; but they exist in the system at Parkhill, near Newburgh, Wormit Bay, Balruddery, Carmylie, and other localities—and all confined to the tilestone and grey micaceous flags of the middle series. These remains are chiefly of the fucoid order, consisting of thin slender stems, diverging into numerous leaflets or fronds, and resemble the long boggy grasses that grow in our marshes and lakes. Sometimes they may be observed as a mere coaly film, at other times like small decayed branches of gnarled oak, and covering often the surface of the rock, causing it easily to split into thin divisional flagstones. In Orkney they likewise occur in the lower series, where some have the appearance of the club-moss, thickly striated and tubercled; and one specimen has been described as a fern, of the size of the moorworts and other smaller kinds, and in sufficient preservation to show that it belonged to the terrestrial, not the marine tribes. But if thus scanty in her vegetable productions during the Devonian age, the period was at hand when the earth was to pour them from her teeming bosom in the most affluent measure, and in forms and sizes which tropical climates can only now present. Dura Den exhibits, in the closest juxtaposition, the wonders of the two geologic ages. A step carries you from the one series of rocks to the other. A vast, universal, inconceivable change passes over the surface of the globe, the seas increase in greater varieties and in multiplied forms of animal life, the earth all over abounding in trees of the amplest and loftiest dimensions; and, leaping across the stream, in this narrow dell, you pass the shadowy bourne which separates

two of the oldest and most singular epochs in the world's history. The mighty operation is marked on a small scale, though recorded in the most legible characters—a slight depression in the dip of the strata on the one side—a few black lines interspersed among stripes of white on the other side—is the simple lithograph by which Nature tells of energies whose products are mountains and valleys, new teeming lands, seas swarming with the moving thing that hath life, and mineral treasures enclosed for man's use and comfort, which time only can exhaust.

THE IGNEOUS ROCKS.

Before looking into the carboniferous system, now dawning into view on these lithologic pages of our history, rocks of a different class require first to be noticed in their due chronological order. These are the igneous products of the age we have just been contemplating, that is, the period intermediate between the old red sandstone and the deposition of the various materials of the coal formation. After the strata of the former had been all collected and arranged over the bottom of the Devonian seas, they were penetrated, hardened, and upheaved by vast masses of molten matter issuing from below; forming new ranges of mountains, as the Sidlaws, Ochils, Pentlands, Eildons, and Cheviots, and convulsing, like a tumultuous sea, the whole surface of Scotland. The evidence of the plutonic agency, as well as the geologic era of its chief activity, is as clear and certain—recorded in every way, form, and character of physical truth—as that of any event of ancient times with which the moral historian has to deal.

When we consider the masses of molten matter thrown up by volcanos in modern times—Vesuvius, about 3900 feet above the level of the sea, throwing out fiery torrents over all its slopes, and filling up valleys through all their extent—Etna, nearly 11,000 feet high, and 63 miles in circumference at its base—Teneriffe, 16,000 feet, and the whole island composed of volcanic matter—the Kirauca, in the Sandwich Islands, a mountain of 18,000 feet, and the entire island in which it is situated, seventy miles in length and covering an area of 4000 square miles, a complete mass of volcanic matter—while, along the range of the Andes and in other parts of the globe, there are, every day, in active operation, about two hundred fiery cones ejecting matter in sufficient quantity to form mountains higher and more massive than the largest in Great Britain;—these facts take away all antecedent incredibility from the assumption of hills of only 2000 to 3000 feet high being the product of similar agencies, and raised into position by similar internal forces.

But, to take an illustration nearer our own shores, Iceland may be referred to as an example of volcanic action on the great scale. The whole of this island is the product of recently extinct or of actually existing volcanic foci, which, within a few fleeting years of man's duration and in modern times, have thrown out masses of fused rock higher than the loftiest of the Grampians, and of sufficient depth to cover the Scottish Highlands thousands of feet all over with mountain ranges of the igneous formation. Iceland lies within the same terrestrial zone with Great Britain, situated between $13^{\circ} 20'$ and $24^{\circ} 31'$ of west longitude, and between $63^{\circ} 23'$ and $66^{\circ} 33'$ of north latitude, and is consequently distant less than the island's own length, or about 560 miles from the most northern point of land in Scotland. It is nearly one-third larger than Scotland, being calculated to contain about 38,230 square miles. Through its length and breadth Iceland has been convulsed, upheaved, and overrun in

every part; and even now there is scarcely a district in which a human habitation can be built, without the risk of being speedily overwhelmed with the fiery torrent, or submerged in the yawning abyss whence it continually issues. Hecla, the most celebrated of its cones, is 5110 feet in height, and its circumference at the base is from fifteen to twenty miles; steam and hot vapours are constantly arising from the central peak; the sides are scarred by numerous ravines; and, for nearly ten miles around, the beautiful and fertile valley which formerly encompassed this famed volcano is overflowed by its fiery flood, or buried under immense heaps of cinders, pumice, sand, and ashes. Vast numbers of small cones rise in every part of this lava plain, the most remarkable of which is the Raudseldar, which has an oblong form, a crater in the middle 180 feet deep and 840 feet in circumference, and is composed, as the name implies, of small red half-melted stones. There are several chains of mountains which traverse the island, one of which is above 200 miles in length, and whose summits attain the great elevation of 5685 to 5927 feet. The dark lava sides and linear arrangement of their rocky masses sufficiently attest their volcanic origin, without the still more terrible proof given from time to time by the latent fires within their bosom bursting forth in unexpected and most destructive eruptions. The Skaptar Jokul was produced by one of these outbursts in 1783, a ridge now of hard rock, 100 miles in length, 15 miles in breadth, in some places 600 feet high, and of an average height of 300 feet. Several torrents of lava have issued, in very recent times, upon a similar scale of magnitude, from a group of mountains situated near the centre of the island, and whose deep recesses have never been explored, partly from the superstitious fears of the natives to accompany travellers into these demon-haunted regions, and partly from the extreme difficulty and danger that have attended every attempt to penetrate into their shattered and rugged defiles. The eruptions are descried at an immense distance, covering all the interior with dense masses of smoke and ashes, and throwing out quantities of scoriæ and pumice so great as to cover the waves for many miles round the shores of Iceland. The mountains themselves, with their snowy peaks, are seen at a distance of 100 to 150 miles; and nothing surprises the voyager more, as he approaches the scene of these volcanic operations, than the contrast exhibited between their scorched, dark-coloured bases and the gleaming whiteness of their upper ridges; the internal fires smouldering beneath, or casting out vapours and warm springs; geysers leaping more than 200 feet into the air, and in a column of water 200 feet in diameter, with a temperature of 154°. These singular phenomena, accompanying the subterranean agency, are found in all parts of the land, and at all elevations, sending up clouds of steam from amidst fields of perpetual ice. The very ocean that surrounds the coast is not free from them, where, in the northern portion of the Breida Fiord, studded with innumerable islands, the water in many places is sensibly elevated in temperature by their action. The author of *The History of Iceland* says:—

“Between the snowy chains now described lies the great desert of Iceland, whose unknown regions form the scene of many superstitious terrors to the natives; and, indeed, the lonely and desolate aspect of this district can scarcely be exceeded by any other region on the earth. Age after age, volcano on volcano, have poured their stony floods over its surface, till it has become almost one black scorified field. Long tracts of volcanic sand, immense masses, torn from the neighbouring mountains, wide chasms, huge insulated fragments of lava, everywhere interrupt the progress of the traveller, whilst the magnetic influence of the rocks renders the compass useless as a guide. In these wastes no springs of water refresh the sight:

no bird, no beast, scarcely even a plant or humble moss relieves the tedium of the journey, or expels the feeling of loneliness that weighs upon the spirit. Where the internal fires have been most active, hills are tossed on hills in inextricable confusion, of which even the tempestuous ocean furnishes but a faint image. In other quarters, magnificent glaciers of green transparent ice occur, whilst the volcanic scoriæ with which they are often mixed exhibit a contrast, though one strikingly characteristic of this land, where fire and ice seem ever conjoined, and yet ever contending for the mastery."

Such is Iceland: and what is thus occurring so near ourselves, in modern times, has occurred within our own borders in the remoter periods of the earth's history. The island of Great Britain has passed through the same fiery ordeal, and been convulsed in a similar manner. The craters whence its volcanic masses issued are closed over, the peaceful abodes of fertile valleys, or the quiet retreats of deep lakes. Isolated cones, as Moncrieff Hill, the Lomonds, and Arthur's Seat, mark the lesser foci of their action, while the greater torrents constitute the more extended ranges which characterise the midland and southern portions of Scotland. The Sidlaws, Ochils, Pentlands, and Cheviots, as well as the Campsie, Kilpatrick, and Renfrew hills, are nearly all composed of the same materials of rock; they have been ejected all within the same geologic epoch, and now constitute the firmest foundations of our once agitated land—the jokuls and volcanos of an era that has long passed away.

The term TRAP has been applied to this class of rocks, from the German *Trappa*, a stair, in consequence of the terraced or step-like elevations generally assumed by the hills of the formation. They are known in Scotland by the name of whinstone. The generic term "trap" includes porphyry, compact felspar, claystone porphyry, greenstone, clinkstone, amygdaloid, basalt, trachyte, tuffa, and several varieties of each. They are very widely diffused—indeed, more so in their several places of emergence to the surface than the rocks of any of the other systems. The hills, neither so lofty nor bold in character as those connected with the primary system, have the same geographical range across the mainland, running parallel to the Grampians and Lammermuirs, and are equally characteristic as a great geological division of semi-crystalline rocks. The Sidlaws, Ochils, and Campsie hills are the principal seats of the trap formation in the central district; the Pentlands, Cheviots, Eildons, and other outliers, show its leading features and extent in the southern and border country. The Renfrew hills, of great extent and variety, mark the outgoing of the formation on the western shores, and which are to be considered as a continuation of the Kilpatrick group, terminating at Dumbarton in a series of beautifully wooded cones and lofty mural cliffs.

The various members of the series differ greatly in their general composition and appearance. Although, from other circumstances, it is impossible to doubt their common origin, there are members of the family which, if viewed in detached specimens, would be considered as possessing no relation or affinity to each other; since even some of the proximate rocks present as little mineralogical resemblance as lime and sandstone, slate and coal. They have been ejected at different periods and after long intervals, and consequently have been modified by the circumstances under which they were produced, the conditions of the sea-bottom over which they were spread, and the character of the rocks through which the fused matter was erupted. They are not lavas, which are sub-aerial products, and therefore light and porous; nor are they aqueous formations, whose materials have been deposited in

water, and subjected gradually to its abrading influences. These rocks are the results of igneous fusion deep under the crust of the earth, and from their weight and density, having parted with few of their elements in a gaseous state, have doubtless been consolidated under strong pressure from above before reaching the surface of the waters. They are found in all positions, insinuating themselves not only between different rocks, but between the beds and thinnest laminae of the same rock, filling up rents and fissures, and, like a cement poured from above, overlying and binding the whole in one mass. They contain no organic remains, and the absence of these, except in a few instances, while abounding in all the sedimentary rocks through which they pass, is urged by geologists as a proof that the trap matter has been forced from below in a melted state, whereby any organic bodies that mingled in the heated mass have been destroyed. While occupying no fixed place in the order of superposition, the traps are never disposed in layers, and exhibit no lines of stratification. They are often composed of the fragments of other rocks, agglutinated by a base of clay, as in the tuffa species, and each considerably altered by the heat to which they have been exposed. Remarkable changes are also produced upon all the strata in immediate contact with the traps, especially with basalt and greenstone—chalk being converted into flint, limestone into chert, clay hardened into brick, and coal into coke, when it is deprived of its bitumen, or the quality which renders it combustible as a fuel.

These and other appearances have justly led to the conclusion, that the trap or whinstone formation is of igneous origin, and that all the hills of which it consists, to which we are indebted for so much beauty and fertility—now the abodes of peace and abundance—once glowed with volcanic fire, and were actually molten with subterranean heat.

Their mineral constituents may be briefly described, consisting essentially of felspar, hornblende, and augite, substances which also form those of the modern volcanic rocks. The traps are very numerous in their specific characters, as well as very different in their external appearances, occasioned by the various combinations of their simple ingredients, of which no two in the whole series will be found exactly alike. The porphyries, of which there are several species, are all more or less composed of felspar; that is, an argillaceous paste, containing imbedded crystals of other substances. There is generally a considerable quantity of iron diffused through the composition, which, in the state of an oxide, gives a reddish tinge to the aspect of the rock, and thereby serves to distinguish the felspar porphyry easily from the other members of the formation. The term porphyry was applied by the ancients to rocks of a burnt red aspect, and susceptible of polish; it is now applied to all rocks having crystals imbedded in a base of other mineral composition. Thus granite is a porphyritic rock, having crystals of felspar and mica imbedded in a quartz base; but as the true normal structure is best defined in the trap family, the term is accordingly more strictly applied to some of the varieties of this extensive series of igneous rocks. Claystone and clinkstone are essentially one and the same, the former consisting of felspar porphyritically arranged, but more generally in a loose state of aggregation, and the latter being of such close texture and induration as to give a metallic ringing sound when struck with the hammer. The prevailing colour of both is ash-grey or a dark green, and while occasionally assuming a columnar structure, often of great dimensions, there is no prismatic or geometric arrangement, as in basalt, in the form of the columns. Sometimes several colours occur in all the varieties of the felspathic rocks, frequently showing beautiful dendritic

delineations on the surface, as well as green and yellow spots, which are supposed to be occasioned by the oxidation of copper disseminated through the rock. Where the spots are concentric round a dark-coloured nucleus, as frequently occurs, the presence of some organic substance is now considered to be the cause of this appearance, which, as not having been entirely dissipated by the heat, had chemically acted in discharging the colouring matter within the parts affected. These spots, like those in the dotted sandstone, are in some instances innumerable, occurring in every part, even in the innermost recesses of the indurated mountain. If, as the name and substance of the rock import, the porphyries were ejected over the sea-bottom in the form of clay-mud, and not in a state of fusion, though expelled by the inner fires, myriads of the smaller organic bodies, always abundant in the ocean, would be inclosed in the moving mass, and necessarily occasion such changes or phenomena as those in question. A bed of this claystone porphyry extends along the Ochils, almost continuously for twenty miles; appearing at the upper entrance to Glenfarg, at Lumbenny, in the parish of Newburgh, the Mount-hill, near Cupar, and at various intermediate places in the parishes of Moonzie and Kilmany. Its prevailing colour is brick-red or ash-grey, and is richly covered with the circular yellow spots.

The other varieties of the trap family are of a more compound character, and consist of several kinds of crystals, or portions of other rocks united in the mass. Greenstone is of a granular texture, and generally of a dark green colour, of which there are two kinds, one composed of hornblende and felspar, and another of felspar and augite, and in both, crystals of quartz and olivine are often mixed. Basalt consists of the same ingredients, united only in different proportions; it is generally of a darker colour and finer texture, and occurs in every form of tabular, globular, and prismatic concretions, in which the minerals are always so intimately blended that the whole appears as one homogeneous mass. Amygdaloid, or the almond-shaped stone, from the form of the nodules, consists of a basis of impure claystone, through which are dispersed various nodular substances, as quartz, agate, chalcedony, calc-spar, and green-earth or chlorite. This rock forms the matrix of all the finest varieties of the Scotch pebble, where alternating zones of felspar, quartz, chalcedony, and heliotrope, frequently occur in the same crystal. The amygdaloid sometimes passes into tuffa, containing portions of nearly all the species of trap, from half an inch to a foot in diameter; some of which are sharp and angular, and others rounded. The whole mass strongly suggests the idea of a current of liquid lava which, as it proceeded in its fiery course, embraced the various substances lying in its way, both soft and concrete, and by the excessive temperature altered and modified their composition. The remarkable vesicular character of this rock, as seen in Glenfarg, Moncrieff, and Kinnoul hills in Perthshire, and in the Castle-rock and other places in Dumbartonshire—the *habitat* of the beautiful zoölitic family of crystals—has clearly resulted from the expansive power of gases in the process of cooling, while the substances now filling the cavities have, many of them at least, been introduced since the induration of the rock.

While none of the class of rocks now described exhibit any distinct lines of stratification, they nevertheless assume the appearance, in many places, of being disposed in beds or masses separated at regular intervals, and extending over considerable distances. Sometimes also they are arranged in layers, possessing more or less of a homogeneous character, as of mud collected or poured over a horizontal sea-bottom. Hence “*flötz trap*,” and the opinion once prevalent of its Neptunian

origin. But a closer inspection speedily dispels the illusion, and shows the apparent stratified structure to be only partial. The vast pressure of the ocean would necessarily contribute to the distribution of the materials into parallel beds within certain limits, whether these materials were thrown out by submarine volcanos or were accumulated in the sea, from the *débris* of other rocks, during their intervals of repose. There might be repeated alternations of such beds, differing more or less in their ingredients, according as the successive eruptions were at longer or shorter intervals from each other, or modified by the conditions of the currents, and other causes concerned in their formation. The amygdaloidal, and other vesicular varieties of trap, may be accounted for in like manner, where the pressure from above would not only prevent the escape of their gaseous constituents, but, by preserving the fluidity of the mass for a longer time, assist in the secretion of their particles and the flattening of the cavities in which their beautiful crystals are lodged.

The phenomenon of VEINS, or dykes, forms an interesting feature in the history of these rocks; nor, in a theoretic point of view, is it the least remarkable feature in this history, that, of all the varieties of trap, basalt and greenstone only are found in this condition among the secondary formations, and, along with these, felspar porphyry only among the primary. No reason can be assigned for this: geologists have attempted no explanation of the fact. The granite veins are composed of pure granite, unmixed with foreign substances; those of the trap as invariably consist of felspar, basalt, and greenstone, in their purest and best characterised forms. These dykes are very numerous over the northern division of the island, as well as among the Grampians—occurring in every position and diverging in every direction—elevating, disrupting, and indurating the rocks of every kind along their passage. They traverse the district of Strathmore, five or six crossing the bed of the Tay, betwixt Dunkeld and Perth, and running nearly parallel for twenty or thirty miles in a south-westerly course. A well-defined instance occurs on the southern slope of Norman's Law, traceable for miles westward by Glenduekie, Higham, and Newburgh. There is another on the opposite ridge running behind Letham Schoolhouse, near to Auchtermuechty, under the Roman road at Pitlour, and skirting west by Damhead to the Path of Condie. In Strathearn they may be observed, in various places, rising above the sandstone, and forming mural ridges of disjointed tabular masses, of considerable elevation. They are of frequent occurrence in every coal-field, subserving the purposes of a wise providence, while regarded as *troubles* by every miner.

On the shores of the Frith of Clyde, trap veins are very numerous, particularly near Dunoon in the direction of Toward Point, where they cut the schist at right angles and are readily distinguished by their dark colour from the bright silvery hue of the slaty strata. In some instances portions of the schist are included in the matter of the dyke. One near Hafton House is of a light greenish colour and seems to be composed wholly of the fused schist itself, the quartz being the prevailing ingredient of the mass. Another, several yards in breadth, may be observed on the Castle-hill, projecting across the road into the waters; it is traceable for miles up the face of the mountain, whose culminating point, the Bishop's Seat, appears to be formed of the same vein. Here, on this beautiful coast, the student in a walk of a few miles meets with examples of three successive systems of rocks, the schist, the old red sandstone, and the trap or igneous formation. The schist belongs to the clay-slate series, already described; it extends along the southern group of

the Cowal hills, consisting of smooth rounded tops, and thereby forming a striking contrast with the loftier and more rugged range of mountains which surround Lochs Long, Goil, and Eck, and all composed of the mica-schist of the primary formation. Nor will he fail to notice the close resemblance between the grauwake and Silurian slates which environ the springs of the Clyde, in the mountains of Peeblesshire, and the schistose beds through which its waters, after their long course, pass into the sea. The eye can discern no difference either in colour, texture, or mineral ingredients. But their lustrous purity, washed daily by the tide, may here well invite the closest inspection, as their truncated edges, innumerable divisional planes, detached groupings, and variegated quartz veins exhibit, in the most perfect manner, every feature and characteristic of the formation. This border-fringe of rock, one of Nature's finest weaving, cannot fail even to arrest the attention of the health and pleasure seeking visitors who resort in crowds to these lovely beaches; favourably contrasting with the most elaborate productions of the neighbouring mart of manufactures, and more than rivalling them in all the enduring qualities of tint, lustre, fineness of texture, elegance, and massiveness of structure. These tufts of wild flowers, the green pellucid waters, the long-tangled sea-weeds, the thousand sportive marine creatures that continually flit and glance through their foliage, all conspire to form a picture of rare excellency, and to every cultivated mind of the most attractive interest.

The trap dykes are very numerous in the islands of Bute and the Cumbrays, stretching into the Ayrshire coast: some of the dykes are very broad and much elevated above the surface, and traverse the schist and sandstone in such a manner as show the islands and mainland to have been once more closely united. They constitute likewise one of the most marked features along the southern portion of Arran, where, until examined, they have all the appearance of artificial dykes or breakwaters, fencing the land from the sea. They environ the coast, from Brodick Bay on the east to Pladda on the south-west; and as they are of all dimensions, from a foot to ten or twelve feet in breadth, and cross each other in their innumerable intersections of the sandstone, often curved and twisted like a coiled rope along the beach, there is no place where these curious concretions can be studied with greater advantage, and where all their phenomena, on an accessible basis, have been so completely developed. One upon a large scale—indeed, the largest and longest yet traced in Scotland—is the great Hawick dyke, which, after passing through part of Northumberland, enters the Cheviot hills, traverses the south-western district of Roxburghshire, crosses the ridges to the south of Chesters, and onwards to Hawick, where, in a continued course north-west by north, it bears through the parishes of Wilton and Ashkirk to near the head of Ale Water. Upwards of thirty miles of uninterrupted direction over the surface is thus clearly defined, intersecting the grauwake, the porphyry, the old red sandstone, and the coal formation in its course, and maintaining throughout its homogeneous character and qualities as an igneous outpouring from beneath. Indeed, there is no part of the country, in any class of rocks, free from the intersection of these curious stone-floods of trap, presenting an equal diversity of mass and mineral character with the strata around, and forming an instructive example of the various channels of communication with the interior of the earth.

The rocks now described are of different ages, and connected with different geological systems. The oldest, or the porphyritic traps, are chiefly diffused among the primary, Silurian, and Devonian systems. The greenstone, basalt, and wacke

varieties, in all their larger outbursts as hills and ridges, are generally limited to the area of the coal-field. In the form of dykes they are of all ages, while in their columnar and prismatic state they are developed, on their grandest scale, among the tertiary deposits of the western isles. The proofs of this order of succession are irresistible. The upheaval of the older strata, dislocated, and resting at all angles on the edges of the porphyries of the primary and secondary mountain chains, clearly demonstrates that the plutonic agency was in vigorous operation over the whole area of the stratified rocks thus affected. The porphyritic traps, capped by these deposits, rose above the surface of the ocean, studding with innumerable islets and forming shallows over the northern portions of Scotland. The coal measures, afterwards filling up the basins and estuaries thereby produced, were dislocated and upheaved in like manner by a new eruption of fused matter—the greenstone, basalt, and breccia—whose relative ages are determined by the circumstance that these forms of trap are localised within the area of the coal metals, which have been variously affected by their intrusion. Finally, as will be afterwards shown, the alternation of the basalt with the leaf beds of the Isle of Mull, and the identity of the columnar structure of the adjacent islands—all lying within the area of the oolitic and tertiary systems—as clearly warrant the inference as to the comparatively late eruption of these singularly magnificent piles of igneous rock.

The analogy and history of the trappean family might be extended through England into France, where in both countries it can be shown that they are of the same relative ages—from the primary to the secondary formations, from the new red sandstone to the chalk, and from the period of the chalk to the most recent tertiary deposits. The Silurian rocks of Wales are identical with those in Normandy, and through both the porphyries have burst their way. The oolite, wealden, and chalk of the south of England find their types on the banks of the Seine and the Loire; and the trachyte of the one country is not distinguishable in mineral qualities, nor different in subterranean effects, from that in the other. The extinct volcanos of Auvergne, in central France, bring down the narrative of these events to the verge of historic times, when the Cantal, Puy de Dome, and other volcanic peaks, rose above lakes inhabited by mammoths, dinotheriums, and other gigantic pachyderms, which have now no generic types on the face of the globe. The living fires of Etna and Vesuvius issue from the same interior storehouse, act upon, and throw up the same kinds of materials that reared the Alps, the Himmalayas, and the Andes. Thus the laws of nature may be demonstrated, in these eruptive agencies, to be one and the same in all times past and present; giving shape and contour to a planet whose stability, diversity, and conveniences are as fixed and determinate as its convulsions and changes have been uniform, progressive, and beneficial; and evincing a controlling Power guiding the movements of the most violent forces, to form a scene of beauty, and harmony, and fertility.

THE CARBONIFEROUS SYSTEM—THE COAL MEASURES.

The fertility of the earth referred to above was never greater than during the period of geological history on which we are now entering—the period of gigantic vegetables. It succeeded to an age when the internal fires were more than ordinarily active. The crust was everywhere pierced, upheaved and vast masses of

volcanic matter were rolled over the surface, or piled into lofty mountain ranges. Dr. McCulloch has remarked, that, over the length and breadth of Scotland, every square yard has been more or less affected by the trap-rocks, and the convulsive movements which their intrusion occasioned. The class to which the older porphyries belong constitutes one of the most widely-diffused systems over the area of the globe. The effects are indicative of like causes. And thus the inference necessarily follows, that the general temperature at the earth's surface would not only be correspondingly high, but nearly uniform in geographical extent with the action of the internal fires, which melted the rocks, and raised them into mountains.

The carboniferous era borders on this period of fiery activity. The system of rocks composing the coal measures immediately succeeded—namely, a series of limestones, sandstones, ironstones, shales, and coal—two-thirds of which consist of vegetable and animal matter. The seas and the dry land were alike prolific. Masses of limestone, from 20 to 120 feet in thickness, and beds of pure coal, from 1 to 20 feet thick, are entirely composed of their respective marine and terrestrial products; and when it is considered that a single coal-field will frequently contain from thirty to a hundred seams of coal, and likewise several bands of limestone, both of corresponding but variable thickness, it will be admitted that the quantity of vegetable and animal matter of which they consist indicates a period of the most prolific abundance in both elements. Whence the heat which excited such wonderfully productive powers, during a particular epoch of time, but unlimited in extent over the earth's surface? The sun alone could not be the source, for however high the temperature thence derived, the solar heat could not have been universally, and at the same time uniformly diffused. The plants of the period were nearly all of the kinds which are now confined to the tropics, in their tree-form, and chiefly consist of the cryptogamic tribes, two-thirds of the whole being ferns, which attained a gigantic size. Equally remarkable is the fact, that a uniform state of vegetation prevailed over the whole earth during the age in question—the coal plants of Melville Island and Greenland corresponding to those of Southern Europe—the deposits in America yielding species identical with those in Great Britain; while every fresh discovery of the useful mineral, in the east or west, in Russia or Australia, shows the fossil remains of the same flora, in like gigantic forms, and in similar affluent fecundity. Hence the more probable solution of the problem has been sought for in the disengagement and diffusion of the heat accompanying so universal an eruption of the igneous rocks, and which, as permeating every part of the crust, evinced a nearly uniform temperature over the interior range of their influence. The hypothesis has likewise been adopted by geologists, that the earth, originally an incandescent mass, was gradually cooling down, but still sufficiently genial all over as to foster the excessive growth of vegetation, as well as the amazing opulence of marine animal life. But from whatever cause, the existence of a high and uniform temperature was indispensable for the sustenance of so prolific and uniform a state of living things, vegetable or animal; the disengagement of gases, especially of carbonic, would, upon either view, be a necessary concomitant, producing vapours, showers, and rains of corresponding density; and as all these requirements, in a moist and warm atmosphere, are implied in the exuberant flora of the coal measures, so is there evidence in the igneous phenomena of the period that the conditions were all in full and active operation. "We learn," says Sir Charles Lyell, "from the labours of M. Ad. Brongniart,* that there existed at that epoch, during the formation of the coal

* *Histoire des Végétaux Fossiles*, 2 vols.

measures, equisetæ upwards of ten feet high, and from five to six inches in diameter; tree ferns of from forty to fifty feet in height; and arborescent lycopodiaceæ of from sixty to seventy feet high. Of the above classes of vegetables the species are all small at present in cold climates; while in tropical regions there occur, together with small species, many of a much greater size, but their development, at present, even in the hottest parts of the globe, is inferior to that indicated by the petrified forms of the coal measures. An elevated and uniform temperature, and great humidity in the air, are the causes most favourable for the numerical predominance and the great size of these plants within the torrid zone at present.”*

The vista thus opened into the past condition of the earth is no less instructive than curious. The existing kinds of plants in Scotland corresponding to those in the coal measures are horse-tail, club-mosses, and ferns, none of which ever attain, in their stems, the thickness of an inch; but which, as seen in the restored picture of the ancient world, grew to the size of gigantic trees, and multiplied in such numbers as to have surpassed the rankness and luxuriance of an Indian jungle, in regions now invaded by the impenetrable barriers of the polar ice. The relics of these extinct forests, through the converting agencies and wonderfully conserving powers of nature, amidst so many convulsions of the globe, are now buried deep in the bowels of the earth, constituting the chief source of our domestic comfort, and of nearly all our commercial greatness.

The mineral masses would also be much influenced by the operation of these causes. The heat, in the first place, would render them less cohesive in their texture; and, in the next place, their disruption, and the attrition necessarily occasioned by the mechanical shifting and upheaval of the earth's crust over such large areas, would as necessarily result in vast accumulations of sand, mud, and other detrital matter. As from the disintegration of the primary rocks were obtained the materials of the clay-slate, grauwake, silurian, and old red sandstone deposits, so, again, from these, as well as from the primary affected anew by the convulsions of the period, were derived the sandstones, clays, and shales of the coal measures. The limestone and coal are chiefly the product of organic agencies, when so much life—WILLED into being and sustained in such profusion by the provident arrangements of the period—elaborated the vegetable and calcareous ingredients of which the coal and limestone consist. It is less easy to trace the secondary sources of the ironstone, as, in the anterior systems, especially the old red sandstone, iron was disseminated through the mass in the state of an oxide, and as mere colouring matter; whereas, in the carboniferous system, it exists in thick layers, in nodules, and in other concretionary masses. But here, again, a solution of the difficulty may, to a certain extent, be sought for, in the extrication of heat and the fusion of earthy matter from the interior, when, by means of chemical action, magnetic and electric forces, a new arrangement of the metallic particles would be produced, and their aggregation around an earthy basis more readily effected. The prevailing ingredient, however, of the system is *carbon*, in a solid state—the residuum of the vegetables which constitute its most distinguishing feature;—and hence, as holding a position in the earth's crust intermediate between the old and new red sandstones, and both almost destitute of vegetable remains, it has been appropriately termed the “Carboniferous System,” to mark an era so wonderfully rich in the development of vegetable life.

We shall now proceed to give a more detailed account of the structure, arrangement, and constituents of the coal measures—the nature and characters of the

* *Principles of Geology*. Vol. i. p. 116.

organic remains—and the geographic distribution and economic history of the coal itself. Much as the surface of our earthly abode is worthy of admiration, in the distribution of land and water, the diversity of hill and dale, the succession of seasons, of light and darkness, its interior arrangements are no less remarkable, whereby the products of other remote ages have not only been garnered up, but so distributed and protected, by a series of contrivances, as expressive of benevolent purpose and foresight as any of the existing processes through which living nature yearly accomplishes her beneficent designs; and as contributive, if not essential, to man's varied wants and requirements, the support and embellishment of his social progressive condition.

1. The structure, arrangement, and constituents of the coal measures. The mass of which the formation is composed consists of hundreds, or often of thousands of alternating beds of sedimentary rocks. The strata vary in thickness from the thinnest wafer-film to fifty, or even a hundred feet; every one of these distinct in their lamination, made up partly of different ingredients, and showing a change in the fluid, as the flux and reflux of the tide, in which they were deposited. Their aggregate thickness is from 2000 to 15,000 feet in vertical depth. These materials are all inclosed in basin-shaped hollows, contained within the area of the older rocks, and produced mainly by the convulsive movements of the porphyritic traps. The old red sandstone, for the most part, forms the sides and edges of the trough in which they rest; the strata of the two systems are consequently unconformable to each other.

The lowest beds of the formation consist generally of coarse-grained sandstone, termed by the English geologists millstone grit, and inclose a few thin seams of coal. The sandstones are scarcely distinguishable—except by their position and organic remains—from the upper series of the old red; their colour, texture, and arenaceous ingredients are nearly the same, as seen in Dura Den, the Lomonds, and other localities along their northern outcrop. Bands of limestone, shale, ironstone, and sandstone, follow in repeated alternations. A thick, massive limestone characterises this part of the series, termed the mountain limestone, from its great elevation, and supposed to have once existed as coral reefs, raised on the bottom of shallow seas, and so subdivided as to form suitable compartments for receiving and retaining the materials of the coal. This limestone is co-extensive with the coal measures in every part of the globe, and, like the kinds and orders of vegetables which accompany them, so its mass is composed of nearly similar species of coralline and other marine molluses. The coal itself generally occupies a central position in the group, firmly eaked and inclosed between the stony strata, and yet so entirely separate and homogeneous in its qualities as never, even in its thickest beds, to contain the least admixture of foreign matter. Nature, with all her affluence, during the carboniferous age, did not all at once heap the coally ingredients together. They are arranged into seams of variable thickness. They are removed from each other by interposed strata of other kinds of rock. Intervals of time, longer and shorter according to their dimensions, would thus elapse betwixt each successive deposit. And yet so wonderfully exact had she conducted her processes, attempered her forces, prepared, accumulated, and arranged her materials, that the vast compound mass never in a single instance has been permitted to interfere with the purity and texture of the useful mineral. Not a fragment of rock, amidst the myriads that must have been rolled about, nor a chip of sandstone, nor a broken ledge of limestone, is found imbedded in the coal, from one end of the basin to the other.

The lower as the upper surface of every seam, the commencement as the close of the bituminous deposit, preserve throughout their distinct lines of demarcation, unmixed at every point of contact, above and beneath, with the enclosing materials. The varieties of coal—as anthracite or blind coal, cannel or parrot, and the common house or glance-coal—are occasioned chiefly by the different proportions of the combustible elements that enter into their composition. The coal metals of England, as compared with those of Scotland, are of a greater average thickness, consist of a greater number of seams, and are generally of a richer quality, from containing a larger proportion of bitumen.

The great coal-basin of Scotland, in which all these materials were collected, occupies the central division of the island from sea to sea. The northern outcrop of the lower beds meets the eye, along the ridge of which the Lomonds constitute the highest point, ranging eastward by St. Andrews to Fifeness Point, and extending westward by Dollar, Stirling, the Campsie Hills, Glasgow, Greenock, to the coast of Arran. The southern lip of the basin stretches from the German Ocean, near Dunbar, by the Lammermuirs and Pentlands, to the Ayrshire coast on the North Channel. The smaller basins of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Canonbie are separated by the great silurian range, or back-bone of the border counties, and are as much connected with the English as with the Scottish coal measures. To the lover of the picturesque, as well as the geologist, the manner in which the strata are arranged at Penton Bridge, in the bed of the Liddle, will furnish a study of the most interesting kind. An injection of trap has thrown up the coal metals, shaped and moulded the limestone into every form, here broken into large tabular masses, there projected into lofty vertical walls; in one quarter twisted into long zig-zag ridges, and in another gently bent into domes and arches of every size and variety; some of the bands are a mere aggregation of encrinites, and others are inscribed all over with shells, entire and perfect as the existing races, “forms of creatures in old worlds.” A concretionary ironstone, full of brick-red nodules, and thin dark-coloured shales, give additional variety to the picture. The windings of the river, the banks on the Scottish side gently sloping, and thickly covered with coppice-wood, and, on the English side, forming a precipitous wall of nearly a hundred feet in height, serve to render the scene, with its various adjuncts, one of singular beauty, and perhaps unrivalled as a display of geognostic masonry in ruins, on any similar scale of magnitude. We here see part of the inner framework and machinery by which, through the action of the trap, the great extended mass has been divided and arranged anew into workable sections.

Thus, over the area of the great coal-basin, bounded north and south by the older trap formations, a group of hills appears, isolated and thrown up as if at random, and nearly all of a conical wedge-top shape. These hills, in the eastern and central division of the coal-field, are the Lomonds, Cults, Largo, and Kellie Laws, North Berwick Law, Arthur's Seat, Corstorphine, Castle-rock of Stirling, Cleish, Binnarty, and the Bin-range at Burnt-island. From the character of the strata, and other phenomena accompanying the elevation of the igneous rocks, it can be clearly shown that the period of their ejection was subsequent to the deposition of the coal-metals, which have been altered when in contact by their heat, and shifted in position for considerable distances along their line of section. The traps of the Campsie Hills belong probably all, or in part, to the same period of eruption, being identical in mineral qualities, overlying or everywhere dispersed among the coal-metals. The associated strata, sandstone, limestone, shale, and

clay iron-stone, are found at various points of elevation through the range, which is twenty miles in length, ten in breadth, and rises in Meikle Ben to nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea. The coal is wrought in various places along the eastern, southern, and south-western declivities, in the parishes of Larbert, Kilsyth, and Campsie. The metals are sometimes extracted from under a roofing of trap, spreading over considerable extent of surface; and there is little doubt that the stone-flood has poured over, and now conceals, large areas of coal in the district. The injection of so much igneous matter among the coal-metals may appear, at first sight, to have led only to inextricable confusion, and to have been destructive rather than otherwise. There are waste and disturbance, doubtless, and sometimes upon a considerable scale; but observe a little closer, and in these very disturbances we discover the most unequivocal testimony of an overruling intelligence and a restraining hand guiding all to a determinate purpose, and rendering conveniently accessible the inclosed treasures of coal, iron, and limestone, which are always associated or found in the closest juxtaposition.

Examine any coal-field in your neighbourhood, and observe, first of all, *the place* of the mineral. The coal does not lie exposed on the surface. The constituent elements are such that by exposure they would speedily have run to waste. Even a thick covering of earthy mould would not have been sufficient to protect it; and, therefore, was the treasure purposely hid in the ground, and so enclosed that the floods could not wash it away. Then consider *the quality* of the rocks by which the coal is protected: these are not the granites and hard crystalline masses of the primary formation, through which no borings could have been made, and among whose compact substances drainage would have been impracticable. A more suitable series of limestone, sandstone, shale, clay-ironstone has been established around the coal-metals, at once affording a safe roofing to the mine, and an easy outlet for the water, and all in themselves so valuable and indispensable to man. Next observe the *elevated and inclined position* into which the coal strata have been thrown. Had they remained horizontal, as originally deposited, and covered with the vast accumulations spread above, the depth of the metals would have been utterly beyond the industry of man to have reached. Hence the molten floods of trap injected amidst them, whereby the seams are divided into workable sections,—the great basin broken into limited areas,—a level produced for draining the mines, and, instead of being plunged to inaccessible depths, the several beds are repeatedly dislocated, and rise like the steps of a stair towards the surface. Again, every coal-field is furnished with a system of checks, in the shape of *faults* or *dykes* against floodings, fire-blaze, and the accidents that occur in the operations of mining. These, formed of the detritus of the associated rocks, or of intruded whinstone, present the appearance of a vertical wall, cutting the seams at right angles, and, though often occasioning inconvenience and interruption, yet, as every experienced miner well knows, form upon the whole his greatest safeguard, and are essential every way to his operations. To all which add, as *constants* in every coal-field, the minerals of lime and iron, gifts both of them of inestimable value—the former in the enriching of the soil and the construction of our dwellings, the latter ductile and plastic as wax, and convertible into so many useful purposes; and the coal also there, as if purposely to assist in the reduction of the ironstone and limestone into their various economic proportions.

When read aright, one cannot fail to see in all this elaboration of materials, arrangement and disposition of parts, quality and character of strata, and vast in-

exhaustible stores of mineral treasures, the most indisputable evidences of consummate wisdom, marvellous foresight, and benevolent design;—all conspiring to call forth our admiration and gratitude, as they cannot fail to reward the most diligent study of the varied contents of this remarkable storehouse of ancient relics. While in the repetition of the different strata, we see the successive deposition of earthy substances of different natures, afterwards consolidated, the number of the calcareous beds, no less than the alternation of the vegetable strata with the laminæ of the shales, show that successive generations of animals, as well as plants, had followed successive depositions of earth. To the same circumstances of repose, the solution of soluble earths and metals, pressure, and heat, we must attribute equally the consolidation of the rocks and the conversion of the vegetable deposits into coal. Conceive now the altered condition and quiet statical arrangements of all within these stony chambers since the coal measures were forming, and their basins were collecting their rich bituminous treasures. Where now the lands that maintained the mighty forests which filled them? where the rivers that transported their daily loads of drift-wood? where the lakes, estuaries, and seas into which were poured their bounteous waters? The continents of the period have disappeared. The land and sea have interchanged places. The coral reefs of ocean are elevated hundreds of feet over the fresh green earth. And no fact is more certain, or more easily to be demonstrated in the whole science of Geology, than that every rock, stratum, or layer of indurated matter—hundreds in number in every coal-field—on which there is impressed the figure of a plant, the form of a fish, the curvatures of a shell, or the outline of any organic thing, once constituted the bed of a sea or lake, the floor of the waters; replaced and covered over by another layer of rock, then by another, and another of still differing and altering ingredients, and now all lifted up and piled mountains high on the dry land. The most curious thing is, that the organic remains of the coal are all of terrestrial origin, while those of the limestones are all as unmistakably of marine origin. The limestone and coal-beds alternate with each other, seams of coal lying beneath the lowest calcareous deposit, and limestone strata of varying thickness repeatedly intermixed with the bituminous series. There is one bed of estuary limestone which traverses the coal-field betwixt Pettycur and Burdiehouse, cropping out at various intermediate places; it is termed estuary, because marine and terrestrial remains are found together in the mass, land plants, marine fishes, and shells, confusedly intermixed. But the exception only serves the more to establish the general conclusion concerning the origin of the whole carboniferous system, whose materials were collected during the subterranean movements by which the earth's crust was so much affected, and the recurring oscillations by which the floor of the waters was alternately depressed and upheaved. Twelve hundred feet on the slope of the Lomonds, or high up among the sources of the Nith, near Cumnock, and we tread the shores of a former sea, the shells, corals, and drift-leaves, all imbedded in its sands, and all still as perfect and beautiful as when washed and stranded up by the last ripple of its waves. Thus—

“ Earthquakes have raised to heaven the humble vale,
 And gulphs the mountain's mighty mass entombed,
 And where the Atlantic rolls, fair continents have bloomed,—

is not to be regarded as the mere exaggerations of the poet, but the warrantable deductions of the man of science.

2. The nature and characters of the organic remains. As the whole mass of the coal is now universally considered to be composed of vegetable matter, so in like manner all the limestones of the formation are regarded as mainly consisting of animal matter, either secreted during the exercise of the living functions or the petrified remains of their bodies. The nature of the flora of the period is best defined on the thin bands of the shale and other accompanying strata, although not so perfectly preserved as the skeletons of the fishes, or the testaceous coverings of mollusca found in the limestone and other rocks. It is rare, for example, to meet with the flower and seeds, those parts upon which the distinction of species and their classification chiefly depend; but still, the portions which remain often possess very great distinctness and beauty, and many specimens of wood are so exactly preserved, that the tissue may be distinguished under a microscope as complete as in recent species. The coal, when beat with a hammer, gives the woody sound, and, analysed by the chemist, its ligneous qualities are fully tested. The class, order, sometimes the precise genus, as compared with existing families, may be ascertained to which a fossil vegetable belongs, even when we detect only a small fragment of the plant. More frequently these fossils bear an analogy to some recent kinds, which they closely resemble, but to which they cannot be accurately referred. The class and order, however, are generally determinate; and, proceeding upon their established and well-defined characters, the botanical history of the coal-field, though the families or individual kinds be few in number, while vast in productiveness and geographical range, supplies materials for ascertaining several truths of high interest.

Between three and four hundred species of plants are now enumerated as belonging to the coal measures, not one of which is marine, and most of which are allied to the tropical tribes of palms and ferns. Experiments have shown that the vegetable matter of these tribes is the most capable of resisting solution in water. The wood of other kinds, of the dicotyledonous order, and of a harder texture, is ascertained to be more easily soluble; and hence the presumption is, that, under the conditions necessary for the formation of coal, many kinds have disappeared, being entirely decomposed, and that, therefore, the flora of the carboniferous era was richer and more varied than the fossil remains indicate.

According to the arrangement of botanists, there are two great divisions of plants, termed *cellulares* and *vasculares*, the former flowerless, and hence called cryptogamous, the latter bearing flowers, and called phænogamous. As connected with a greater simplicity of structure, the cellular plants are destitute of spiral vessels, while those of the vascular class are all possessed of them, as well as of a complex system of tissue. By another subdivision, these classes are denominated *endogenous* and *exogenous*, according to the nature of the stems, whereby the one receives its increments of growth all on the interior, and the other on the exterior parts of these organs. The seeds, again, of these natural orders, are very different, and, according as they are one or two-lobed, the distinction arises of their being *monocotyledonous* or *dicotyledonous*; the seeds of palms, corns, and grasses are of the former structure; those of our garden fruits, as apples, belong to the latter. The cryptogamic orders, as ferns, club-mosses, and horse-tails have no true seeds, and they are, in consequence, *acotyledonous*, whose germinal organs are as yet but little understood.

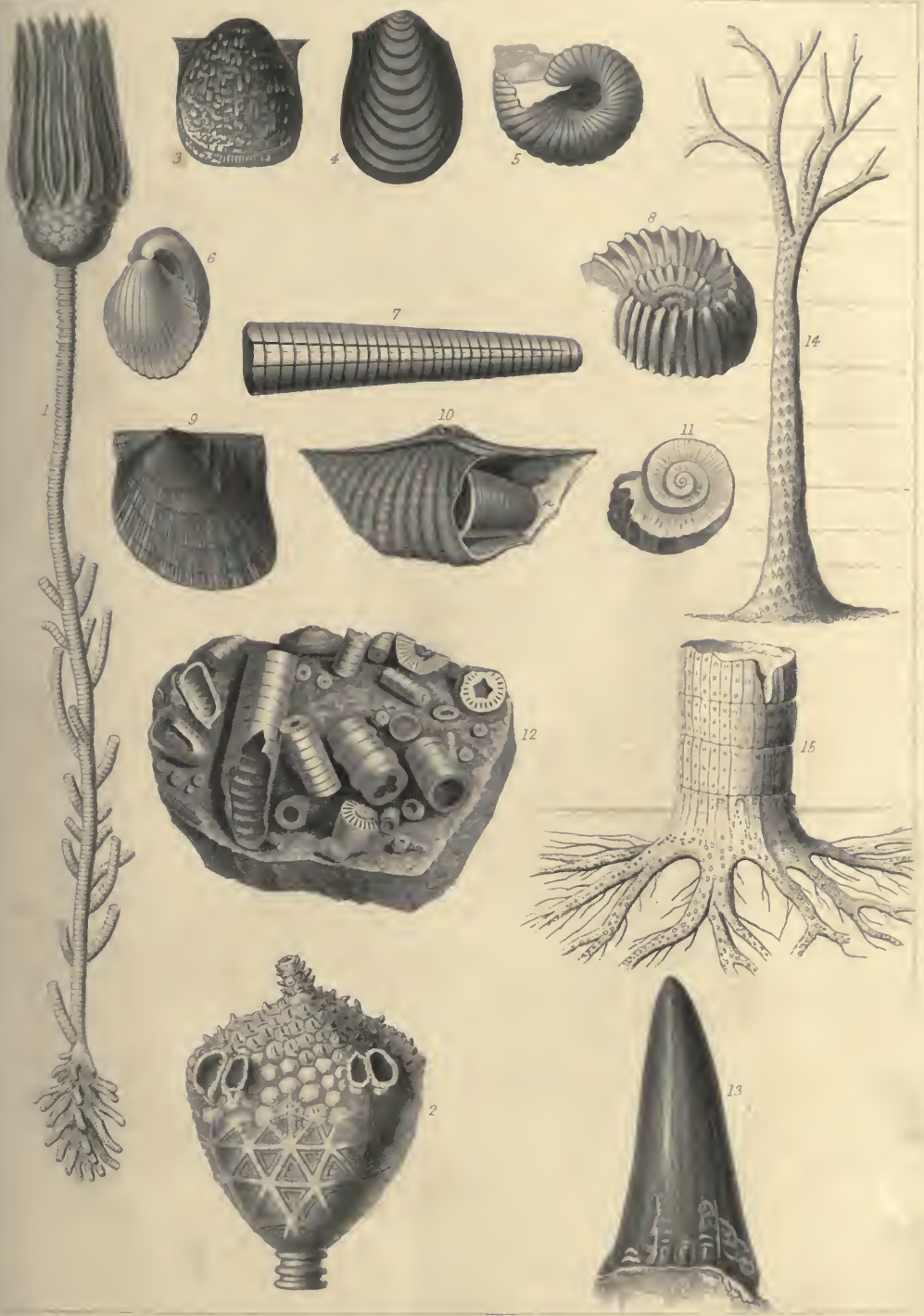
It would be wrong to interpret these divisions and forms of vegetable structure as, in the least, indicative of a lower or a higher, a less or a more perfect system of parts. Each is as perfect as the other, after its kind. They are so constructed,

endowed with different kinds of organs and arrangement of vessels, as to become most adaptive to their several conditions in the great economy of things. Their law of vegetable existence is never violated. There is no transmutation, beyond well-defined limits, of one type into another; and from apparently the more simple to the more complex, the fossil remains imbedded in the rocks clearly demonstrate that size and *development* are terms of no meaning, when applied to a low or a high type of organisation. The cryptogamia of the old world, the earliest planting in the new-formed soil, are in bulk, as in elegance and beauty of form, unrivalled by the finest specimens of modern arboriculture. The little and the great, the extinct and the recent, were equally the objects of Nature's maternal care, and were all modelled with a skill and finish that left nothing to be supplemented.

Of the existing species of British algæ, while some consist of microscopic forms, inhabiting obscure places, shady paths, or half-immersed surfaces of stones and banks, "the more complete algæ," says Dr. Greville, "comprehend species forming sub-aqueous forests, of considerable extent, in the vast ocean, emulating in their own gigantic dimensions the boundless clement that unfolds them. *Chorda filum*, a species common in the North Sea, is frequently found of the length of thirty or forty feet. In Scalpa Bay, in Orkney, according to Mr. Neil, this species forms meadows, through which a pinnace with difficulty forces its way. *Lessonia fuscescens* is described as twenty-five or thirty feet in length, with a trunk often as thick as a man's thigh; but all these, and, indeed, every other vegetable production, is exceeded in size by the prodigious fronds of *macrocystis pyriferæ*—the sea-weed reported by navigators to be from 500 to 1500 feet in length; the leaves are long and narrow, and at the base of each is placed a vesicle filled with air, without which it would be impossible for the plant to support its enormous length in the water, the stem not being thicker than the finger, and the upper branches as slender as common pack-thread."* The presumption is, that the algæ of the most ancient geologic times were, according to analogous instances, of still greater dimensions and nice elaboration of functional organs; while, as to the animal life of the period, for intricacy, minuteness, and division of parts two instances may be given only, namely, the eocrinite, and pentaerinite, one individual of the former being made up of no less than 30,000 separate plates of stone, and one of the latter containing 150,000 minute pieces of the same material.

It was soon observed, when the study of fossil vegetables began to attract the attention of botanists, that those from the coal measures were distinct from the plants now existing on the surface of the earth, and that, in their general affinities, they more nearly approached the species of tropical climates than such as grew in the temperate zones. Subsequent researches have shown that the species imbedded in different formations likewise differ from each other, and that from the lower to the higher systems, according to their order of superposition, the genera and species become numerically greater. As already related, they first appear in the schists and limestones of the silurian strata. These contain a few cryptogamic species, about thirteen, of which, according to Brongniart, four are marine algæ, and the rest ferns, or the allied orders. In the coal itself, above 300 distinct species have been recognised, among which the ferns are the most abundant, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole. Many of them are arborescent, with large branching fronds, and their roots, with portions of their trunks standing vertically, are still

* Greville's *Algæ Britannica*.



1. *Apiocrinites rotundus*
 2. Body of *Actinocrinus*
 3. *Producta scaberrima*
 4. *Inoceramus vetustus*
 5. *Bellerophon*
 6. *Leptæna*
 7. *Orthoceras*
 8. *Ammonites listeri* Sw.
 9. *Pecten papyraceus* Sw.
 10. *Spirifer trigonalis*
 11. *Urosalpinx*
 12. Fragments of *Enserifera* Limestone
 13. *Megastichthys* Heberti, Ag.
 14. Light-colored limestone from Starbuck
 15. Light-colored limestone from Starbuck

found in the spots where they grew. A considerable number of palms, a few club-mosses, and grasses, are the chief monocotyledons; and there are several dicotyledons, which have been considered analogous to the families apocynæ, euphorbiacæ, cactæ, and coniferæ; along with numerous plants, the exact nature of which is extremely doubtful.

THE FELICES, or ferns, constitute the most numerous of the cryptogamic plants of the coal measures. They indicate a state of the atmosphere, and represent a condition of the earth's surface, stretching from pole to pole, and embracing the extremes of longitude, with which no after period of the planet's history can be compared, and of which, upon physical grounds, no sufficient explanation has yet been given. The circumstances most favourable to the growth of such plants are humidity, shade, and heat. The number of species found in the coal formation are now upwards of two hundred, to which list additions are yearly being made; most of them of forms differing much from those of living ferns, and nearly all belonging to the tribe of polypodiums, which are chiefly allied to the existing arborescent species of the tropics. The trunks and stems of these arborescent species are deeply decorticated, and indented with seams, the markings of their deciduous fronds, and by which they are distinguished from those of all monocotyledonous plants. The whole superficies of the globe was one dense forest of fern trees. A uniform condition of temperature, moisture, and soil everywhere existed to maintain their exuberant fecundity, which partook of the same specific development in all latitudes. Admit one, or any number of centres of generation, and the diffusion and the multiplication of the race are utterly unprecedented; and show that the carboniferous era is, in all its circumstances and peculiarities, a marvellous and yet unexplained page in the earth's history, as it brings before the imagination a vista of the ancient world with which no arrangement of landscape or combination of scenery can now be compared. The tree "whose seed is in itself," God commanded everywhere to flourish. While the earth was still unpeopled it sprang up luxuriantly, to be again buried in the ground. Man digs from it his daily fuel, and, obeying the law of his multiplication, the earth is replenished and subdivided, mainly through its instrumentality, as the promised inheritance of his race. "It is, indeed, a curious reflection," says a recent writer, "that the present commercial greatness of Britain should be intimately connected with the towering and thickly-spread forests of arboraceous ferns and gigantic reeds, vegetables of strange forms, and uncouth names—which flourished and decayed on the surface of the earth, age after age, during the vastly-extended term of the carboniferous period—ere the mountains, in many masses, were yet upheaved, and while as yet there was no man to till the ground! Yet such truths Geology teaches us, and of such curious facts the very coals at our sides, and in our parlour grates, remind us."*

THE EQUISETACEÆ, known as the common horse-tail of our swamps and ditches, are likewise very widely distributed through the coal measures. The existing species are indifferent to climate, extending from Lapland to the torrid zone. The fossil ones were equally independent of latitude, being found of the same gigantic size in all the coal strata. They are divided by Brongniart into equisetæ and calamites, so named from their jointed, reed-like structure. The latter kind are more abundant in a fossil state. They are characterised by large and

* *Our Coal-Fields.* By a Traveller underground.

simple cylindrical stems, articulated at intervals, and sometimes marked by verticillated branches of great size. *LEPIDODENDRA*, including the lycopodiaceæ, or club-moss tribe, and other plants of similar structure, are, after calamites, the largest and most abundant class of fossils in the coal formations of the North of England, occurring from twenty to forty-five feet long, and occupying large spaces in an upright position. In some points of their structure they have been compared to conifere, or the pine family, and in the general aspect of the stems; to ferns more especially, in the abundance of axilar ducts contained in the axis, and in the want of several apparatus; and to mosses in their whole appearance. By means of lepidodendron a better passage is established, according to Lindley and Hutton, from flowering to flowerless plants, than by either equisetum or cycas, or any other genus. *SIGILLARIA*, very common in the coal formation, constitute a group of plants unknown in modern vegetation, and of which the duration seems to have been limited to that particular era. They abound in the sandstones and shales that accompany the coal, and, being apparently hollow in the stem, the fossil specimens are generally filled with sand or clay, surrounded by an outer bark, beautifully fluted with longitudinal parallel grooves. M. Brongniart enumerates forty-two species of sigillaria, and considers them to have been nearly allied to arborescent ferns, with leaves very small in proportion to the size of the stems; while Lindley and Hutton show strong reasons for classing them with dicotyledonous plants, entirely distinct from ferns, and different from any plants in the existing system of vegetation. This tree grew to an enormous size, specimens of four feet in diameter by fifty feet in length being frequently met with; traces of a vascular and fibrous structure can be observed in the trunk; also, the annular wood-layers are sometimes beautifully defined; and, presenting a coating of bark of an inch in thickness, the probability is that the sigillaria belonged to the exogenous order of vegetables. The *STIGMARIA*, equally abundant in the coal measures, are perhaps still more obscure in their botanical relations. The trunk of this tree is dome-shaped, of three to four feet in diameter, and the branches, some of them, supposed to have been from twenty to thirty feet; their leaves, by Steinhauer, have been traced to the length of twenty feet, and have been considered to be much longer. The stems and branches are covered with spirally-disposed tubercles, resembling the papillæ at the base of the spines of *echini*; and from each tubercle there proceeded a cylindrical, and probably a succulent leaf, whose scars penetrated through the bark, and rendered the surfaces on both sides slightly corrugated. The form of the trunk and branches, which are always flattened, show that these trees could not have risen vertically in the air, but must either have trailed on the ground or floated in water.

There is a very remarkable fossil, described by Count Sternberg, with branches attenuated upwards, and having the whole surface covered with leaf-bearing scales, arranged in an imbricated manner, neither referable to the genus *Yucca* nor to that of *Cactus*, to which he has given the name *lepidodendron dichotomum*. This plant, like ferns, as well as many of the preceding kinds, is furnished with a singular structure of organs subservient to respiration, and highly adapted for inhaling nutritious juices from the atmosphere. It is well known that the cacti, and most succulent plants, derive their nourishment more from their relations to the air than to the earth. The *yuccæ*, now so common in our gardens, and the *lychnaphoræ*, which choose for their habitation a dry sandy soil that has undergone little preparation from the decomposition of previously existing vegetables, were peculiarly adapted for clothing a recently formed world much warmer than the present. By

such plants, vegetable matter would rapidly accumulate to the extent that we find in our coal strata, when the land abounded in moisture, and the air was densely charged with carbonic acid.

Favularia, Megaphyton, Bothrodendron, and Ulloidendron belong to the same group of plants with the sigillaria, and all exhibit a similar disposition of sears, arranged in vertical rows. In the three first genera the sears appear to have given origin to leaves, and in the last they indicate the insertion of large cones. The Asterophyllites, so called from the stellated arrangement of the leaves round the branches, are possessed of many of the characteristics of these imperfectly understood families; there are no traces of them found among existing vegetables, nor in any strata more recent than the carboniferous series. But still these, as well as all the others, are connected with living tribes by common principles of structure, and by details of organisation which show them all to be parts of one grand, consistent, and harmonious design.

But of all the fossil plants found in the coal measures, the CONIFERÆ, or pine tribe, distinguished by their punctated woody structure, are the most interesting, whether we consider their characteristic properties, extensive distribution, age, and consistency of habit through all the epochs and changes of the earth's history. Unlike the tree ferns already noticed, the pines grow now as they grew before, inhabiting the same latitudes, and preserving the same appearances in bulk and figure. The coniferæ occupy a place intermediate between the classes of the cellulars and vasculars, connected with the former through the lycopodiums, and with the latter by the myricæ, or aromatic gale tribe. The scales of the cones are regarded by botanists as true foliage or reduced leaves, and in this respect they approximate to the genus zamia, of the order cycadæ, where these organs are distinctly developed as carpellary leaves. Thus widely connected through the chain of vegetable life, the fossil pines, discovered in the coal strata, form also the most interesting link between the present and the remote past, showing similar conditions of vegetable existence and forest landscape. No class of plants have been more useful to man than the whole pine family; none are more universal in their distribution over the face of the globe; none are possessed of such powers of endurance, existing through all time, and natives of every part of the world, from the perpetual snows of arctic America to the hottest regions of the Indian Archipelago. These trees differ as remarkably in form as in size, ranging through every gradation, from the stunted juniper of the Grampians to the stately cedars of Lebanon; and the fossil specimens do not excel the existing races. The araucaria, or Norfolk Island pine, attains a height of two hundred feet and upwards; and, in the Oregon territory of North-West America, there are species of the fir tribe (*P. Lambertiana* and *P. Douglasii*), which rise to even still more gigantic proportions. Among the largest fossil specimens are those of Craighleith and Granton, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, which were lately found in the sandstone deposit, and measured about forty feet in length by nearly five feet in diameter, but were only fragments of their original dimensions. Figuratively, it is said of the cedar, that its branches shall cover the earth, and in the shadow thereof all fowl of every wing shall dwell. Literally, we find that members of the same family have existed in all lands, and flourished in the mountains through all ages. Our fires are now supplied with billets from the modern pine forest, growing in the vicinity, or over the very wreck of ancient submerged lands, and along whose borders waved the extinct forests of geologic times, which furnish fuel to all the families of man, and encourage the arts in all quarters of the globe.

If we seek for anything analogous in the present condition of things, New Zealand furnishes some of the most striking points of resemblance betwixt the flora of the old and the new worlds. In that recently discovered land, the number of species of plants already described is about 632, of which 314 are dicotyledonous, and the remainder monocotyledonous and cryptogamic. The fern tribe is the most abundant, covering, in the tree size, immense districts. They replace the grasses of other countries. Plains and mountains are everywhere filled with them, growing to thirty and forty feet in height, and giving their sombre hue of colouring to the landscape. The variety and elegance of the arborescent species are remarkably striking, recalling to the numerous emigrants who visit these distant shores the strata of their fatherland, when Nature was storing up materials, in the remote ages of the past, for colonising and facilitating the intercourse betwixt the remotest ends of the earth: when the mountains of Caledonia, now covered with the braken, which scarcely conceals and cannot compare in stature with the branching antlers of the red deer, were mantled in forests of tropical characters, and which attained to a size and elevation of more than tropical dimensions.

The formation of coal from these vegetable bodies is now a matter, among geologists, which admits of no dispute. Their growth, distribution, and uniformity of character must be regarded as the results of peculiar causes. That the principal beds are of a single period, formed of the same class of vegetables, proves that the causes by which they were generated acted only during that epoch. That they are dispersed all over the globe, in areas of variable dimensions, proves farther that the physical agents concerned in their production must have acted on the vegetable matter, and its conversion into coal, with far greater intensity, and on a much grander scale, than any of the geological causes that are still effecting changes on the earth's surface. That the vegetables were collected into basins, and into stratified beds or seams, by the abrasive action of water, are points on which all are equally agreed. There are differences of opinion as to the conditions under which the coal resulted, the chemical agencies concerned in the process, and the mechanical powers that assisted in the collection of the materials. It is held by one class that all the vegetables grew where the coal lies, and by another, that they were transported from a distance by rivers and currents. That the materials did not all grow on the spot is apparent from the immense bulk required for beds that are of any considerable degree of thickness, as well as from the fact, that the portions of which the bottom of the mass was formed exhibit no more marks of having undergone decomposition or decay than that which lay at the top. The traces of stems, branches, and leaves, are as distinct and perfect in the lower divisions of the strata as at the centre or surface. The whole, therefore, of which a layer was constituted must have been very rapidly deposited; and, from the extreme delicacy and beauty of preservation of some of the organic forms, the forests which supplied them must have grown at no great distance. Many trees, indeed, with their roots and stems, are to be found in every coal-field, standing in their original vertical position, and penetrating several distinct strata of sandstone and shale, as well as of the coal itself. In these cases the fact is certain, not only as to the place of their birth, but as to the intensity of the causes which effected so rapid accumulation of materials around their still unbroken, undecayed forms.

The transformation of the vegetables themselves into coal has been variously explained upon chemical principles. The most probable account of it is, that

during their submersion the plants have suffered that slow kind of decomposition by which the greater part of the vegetable principles have been evolved in new combinations, while the carbon, and a portion of the hydrogen, have remained. This residuc, mixed with more or less of earthy matter, deposited at the same time from the waters, has in its soft state been consolidated by the force of aggregation, and under the strong action of the heat of the period assisting its more rapid decomposition, has formed the bituminous product of coal. It is well known that wood, by immersion in water, becomes first brown, and then black; and the ligneous fibre, by slow decomposition, or more rapid, according to the state of the climate, is completely converted into a black mould, in which carbon predominates. Hence it is easily conceivable, that this process, being carried on under different circumstances, may proceed with various degrees of rapidity, and to a greater or less extent; and hence, likewise, will originate different varieties of coal, some being much more carbonaceous, some more bituminous, than others, while their composition will be also varied by the different quantities of earth deposited during their formation. The purest coal would be the most quickly formed; and as few of the ashes of any coal are mixed with particles of clay or sand, the presumption is, that the whole chemistry of the process, and all the mechanical forces engaged, were special, unprecedented, and never repeated under the same combination of circumstances.

The analogy to peat, in the formative process of coal, is maintained by some, especially by Dr. M'Culloch. His illustration is curious. "By the action of water," he says, "on the vegetable matter, a portion of the hydrogen is dissipated, and the result is a new compound of hydrogen and carbon. It is not unlike that produced by fire, of which roasted coffee is an example. Thus the papyri of Herculaneum have been roasted, or carbonised by water, not by fire; they are in a state of peat. The exact nature of this change is easily ascertained by chemical analysis. There is here an approximation to the condition of bitumen, and thus to coal; but it is no more. When forests, or peat of far higher antiquity, are found at greater depths in the earth, the bituminisation is well marked, though still incomplete. The antiquity is proved by the strata that lie above, and the substance is then lignite, including Cologne earth, Bovey coal, and jet. This substance may be considered a mixture of peat and coal, or a transition between the two, retaining the vegetable forms. The last change is to coal. This, in a similar manner, is proved to be a substance of far higher antiquity than lignite; and that such is its origin is also proved, geologically, by the exact resemblance of its disposition among the strata, to that of peat among beds of sand and marl, and by the certainty that it has been formed under fresh water, and in marshes, as it contains only fresh water shells and terrestrial vegetables. It is proved, chemically, because, by mere change of form, jet becomes coal."*

Anthracite, or blind coal, is generally found in veins, of small size, and traversing the rocks of nearly all ages; certainly in granite, gneiss, the trap of the Carlton Hill, Edinburgh, as well as in the coal formation in various places in England, Wales, near Cumnock and Kilmarnock in Scotland, and at Kilkenny in Ireland. In America it is found covering large areas, near Pittsburg, and other localities in Virginia. From its analysis, it does not appear to contain any bitumen, its chief ingredients being carbon, siliceous earth, alumine, and oxide of iron, and hence, by mineralogists, anthracite is not referred to a vegetable origin, but, like plumbago,

* *Western Islands.* Vol. iii. p. 121.

which is usually found in similar situations, it is supposed to be the product of such agencies as elaborated and arranged the particles of other compound earthy and metallic rocks.

The CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONES chiefly owe their origin to the prolific abundance of the marine animal life of the period, as the coal unquestionably does to that of the terrestrial vegetables. There is great difficulty in admitting this conclusion, at first sight, when one considers the vast quantity of limestone contained in the coal measures. Some of the beds are several hundred feet thick, consisting often of 96 per cent. of pure carbonate of lime. There is a repetition of beds of varying thickness, occurring in every quarter of the globe, and always co-extensive with the size and form of the coal-basins. Through their whole extent in Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland, the mountain limestone strata are invariable accompaniments, lining generally the outer edges of the basins, and following the direction and line of bearing of the coal metals, but not unfrequently traversing them at right angles, and thereby dividing or separating the basins from each other. In America, where everything is on a vast scale, the limestone covers an area of many thousand square miles, stretching from the Atlantic to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and filling with calcareous matter nearly the whole immense interspace of the Central States.* This limestone, wherever found, possesses a general uniformity of character, compact and thick in the mass, and, for the most part appears to be composed of organic remains. When apparently more homogeneous and destitute of organisms, the microscope has shown that these are often more profusely distributed through the mass of the rock, the mineralised skeletons being as fully developed and perfectly preserved as those of a larger and thicker shelly texture. The rock is occasionally of an oolitic structure, and sometimes contains parts of ennerinal columns, in such abundance that the mass is, in a great measure, made up of them, whence the name *Enerinal Limestone*. Along the northern line of the outerop in Fifeshire, it everywhere abounds in these organisms—from St. Andrews, by the Cults, Forther, Lomonds, Binnarty, and Cleish-hill quarries. An inner range of the deposit occurs on the south of Largo Law, at Innertiel, Inverkeithing, North Queensferry, Rosyth, and Charleston, where the deposit is often nearly a hundred feet thick, and filled with countless multitudes of shells and corallines.

The coralloid remains consist of several genera, as *caryophylea*, *turbinolia*, *astrea*, *favocites*, *tubipora*, and *retipora*. These are the most abundant; but, in all, upwards of thirty genera, and about seventy species, have been found in the carboniferous limestone; while, of the families of crustacea and testacea, more than a thousand species have been detected in the formation. It was

* "One of the most remarkable geological features of this continent is the vast extent of the carboniferous limestone. I have traced its eastern border—conforming to the course of the other mineral formations east of the Mississippi—more than 1,000 miles, running to the west of south, from the state of New York to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, in the state of Alabama; the course is there changed, and lies to the north of west, leaving Little Rock on the Arkansas about thirty miles to the south, and disappearing between 500 and 600 miles from the Rocky Mountains. This deposit extends uninterruptedly a geographical distance of at least 1500 miles from east to west, underlying portions of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and the territory of Arkansas on that line. In Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, it is bounded by a line, of which the Cumberland mountains form a part. In the plains through which the Mississippi flows, and which include the Illinois prairies, it appears like a continuous floor, forming an almost unvarying flat."—*Featherstonhaugh's Geological Report*, 1835: p. 27.

remarked of the vegetables of the coal strata, that their geographical range was co-extensive with the circumference of the globe,—that the same species were common to America and Europe, to Melville Island and Australia,—and that the types of them, which still exist, are in their larger forms all confined to tropical countries, while in northern latitudes they are represented by diminutive herbaceous plants. The same law of distribution seems likewise to be maintained betwixt the extinct and existing races of the animal remains, as represented in the carboniferous limestone, more especially with those of the coralloid order. The living families of corallines, in their full and active development, are now only found in the Pacific and Indian seas, where, in all nearly corresponding latitudes, they swarm in countless myriads, are possessed of the same habits, and are still employed, as were their congeners in the old world, in piling up coral-reefs,—vast islands of limestone rock. The extinct genera were spread over the terraqueous globe, are found in the limestones of all countries, in Greenland and Australia, and swarmed in such numbers as to compose entire beds of limestone. And as with the existing vegetables, so with the existing animals. Several kinds of polypi, of the orders of millepore and cellepore, are still to be found in the North Seas, and one genus of the latter family, namely, the hydra or polype, is common on the shores of Greenland, which in several of its species likewise inhabits the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. But in the cold regions their habits are different. They build no reefs, and like all zoophytes along the coasts of Scotland, where in many beautiful and diversified forms the order abounds, they live in a cellular tissue, reared on a single slender stem attached to stones. Thus persistent, in one remarkable direction, has Nature been, through all ages, in her structure and distribution of vegetable and animal life, demonstrating that, as the temperature of countries and epochs has changed, so in size, form, habit, and fecundity have her living tribes in both kingdoms, been altered and modified.

It is still a question among geologists, whence the source of all the calcareous matter of which these limestones are composed? The opinions are various, and some of them as novel as they are untenable. Recent writers on Geology, in America, consider the formation to be of igneous origin, and to be unstratified even.* Others regard it as cast out in a powdery state from submarine volcanic foci, and spread over areas, greater or less, of the sea-bottom by the action of currents and other causes, when the shells and corallines became entangled in the mass. The opinion has also prevailed that the whole has been derived from the destruction or waste of the primary rocks; while others, and they are a very numerous class, maintain that it is the result of animal secretion from the waters of the ocean, where, existing either in its elements or suspended in combination, marine animals possess the power of elaborating the lime into concrete rocks and coral reefs.

With regard to the two first views, there can be little doubt that the interior of the earth contains, in its vast storehouse of primary materials, lime in sufficient quantity for forming any extent and depth of limestone rock established on its surface. But many reasons could be assigned against either of these being the mode in which the deposit was formed, or the manner in which the animal remains became incorporated with the mass. Nor can we well seek for a solution of the difficulty in the waste and *débris* of pre-existing calcareous rocks; for, as far as our

* Dr. Emmon's *Geology of the Second District of New York*, p. 38.

knowledge extends, such rocks are of comparatively limited extent among the primary series. The beds of limestone in the grauwake and silurian groups greatly exceed those discovered in the older strata. They are still more largely developed in the carboniferous system, while, as a general principle, it may be farther held, that the calcareous matter is more abundant in the several systems above the coal measures than in those which are beneath them. The learned have not yet determined whence the saltness of the ocean is derived, nor how, after so much evaporation, it is always maintained at the same degree of saltness. So with the secondary cause or derivative source of the calcareous matter on the dry land, or in the waters of the ocean, whence generation after generation, epoch after epoch, marine animals have derived their sustenance, their shelly coverings, and the matter of the rocks in which they find their shelter—and, finally, their tomb! Doubtless, what is carried into the sea, and there dissolved, will be formed anew into strata, whether by mechanical or organic agencies; and, as geology pretends not to solve all the mysteries of nature, her discoveries in this field of research, in simply detecting the mode of formation, and the analogy betwixt the organic constituents in the new and the older limestone rocks of the earth, may be reckoned among the most interesting and marvellous revelations of science.

The history of coral reefs at present constructing in the southern hemisphere, under the active instincts and exhaustless energies of these puny architects of nature, is of vast importance in a nautical as well as scientific point of view. The extent of such structures is prodigious. The incredible rapidity with which they are executed is equally striking. Within a certain oceanic belt, and with no limits as to longitude, they rise in every part of the astonished mariner's track, now startling him with the form of a new island, now interrupting his course with their long line of breakers, now entangling him in meshes of reef, through which with difficulty he can thread his way. "It is not," says Darwin, in his interesting account of the Keeling Islands, "that the ocean spares the rock of the coral: the great fragments scattered over the reef, and accumulated on the beach, whence the tall cocoa-nut springs, plainly bespeak the unrelenting power of its waves. Nor are there any periods of repose granted. The long swell, caused by the gentle but steady action of the trade-wind always blowing in one direction over a wide area, causes breakers, which even exceed in violence those of our temperate regions, and which never cease to rage. It is impossible to behold these waves without feeling a conviction that an island, though built of the hardest rock—let it be porphyry, granite, or quartz—would ultimately yield and be demolished by such irresistible forces. Yet these low, insignificant coral islets stand and are victorious; for here another power, as antagonistic to the former, takes part in the contest. The organic forces separate the atoms of carbonate of lime one by one from the foaming breakers, and unite them into a symmetrical structure. Let the hurricane tear up its thousand huge fragments, yet what will this tell against the accumulated labour of myriads of architects at work night and day, month after month. Thus do we see the soft and gelatinous body of a polypus, through the agency of the vital laws, conquering the great mechanical power of the waves of an ocean, which neither the art of man, nor the inanimate works of nature, could successfully resist."*

The corallines only work at a certain mean depth of a few fathoms beneath the waters. They generally commence on some submarine volcanic rock, on which they

* *Journal of Researches, &c.* By Charles Darwin, Esq., p. 547

construct a line of reef until it reaches the surface. As generally happens, the foundations, through the oscillatory movements of the crust subject to the volcanic action, subside and carry down the building again below the waves. Here the creatures renew their operations, which may be successively repeated. In this manner a great thickness of rock is often produced, and a lamellar structure, or divisional planes at the different off-sets, thereby communicated so as to give the appearance of stratification. The reef widens on both sides of the first wall, according to the nature of the bottom, by bringing up new tiers of mason-work. A considerable extent of surface is thus given to the reef, which, according as it is lagoon, encircling, or barrier, is increased by successive increments, as determined either by the instincts of the creatures themselves, or the conditions of the localities in which they carry on their operations. The origin and growth of the lagoon form of islands are thus described by the same author:—"It may be said, granting the theory of subsidence, a mere circular disc of coral would be formed, and not a cup-shaped mass. In the first place, even in reefs closely fringing the land, the corals do not grow on the shore itself, but leave a shallow channel; secondly, the strong and vigorous species, which alone build a solid reef, are never found within the lagoon: they only flourish amidst the foam of the never-tiring breakers. Nevertheless, the more delicate corals, though checked by several causes, such as strong tides and deposits of sand, do constantly tend to fill up the lagoon; but the process must become slower and slower, as the water in the shallow expanse is rendered subject to accidental impurities. A curious instance of this happened at Keeling Island, where a heavy tropical storm of rain killed nearly all the fish. When the coral at last has filled up the lagoon to the height of lowest water at spring-tides, which is the extreme limit possible, how afterwards is the work to be completed? There is no high land whence sediment can be poured down, and the dark-blue colour of the ocean bespeaks its purity. The wind, carrying calcareous dust from the outer coast, is the only agent which can finally convert the lagoon island into solid land; and how slow must this process be!"*

Thus are islands formed,—thus is the massive framework of the globe, year by year, and age after age, increased and rendered solid. The great barrier which fronts the N.E. coast of Australia is probably both the grandest and most extraordinary reef now existing in any part of the world. It is described by Flinders as having a length of nearly one thousand miles, and as running parallel to the shore, at a distance of between twenty and thirty miles from it. The great arm of the sea thus included has an average depth of between ten and twenty fathoms, which increases towards one end to forty and even sixty; and all this wide interspace is probably now silting up with the calcareous mud and breakage of the reef, and in due time destined to become one extended deposit of limestone. The Keeling or Cocos Islands, situated in the Indian Ocean, and about six hundred miles from the coast of Sumatra, are many hundred miles in extent, and entirely of coral formation. At the distance of little more than a mile from the shore, no bottom is found with a sounding line of 7,200 feet long; and which, upon elevation, would therefore present the remarkable appearance of a lofty submarine-formed mountain, or high range of table-land, capped with limestone. The island of New Caledonia is nearly in length 480 miles, with an average breadth of 60, and consists of coral, where a double line of reef projects 140 miles into the sea, while another line fronts the west coast of

* *Journal of Researches*, p. 559.

about 400 miles long. Again, in the middle of the Indian Ocean, are situated the Laccadive, Maldive, and Chagos line of atolls, or lagoon islands, of which the Maldives constitute one single mountainous island, bordered by reefs, and very nearly of the same actual figure and dimensions with New Caledonia. And not to multiply instances, where they are innumerable, suffice it to state, that throughout the greater part of the East Indian Archipelago coral reefs abound along the shores of the mainland, as well as of the islands with which it is studded; some with proofs of recent elevation, and others appearing as a grand circle of breakers, without a single spot of land or rock, though in due time certain to appear, through the ceaseless conflict of the storm-loving polypi.

We feel surprised when travellers relate accounts of the vast extent of certain ancient ruins, but how utterly insignificant are the greatest of them when compared to the piles of stone accumulated in these seas by the work of minute animals, and every particle of which has been subjected to the power of organic arrangement. These little creatures are enabled to separate from the sea-water a proportion of lime, so minute as to be almost inappreciable, in the quantity present, by the most careful analysis. They secrete the stony coverings on the outside of their soft bodies. The figures of these incrustations are impressed and embalmed in the solid rock; and some of them form themselves into compounds resembling trees, with root, stem, and branches, composed of separate and detached particles. A Layard wonders at the figures of men, war-horses, and strange animals recovered fresh from the chambers and walls of Nineveh and Khorsabad. Botta is filled with rapture as he paints them anew in his splendid work; and Bonomi, or a Rawlinson, has scarcely words by which to convey his admiration of their beauty and interest. It is thus, we may suppose, with the geologist, when he gazes on the ruins of an ancient world—on the broken escarpments and walls of limestone, impressed on every part with strange organic forms, and recalling to the imagination a period when Great Britain was emerging above the waters, encircled on all sides with coral reefs, and surrounded with an ocean swarming with myriads of island-building corallines. The scale of erection here is one of boundless dimensions, encompassing in one and the same age the terraqueous globe, and, in point of antiquity, carrying him into epochs of time for which the historic calendar has no scale of measurement. What an elaborate combination of marvels in the structure of the lily-stone or encrinite, composed of thirty thousand articulating joints, inwoven every one of them with cartilage, and all as flexible in the *moniliformis*, and the other species, as the necklace jewel from which it derives its name, and piled on each other like the masonry of an elegant Gothic shaft. The pentacrinite, of which there are two living species, consists of 150,000 minute pieces of calcareous matter, articulated and lubricated in like manner, all moved at the will of the creature by a muscular system attached to every individual bone, rendering it, in the extreme organs or fingers, capable of contraction and expansion in every direction; at one time spreading outwards like the petals of an open flower, and at another rolled inwards over the mouth like an unexpanded bud. The actinocrinus, or spiny encrinite, and the apiocrinus, or pear-like encrinite, possess forms of no less singular beauty; the one invested all over the erect stem with a series of spines or flexible branches; the other exhibiting in miniature the palmated crown of the palm-tree, and spreading its frond-shape tentacula with similar elegance of form. "When we consider," says Dr. Buckland, "the profusion of care, and exquisite contrivance, that pervade the frame of every individual in the genus of

pentacrinite, forming but one of many members of the almost extinct family of crinoideans—and when we add to this the amount of analogous mechanisms that characterise the other genera and species of this curious family—we are almost lost in astonishment at the microscopic attention that has been paid to the welfare of creatures holding so low a place among the inhabitants of the ancient deep; and we feel a no less irresistible conviction of the universal presence and eternal agency of Creative care, in the lower regions of organic life, than is forced upon us by the contemplation of those highest combinations of animal mechanism which occur in that paragon of animal organisation, the corporeal frame of man.”*

Nor was nature stinted in her production of these and other elegant forms of coralline life. Every one of those named consists of several species. The encrinite family prevailed over all, swarmed in every latitude, and filled every sea with the products of their labour. Their remains are found in every stratum of a calcareous character, and masses of limestone, from fifty to a hundred and fifty feet in thickness, are frequently seen to be entirely composed of them. Entire specimens, however, are rarely to be met with, in consequence of the complex structure of the skeleton, and the perishable nature of the enveloping membrane, the separate pieces being disjointed, and having floated about after the surrounding cartilage was decomposed. They are sometimes mixed in other beds of limestone, and in shale, occasionally with shells, whose profusion in these cases determines the character of the beds. These shells, among the order Conchifera dimyaria, of the genera *modiola*, *mytilus*, and *nucula* are the most abundant; and in *C. monomyaria*, *avicula*, *inoceramus*, and *pecten*; in that of *Brachiopoda*, *leptæna*, *lingula*, *orthis*, *productus*, *spirifer*, and *terebratula*; of *Gasteropoda*, *buccinum*, *euomphalus*, *natica*, *nerita*, and *turbo*; the *bellerophon* is the sole representative of the order *Heteropoda*; and in that of the *Cephalopoda*, *goniatites*, *nautilus*, and *orthoceras*, are not only abundant, but are all remarkable for their size and elegance of form, the *orthoceratites* being frequently, in the quarries of Bo’ness and Closeburn, found of the gigantic dimensions of five to six feet in length by a foot in diameter.

The fishes of the carboniferous age were also very abundant, consisting of several new types, and some of them of enormous bulk. Creatures allied to the family of sharks now for the first time appear, armed with teeth and jaws of fierce aspect, and covered with enamelled plates, through which a bullet could scarcely penetrate. Thus in the order of placoids no less than twenty-eight new genera, and a hundred species of the finny race, exist in the rocks of the period; of the ganoid order there are five genera, and twelve species; and of the sauroids, or the approaching reptilian caste of organic structure, there are about thirteen genera, and twenty-four or twenty-five distinct specific forms. The estuary limestone of Burdie-House, near Edinburgh, is a perfect museum of organisms, of the richest and rarest kinds, vegetable and animal, from the smallest microscopic to the most gigantic of the marine tribes. Here are found the finest specimens of the *Megalichthys Hibberti*, whose teeth are four to six inches in length, the scales, with which it was densely covered, of more than an inch in diameter, and all brightly enamelled, and a body supposed to have been at least fifty to sixty feet long. Here likewise are interred the remains of another equally huge and voracious animal, the *Gyracanthus*, along with coprolites, or the fæcal excrement of the genus, composed of the animal matter they fed on, and so numerous in

* *Bridgewater Treatise*, v. i. p. 442.

some spots as to form almost the entire mass of rock. The remains of the *Palæoniscus* are very numerous, and in the most perfect state of preservation, every organism in its place, and the whole trout-like form of the body lying imbedded in the grassy calcareous matrix, once the slime of the river that nourished them. The fronds of the ferns and other water-plants are spread out, in their most delicate fibres and tracery, on the thinnest divisional planes of the limestone; and so abundant often are they as to conceal every appearance of stone under their dense aborescent foliage. The plants are all of a terrestrial or fluviatile kind, and so perfect and entire as to warrant the inference that they have not been tossed and drifted about in an ocean, nor transported from a distance, but have perished *in situ*, and dropped amid still waters. There are neither corals nor marine shells in this deposit. Hence the presumption of its being a fresh-water, or estuary limestone. It may have been a lake, joined by a shallow neck to the borders of an ancient sea, whither the megalichthys, resembling the crocodile family in bulk, and the gyrocanthi, akin to the sharks in voracity, may have penetrated in quest of food, or indolently reposed by the umbrageous shades of its slimy margin.

According to the relation now given, the physical features of Great Britain, as well as of the earth generally, would be very different from what they now are. The period in question was one not only of prodigious affluence in vegetable produce, but likewise of unprecedented exuberance in marine animal life, when all these northern latitudes were in the condition in which the coral districts of the Pacific are at present. Every coal-field was first the bed of a coral-reef sea. The islands and mainland were densely covered with groves of bananas and cacti, the fern, club-moss, and pine tribes, all of giant stature, and all encircling lakes and bays swarming with myriads of tropical creatures of corresponding activity and diversity of character. The whole of our seas, from Greenland southwards, through the central division of Scotland and England, the south-eastern parts of Wales, and large provinces in Ireland, over all the north-eastern districts of France, the Netherlands and Germany, were interlaced, separated into lagoons, and walled up by huge barrier-reefs. These reefs now constitute our mountain and encrinital limestones, the most valuable for building and all rural purposes. There, indeed, scarcely exists a doubt that the family of polypi, now rearing their wonderful structures in the Pacific, were the artificers in the olden times of all those masses of limestone which underlie and are intermixed in every coal-field, branching out and in among the metals, and an infallible sign that wherever we have the one mineral the other is not far distant. The animal and vegetable products of the age are entombed in the same basins, and are the sure indices, in their altered condition, of the presence of each other in the same geologic system.

3. The geographic distribution and economic history of coal. Like all the early formations of which we have been treating, the carboniferous system is one of universal diffusion. It prevails, subject to local irregularities, in every quarter of the globe, under every climate; and, unrestrained by mountains or seas, the coal metals constitute a treasure-fund available for all nations.

The area of the coal measures in Scotland may be estimated at nearly one hundred miles in length, by an average breadth of thirty-three miles, extending east and west from St. Andrews to Ayr, and north and south from the Ochils to the Lammermuirs. This space is divided into a great many independent basins, determined in their size and direction by the older surrounding porphyries, and again broken up and subdivided by the eruption of the more recent greenstones

and basalts. The coal metals, in their workable beds, are bounded by the old red sandstone of Stratheden in Fifeshire, never descending into the vale, and showing their general northern out-crop along the slopes of the Cults, Lomond, Cleish, and Saline hills. The eastern part of the Fife coal-field is one of the most disturbed and complicated districts in Britain; where, in a space measuring about twelve square miles, of which Largo Law forms the centre, the trap covers nearly one-half of the surface, and penetrates the metals in every direction. The consequence of this intrusion of the trap is, that the faults and dislocations, and the variations of the stratified rocks in dip and position, are beyond calculation: the mountain limestone, instead of being found only at the margin of the basin, presents itself at intervals over the whole; and the coal-field, instead of forming one extended basin, is separated into twenty or thirty detached portions, which are distributed over the district with the most capricious irregularity. Numerous slips, dykes, and bosses have elevated parts of the formation far above others, which, having been afterwards swept away by currents of water, have occasioned great diversity in the number of seams, even in contiguous localities, and rendered it often a matter of the greatest difficulty to recover the bearing of the once united strata. These remarks are applicable, more or less, to several other districts; more especially to the remarkably disturbed outline of country betwixt Kirkaldy and Lochgelly, the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, Carnock, and Clackmannan; and, again, to the Stirling, Bannockburn, and Campsie coal-fields, where the undulating surface is everywhere diversified by dykes and outbursts of trap, occasioning innumerable ravines and divergent valleys, and stamping the whole neighbourhood with the well-known physical features of the coal formation. The following statement will show the variable numbers and thickness of the seams in the different localities, arising chiefly from disturbing causes, and which have so much affected their original contiguity and more general uniformity in the mass.

The coal metals, above the mountain limestone, commence on the north-east at Drumcarro, bearing westward to Ceres, where seventeen beds occur, one of which is sixteen feet thick—not now wrought—and the average of the whole about seventy feet thick of the pure carbonaceous matter. The adjacent basins on the south-east are, Lathallan, Lathockar, Falfield, and Largoward, where there are eight beds, thirty-two feet thick in all, one being thirteen feet. At Earlsferry, near Elie, beyond the trap of Largo Law, there are seventeen seams, as at Ceres, nearly sixty feet thick, and all dipping to the west; while in the St. Monance and Pittenweem basin there are the same number of seams, but with an aggregate thickness of eighty-two and a half feet of coal. On the western side of Largo Bay the metals dip to the south-east, containing in the Wemyss and Kirkaldy coal-basin twenty-nine, in some places thirty-four, workable beds of coal, varying in thickness from two to twenty-one feet, and measuring in the whole $119\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. A smithy-coal occurs here, only eighteen inches thick, but of comparatively great value. A breadth of ten miles of sea, comprehending Largo Bay and a part of the Forth, divides these coal-fields from those of Earlsferry; and as the inner beds of each terminate at the shore, and dip towards each other, and towards the water which divides them, the warrantable inference is, that other beds crop out under the Forth in the intervening space of ten miles. It has, therefore, been assumed that the real number of beds reaches to or exceeds forty. It is also very probable that they meet under the water, forming a trough, which is prolonged across the Frith, and re-appearing in the Musselburgh basin on the opposite side. The metals

at Dysart, dipping under the sea, are wrought nine hundred feet below the surface.*

Table, showing an approximation of the quantity of Coal that is wrought, and is still at work, on the Wemyss and Dysart coal-fields—the richest and deepest coal-mines in Scotland. †

	NAME OF SEAM.	Depth from surface at east end of West Wemyss.	Thickness of seams.	Number of imp. acres wrought, 1853.	Number of tons raised up to July, 1853.	Number of imp. acres to work.	Number of tons still to work.
		Fathoms.	Feet. Ins.				
1	Wall Coal . . .	0	2 9	60	124,240	300	621,200
2	Barncraig . . .	17	6 0	229	581,389	732	1,860,012
3	Coxtool Upper . .	15	2 0	10	15,060	300	451,800
4	Ditto Under . . .	4	3 0	50	127,050	600	1,524,600
5	Den Coal	9	2 0	...	...	400	564,750
6	Chemis	12	9 0	552	1,870,176	500	1,694,000
7	Bush	10	3 6	53	106,000	636	1,242,000
8	Parrot or Cannel	30	1 9	60	140,362	100	233,936
9	Wood-coal	5	3 0	29	85,833	say 29	85,833
10	Earls Parrot . . .	14	2 0	...	...	600	1,524,600
11	Bowhouse	13	7 0	86	291,368	1000	3,388,000
12	Brankstone . . .	5	2 5	9	25,416	1500	2,961,107
13	Coal-more	11	1 9	...	...	1500	2,223,000
14	Coal-mangee . . .	11	2 4	...	...	1500	2,859,000
15	Dysart Main Coal	36	20 0	31	104,904	4000	20,328,000
16	Ditto Seven Foot	10	3 6	...	...	4000	10,164,000

These interesting calculations are made on the assumption of only 14 cwt. of saleable coal per cubic yard. Some of the data are simply approximations. In the thicker seams one half is allowed for pillars; and in the thinner seams, which can always be wrought with less pillar, or long wall, from one-third to one-fourth is allowed for waste and faults. The Barncraig is calculated at four and a half feet thick, coal being left for a roof; the Chemis at seven feet thick; and the Dysart main coal has been estimated one half at twelve feet, and the other half at six feet only, as the seam is thinner on the eastern division of the estate, and a considerable portion is allowed for roof, pillars, and waste.

A bed of limestone, varying from five to fourteen feet thick, intersects the district from Pittuchar, near Leslie, to Ravenscraig Castle, where it projects into the sea, resting upon bands of ironstone. This limestone occurs pretty high up in the series of the coal metals, having eleven beds of coal beneath, and generally only two or three above. Accordingly, to the west of this line, the average number of seams is not so great as on the eastern side, leaving us to infer that the upper portion of the coal-field has been here swept away amidst the convulsions and disturbances that have so much prevailed over the district; and hence also it is, that in the western locality there is no trace of the upper red sandstone, which

* *Report on the East Coal-field of Fife*, by D. Landale, Esq.

† Drawn up by Mr. Thomas Bywater, Wemyss Castle, and Mr. John Kerr, Overseer of the Works.

forms a marked feature in the petrology of the rocky shore from Kirkaldy to Largo Bay. Lochgelly, Capletrae, Halbeath, Fordel, Dunfermline, and Carnock coal-works are all included within the denuded area, varying in their number of seams from four to fourteen, some of which are from ten to sixteen feet thick, and having an aggregate thickness of thirty-five feet. Beautiful specimens of organic remains occur in some of the basins: spines, scales, teeth, and other fragments of fishes—all brightly enamelled, and some of the teeth of enormous dimensions, fluted, striated, and as sharp and polished as in the living animal. The Wellwood and Dunfermline coal, though of no great thickness, are extremely fine in quality, possessing much of the soft texture and caking qualities of English coal. Two seams only are wrought; one four feet, and the other five and a half feet thick. Much of the sandstone here is of a bluish-black colour, arising probably from carbonaceous matter discharged from a bed of anthracite which occurs to the westward, effected by the agency of trap dykes, or other kindred sources of heat. At Craigluscar, about three miles north of the town, there occurs a remarkable intermixture of trap and limestone, in various alternations, and where the calcareous matter communicates to the rock an extremely dark lustrous aspect. In the Elgin Colliery there are twenty-seven beds of coal, some of which are extremely thin, the main seam being five feet two inches, and the total thickness of the deposit fifty-six feet. The Clackmannan coal-field extends from the Forth to the Ochils, bounded on the east by the Cleish and Saline hills, and the beds in several places are much interrupted by slips or faults. There is one fault, which occurs a little to the south of the Devon, that occasions a shift in the strata from 700 to 1230 feet; and in Law Hill, near Dollar, a greenstone trap has completely charred all the coal in the vicinity. Some of the beds abut against the Ochils, where they are almost vertical, rubbed, and crushed, and present all the phenomena of the most violent mechanical action through the upheaval of the trap. The coals generally, however, are of excellent quality, consisting of twenty-four seams, which vary from two inches to nine feet thick, and average about sixty feet in all. Fire-clay, clay-ironstone, and black-band are very abundant in the district. The cannel or parrot variety of coal occurs in most of the basins now enumerated.

The coal-field of the Lothians is engirdled along its east, south, and west outcrop by a belt of old red sandstone, which is succeeded by the grauwake and silurian rocks of the Lammermuirs. The metals generally dip from these older formations towards the sea, any deviations in the interior of the basin being produced by the eruption of the igneous rocks. The coal measures extend from Aberlady Bay to near Linton, in which there are no less than fifty-two slips, whereby the strata are depressed 5169 feet towards the north; while again, in the same direction, they are raised by thirty-seven slips, or steps of elevation, 2412 feet, the difference being 2767 feet, or nearly the maximum height of the hills on the south.* The strata are not much inclined or shifted from their original horizontality, which shows the change of level to have been produced by a simultaneous subsidence over the whole area of the field, occasioned perhaps by the ejection of the matter of the igneous rocks, and which in dykes, ridges, and hills forms no inconsiderable mass. North Berwick Law, Traprain Law, the Bass Rock, Arthur's Seat, the Braid and Corstorphine hills, all lie on the verge, or rise within the limits of the coal-field. There are about sixty seams of workable coal in the more central division of the basin, one of which is thirteen feet thick, the rest generally under ten, and all of them thin

* *Report of Mid-Lothian*, by D. Milne, Esq.

out towards the south and west out-crop of the metals. The aggregate thickness is estimated at 126 feet, attaining its maximum towards Niddry, Dalkeith, Gilmerton, Tranent, Musselburgh, Prestongrange, Elphinstone, and Cowdens. The encrinite, or mountain limestone, underlies the whole series of coal seams now described, encircling Edinburgh on the north, and extending westwards by Cramond, Abercorn, and Blackness, to Falkirk. The coal along this line, never of any great extent, is nearly worked out: the beds chiefly belong to the under series, accompanied with an enormous mass of sandstone, shale, and other strata, about two thousand feet thick, and which has been everywhere invaded or overlaid by the trap.

A low range of trap hills, extending from Bathgate to Linlithgow, divides the Falkirk and Stirling coal basins from those now described on the east, and from the extensive mines of Lanark on the south-west. The Bathgate coal basin possesses points of great interest to the mineralogist. The encrinite limestone which is wrought at Bowden Hill under the trap is about sixty feet thick, extending N.N.E. to Linlithgow. A fresh-water bed occurs in the adjoining parishes of East and Mid Calder; and at Kirkton there are ferruginous or bituminous beds of shale mixed with translucent silix, laminae of pure limestone, porcelain jasper, and the remains of *Europterus Scouleri*. A rich black-band ironstone is wrought at Polkemmet, and a still more remarkably rich bituminous shale,* termed by the workmen a cannel coal,

* While these pages are passing through the press the question is raised, in the Court of Session, as to the mineral qualities of this bed, which has an average thickness of eighteen inches, and yields a more than ordinary proportion of inflammable gases. The pursuers in the action are Mrs. Elizabeth Honeyman and her husband, William Gillespie, Esq., of Torbane Hill; and the defenders are Messrs. James Russel and Son, coalmasters at Blackbraes. The witnesses on both sides consist of the most eminent geologists, chemists, microscopists, scientific and practical mining engineers in Great Britain; and, having taken part in the trial, we have had access to the conversation, opinions, and reasonings of both parties, debating the question whether it is to be classed with the coals or shales, with the greatest ability, and manifesting the most intense interest in the merits and results of the trial.

Professor Ansted, as first witness, said, that viewing the mineral geognostically in the field, "he considered it as technically allied to the *underclays* of the coal measures; and as a commercial definition of the substance, he would designate it either as an indurated mineral pitch or asphalt, combined very closely with clay impurities, or as a clay largely impregnated with mineral bitumen." Professor Fleming decided, upon a careful examination of the mineral, that "it was nothing else than a good cannel coal, containing in abundance the various coal plants, visible to the naked eye, usually found in the coal measures." Mr. Hugh Miller, the author of the *Old Red Sandstone*, said "he found the Torbane mineral to differ from all coals he was acquainted with, in the circumstance that it had not a fixed carbonaceous base, and had, what all true coals wanted, a base of earth, which remained in the same bulk and form after the consumable parts were burnt out, as shales did." Among the chemists, Dr. George Wilson said, that "he considered the mineral to be a clay, largely impregnated with bituminous matter, and that, after repeated careful analysis, the results were: of carbon in coke, 4.13; volatile matter, 68.12; ashes silicate of alumina, 27.75; mean specific gravity, 1.247; and that, after the volatile matter has been expelled, there remains in the retort a black mass, which, when heated in the open air, is found to consist of 87.05 per cent. of earthy ingredients, principally silicate of alumina (clay), the remainder being carbon." Professor A. Fife "had analysed all the cannel coals in Scotland, with a view to their gas-producing qualities, and considered the Torbane mineral to differ in no respect from the ordinary cannel coals, except its being of a very superior quality." Comparing its constituents with the Capeldrae cannel coal, he found them to be as follows:—

TORBANE HILL MINERAL.		CAPELDRAE.	
Carbon	60.25	Carbon	56.7
Hydrogen	8.8	Hydrogen	6.8
Oxygen	3.6	Oxygen	8.8
Nitrogen	1.5	Nitrogen	1.9
Sulphur	0.3	Sulphur	0.25
Ash	25.6	Ash	25.4

J. S. Bowerbank, Esq., author of *A History of the Fossil Fruits and Seeds of the London Clay.*

is extracted in great masses from the pits of Boghead, Bathvale, and Torbane Hill. There are four seams of coal, varying from six inches to three feet thick, intermixed with fire-clay and nodular ironstone. *Sigillaria*, *stigmaria*, *lepidodendra*, and other coal plants, are extremely abundant in all the beds.

Near Carron, in the Falkirk basin, the coal consists of seven or eight beds, generally thin, and of an aggregate thickness of twenty to twenty-five feet. The metals are worked at a great depth, nearly six hundred feet, where they dip under the Carse clay, and vast accumulations of sand and gravel, which here form interesting objects of attraction to the antiquary, as well as the geologist. Similar alluvial formations cover the coal-field around Lecropt, Denny, Bannockburn, and Kilsyth: the seams generally rise towards the Campsie hills, extending along their sides, and are often overlaid or completely insulated by the trap, which in some places has so charred the coal as to convert it into anthracite, or coke. A manufactory of alum, copperas, and Prussian-blue has been established at Campsie. The material is derived from a bed of alum-slate, which lies above the coal. When the coal is removed the air decomposes the slate, causing it to effloresce and to resolve into a soft, unctuous mould of earth. The line of railway betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow runs along great part of this coal-field, cutting the strata at right angles often; in other places the section is parallel to the beds; and the

and other works on Fossil Botany, "had carefully examined thin sections of the mineral substance by microscopic powers, varying from 160 to 660 linear, by both transmitted and direct light; that it had no vegetable structure, and, therefore, he was of opinion that the substance cannot with truth be designated coal; but that, as a substance, it should be classed with the resinous and argillaceous shales, consisting of resinous and earthy matter, and not, like coal, of organised carbonaceous matter and bitumen." Professor Balfour described the structure of the mineral, as exhibited by the microscope, "as a vegetable structure, of which there were three kinds in coal,—the woody fibre, the scalariform, and the cellular tissue,—all of which were found in the Torbane Hill mineral. Shales did not exhibit any traces of vegetable structure." J. Quekett, Esq., Professor of Histology in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, "has examined by the microscope most of the known coals in England and Wales,—about seventy varieties,—in all which the tissue is woody; discovered no organised structure in the substance of the Torbane mineral, while, in its general structure, it was different from anything he ever saw in his life before. The basis of the mineral is a porous slate, the pores or interstices of which have been filled with an inflammable material somewhat resembling bitumen, but yet differing from this substance in many particulars."

Several other eminent scientific witnesses, on both sides, bore corresponding testimony to the above. The counsel, all of the highest standing at the Scottish bar, next addressed themselves to the jury, bringing, in illustration of their conflicting views, all the wit, humour, logic, eloquence, and law of the profession. The court, through the presiding judge, then went over the various points of the evidence, declaring its inability fully to appreciate its scientific import, and yet valiantly describing the scientific distinctions as "crotchets." A respectable and intelligent jury, after six days' trial, found a verdict in behalf of the defenders, resting chiefly on the terms of the lease, but also virtually implying that the mineral in question was *coal*. Another jury, presided over by other judges, will have the matter in dispute before them anew; when, stripped of all its legal and commercial adjuncts, the Torbane Hill mineral will receive its fixed and true place, whatever that may be, as one of the richest and most valuable inflammable substances yet discovered in the bowels of the earth.

The undisputed and permanent mineralogical characters of this interesting substance are—specific gravity, about 1.167; structure, amorphous; colour, dark brown; streak, brown, earthy-looking; fracture, semi-conchoidal; translucent on the edges, very inflammable, argillaceous or bituminous odour; white soft ash, and yields no coke. In all true coals there is a preponderance of fixed carbon over ash—varying in degree, but constant, and forming coke. In the disputed mineral the reverse is the case. In Professor Fife's analysis the carbon is not fixed, but is a product, as in oils. Our first impressions, therefore, are only the more confirmed by the conflict of opinion elicited in this legal discussion—that the mineral in question must be classed with the shales, and is not a COAL.

intrusive rocks are shown in the most interesting manner, in every variety of position, form, and disturbance.

The Lanark coal-field is bounded on the south and west by the Pentlands and Renfrew trap hills, and embraces a vast extent of country, diversified by the windings of the Clyde, and where some of the richest minerals are lying in the watershed of the river. Within the area of this field there are a great many mines—an inexhaustible repertory of coal and ironstone. The city of Glasgow is built over the metals; and, being of comparatively easy access in the vicinity, they form the chief source at once of its stirring activity and accumulating wealth. The many ravines and elevations in the different parts of the city, the undulating contour of country north and south, the outbursts of trap at the Necropolis and other localities, and the various dykes of the same igneous formation that shoot everywhere around, are all clear indications of the mineral treasures beneath, and of the elevatory forces that have arranged them into convenient sections for the miner. Immediately to the west of Glasgow, on the north side of the Clyde, the coal is not abundant; the deposit seems to belong principally to the lower part of the series, or mountain limestone; nor are the relations of the strata there very well ascertained. Fossil trees frequently occur in the sandstone: a fragment, three feet long, and twenty-six inches in diameter, with four long roots inserted in the rock, was at one time exposed in a quarry north of Sauchiehall-street; and four others, situated in a line at nearly equal distances, were to be seen in a quarry north from the Kelvin aqueduct.*

The Hurlet and Quarrelton coal-field is five miles south-west from the city, on the opposite side of the river, where the coal, though considerably deteriorated by masses of iron pyrites, is of great thickness at Quarrelton, varying from fifty to sixty feet; and in one place ten beds, ninety to a hundred feet thick, are found together,—perhaps the thickest mass of bituminous matter ever discovered. A bluish amygdaloidal greenstone, a hundred feet thick, has penetrated the basin, and overlies great part of the minerals; and, in consequence, local authorities have inferred, as an explanation of the phenomenon, that the beds of coal were first raised by a vertical, and then pushed over each other by a horizontal motion. A thin bed of alum-slate occurs at Hurlet, manufactured into alum and copperas, as at Campsie; and as the strata, on both sides, dip towards the Clyde, thus causing it to follow the bottom of a trough or basin, there can be little doubt that the alum-slate is an extension of the bed which occurs at Campsie. At Maxwellton, Blackhall, Nitshill, and Hallhill, which surround Paisley, and form the southern boundary of the Clyde basin, the beds of coal vary from six to sixty-six in number, from a few inches to ten feet in thickness, and in the aggregate from twelve to twenty feet of good, workable metals. The mines on the east and south-east are wrought in the parishes of New Monkland, Airdrie, Shotts, Bathgate, Bothwell, Hamilton, Carluke, and Carstairs, where, in general, there are eight or nine workable seams, in some places upwards of thirty, with a total thickness of from twenty-five to thirty-seven feet.† The whole field abounds in black-band ironstone, varying from a foot to a foot and a half, and in several places a clay-ironstone, or ochreous shale, yields the ore in considerable supply. The Airdrie and Gartsherrie black-band yields from 34 to 39 per cent. of iron, and contains so much carbonaceous matter as nearly to com-

* Nicol's *Guide to the Geology of Scotland*.

† Craig's *Essay on the Carboniferous Formation of Lanarkshire*.

plete the process of calcination, with only a small expenditure of coal. The quantity of coals brought to Glasgow, in 1836, from thirty-seven pits in the vicinity, amounted to 561,049 tons, of which 124,000 were exported to the Highlands and adjacent places on the Clyde; thus leaving for the use of families and public works in the city and suburbs, 437,049 tons of coal. The population since that period has nearly doubled, and the public works have increased perhaps in a still higher ratio. Hence the present consumption will amount to about 874,098 tons. But, as exhibited by the books of the River Trust, there were exported, for the year ending the 30th June, 1852, from Glasgow, 200,560 tons of coal, which, added to the quantity consumed in the city and suburbs, shows that the coal-fields surrounding the western metropolis of Scotland yield an annual product of *one million seventy-four thousand five hundred and fifty-eight* tons of coal, over and above all that is consumed at the pits, the blast furnaces, and the numerous towns and populous villages embraced within their area, or situated on their confines.

The coast from Port Glasgow to Ardrossan consists, for the most part, of the old red sandstone, which in several places is of great thickness, generally fine-grained, though occasionally conglomerate, and usually of a deep brown-red. The interior, as well as the north-west of Renfrewshire, is much covered with trap rocks, of the felspar-porphry formation, and underlying the coal on both sides, separates the Clydesdale from the Ayrshire coal basin. The district is very rich in this useful mineral. The amount of coal shipped at the two ports of Irvine and Troon, during the currency of the year 1852, was little short of *three hundred thousand tons*—that of Troon alone being 245,300 tons. Near Ayr, one bed at Taiglum is eleven feet thick; the Irvine beds are five in number, three of which being three feet each, and two seven, making in all twenty-three feet of excellent workable coal; while in the north-west, in the vicinity of Ardrossan and Dalry, there are nineteen feet of coal in six beds, from two to four and a half feet thick. The shipments at Ardrossan, for the same period, amount to 63,744 tons. Anthracite occurs, in a bed of four to five feet thick, at Riccarton, south of Kilmarnock, resting on sandstone. The whole field abounds in ironstone, in beds varying from six inches to nearly two feet thick, yielding a very high per centage of iron, and is surrounded by thick masses of the encrinite or mountain limestone, which crops out and is extensively worked at various places along the edges of the basin.

The remainder of the western coal measures is broken up into small detached basins, generally separated by igneous rocks, but frequently containing numerous seams of great aggregate thickness. The basin of Dalmellington occupies the valley of the Doon, consisting of seven beds of coal, of which one is nine feet thick. Another small isolated basin occurs in the old red sandstone, by which it is completely environed, near Dailly and north of Girvan, where the coal seams have an average thickness of forty feet. The Cumnock and Muirkirk basins lie to the north-east, surrounded on all sides by trap hills, of which Corsancone forms the apex, raising the western portion of the metals at New Cumnock about a thousand feet above the sea. Around Mansfield there are six beds, about forty feet thick three of them being respectively nine, eleven, and twelve feet; this basin is ten miles long by five broad, and at the highest point the coal metals lie on the surface, with very little dip or inclination towards the interior. On the north-eastern side, between Mauchline and Muirkirk, there are eight beds, one nearly ten feet, and the whole about forty-four feet thick. Lower down in the valley of the Nith, the Kirk-

concel and Sanquhar coal-field stretches in a south-easterly direction, having a length of seven by a mean breadth of two miles, and containing twelve seams of coal, three of which average four feet thick; it is intersected by numerous faults and greenstone dykes, which have greatly crushed and charred the metals, and in one place changed them into columnar anthracite. The coal measures stretch from near the town of Annan, along the shores of the Solway, to Cannobie, where the coal is wrought at Byreburn on the Esk, below Langholm, but now nearly exhausted. A greater thickness of the valuable mineral occurs on the Rowanburn, a tributary of the Liddel, about a mile to the south-east, where there are three or four seams wrought with profit. But although extended along the entire water-shed of this border river, and beyond Carter Fell towards the Cheviots, no workable beds occur eastward of Lawston, where the strata are thrown up by the trap with a westerly dip, and which all belong to the under series of the carboniferous system. The encrinite limestone crops out in various localities around the coal-field, of great thickness and purity, skirting the northern side of the basin from Ecclefechan to Langholm, and, running in long ledges or broken up into large tabular masses, forms a very picturesque scene in the trough of the Esk, near the water-mill adjacent to Armstrong's Tower, of border renown. A narrow belt of the old red sandstone, of the upper or yellow series, succeeds the limestone a little to the north, resting upon the grauwake. An interesting junction of the three formations—sandstone, trap, and grauwake—may be observed in the gorge of the Esk, about a mile below Langholm, near the bridge, where the trap has considerably altered and uplifted the sedimentary rocks; while, to the north-east, the sandstone has been elevated more than a thousand feet, capping the summit of Whitock Hill, and furnishing material for the beautiful monument there erected in honour of Sir John Malcom, of Indian celebrity.

The general results to be deduced from this description of the several coal basins of Scotland are as follows—results highly important in a geological, but still more in an economic point of view:—Taking, as already stated, the length of the great central basin at 100 miles, and its breadth at 33 miles, and deducting for the area of the Firth of Forth under water 360 miles, there remain about 2874 square miles of the coal measures, or of the strata classed in the coal formation. But deducting the portion which underlies the mountain limestone, extending from St. Andrews to Drumcarro, and from Pittenweem to Crail, and making allowance for the intrusive rocks which prevail largely in every district, probably not more than one-half of the superficial area of the coal measures, or 1436 square miles, can be regarded as available for working coal. The average number of good coal seams is twelve, and their total average thickness about thirty-four feet, and making allowance for faults and dykes, there are nearly, at a rough estimate, fourteen million cubic yards of coal in each square mile. The average weight of a yard, or of three cubic feet, is one ton; in the 1436 square miles there will be about eighteen billions of tons; and, therefore, according to the estimated thickness of the whole coal basins at thirty-four cubic feet, the amount of the valuable mineral inclosed in the several coal basins of Scotland cannot be regarded as less than *one hundred and eight trillions of tons*—a quantity sufficient, even at the present high rate of annual consumption of about six millions of tons, to supply the increasing wants of the country for two thousand years.

The clay ironstone and black-band may be regarded as nearly co-extensive with the coal measures. There are few coal basins, at least, in which one or other of these

forms of the iron ore have not been discovered and wrought. The number of hot-blast furnaces in operation in Scotland during the years 1852 and 1853 are, according to the returns now before me, 102, of which the Gartsherrie works have the greatest number. The average produce of pig-iron, of each furnace, is about sixteen tons a-day; thus yielding a total annually of 509,184 tons weight of pig-iron, or of metal in a state for commercial purposes. This vast product, raised from the coal-fields of Scotland, has been chiefly owing to the successful researches made for the black-band ironstone within these twenty years, and the improved methods of smelting the ore by means of the hot-blast furnace. The present market-price of pig-iron is from £2 16s. to £3; hence the total annual value will be about one million and a half pounds sterling. The value of the coal at the rate of 6s. a ton will be considerably above this amount, or about £1,700,000 a-year. The lime cannot be estimated at much less. Thus, in all, the commercial produce of coal, iron, and lime raised from the coal measures of Scotland will be little short, in annual value, of five millions of sterling money. The whole mineral produce of the kingdom in 1814 was only about £1,600,000, and of which amount the three substances mentioned constituted the proportion of £1,440,000.

While the coal metals, with their constant associates, lime and ironstone, are now ascertained to exist in every continent and in all the larger islands, the boundaries of many of the coal-fields have been measured, and a comparative estimate of their minerals determined. In proportion to their extent the richest mines in the world are those of Great Britain, which occupy a space of nearly 8,000 square miles of workable coal. The American coal measures, in the States alone, cover an area of about 133,000 square miles; a single coal seam, of an average thickness of ten feet, occurs in Pennsylvania, which spreads uninterruptedly over an extent of 14,000 square miles; while the coal-basin of Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky, is not much inferior in superficial dimensions to the whole of England. A computation of the quantity of vegetable matter, in a given portion of coal, has been made, and the result is, that a cubic yard of coal weighs upon an average one ton—a bed of coal of one acre in extent and three feet thick contains 4,840 tons—and the produce of 1,940 acres of forest trees is absorbed in one acre of coal. Multiply the 8,000 square miles of the coal-fields of Great Britain, or the 133,000 square miles of the coal-fields of the States, by the denominator given, and the number of tons in a single bed of three feet thick is prodigious, showing how inexhaustible are the stores of the useful combustible for generations to come. But instead of one bed, the coal-basins range from ten to nearly a hundred seams of the mineral, and instead of three feet thick, many of the seams are from ten to twenty feet in thickness; and thus, taking the computation all the world over, no intelligible array of figures can represent, as no human mind can grasp the conception of, the infinitesimal results in weights and measures of the all-bountiful gift stored up for man's use and improvement in the stony chambers of his habitation.

The author has elsewhere* related, on this subject, "that it does not appear, from any well authenticated records, at what precise period man availed himself of this useful mineral, either for the purposes of art, or of domestic comfort. The early history of nations is traditionary; but there is no tradition from very remote times, in any of them, as to the discovery of coal—no philosopher speculating about

* *The Course of Creation*, p. 120.

the importance of the fact, and its bearings on the progress of civilisation. What the Romans termed *lapis ampelites*, is generally understood to mean our cannel coal, which they used not as fuel, but in making toys, bracelets, and other ornaments; while their *carbo*, which Pliny describes as 'vehementer perlucet,' was simply the petroleum or naphtha, which issues so abundantly from all the tertiary deposits. Coal is found in Syria, and the term frequently occurs in the sacred writings. But there is no reference anywhere in the inspired record as to digging or boring for the mineral, and no directions for its use. In their burnt-offerings, wood appears uniformly to have been employed. In Leviticus the term is used as synonymous with fire, where it is said that 'the priests shall lay the parts in order upon the wood, that is, on the fire which is upon the altar.' And in the same manner for all domestic purposes, wood and charcoal were invariably made use of. Doubtless the ancient Hebrews would be acquainted with natural coal, as in the mountains of Lebanon, whither they continually resorted for their timber, seams of coal near Beirout were seen to protrude through the superincumbent strata in various directions. Still there are no traces of pits, or excavations into the rock, to show that they duly appreciated the extent and uses of the article. Their term *כֶּהָל*, which properly signifies charcoal, appears to have passed into the northern languages, as in the Islandic *gloa*; the Danish *gloe*; the Welsh *glo*, a coal—*golen*, to give light; the Irish *o-gual*; and the Cornish *kolan*: terms all expressive of the act of burning, or of giving light.

"For many reasons it would seem that, among modern nations, the primitive Britons were the first to avail themselves of the valuable combustible. The word by which it is designated is not of Saxon but of British extraction, and is still employed to this day by the Irish in their form of *o-gual*, and in that of *kolan* by the Cornish. In Yorkshire stone hammers and hatchets have been found in old mines, showing that the early Britons worked coals before the invasion of the Romans. Manchester, which has risen on the very ashes of the mineral, and grown to all its wealth and greatness under the influence of its heat and light, next claims the merit of the discovery. Portions of coal have been found under or imbedded in the sand of a Roman way, excavated some years ago for the construction of a house, and which, at the time, were ingeniously conjectured by local antiquaries to have been collected for the use of the garrison stationed on the route of these warlike invaders of Mancenion, or the Place of Tents. Certain it is, that fragments of coal are being constantly, in the district, washed out and brought down by the Medlock and other streams, which break from the mountains through the coal strata. The attention of the inhabitants would, in this way, be more early and readily attracted by the glistening substance.

"Nevertheless, for long after, coal was but little valued or appreciated, turf and wood being the common articles of consumption throughout the country. About the middle of the ninth century a grant of land was made by the Abbey of Peterborough, under the restriction of certain payments in kind to the monastery, among which are specified sixty carts of wood, and, as showing their comparative worth, only twelve carts of pit-coal. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Newcastle is said to have traded in the article; and by a charter of Henry III., of date 1284, a license is granted to the burgesses to dig for the mineral. About this period, coals for the first time began to be imported into London, but were made use of only by smiths, brewers, dyers, and other artizans, when, in consequence of the smoke being regarded as very injurious to the public health, Parliament petitioned

the King, Edward I., to prohibit the burning of coal, on the ground of being an intolerable nuisance. A proclamation was granted, conformable to the prayer of the petition, and the most severe inquisitorial measures were adopted to restrict or altogether abolish the use of the combustible by fine, imprisonment, and destruction of the furnaces and workshops! They were again brought into common use in the time of Charles I., and have continued to increase steadily with the extension of the arts and manufactures, and the advancing tide of population, until now, in the metropolis and suburbs, coals are annually consumed to the amount of about three millions of tons. The use of coal in Scotland seems to be connected with the rise of the monasteries, institutions which were admirably suited to the times—the conservators of learning, and the pioneers of art and industry all over Europe—and in whose most rigorous exactions evidences can always be traced of a judicious and enlightened concern for the general improvement of the country. Under the *régime* of monastic rule at Dunfermline, coals were worked in the year 1291,—at Dysart, and other places along the coast, about half a century later; and, generally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the inhabitants were assessed in coals to the churches and chapels, which, after the Reformation, have still continued to be paid in many parishes. Boëthius records that, in his time, the inhabitants of Fife and the Lothians dug ‘a black stone,’ which, when kindled, gave out a heat sufficient to melt iron.”

Thus tardily have all our most obvious discoveries been made, and their uses applied. The pits from which the black stone was dug are still to be seen near Crail, and other places along the coast of Fifeshire, penetrating the surface only a few feet, and merely the out-crop of the metals touched. The ground itself had first to be cleared of its massive forests, sufficient for ages to supply the wants of the inhabitants, while art was young and the inventive sciences little understood. The social movement now in progress is mainly the result of both being carried to a pitch of which our forefathers never dreamed. The pressure in the moral may be compared to the expansive forces in the physical world,—all latent a few years ago, but now in such vigorous activity, in the various appliances of steam, mechanism, and electricity, as to change the whole aspect of society, and to convert the wilderness into a garden. They are mutually assistant to each other: the march of civilisation advances apace, and the resources of the mine are more and more available; the treasures of the earth, hidden and unknown for ages, are fully appreciated, and their practical benefits ascertained. The arrangements of a far-seeing Providence are clearly discernible in the mighty operations and vast intellectual achievements already realised; the relics of distant ages have become, not the toys of the antiquary, but the giant levers of the man of science; and, as there are no limits to the resources, so will the genius of coming generations be stimulated to new exertions, and rewarded with new means of comfort and improvement.

The doctrine of final causes here receives one of its most striking verifications. No truth in history is better established than that the whole earth has been given to man as the theatre on which is to be fulfilled the revealed destiny of his race,—when civilisation shall be co-extensive with its boundaries, when the arts and sciences shall be as widely cultivated, and when pure and undefiled religion shall prevail in all its borders. The old branches of the human family are in rapid decay: the pioneers of a higher moral and intellectual development are everywhere planting themselves in their desolate places. The mineral stores underground furnish the principal means of their conquest, occupancy, growth, and

permanent establishment in their new fields of location. Not an island or continent on the terraqueous globe, and within its habitable domains, that is not of the easiest access to civilised man. The fuel and the metals that enable him to speed his way and consolidate his power, he digs from the bowels of the earth. Garnered up in ages long past, and, as *designed* on purpose to meet the requirements of his lot, he finds them in every region where his enterprising spirit leads, whether he is to promote the cause of truth while yielding to his own propensities, or to accelerate the spread of knowledge by the ingenuity which prompts him to extend his own dominion. When the gold and the silver mine is exhausted, and the feverish excitement that drove him to his new settlements is past, the more peaceful occupations of life will be pursued, the cultivation of the soil become his enjoyment, towns and cities arise on every side, and amidst all the busy appliances of commerce and the arts, the school and the church will appear. The grandest achievement of his moral destiny will be thus accomplished—the ends of the earth brought together—the promise again realised—“I will bring thee to a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass: when thou shalt lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks.”

THE NEW RED SANDSTONE AND SUPERINCUMBENT STRATA.

The series of rocks which immediately overlie the coal measures is termed the New Red Sandstone, in contradistinction to the Old Red, which is subjacent to the coal, and belongs to an anterior geologic age. The irregular expanse of sea left in the regions of Britain by the broken masses of land, produced by the uplifted carboniferous rocks, was filled by the detritus of the period, and afterwards consolidated into a succession of sandstones, clays, marls, and limestones. This formation occurs in Ireland, but not abundantly, and only in the north-eastern part, which may be regarded as an extension of the Lammermuirs. In Arran, and on the west coast of Ayrshire, on the southern slope of the Lammermuirs, around Dumfries and Langton, is a large tract of these rocks, spreading into the plain of Carlisle, the vale of Eden, and against the west face of the Cambrian mountain limestone. The new red sandstone and the superincumbent strata occupy nearly the whole superficies of the central, eastern, and southern districts of England. It is largely developed in America, on the continent of Europe, and especially in Russia, whence, from the vast extent occurring in the district of Perm, it has been denominated the PERMIAN SYSTEM, and is generally described as such in works on geology. The formation is found in Scotland only in patches, at remote intervals, round its borders; and, in some of the localities, the position of the sandstones is by no means a settled point, whether as belonging to the coal measures, to the old, or to the new red series.

There are great diversities in the number, mineral qualities, component elements, and external appearance of the strata belonging to the new red sandstone. Indeed, so very different are they, that nothing but their relative position, and the substances with which they are associated, can determine the true systematic character of some of the beds. In Germany, France, and England, there is often the widest distinction, which has given rise to different systematic arrangements, as well as to a different nomenclature, dependent only on some prevailing local peculiarity; and teaching the important fact, that it is by general types, and not by any conventional series of strata, that rocks are to be identified in different countries.

A deep red variegated sandstone, magnesian limestone, gypseous marls, sometimes beds of crystallised gypsum, and occasionally rock-salt, may be considered as the characteristic mineral substances composing the system. The whole series of beds, too, are generally fine-grained, thinly laminated, and easily split up into slaty flags, and the different strata are usually separated by soft unctuous clays, or calcareous marls.

As the period appears to have been comparatively barren both in animal and vegetable life, so the mineral wealth of the system cannot be highly estimated, forming a remarkable contrast in this respect with the coal measures. The magnesian—or, as it is likewise called, the dolomitic limestone—yields, under chemical treatment, the magnesia of the apothecary; and, although the soils connected with this rock are neither rich nor genial in their appetency for the cereals, yet a certain admixture, when reduced to quicklime, is not unfavourable to some of the grasses. It furnishes in some localities a beautiful and durable building-stone, of which, from the quarries in Bolsover Moor, in Derbyshire, the new Houses of Parliament are constructed. The flaggy schists are employed extensively for lithographic purposes, the admired German blocks being chiefly derived from these beds. The gypsum and rock-salt of commerce are likewise dug from this formation, sometimes alternating with the other strata, in thin stratified beds, or occurring in basins, in irregular masses, from twenty to a hundred and twenty feet in thickness. The Chester, Worcester, and other salt-pits in England,—also those in Spain, Germany, and Austria,—the celebrated mines of Cracow, in Poland,—

“Where, scoop’d in the briny rock, long streets extend,”—

and the recently discovered beds in Ireland,—are all situated in the new red sandstone; and all as yet form the subject of controversy, whether these saline crystallisations owe their origin to deposition in water, or to the vaporising influence of heat. With the exception of an ore of copper, wrought to some extent in Germany, termed *kupfer-schiefer*, no other metal is derived from the system.

When compared with the carboniferous system, so rich in organic remains and in mineral treasures, the new red sandstone indicates one of those vast changes in the course of nature which demonstrates a direct interposition of creative power. The superabundant flora of the past age becomes suddenly extinct. The materials of three to four thousand feet of solid rock are collected, without a particle of coal being contained in the mass. The myriads of creatures which filled the seas, and whose remains form the mountain limestone, all ceased to exist, with the exception of one or two families of zoophytes and testacea. Instead of the black-band iron-stone, the source of our chief metallic wealth and power, gypsum and rock-salt are produced, and stored up in a few rare localities. The formation is widely spread over every quarter of the globe; and the changes in the vegetable and animal economy, as indicated by the changes in the mineral kingdom, appear to have been equally universal.

But once again, in the altered state of things, nature was preparing for new forms of life and new types of animal existence, while she was parting with so many of the old races, which had so admirably subserved the purposes of their creation. One remarkable change in the laws of functional structure is here, for the first time, observable; namely, the substitution in fishes of the *homocercal* for the *heterocercal* form of the tail-fin. This organ in the fishes of all the former epochs of the earth’s history is unequally lobed,—as still preserved in the shark and sturgeon,—in conse-

quence of the vertebral column extending to the extremity; whereas, from this period downwards, and in all existing families, with the exceptions noticed, the backbone terminates *within* the fin, and thereby causes it to be equally lobed, as seen in the cod, herring, and salmon. The impressions of bird and reptilian foot-marks are also very abundant in this series of rocks. Here, likewise, are the first traces of oviparous quadrupeds, in the remains which have been found of the protosaurus and phytosaurus. The foot-prints in some places, especially in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Virginia, are very abundant, consisting of small toe-like scratches, deep, palmy impressions, and large tridactyle hollows, which measure eighteen inches in length, by fourteen in breadth; and in some localities, so numerous are these curious lithographs, as to indicate a place of general resort, probably upon the retiring of the tide in quest of prey, where lines and tracts are observed to cross and re-cross each other in every direction. Many of the strata are covered with the ripple and other water-marks, suggestive of the retreating wave and shelving shore; and very frequently they are indented with little circular spots, imputed to the pattering of the rain. In the Stonesfield slate, near Oxford, and in the sandstones of Sussex and Dorsetshire, the trail and petrified castings of marine worms, perfectly preserved, have been detected, impressed on the sand while it was yet soft on the sea-shore. Nor, among these singular hieroglyphics, are the least singular the tubular cavities in which the molluscs themselves must have resided, the forms of the creatures being distinctly traced at the upper extremity of the holes still preserved in the rock. The fossil impressions in the sandstone of Dumfriesshire are equally well defined in the only two localities in which they have been found; namely, Cocklemuir, in the parish of Lochmaben, and Locherbriggs quarry, near the town of Dumfries. They consist, in the former locality, of the foot-prints of some four-footed reptilian, where the alternate movements of the right and left pairs are parallel, and at regular distances from each other. The impressions are about two inches in diameter, by half an inch in depth; and in the other locality they have obviously been produced by the passage of birds over the soft sand, generally small, but perfect in their outline, and even the scratchings of the sharp claws distinctly legible. What a curious reading all this, in these chronicles of ancient geologic times! How singular the preservation of such ephemeral impressions as the trail of a worm, the tread of a reptile, the foot-print of a bird, mingled with indicia of the state of the atmosphere, the direction of the winds, the ripple of the waves, and the flow of the tides! Preserving something of the old, and introducing so many new traces of organic life, especially those of birds and oviparous quadrupeds, the new red sandstone has been regarded as the transitional boundary between the lower and upper secondary strata, and serves to mark a period of comparative inactivity in the physical causes by which, from time to time, the state of the mineral, vegetable, and animal departments of nature have been so much influenced, modified, and finally changed.

Accordingly, one of these changes, upon a great scale, appears to have taken place upon the introduction of the next series of superincumbent strata. These are termed the lias, oolite, wealden, and chalk groups, in which we have not only a different set of rocks, but also different races of plants and animals. Instead of magnesian limestone, there are dark argillaceous and calcareous beds of rock; for variegated gypseous and saliferous marls, there are blue pyritous clays; and in place of red and mottled sandstones, there are bands of coal, and dark-coloured bituminous shales. Nor in the organic products are the differences less striking. The sea

now swarmed with new and strange forms of life, creatures sixty to a hundred feet in length—the ichthyosaurians and plesiosaurians. The land was again covered with a rich vegetation, generally different, but approaching to the rank luxuriance of the carboniferous age, and accompanied with animals of corresponding bulk—iguanadons, hylæosaurians, and pterodactyles—fit to swim in the slimy lagoons, or to perch on trees, in search of food and prey. And everywhere in the waters there were coralline and shelly bodies, many of them infinitesimally small, but so inconceivably numerous as to form, by their skeletons alone, masses of rock several hundred feet thick, and thousands of miles in extent. These teachings of geology forcibly, again, support the truths of Natural Theology, showing in such vast changes the direct interposition of Divine might; and, in the beautiful adaptive arrangements thence arising, the constant superintendence of the great First Cause.

This series of rocks, comprising under each group a great diversity of strata, is widely extended over the midland and southern districts of England, the central regions of France, and stretch some of them in one continuous belt along the whole northern outskirts of Switzerland, into the heart of Germany. They are only found in Scotland in the western islands, skirting portions of the north-western shores of the mainland, and at intervals along the eastern coast from Helmsdale to Elgin. The *Lias*, the oldest of the series, simply means layers, from its thin, flaggy beds of limestone and bluish shales, and exists in considerable thickness in the islands of Mull, Egg, and Skye. The *Oolite*, or roe-stone, immediately succeeds the *lias* in each of these localities, containing beds of imperfect coal, which have been overflowed and hardened by igneous rock; there are, likewise, considerable beds in Caithness-shire, and among which is the Brora coal deposit, consisting of several thin seams, mixed with bands of limestone, containing large petrified trees. The *Wealden* is derived from the term “wolds,”—literally, the wood or forest district of Sussex and Hampshire,—and is found at Linksfield, near Elgin, in a series of blue, laminated clays, sandstones, and impure limestones, all more or less charged with oxide of iron, which gives a variegated tint to the formation. The *Chalk* deposit is of still more limited extent than any of the above, or can scarcely be said to exist at all as a rock in Scotland, there being only two places—Banff and Mull—where the characteristic flints occur. They are, however, in sufficient quantity, and lie in such positions, to show that they could only have been derived from a bed of chalk *in situ*, whose softer materials have yielded to the influence of time, and been washed out by the action of the sea. Among the more remarkable organic remains characteristic of the *wealden* and inferior systems, teeth, spines, and bones of the ichthyosaurus and plesiosaurus, have been detected in great abundance in the deposit of Elgin. Along with leaves, branches, and stems of trees in the *lias* and *oolite* of Skye and Caithness, there are large casts of shells belonging to the ammonite and echinida (sea-urchins) marine families; likewise the gryphæa, cidaris, trigonia, and ostrea are very common in the latter localities. The remains of *Cycadææ*, allied to the existing *cycas revoluta*, and pine-apple; *Coniferae*, resembling the yew and pine; a great variety of ferns, allied to the types of the coal measures; besides, *Lilacææ*, and other undescribed genera, are all there to attest the existence of a warmer, if not even of a tropical climate, during the currency of the period when gigantic lizards and a luxuriant flora inhabited these northern parts.

The detached portions of rock in so many and widely separated localities, in which these interesting remains are preserved, derive additional importance from the consideration, that they serve as memorials of the successive increments of the

land, of the ceaseless inroads of the sea, and of the severance of places once united. When we find that these groups of strata were all formed under water, and successively arranged from Caithness to Dover, and from Skye to the Isle of Wight, in the same geologic periods, the imagination is stretched not a little to recall the physical conditions which admitted of their deposition, at the extreme points of the island, and the altered circumstances under which a few fragmentary outliers are all that remain to indicate their existence. The lias of Skye, the oolite of Brora, the wealden of Elgin, and the chalk-flints of Banff and Mull, are identical in their mineral constituents with the rocks of Yorkshire, Oxford, Bucks and Portland, and show, all of them, indications of the same fossil remains: when animals allied to the tortoise, the crocodile, and the gavia of modern times prevailed in every part of our seaborders and rivers, and when Scotland, by its older rocks and their earlier elevation, constituted the largest portion of the mainland of Great Britain.

THE TERTIARY SYSTEM OF ROCKS.

The tertiary system constitutes the last great sub-division of the rocky strata of the earth, and consists of a series of clays, sands, gravels, marls, and limestones. The beds are all more or less indurated, or composed of true layers of rock; some of them furnishing an excellent building-stone, and others so loosely aggregated as to decompose on exposure to the weather. They lie immediately above the chalk, and generally within the hollows produced by the abrasion and upheaval of the chalk formation. The period has been one of considerable disturbance, when the land and sea were repeatedly interchanging places; and the system, in consequence, is made up of alternate beds of marine and fresh-water deposits, containing innumerable organisms characteristic of each. The London clay constitutes the lowest portion of the series, whence, as the centre point in England, the strata range in every direction from Hungerford to Norwich, along both sides of the Thames, and occupy an average breadth of thirty to forty miles. They extend into Hampshire, where the basin is of considerable extent, forming, in the Isle of Wight, nearly the half of its surface, and resting on the vertical edges of the chalk beds. The tertiary system is amply developed in the basin of Paris, in the district of Auvergne, over large tracts in Switzerland, where it is elevated many thousands of feet on the sides of the Alps; it diverges through most of the states of Central and Southern Europe, the Italian shores of the Mediterranean, and along the southern range of the Himalayas, where it attains an altitude of twelve to fourteen thousand feet.

The existence of the tertiary formation in Scotland has only very recently been established, and under circumstances which greatly enhance the interest of the discovery. It was scarcely surmised that our island was the theatre of volcanic action so lately as the tertiary period indicates. But the fact is now placed beyond doubt. The Duke of Argyll has adduced the evidence of vast subterranean operations, in actual volcanic materials, in the island of Mull, as well as of the highest probability of their occurrence among the other western isles. A paper on the subject appeared in the *Geological Quarterly Journal* for May 1, 1851, in which are given very minute and interesting details of this important discovery, and of which the following is an abridged account:—

“The island of Mull is deeply indented, in a direction nearly east and west, by

two long arms of the sea,—Loch na Kael and Loch Scridden,—forming the natural divisions described by Macculloch as the northern, the middle, and the southern trap districts. The northern division is of comparatively low elevation, and composed chiefly of terraces of trap. The middle division is a lofty and rugged tract, containing the fine summits of Ben Tulla and Ben More, the latter being one of the highest mountains on the western coast, and visible from a great distance among the Hebrides. The whole of the long and high promontory stretching westward from the flank of Ben More, and lying between Loch na Kael and Loch Scridden, exhibits great terraces of trap, piled one above the other, and terminates in that striking headland of Bourq or Gribon, whose lofty horizontal lines rise from the ocean, with almost perfect regularity, in a pyramidal form, until the final cap attains an elevation of about two hundred feet. The southern division has been long known for the magnificent coast scenery it displays; presenting a continuous line of mural precipices of great elevation, frequently based on and capped by basalts of every variety of form, and including extensive strata of the oolite and lias. Here occurs the headland of Ardtun, the scene of the discovery. The first public mention of the pictorial grandeur of the spot is from the pen of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Sir Allen M'Lean, in conveying him from the island of Inch Kenneth, to visit the ruins of Iona, selected this spot as a resting-place; and the Doctor mentions, that its columnar basalt, in whose broken shafts they sat, was pointed out to him as scarcely less deserving of notice than that of Staffa."

This basalt constitutes the lava of the district. It occurs in jointed columnar masses in various parts of the island, on both shores of the Sound of Mull, in far-famed Staffa, in Skye, and several of the adjacent islands, on the coast of Antrim, and forms the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. The cliff at Ardtun is one hundred and thirty feet in height, and, in a vertical section, presents the following descending order of beds, where the lighter scoriæ or pumice, the hard concrete lava, and the vegetable organic matter, repeatedly alternate with each other.

Uppermost basalt	40 feet
First leaf-bed	2 "
First ash-bed	20 "
Second leaf-bed	2½ "
Second ash-bed	7 "
Third leaf-bed	1½ "
Amorphous basalt	48 "
Columnar basalt to the level of low tide	10 "

The geological epoch to which all the beds above that of the amorphous basalt belong is determined by the character of the organic remains. The leaves are of considerable variety, but all belonging to well-known existing families of the Dicotyledonous order. They are, therefore, remains of the tertiary period,—a conclusion farther confirmed by the position of the chalk flints in the tuff conglomerates with which they are associated.

"Further, these beds seem to me," says the noble Author, "to furnish indisputable evidence of subærial volcanic action, alternating with periods of repose. The second leaf-bed is the one which throws the clearest light on the circumstances of its formation. It is to be observed, in the first place, that the leaves are not torn or shattered: those of the large palmated planes, as well as those of the small buckthorn, &c., being fully extended, and showing unruffled surfaces. Leaves, violently cast from the trees on which they grew, would not have presented such appearances;

they do not even consist of the brittleness of dead leaves, when dry. Two other remarkable circumstances remain to be noticed: first, that no trunks of trees, no branches, nothing beyond the size of the merest twig, has been yet found associated with the leaves; secondly, that plants of a reedy texture—some of them at once recognisable as *Equiseta*—are associated in great abundance with the leaves, especially with that lower portion of the bed which almost exclusively consists of the vegetable remains. From all this the conclusion is obvious, that these leaves must have been shed, autumn after autumn, into the smooth still waters of some shallow lake, on whose muddy bottom they were accumulated, one above the other, fully expanded, and at perfect rest. It cannot have been a water agitated by tides or currents; for these would have swept such remains away, or left evidence in their disposition of disturbing agency. It cannot have been water of any depth; for it is well known that reeds, and especially the *Equisetum* and other kindred families, do not affect such situations. But there is another ground for this latter conclusion: the bed of ashes, or tuff, covering the leaves shows clearly, from the arrangement of its materials, that they cannot have undergone the sifting process inseparable from subsidence through water. The light pumiceous particles, and the heavy, flinty, white lapilli, are disseminated indiscriminately, without any reference to the order of gravity, although the former are composed of a substance which will frequently float in water, whilst the latter are particularly dense and heavy.

“All these circumstances taken together, as well as the absence of any fresh-water shells, or other organisms, indicative of a permanent lacustrine condition, seem to me to afford the strongest evidence, that the situation in which these leaves were overflowed by volcanic mud and ashes was one which may rather be described as a marshy terrestrial surface, than the bottom of a lake, properly so called. The hollow in which the marsh had originally been formed, and in which the first or lowest leaf-bed had accumulated, continued to be a hollow after the mud and ashes had overflowed it. Water again accumulated, and autumnal leaves were again cast upon its surface, in greater numbers and variety than before. An eruption, similar to the first, for a second time covered its deposits; still its condition remained sufficiently unchanged to admit a repetition of the same process, and once more it continued to receive the annual sheddings of a forest vegetation. But the third eruption must have been one of a very different kind: sheets of lava, of great solidity and thickness, were now poured forth upon the ground; and if surfaces completely vitrified, such as well-marked obsidian, be any indication of subærial exposure, such must have been the condition of this lava. The configuration of the country no longer remained the same, and so complete was the change effected by this and subsequent convulsions, that the spot which had so long been the receptacle of calm, stagnant waters, under the lee of some great forest, became as we now see it, cut into the sea-cliff of a naked headland, so peculiarly exposed to the surf of a stormy ocean, as well to deserve the description of its Gaelic name—‘the Point of Waves.’

“No one who has followed this description of the Ardtun Head, and is acquainted with Staffa, will fail to recognise a remarkably corresponding feature. The lowest two members of the Ardtun series—the massive amorphous basalt, passing into and resting upon the columnar—offer a precise representation, on a smaller scale, of that wonderful front which lies opposite, at some five or six miles distance. The whole group of the Treshnish Islands, ‘which guard famed Staffa round,’ would seem, from their low tabular appearance, to belong to the same prolonged sheets of trap, and may represent the skeleton of that country now destroyed,



E. Brander

S T A F A -
 From the South West.



Sec 2

SECTION FROM THE MORAY FIRTH TO THE SOLWAY

from whose forests the Ardtun leaves were shed. It is not improbable that by future researches amid the conglomerates, and other stratified matters associated with the traps, in Mull and the neighbouring islands, portions of the more substantial parts of those forests will yet be found. It appears, from Dr. M'Culloch's account of the traps of the middle district of the island of Mull, that he did actually find the carbonised stem of a tree, whose structure proved it to be coniferous. His notice of the 'vein' in which it occurred is an accurate description of the tuff which covers the leaves at Ardtun; but he expressly says, that it occupied a perpendicular, instead of a horizontal position in the cliff; and the headland of Bourg seems to be indicated, although not very clearly, as the locality."

This interesting and valuable paper concludes with a description of the geological structure of the trap formation on the coast of Ireland, where similar alternating leaf-beds and lignites, with columnar and amorphous basalt, occur at Antrim and the Giant's Causeway. The account goes pretty far to establish the important inferences, that Scotland and Ireland were, at the period of the eruptions, portions of one and the same country,—that the western isles, all the marine interspaces, and the mainland, were united,—and that the Ardtun leaf-beds indicate the occurrence of changes, since the period of their deposition, not less great in climate than in the geographical forms of land and sea.

"The area of the Hebrides," says Professor Edward Forbes, "appears to have been a scene of igneous eruptions and disturbances of level from a very early geological period down to the age of the newer tertiaries. These beautiful and singular islands present a rich field for geological explanation, much as has been done among them. Their palæontology, one of the freshest and fullest mines for discovery yet remaining in the British Islands, may be said to be unexamined. The working out of the exact relations in age of the igneous with the stratified rocks of the Hebrides, and of the physical and vital phenomena, determined by the several eruptions within their area, will sooner or later be one of the most delightful and best rewarded tasks to which a competent observer can apply."*

The view of Staffa from the south-west, as represented in Plate I., Section 1., shows the broken columns at the base of the cliff, over which the waves are constantly dashed. The larger entire ones occupy the centre of the picture. The amorphous mass, of which the island is chiefly composed, rests on the top. The columns are very irregular in the number and position of their joints; but the order and symmetry, the richness arising from multiplicity of parts, combined with greatness of dimension and simplicity of style, render them far superior, in their general effect, to anything which architecture in its best efforts has ever produced. In the number of sides they vary, as all basaltic columns have been found to do, but the hexagonal and pentagonal are the predominant forms. The rock which forms the substance of the columns is of a dark greyish colour, and of a uniform texture, precisely similar to the amorphous mass above, which contains various amygdaloidal cavities, filled with radiated concentric spheres of zeolite, mesotype, stilbite, and other minerals, occasionally of great beauty and fineness. Staffa is of an irregular oval shape, about a mile and half in circumference, and presents an uneven tableland on the top, terminating on all sides in precipitous columnar cliffs. There are three caves, the largest of which is Fingal's, which is 227 feet long, by a variable height of forty-four to fifty feet, and an average breadth of forty-two feet—a natural

* *Geological Journal*, May 1, 1851.

hall of columns, of every form and variety, and in grouping and picturesque effect baffling description.

The TRAP ISLANDS of the Hebrides all contain, more or less, examples of the columnar structure, some of them on a scale of grandeur even superior to Staffa itself. They are divided, according to Dr. McCulloch, into two principal groups,—Skye being the centre of the one, and Mull of the other. The Shiant Isles, the remarkable rocks at Loch Maddy and St. Kilda, the “Tencriffe of Britain,” form the outskirts of this volcanic region, now in so many detached parts, but once more intimately connected. Ailsa Craig and Arran also display in several places the columnar structure, presenting some of the most magnificent colonnades anywhere to be found. In Skye, to the north of Ru-na-Braddan, the cliffs have a beautiful and imposing effect;—where the columns are arranged in the most perfect order, extending in an altitude of three hundred feet for many miles, with no superincumbent amorphous mass, as in Staffa, but the pillars, as they rise, are projected on the sky: thus producing great lightness of effect, as well as an endless diversity of elegance in the outline. St. Kilda is about three miles long, by nearly two in breadth, and consists chiefly of the high hill of Conochan, which is cut down, almost abruptly, from the summit to the very water’s edge. The precipice is about thirteen hundred feet high, perhaps the loftiest cliff in Britain, unless it is exceeded by that of Foula, in Shetland; and yet is fearlessly ascended and descended, swung from, and searched in every direction, by the bird-catchers in quest of the sea-fowl, which in myriads lodge in its dizzy crags.

Geologists have long been familiar with the surturbrand beds of Iceland; that is, bituminised wood imbedded in the igneous rocks of that volcanic island, and whose age is determined by the botanical characters of the enclosed fossils. There are several layers of surturbrand, varying from a few inches to four feet in thickness, and separated by intervening courses of trap, partly as in Mull columnar, and partly amorphous. One of the separating masses of trap is about 450 feet thick, another 150 feet, and other portions alternating with thin bands of indurated vegetable clays or leaf-beds, exhibiting in the most perfect manner all the forms, veins, ribs, and fibres of the leaves. There are two principal varieties of the surturbrand, or bituminous wood—the one pale-brown, the other black and shining, like pitch-coal, sometimes united in the same fragment, and generally retaining the woody structure, and both varieties so fresh and well preserved, as to be cut by the natives into their common household utensils. The leaves, many of them, are described as belonging to the common poplar, whilst others are referred by Horne-mann to the balsam species, a native of Siberia and North America; some are represented as closely resembling the willow, birch, and oak, the largest of which are about the size of a man’s hand. Now, in reference to the leaf-beds and tertiaries of Mull, it is not doubted that the formation in Iceland,—the trap, with its enclosed vegetables,—is of very recent origin, part of a series of volcanic movements still in action, and, though ceased within the geographic limits of Scotland, that there the self-same causes, separated by a narrow interval of ocean, have been in continued operation in ejecting materials similar to those of Ardtun and the Giant’s Causeway. The character of the two classes of phenomena is almost identical: a sympathy betwixt the localities is still maintained by the shocks of earthquake which from time to time visit our shores, and which are generally consequent upon the renewed energy of Hecla, or other Icelandic cones. And thus are we reminded of the comparatively short period of time, as of the close proximity in

distance, since volcanos existed in our own country, and when their subterranean fires, which have only retreated a few hundred miles, melted materials sufficient to form islands, to shatter and upheave mountains.

There are other indications of our geographical as well as insular position having undergone great changes in its temperature, botany, and zoology, since the termination of the tertiary period. This has been denominated the Mammoth Age, when the elephant race literally swarmed over Northern Europe, and whose remains are dug up, in countless numbers, in every field in England. Lions, tigers, hyenas, and the monkey tribes, all flourished in these latitudes. The boa-constrictor has his representatives in the fossil serpents of the London basin. Turtles, both of marine and fresh-water characters, were very abundant. Beavers, racoons, tapirs, and even the rhinoceros, had every one of them their representatives in similar or identical generic types of animal life. The *Elephas primogenius*, of which there are only two existing species, namely, the Asiatic and the African, and both limited to the tropics, once abounded over the island in vast herds, of whose enormous tusks hundreds are yearly dug up from the British strata, or fished out of the waters in the Channel, and along the south-eastern coast. Hippopotami and crocodiles are found over a large portion of Northern France, and of whose not very distant physical union with England there scarcely can exist a doubt. Of the vegetable tribes, *Cycadææ*, palms, cocoa-nuts, and other intertropical families have been abundantly detected: the lovely acacia, the pungent condiments of the Japan and the Spice Islands, cucumbers, dates, and other luxurious fruits were indigenous to the soil and climate of Great Britain. A high temperature, it is reasonably conjectured, and an atmosphere perhaps more charged with carbonic acid, must have prevailed at a period when plants and animals so different from all existing races inhabited these, and still more northern regions; when the Scottish forests of palms and allied tribes were shedding their leaves over the volcanic muds of Ardtun; and when the subterranean fires of Arran and Skye, of Mull and Staffa, were rearing those magnificent colonnades of regularly constructed basalt, piles of natural architecture, in all their most elegant and massive combinations of effect.

THE METALS.

The metals constitute a class of substances, which are not more interesting from their application to the common arts of life, than from the facts which they contribute to the general principles of geological science. Their position and distribution in relation to each other and to the several rocks of the earth, form very interesting and instructive points of inquiry. The causes of their origin, their forms and structure, as existing among the bodies with which they are associated, and their probable amount in richness and quantity as indicated by the physical features of the districts in which they occur, are all matters of the greatest importance in a scientific as well as economic point of view. These natural stores of hidden treasures are not confined to any epoch or formation, nor to any tracts of country; they are found, more or less, in every part of the earth's crust; and in their most valuable products of iron, silver, and gold, are to be met with in the rocks of all ages. Only seven or eight were known to the ancients; but the class of metalliferous substances has been increased to more than five times that number within the present half century.

No class of bodies is better defined than that of metals. Their peculiar lustre, perfect opacity, great density, their extreme tenacity, and remarkable ductility, are properties which serve readily to characterise them, and which to the same extent belong to none of the other varieties of matter. They are believed to be simple substances, insoluble in water, and capable, when in a state of oxide, of uniting with acids, and of forming with them metallic salts. When a metal is combined with one or more substances, either earthy, combustible, or saline, it is then said to be *mineralised*. Lead, united with sulphur forms galena, or the sulphuret of lead; copper, united with carbon, is termed malachite; and iron, united in variable proportions with siliceous matter, alumina, and water, becomes hæmatite, or fibrous iron ore. The only metals that have as yet been found in the metallic state, and therefore termed *native metals*, are platinum, gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, antimony, palladium, arsenic, tellurium, bismuth, nickel, and iron; and all these, with the exception of platinum, palladium, and arsenic, have been discovered either in the rocks or soils of Scotland.

The metals and metalliferous ores are chiefly found in veins, of which they occasionally compose the only substance; but they are more often disseminated through the earthy or stony substances with which the veins are filled. Veins may be described as separations in the continuity of rocks, of a determinate width, but extending indefinitely in length and depth, and more or less filled with metallic and mineral substances of a different nature from that of the masses they traverse. Some veins are evidently fissures of mechanical origin, having been produced by elevatory forces, or by contraction of the rocks of igneous formation, or of such sedimentary deposits as have been subjected to the process of consolidation by the strong action of heat. They have been filled, in many instances, from beneath by the sublimation of metalliferous matter, through means of internal fires; while in others, from the surface, by infiltration, or the action of streams charged with various materials. But perhaps more frequently the veins are connected by a gradual mineral transition with the surrounding rock, and appear to have resulted from an electro-chemical separation, or segregation, of certain mineral and metallic particles from the enclosing mass while in a state of fusion or a soft condition, and their determination to particular centres. The separation of pure metal from solutions of metallic salts, by galvanic action, and from the ore by a modification of the same force—as in the case of the hot-blast furnace—exemplifies the nature of those changes by which native gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron, may be produced in the interior of the earth.

Some of the metals, as titanium, manganese, chrome, bismuth, and molybdena, are found disseminated in crystals, and forming beautiful streaks, of various colours, in the mass. They are sometimes diffused as a soluble powder through the substance of the crystal, rendering it opaque, bright or dark yellow, as in some of the Cairngorms; sometimes they occur as small specular crystals, or curved lamellar concretions; and very often as pyrites they assume the form of cubes, or of reniform, botryoidal, and mamillary crystallisations.

The intrinsic and comparative value of metals arises from many causes, as their ductility, malleability, and powers of entering into combination with other substances. Some of the metals, as rhodium, iridium, palladium, tellurium, have been found in extremely small quantities, and can be applied only as alloys to other metals: they have for the most part, indeed, been only detected in the state of natural alloys. The ductility of the more useful metals and their comparative value, are in the following order: gold, silver, iron, platinum, copper, zinc, tin, lead, nickel, and cadmium.

Gold, which is likewise the most malleable of all metals, can in a single grain be extended, as a wire, into the length of seven hundred feet, which gives a thickness of only one thirty-thousandth part of an inch. The gold leaf, which is sold in books, is so extremely thin, that less than five grains can be beaten out so as to cover a surface of about $272\frac{1}{4}$ square inches; and the thickness of each leaf does not exceed the one three hundred-thousandth part of an inch. And yet such is the density of this metal, that the gross approximated amount of gold specie in the world—in all its forms of coins, medals, plate, and ornaments—is capable of being compressed into a mass of twenty feet square. Gold is always found in the metallic form, or as a pure native metal; though, as such, it is generally alloyed by small portions of other metals, as silver, copper, &c., while the main sources of its supply are from alluvial deposits, or the matrix of veins of quartz, or from the substance of the rocks themselves, generally of the older formation. It occurs in all countries, for, while the richest and scarcest of the useful metals, gold is almost universally distributed. It is curious to notice, in connexion with the recent unprecedented supplies from the *diggings* in America and Australia, and man's intense desire at all times for collecting gold, that Professor Jamieson mentions in his work on Mineralogy, that there occurs an auriferous alluvial deposit on the coast of California, of fourteen leagues, and extremely rich in this valuable metal. This was published in 1816; and in his *Manual of Mineralogy*, published in 1821, the same eminent authority states that "in Ireland gold was collected a few years ago to the amount of one thousand ounces, and one piece weighed twenty-two ounces."* It occurred in the alluvial soil at Croghan Kinshela, in Wicklow.†

The metals which occur to any workable extent in Scotland, or which have been worked in former times, are mercury, cobalt, zinc, manganese, antimony, lead, copper, iron, silver, and gold. Several of these are found in such small quantities as to be of no economic value. They are interesting only, and deserving of notice, in a mineralogical point of view; and as they are confined to no particular system of rocks, any description of them must be equally desultory as to their geographical distribution.

Mercury is found in the native state of a metal both in primitive rocks and in those of the coal formation. It is said to occur in the former series in Isla, where it was found in a peat-moss, on the western face of the ridge of quartz-rock which traverses the island; the quantity collected having been two quarts by measure. But Dr. M'Culloch, upon whose authority the statement rests, did not himself find any, nor was he able to form any conjecture as to the source in the mountain whence it was derived.‡ "The only place," says Bishop Watson, in his *Chemical Essays*, "in Great Britain, so rich in metals, where quicksilver has been found is at Berwick-upon-Tweed." This discovery is said to have been made in digging out clay for the

* *Manual of Mineralogy*, p. 263.

† According to the accounts of early writers, the quantity of gold amassed by the ancients must have been prodigious. Thus, in 2 Chron. ix. 13, we are told that Solomon received 666 talents of gold (more than 27 tons weight) in one year; and in 1 Kings, x. 21, it is said: "And all King Solomon's drinking-vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold." Diodorus says, that the tomb of King Simandius was environed with a circle of gold, three hundred and fifty cubits about, and a foot and a half thick. Semiramis erected in Babylon three statues of gold, one of which was forty feet high, and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents. For these statues there was a table or altar of gold, forty feet long, and twelve feet broad, weighing fifty talents.

‡ *Western Islands*, vol. ii. p. 258.

foundation of a house in the street called Hyde Hill, upwards of a century and a half ago; the mercury was observed to exude from the small fissures or cracks which were formed in the clay as it dried. Williams, in his *Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom* (vol. ii. p. 378), and a writer in the *Commercial Magazine* (vol. ii. p. 204), take notice of the circumstance, by whom it was reported that the clay was still found to be impregnated with mercury, which ran out in small globules. Cobalt is more widely diffused, but also in very small quantities; it occurs in the silver mines of Alva, in Stirlingshire, in small veins in the limestone of the coal formation, at Bathgate, along with galena and blende, in the sandstone at Broughton, near Edinburgh; and likewise an arseniate of cobalt and black cobalt ore are found in the lead mines of Tyndrum, near Glenorehay, associated with copper pyrites, calc-spar, and barytes or heavy spar. There is also zinc, though very sparingly, in this locality, as well as in the lead mines of Wanlockhead. Manganese, which is abundantly diffused in rock-crystal, especially the amethyst species of quartz, is said* to occur as an ore in Aberdeenshire.

The ores of antimony are not numerous. A sulphuret of antimony, of a light grey colour, is found in considerable quantities at Glendinning, in Dumfriesshire, where it has been wrought for a great many years. It occurs in a vein, about twenty inches wide, traversing the grauwacke and clay-slate of the district. It yields about fifty per cent. of metal, and has at times been very productive, several hundred tons of antimony having been extracted from the mine.

The ores of nickel are few and sparingly distributed. It occurs in capillary, and sometimes diverging, filaments of a yellowish colour, inclining to steel-grey. Nickel is always an ingredient in meteoric iron, and especially in those mysterious visitors termed *meteoric stones* or *aerolites*. The per-centages in these bodies is from 1.5 to 3.25. It is found in the mines of Leadhills and Wanlockhead; also in veins with nickel-ochre, galena, and blende, in the limestone of the coal-field of Linlithgowshire; and at Alva, in Stirlingshire, accompanying the ores of cobalt, silver, and copper. It has lately been discovered in considerable quantities in the chlorite schist of Argyleshire, on the farm of Carile-Chrata, near Inverary. It occurs along with small portions of the ores of copper and cobalt, and is extracted from the vein in about 11 per cent. of pure nickel.

Lead is very widely distributed in Scotland, being found in almost every district, and occurring in every system of rocks. Its ores are very numerous, but the sulphuret only, or galena, is wrought as a productive mineral. Beautiful carbonates, of blue, green, grey, and white colours, occur at the mines of Wanlockhead and Leadhills. The sulphate and phosphate, with other ores of lead, are found in the same locality; similar specimens, for cabinet purposes, are very abundant in the mines of Tyndrum and Strontian, in Argyleshire. Galena, or the sulphuret of lead, occurs at Monaltrie, Aberdeenshire, in granite; at Strontian, Coll, and other places, in gneiss; at Tomnachashin, on Loeh Tay, in mica-slate, in connexion with greenstone and porphyry; at Wanlockhead and Leadhills, in clay-slate and grauwacke; at Skimmet Hill, in Caithness, and near the old castle of Wick, in grey micaceous old red sandstone; at Cumberhead, in Lanarkshire, and in the Lothians and Fifeshire in the sandstones of the coal formation. With respect to the minerals in these and other localities it may be remarked, that a general notion pervaded the Scottish proprietors, at a period well remembered in Scotland, of the extent and value of their

* Phillips' *Mineralogy*.

subterranean treasures. English, as well as German miners were generally the parties who pursued the researches in these instances, sometimes with more or less success, sometimes having their origin in visionary or perhaps fraudulent views, and only in a few cases with much advantage to the proprietors. The company at Leadhills sent exploring parties, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, over the whole country; often making advantageous contracts for themselves, and sometimes, as in the works on the East Lomond, carrying off the whole produce to England, without any share or remuneration left for lordship. The Blebo mines, in Fifeshire, near St. Andrews, attracted their attention in 1722, where there were found outliers or masses of ore "weighing ten to twenty-four stones of pure metal;" but in consequence of the hardness of the enclosing rock, and "the want of full-grown timber, especially oak," in the vicinity, the arrangements were not completed, nor the workings ever again resumed.*

Copper is found in the native state in many countries. In Cornwall, which is perhaps one of the greatest known depositories of copper and its ores, the native metal occurs in most of the mines. There are only two places in Scotland where it is found in this form, in Zell, one of the Shetland islands, and in Caithness, in the old red sandstone. But the ores are very numerous and highly interesting, from the forms of the crystals and beauty of their colouring. Their distribution is nearly as extensive as the ores of lead, and by the miner they are generally regarded as guides to each other. They have only been found remunerative for working, however, in a few localities, and some of the mines have been since abandoned.

Native iron occurs only in two forms, namely—massive, or in thin plates, but in either form is extremely rare. It is also, as a native metal, the product of volcanos, and has been found among the lava and scoriæ of the mountain of Gravencire, in the department of Puy de Dôme, in France. Iron, in the native state, likewise enters into the composition of those atmospheric bodies termed *meteoric stones* or *aerolites*. These singular concretions are common to all parts of the world; they are supposed by some to be formed in the atmosphere, where their constituent elements, existing in a state of vapour, are caused to unite by electric or magnetic action; by others, as Mrs. Somerville, Professor Silliman, and Baron Humboldt, they are regarded as heavenly bodies, projected from the moon, or even more distant worlds, and which the attraction of our planet has caused to deviate from their previous path, and to speed with the rapidity and force of lightning to the ground. But from whatever source meteoric stones may come it is highly probable that they have a common origin, from the uniformity, or rather the perfect identity, of their composition. The most remarkable, in point of size, of which any record has been preserved is the Siberian mass, found on the banks of the river Janisei, and weighing 1680 Russian pounds; the one discovered in the vice-royalty of Peru, in South America, which weighed about fifteen tons; and another which was found in the desert of Sahara, in Africa, exceeding three thousand pounds in weight. These bodies have all the metallic lustre, are possessed of great malleability and flexibility, and consist of nearly pure iron, with a small trace of nickel, and sometimes of cobalt. The fall of aerolites is now observed to be a phenomenon of very frequent occurrence; hardly a year passes without some instances being noted; and, as Humboldt remarks, they afford the only direct experimental knowledge we possess, if his theory of their origin be adopted, of any of the specific properties or qualities of matter not belonging to our globe.

* M.S. Reports of Blebo and Lomond Lead Mines.

The almost universal presence of the ores of iron, and the infinite variety of its combinations, are too well known to require description. There are about seventy, at least, different species described in works on mineralogy. The diffusion of the mineral in clay-ironstone and black-band belongs to a different part of our sketch, and both have been referred to as members of the carboniferous system.

The metal of silver is generally disseminated in veins among the primary and transition rocks. It is often found in the native state, but most frequently in ores associated with arsenic, cobalt, lead, &c. The most common form of the ore is sulphuret of silver, which is a combination of metallic silver and sulphur. Masses of pure silver, 200 lbs. in weight, have been found in Norway. The rich silver and gold mines of Mexico are in porphyritic rocks. The localities in Scotland in which this metal occurs are, for the most part, pervaded by the same character of rocks—as at Alva, Airthrey, and Dollar, among the porphyries of the Ochils; at Lyncedale, near Linton, among the clay-stone and felspar rocks of the Pentlands; near St. Mary's Loch, in Selkirkshire, where trap dykes are found to intersect the schistose beds of the district; and also at Wanlockhead and Leadhills, where the grauwake and clay-slate are traversed in every direction by felspar rocks, forming irregular beds or veins, from one to thirty feet wide. The quantity of silver found in these places has been variable: in some, mere traces in the lead ores; at Wanlockhead, in the proportion of eight to ten ounces to the ton of lead; at Leadhills, the proportion is even greater, but never been found worth extracting; while at the Woodhill, in the Ochils, after a trial of only a few weeks, made by Sir John Erskine, about 1715, £40,000 to £50,000 worth of silver is said to have been obtained, "besides much ore which was supposed to have been purloined by the workmen." It appears from the registers of the mines kept at Alva, that there are not fewer than fourteen or fifteen veins discovered in the hills there, which, from the trials made, were found to contain specimens of silver, lead, copper, iron, and cobalt. Along the same range, in the Gloom Hill, near Castle Campbell, and to the westward of Alva, at Blairlogie and Airthrey, considerable quantities of silver were extracted about the same period, in combination with ores of lead, cobalt, and copper.* About the year 1607, when the silver mine of Hilderstone, near Linlithgow, was discovered the most flattering expectations were excited. The King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Bynnie or Byres, was proprietor of the land, but his majesty took formal possession of the mine, and appointed commissioners to raise and send ore to the Mint in London, to have its value assayed. By an act of council in that year, Sir Bevis Bulmer and others, were empowered to go to the mine, accompanied by Sir John Arnot, Deputy-treasurer, and Thomas Achieson, Master of the Mint, there to raise ten tons of the various ores and metals; and these very ten tons of "red mettle" were refined in the Tower of London. The mine was worked for three years by the Crown, under Bulmer's directions; when, in 1613, Sir William Alexander, Thomas Foulis, and

* "The vein at Alva made its first appearance in small strings of silver ore, which, being followed, led to a very large mass of that precious ore. Part of this had the appearance of malleable silver, and was found, upon trial, to be so exceedingly rich, as to produce twelve ounces of silver from fourteen ounces of ore. In the year 1767, Lord Alva, of some of the remains of the ore in his possession, caused a pair of communion cups to be made, for the use of the church of Alva. On these the following inscription is engraved: 'Saceris in Ecclesia, S. Servani, apud Alveith, A.D. 1767, ex argento indigeno, D.D., e.g., Jacobus Erskine.'"—*Statistical Account*.

Paulo Pinto, a Portuguese, got a grant of the mine of Hilderstone, on paying a tenth of the refined ore.*

The history of gold in Scotland—the richest of all the metals, from its ductility and other properties—is involved in great obscurity. The system of rocks and quartzose veins, in which it is found in other countries, constitute two-thirds of the superficial area of the island of Great Britain. The rivers that debouch from the mountains—the great chains of the Grampians, Lammermuirs, and Lowthers—flow for the most part through narrow ravines, charged with the debris of the rocks, before they expand into the broad alluvial plains that receive their waters in their passage to the sea. If the all-coveted metal exists in any abundance, therefore, within the boundaries of ancient Caledon the facilities for its extraction, either from the rocks or from the soil, are of the most convenient nature. Early inhabited by a hardy pastoral race in the Highlands, and, from very ancient times, occupied in the Lowlands with boroughs and an enterprising commercial population, there can be little doubt that the auriferous deposit would be highly prized and eagerly sought after; and that, if ever found in any considerable quantities, the discovery could not fail to be noticed in the annals of the period. The leading historical authorities, however, have related very little on the subject; and their references are all of the obscurest and briefest kind. Tradition, as on all other points, has preserved mythical representations of the precious idol, which appears to have existed in every locality, to have had a temple in every rock, worshippers employed in acts of purification in every stream, and kings and nobles to receive their portion of the offerings in every district. Thus along the whole upper watershed of the Clyde, embracing a district of twenty to thirty miles in length, from its source to as low down as Biggar, gold is said to have been found in every rivulet and tributary; likewise, in the basins of all the higher feeders of the Tweed, as at Kersop on the Yarrow, near Philiphaugh, and in Glengaber Burn at Henderland, on the Ettrick, where the researches were very productive; and in Upper Annandale, in the alluvium of Moffat Water, the Annan, and other streams, the traditionary evidences of its existence are abundant. The passes along the Elvan or Shorteleugh Water, the Lankeleugh Burn, the Glengonnar, and all the streamlets in the lateral glens, up to the deserted Gold Scours hamlet—one of the oldest Scottish *lavaderos*—and onwards to the stirring and picturesque villages of Leadhills and Wanlock, among the Lowthers, there are still existing traces of the auriferous treasure, where the washings are carried on, and every year more or less remunerative to those engaged in them.

The midland districts of Scotland, connected with the Pentlands, the Ochils, and the Sidlaws, are equally rife in their traditionary notices of the precious metal. Gold, as well as silver, is reported to have been discovered in the claystone porphyry near Logan Water, and in the Hilderstone Hills of Linlithgowshire; at Alva and Dollar, among the porphyries of the Ochils; at Binnarty, in the same formation, and Largo Law; and at Long-Forgan Moor, on the southern slope of the Sidlaws, near Dundee. The schistose rocks of the Grampians—nearly identical with the Ural chain in Russia, the auriferous mountains of Australia and California, and many of the lofty ridges which feed the gold-sand rivers of Africa—are referred to in works on mineralogy as having many nuclei of the metal: sometimes in the rocks themselves, sometimes in the alluvium of the

* Preface to *The Discoverie and Historie of the Mines in Scotland*, by Stephen Atkinson. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

rivers. Glen Turret, in Perthshire, is mentioned by several authorities, although we have been able to discover no local evidence of its existence, now or at any former period; likewise Glen Quoich in the immediate vicinity, or some one of the other numerous glens that rejoice in the same cognomen, is given as a habitat of gold. And in Aberdeenshire there are various places, resting upon tradition or equally unauthenticated accounts, which claim connection with the mineral, as Dumdeer, Drumgavan, the bogs of New Leslie, the Menzies, in the parish of Foveran; and rich deposits are said to have occurred at Overhill in Behelvie, on the Strathmore property. While doubtless many of these golden legends may be traced to the Dousterswivels of the time, it is no less certain that others have a real foundation in history, as the following gleanings from authentic sources will show, or even induce a belief, from the character of our Scottish rocks, that the auriferous treasures of the country are greater than former indications may seem to warrant.

An Act of Parliament of James I., held at Perth in May, 1424, proves that mines of gold, silver, and lead were known in Scotland as early as that year; and probably that discoveries of the more precious metal, as at Glen Turret and Glen Quoich, had already been made within the limits of the county. It was enacted in* the reign of the same monarch that no gold or silver should be permitted to be carried forth of the realm, except it pay a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported; and in the event of any attempt to contravene this provision the defaulter was to forfeit the whole gold or silver, and to pay a fine of forty pennies over and above to the king. But nearly a century earlier, it appears† that David I. granted to the Abbey of Dunfermline "the tenth of all the gold that should accrue to him out of Fife and Fotherif;" i.e., according to Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, the kingdom or territory of the Forth, from the neighbourhood of Stirling to where the river is lost in the salt water. The part of the Ochils, in which are situated the mines of Aithrey, Alva, and Dollar, skirt the northern boundary of this district, and may, therefore, have yielded the gold here referred to. Further notices of both gold and lead occur in the *Compotum Constabularii de Tarbart*, 1326, of King Robert Bruce, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, in the *Minutes of the Privy Council*, and the *Treasurer's Compta of the Jameses*, in the *Otho M.S.* in the British Museum,‡ and in certain memoranda given to Sir Robert Sibbald by Colonel Borthwick and Mr. R. Seton;—from all of which there can be no doubt of the eager attention of the lieges being from an early period directed to the subject, and of the existence of the metal in several parts of the kingdom. If the chronicles are to be credited, it would appear that from a period much earlier the inhabitants of North Britain were accustomed to seek for gold, and were well acquainted with many of its ornamental purposes and economic uses. Tacitus, in his history of Agricola, refers to the country of the Caledonians as yielding the precious metals—"fert Britannia aurum, argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriae;" and in the *Britannic Researches*, lately published by Beale Poste, Esq., there is this curious and interesting statement: "Afterwards there came Roman chieftains across the sea, and gained a great victory over the Britons (i.e., Caledonians, A.D. 421), so that they vindicated the honour of their people upon them, and they plundered the island of Britain of its gold and its silver, and took from it its satin and silk, and its vessels of gold and silver, so that they returned home with victory and triumph."

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 182.

† Haile's *Annals*, v. i. p. 363.

‡ *The Cottonian Collection*. *Otho*, F. x. 12.

Their traffic in money and the disposition of the inhabitants of Britain, even before this time, to become a prey to usurers, are evinced by the fact that no less a person than the philosopher Seneca had the large sum of 10,000,000 sesterces, or about £81,000, placed out at interest among the chiefs and nobles, who expended large sums in building villas, and indulging the multifarious luxuries of their conquerors.*

According to Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in his *Descriptio Regionum et Insularum Scotiae*, the gold mines at Crawford Muir were first discovered in the reign of James IV., when several entrances were made in the accounts of the king's Treasurer, in the years 1511, 1512, and 1513, concerning sundry payments made to Sir James Pettigrew, and the men employed by him in working the mines. From this period downwards, through several reigns, the mines of Crawford Muir became an object of attention, not only to the Scottish monarchs, but also to Queen Elizabeth, and several English mining adventurers. Considerable sums from time to time were obtained, both from the washings of the alluvium, and the matrix of the quartz of which the veins chiefly consist. James V., on his marriage with Magdalen of France, caused to be presented to his royal bride several covered cups filled with native gold or coins, as specimens of Scotch *fruit*: an act of gallantry said to have been performed, at a later period, after a similar fashion, by the Regent Morton. The subsequent marriage of James with Mary of Lorraine gave a fresh impulse to the mining researches of the king, who brought over from France a body of workmen from her native Duchy; owing to whose superior skill sufficient quantities of gold were obtained to form the regalia—thirty-five ounces being devoted to the queen's crown, and three pounds ten ounces to that of the king's. One Cornelius Hardskins, a German miner, was sent to Wanlockhead by Queen Elizabeth to collect gold. He formed a company and obtained a lease of the mines, employed "sixscore men, and women, lads, and lasses," and in the space of thirty days sent to the Mint at Edinburgh £450 sterling, where a considerable quantity was coined into three-pound pieces, each of which is said to have weighed one ounce. Another miner, Abraham Gray, called *Gray-beard*—sent also by Elizabeth—collected as much gold as to form a basin, which he presented to the French king, full of gold coins, by the Earl of Morton. It is reported on the same authority—the chronicles of the period—that one George Bowes collected in Roberts's Moor pieces of gold of the size of a small bird's egg; he also discovered a vein or stratum of earth in which small particles abounded, from which he soon collected a considerable quantity; but having engaged with the avaricious Queen of England—whose emissary he likewise was—to keep all his discoveries secret, he caused the shafts to be filled up, and his agents and workmen sworn to secrecy. He presented a purse full of the precious metal to Elizabeth, valued at sevenscore pounds sterling. Her majesty very graciously thanked him for the gift, and engaged him to return at her expense next season, for the purpose of searching for "a richer vein;" but he was killed on his way by the breaking of a ladder in a mine at Keswick, in Cumberland. Mr. Bowes appears to have employed a great many workmen, and to have paid them with native gold. It is also related that Sir Bevis Bulmer, Master of the Mint to Queen Elizabeth, employed three hundred men for several summers in searching for gold at the mines of Wanlock and Leadhills, who collected £100,000 sterling worth, and which was certainly used at the Scottish Mint, though the amount is probably exaggerated. We find in the records of the Privy

* Xiphilinus's *Life of Nero*.

Council, that in 1591, "fourseoir stane weight of gold," and also, in the same year, two hundred weight of gold, were ordered to be coined; but it is not related where the gold was found. By a grant of James VI., in 1593, the gold, silver, and lead mines in Crawford or Friar Muir, and Glengonnar, are given to Thomas Foullis, goldsmith in Edinburgh, for twenty-one years, in consideration of the great sums due to him by his majesty and his "dearest spouse." The king, it appears, was due to Foullis £14,594, and his majesty pledged in security "twa drinking peccis of gold, weyand in the hail fytene pundis and fyve uncis;" while it is clear that the tacksman worked the mines to some extent in 1597, as there are acts of council in that year for the protection of his carriers against "broken men of the Borders."*

The gold, it may be observed, seldom occurs in the veins or lodes in this district, but in small grains it is plentifully diffused through the soil on the slopes of the hills, and in the drift of the streamlets that occupy the ravines and valleys. Several valuable specimens are reported, from time to time, to have been picked up by the miners and others within a comparatively recent period. One specimen was found which equalled in size an ordinary field-bean; a second which weighed ninety, and a third which weighed sixty grains. The largest known nugget was about two pounds in weight, found at Leadhills in the time of the Jameses. Having visited the locality on the 9th of September, 1853—a day ever to be remembered from the glorious sunshine and golden beauty of the hills—we saw various collections of gold in the possession of the residents, which they were daily augmenting. Dr. Watson, the intelligent author of *A Brief Historical Account of the Mines of Wanlockhead*, showed us a considerable quantity collected by himself,—some in small grains, others in pieces of nearly the size of a garden-pea. One gentleman, of our own academic acquaintance, we accidentally met in Glen Mennock, who had purposely come from a distance to "the diggings"—inspired by the *auri sacra fames*—and though only a few days at work, had obtained as much gold, in small grains and flakes, as would make a tolerable sized brooch-ornament, to which he had destined his gatherings and limited his ambition. These circumstances we notice, as showing the auriferous character of the district.

The two great mountain chains in Scotland, extending nearly from sea to sea, are the Grampians and the Lammermuirs, with their continuation into the Lowther group. They consist of granite, gneiss, mica-schist, quartz-rock, marble, clay-slate, and grauwake. The auriferous rocks in all countries, without a single exception, are composed of the same series, lying in the same order of superposition, and flanked by the same non-auriferous old red and other sandstones. They are traversed in every direction by veins of granite, quartz, metals, and other minerals. Quartz-rock, in Scotland, pure white massive rock, covers an area of 800 square miles, of an average thickness of 1000 feet at least, while veins of the same substance are everywhere to be seen over the Highlands, from the southern ridges of the Grampians to Cape Wrath, rising sometimes like vertical walls, of several yards in breadth, and traceable for miles along the surface. Similar veins are common throughout the Lammermuir range, as well as in all the granite, grauwake, and clay-slate formations in Galloway, Kirkeudbright, and Upper Nithsdale. Universally over the surface of the globe one of the matrices of gold is quartz-rock. The Ural chain, the gold-bearing mountains of Hungary, Siberia, Australia, Cali-

* Atkinson's *Mynes of Scotland*. Vide, also, two very interesting articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May and June, 1853, on the Gold Regions of Scotland.

fornia, Mexico and Peru, are all of the same mineral characters, and belong to the same geological epoch with those of our primary and older palæozoic mountains. In England the quartz-rock and entire primary series cover only about 600 square miles. In Scotland they amount to more than 19,000 square miles, or nearly two-thirds of the surface. In England the auriferous quality of the quartz-rock is reported to be nearly as two ounces of metal to every ton of the mineral. There is no reason to doubt that the quartz-rock of Scotland is fully as auriferous as that of England; and hence should chemistry, which has made such prodigious advances within the last half-century, be successful in discovering some easier and cheaper method of separating the metal from the stone, no limits can be set to the riches of the mountain-land of Scotland. At present the expense of extraction, by crushing and other means, is so great as to be unremunerative; but as all mechanical difficulties are giving way to the progress of human invention, the presumption is that the mineral kingdom, so extensively explored by geology, will also become more obedient to the analytical processes and resolving powers of science. Chemistry has already effected wonders in separating as well as in combining, in subduing the most volatile elements as in reducing the most flinty refractory mass to ductility and softness. And hence we may yet find in the fable of Prometheus taking fire from heaven to animate his man of clay, an emblem of the transmuting powers of chemistry in dissolving the rocks of the earth, and vivifying their opaque dust with the radiant lustre of the precious metal.

CONCLUSION.

These researches, both as respects the metals and the rocks in which the metals are disseminated, have carried us over a wide field of observation, and shown that within the limits of our own mountain land there are specimens of nearly all the mineral substances which enter into the composition of the earth's crust. Some of the more useful minerals, as iron, lime, and coal, exist in a larger proportion than in any other country in the world. Compared with their superficial areas, the carboniferous formation may be estimated as follows: in the whole of Britain, at a twentieth of the surface; in Belgium, at a twenty-fourth; in France, at one two-hundredth; in America, with all its abundant stores of the deposit, at a still smaller ratio; while in Scotland it covers more than a seventeenth part of the surface. All the other interesting phenomena brought to light by the science of geology, are likewise exhibited in some of their more striking points of view. The several systems of rocks, in their divisional groups and strata, are not more distinguishable from each other than are the families of plants and animals, in their genera and species, which were contemporaneous with their deposition, and in whose stony matrix they have been so marvellously preserved. The primary mountain chains were established, and vast masses of secondary and tertiary plutonic rocks were upheaved by the agency of volcanic movements, which have shown themselves no less obedient to the restraining hand of a wise Providence, in securing the foundations of our steadfast earth, than contributive to all those arrangements on the surface that so adorn our land: in its plains, hills, and valleys—in its springs, rivers, and lochs—and in all the enchanting diversity of its Island and Highland scenery. The repeated submergence of the land under the sea, or the invasion of the sea upon the land, whereby its waters were violently agitated, have been no less pro-

ductive of good, in preparing a fertile soil of earth, covering up the dry flinty rock, and rendering the precipitous mountain slope smooth and accessible. Thus everything that meets the view above, and all that is enclosed in the rocky chambers beneath, in Scotland, as in all the world over, go to confirm the grand conclusion, that the earth has a regular structure—that its materials have been arranged under the operation of general laws of great energy and wisdom—and that all its changes are to be viewed as the physical expression of omniscient intelligence and omnipotent rule, guided by benevolent purpose and skilful contrivance, since, “in the beginning,” God created the heavens and the earth, and the Divine Spirit moved upon the face of the deep.

“Chasms of the early world are there,
And rocks are seen, craggy, and vast, and bare,
And many a dizzy precipice sublime,
And caverns dark as death ;—
Above, in all his old regality,
The monarch eagle sits upon his throne,
Or floats upon the desert winds alone.”

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

SEC. 1 is a sketch from Dr. M'Culloch's *Western Islands*, which shows the intermixture and relative positions of the conglomerate trap-tuff, the amorphous and columnar basalt, as exhibited on the south-west side of Staffa. The whole face here is divided into three distinct beds of trap of different characters. The lowest consists of tufa, the next of the great columnar range, and the uppermost of an irregular mixture of small, implicated and bent columns, with an amorphous basalt.

SEC. 2 represents the various rock formations of Scotland, according to their lineal outcrop and relative superposition, from the granite to the new red sandstone. The superincumbent strata, as not lying in the line of bearing, are not delineated in the section. The primary series of the Grampians are denoted by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in the order of description in the text. Fig. 7 shows the grauwake and clay-slate of the Lammermuirs. Fig. 8, the old red sandstone, in the several districts in which it occurs. Fig. 9, the felspar porphyry, and other varieties of trap of the Sidlaw and Ochil ranges. Fig. 10, the carboniferous series, the black line showing the position of the mountain limestone. Fig. 11, the new red sandstone, overlying the coal-field of Cannobie, and its direction across the Border.

PLATE II.

SEC. 1 is a striking example of flexure in gneiss, occurring in the Island of Bernera, in Lewis. The different lines indicate the various colours by which the flexion of the rock is rendered sensible; and the blacker tints point out the alternating beds of hornblende-schist in the same mass. At one side the strata appears to have been compressed and elongated at the same time.—M'Culloch's *Western Islands*.

SEC. 2 is intended to represent the yellow sandstone of Dura Den, or upper series of the old red, betwixt the underlying beds of the middle series, and the overlying carboniferous system, in its lowest seams of coal. Several eruptions of trap are likewise shown in the section.

SEC. 3 is a sketch of the cliffs of Airdnamurchan Point. There are more than two sets of veins represented, but it is not possible to determine how many, as the

fractures of the rock, in nature, interfere with the nicety of examination that would be required for that purpose. The sketch has been divested of all these accidental circumstances, so as to render the essential parts more visible.—M'Culloch's *Western Islands*.

PLATE III.

Fig. 1, the Trilobite, is one of the earliest creations of animal life, and constitutes the prevailing type of the Silurian rocks in every quarter of the globe. Fig. 2, the Coccosteous, characterises the lower series of the old red sandstone. Fig. 3, Cephalaspis, belongs to the middle series; while Osteolepis, Fig. 4, ranges through both. The Holoptychius, Fig. 5, is found abundantly in the middle and upper, and also in the carboniferous system. Pamphractus, Fig. 6, is chiefly found in the yellow sandstone deposit of the upper series.

PLATE IV.

The forms here represented are all peculiar to the carboniferous formation. Fig. 1 represents the elegant upright stem of the *Apioerinites rotundus*, or Pear Enerinite, copied in part from the restoration of the Bradford specimen in Miller's *Crinoidea*. The arms are nearly closed. Fig. 2 shows the body of *Aetinoerinus*, along with the pectoral and capital plates, and the orifice of the mouth, or proboscis, capable of elongation for sucking in food (see page lx). The Enerinite, Fig. 12, constitutes the prevailing type of the mountain limestone, as the *Lepidodendron* and *Sigillaria*. Figs. 14 and 15, are equally characteristic of the coal-beds. The roots of *Sigillaria* are now regarded as one and the same with what is described in the text as the trunk and stems of *Stigmaria*. Fig. 15 is an upright trunk of *Sigillaria*, recently discovered in the coal-field of St. Helen's, near Liverpool; it is nine feet high, with ten roots, several feet long, attached, and extending in the underlay in their natural position. The roots resemble in structure and form undoubted *Stigmariæ*, and thus establish the correctness of M. A. Brongniart's conjecture as to the identity of the two trees—the stem and roots of the same fossil vegetable body.

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

OUR earliest authentic knowledge of Britain comes from the Romans. In the fifty-fifth year before the Christian era, Julius Cæsar effected his first landing on the southern shores of our island. But it was not till 135 years later, during the reign of the emperor Vespasian, that Cnæus Julius Agricola, at the head of a Roman army, penetrated into the northern parts of the country. This distinguished general, whose exploits have been fully described by his son-in-law, Tacitus, the ablest and most philosophical of the ancient historians, was appointed to the government of Britain in the seventy-eighth year of our era.

A. D. 79.

He began his military career in this province by conquering the tribes in the north-western parts of the country, and subduing Mona, which, after the departure of Suetonius, had regained its independence. In the

A. D. 80.

succeeding summer he carried his arms to the northward, into the territory of tribes with whom the Romans had never, as yet, come into contact. It is the opinion of the learned Chalmers, that Agricola, setting out from Maneunium, the Manchester of the present day, led his army along the western coast, and that, after traversing Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, he came to the Tau, which this writer contends was not the river Tay, as is commonly supposed, but the Solway Frith. The Tau (the Taus of Tacitus), he says, is a British word, signifying an estuary, or any extended sheet of water, and might, therefore, apply to the Solway equally with the Tay. Besides, he contends, it is incredible that the Roman legionaries, who were so vigorously opposed during their sixth campaign in the strong country which lies between the Forth and the Tay, could have crossed so many streams and mountains, subdued so many strongholds, and penetrated so far northward as the Tay, without encountering a much more formidable opposition. It was the plan, he

argues, of this cautious general, to advance by degrees, and to fortify the country as he advanced; and we accordingly find him spending the remainder of the season in building a line of forts in the most convenient situations for keeping possession of the country he had gained. Others, however, are of opinion that the march of Agricola to the Taus, in his third summer, was merely an inroad undertaken with a view to discover the country, to lay it waste, and to strike terror into the inhabitants, and that the occupation of it was not at that time attempted or thought of.

The fourth summer, according to Tacitus, was spent by Agricola in exploring and overrunning the country extending A. D. 81. from the Solway to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and in securing the territory which had been overrun. The historian speaks of the tides of the opposite seas flowing very far up the estuaries of Clota and Bodotria (the Friths of Clyde and Forth), so as to leave only a narrow neck of land, which Agricola defended by a chain of forts. Thus, he adds, all the territory on that side was held in subjection, and the remaining enemies were removed, as it were, into another island.

In making this advance, however, the Roman general had overlooked the country which lies between the Solway and the Clyde, now included in the counties of Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Ayr. And as the fierce tribes inhabiting that region would have been left in his rear, in the event of his carrying his conquests beyond the Forth, he thought it prudent to subdue them, before undertaking his contemplated expedition to the north. "He accordingly invaded," A. D. 82. says Tacitus, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," which must be the promontory of Galloway.* To do this, he is

* Tacit. Agric. chap. xxiv.; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i p. 101. Some writers suppose that Agricola, in his fifth campaign, crossed the Frith of Clyde, and subdued the natives of Cantyre, Lorn, and Lochaber, but the words of Tacitus, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," clearly point to Galloway as the scene of Agricola's operations.

supposed to have sailed from Kilbride Loch, in Cumberland on the Solway, and to have landed near Brow at the Lochar-mouth, which here forms a natural harbour. From the coast of Galloway Agricola obtained a view of the distant hills of Ireland, and the sight is said to have suggested the idea of invading that island also, for the purpose of adding it to the Roman empire; but this design was never carried into execution. After various engagements with the native tribes, he succeeded in clearing the south-west of Scotland, as far as the forts on the Frith of Clyde. In this campaign, according to Tacitus, he subdued several nations till the unknown to the Romans.

In the summer of the sixth year of his administration, Agricola resolved to extend his operations to the district beyond the Forth, as he dreaded a general insurrection of the more remote tribes, who had hitherto been disunited, and hostile to each other. The army was attended and supported in all its movements by the fleet, which had been commissioned to survey the coasts and harbours. Guided by the information communicated by his naval officers, the Roman general crossed the Forth at Inchgarvie, where the frith is greatly contracted by the projecting points of the opposite shores, and landed in Fife, at a place now called North-ferry.* On reaching the north side of the Forth, the army marched along the east coast, attended by the ships. The fleet kept so near the shore, that, as Tacitus informs us, "the cavalry, infantry, and marines were frequently mingled in the same camp, and recounted, with mutual pleasure, their several exploits and adventures, comparing, in the boastful language of military men, the dark recesses of woods and mountains with the horrors of waves and tempests, and the land and enemy subdued with the conquered ocean." †

Agricola now found himself for the first time severely engaged with the real Caledonians, whose courage and confidence were still unshaken by defeat. They immediately flew to arms, and, without waiting to be attacked, commenced offensive operations by assaulting the Roman forts on the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, which Agricola had left behind him without adequate defence. This act of daring is said to have alarmed the invaders, and Agricola was advised by some of his officers to retreat beyond the Forth rather than wait to be driven back by the enemy. He at once rejected this advice; and being informed that the Caledonians intended to attack him on all sides, he disposed his army into three divisions, that his inferiority of numbers and ignorance of the country might not give them an opportunity of surrounding him. One of these divisions, consisting of the ninth legion, which had been weakened by former

engagements, pitched its camp at Lochore, about two miles to the south of Lochleven, where traces of the encampment are still to be seen.* Here the Romans were vigorously attacked during the night by the native tribes, and would have been entirely overwhelmed if Agricola had not come with great celerity to their aid, and driven the assailants back to their woods and morasses. The Caledonians, however, were no way discouraged by this repulse, but resolved to defend their country to the last extremity. They therefore proceeded to arm their youth, to send their wives and children into places of safety, and to ratify the confederacy of their several tribes by solemn assemblies and sacrifices. The Romans meanwhile spent the winter in Fife, where the fleet supplied them with provisions, and kept open their communications with the garrisons on the south side of the Forth.

When the Roman commander took the field, in his seventh and last campaign, he sent forward his fleet to alarm and distract the enemy, by ravaging different parts of the country, and then moved northward with his army, to which he had now added as auxiliaries some of the bravest of the southern Britons, on whose fidelity he could rely. He appears to have directed his line of march by the course of the Devon, turning to the right from Glen-Devon, through the opening of the Ochil hills, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-Eagles, leaving the braes of Ogilvie on his left; then passing between Blackford and Auchterarder, an easy march would bring him to the moor of Ardoch, at the foot of the Grampian mountains, †—the Gran-Pen of the Britons, signifying the head or chief ridge. Here he found the native host drawn up under a chief, whose name has been latinized into Galgacus, the most distinguished among the Caledonian chieftains for his birth and valour. According to Tacitus, the barbarians amounted to thirty thousand men, though the number has, in all probability, been greatly exaggerated; for, as Chalmers justly remarks, there was not a district in Scotland during that age, which could have fed thirty thousand persons for one day. The Roman army consisted of eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, with about four thousand

* Gordon's Itin. p. 36; Sibbald's Hist. Inq. p. 37; Old Stat. Act. of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 315; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 110; Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, vol. vi. p. 7. Mr. Pennant, however, is of opinion that Comrie, in Perthshire, was the place of attack.

† The exact site of this battle has been keenly disputed, some fixing it at the base of the central, and others at that of the eastern portion of the Grampian range. Chalmers contends, with great probability, that the moor of Ardoch was the spot on which the engagement took place. There are very evident signs here of ancient conflicts. The large ditch of a Roman camp can still be traced for a considerable distance; weapons, both British and Roman, have been dug up, and on the hill above Ardoch Moor are two enormous heaps of stones, the one called Carnwochel, the other Carnlee, which are, in all probability, the sepulchral cairns of the Caledonians who fell in the battle. See Gordon's Itin. Septen. p. 42; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 112; and Roy's Mil. Antiq. pl. 10.

• Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 109.
• Tacit. Agric. chap. xxv.

legionaries and eleven thousand auxiliaries. But every possible advantage was on the side of the invaders. They were composed of highly disciplined and veteran troops, completely equipped, with both offensive weapons and defensive armour of the best kind, and led on by a general of consummate ability and great experience in the art of war; while their opponents were little else than an undisciplined mass of barbarians, armed with long and unwieldy swords, without points, and only meant for cutting. The issue of such a contest could not have been long doubtful, but for the desperate valour of those who fought for the independence of their country, and all that is dear to man.

Before the engagement, according to Tacitus, the two hostile leaders stimulated the ardour of their respective armies by eloquent and glowing appeals to their hopes and fears. The speech which the historian has put into the mouth of Galgacus is worthy of special attention, not, of course, on account of its genuineness, but because of the view which it indirectly gives of the hardships which the Romans inflicted upon the nations whom they subdued, and because the ascription of such sentiments to the leader of the Caledonians shows the high estimation in which their obstinate valour compelled even their conquerors to hold them.

“When I reflect on the causes of the war, and the circumstances of our situation, I feel a strong persuasion that our united efforts on the present day will prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. For we are all undebased by slavery; and there is no land behind us, nor does even the sea afford a refuge, whilst the Roman fleet hovers around. Thus the use of arms, which is at all times honourable to the brave, now offers the only safety even to cowards. In all the battles which have yet been fought with various success against the Romans, our countrymen may be deemed to have reposed their final hopes and resources in us; for we, the noblest sons of Britain, and therefore stationed in its last recesses, far from the view of servile shores, have preserved even our eyes unpolluted by the contact of subjection. We, at the furthest limits, both of land and liberty, have been defended to this day by the remoteness of our situation and of our fame. The extremity of Britain is now disclosed: and whatever is unknown becomes an object of magnitude. But there is no nation beyond us; nothing but waves and rocks, and the still more hostile Romans, whose arrogance we cannot escape by obsequiousness and submission. These plunderers of the world, after exhausting the land by their devastations, are rifling the ocean: stimulated by avarice, if their enemy be rich; by ambition, if poor; unsatiated by the east and by the west,—the only people who behold wealth and indigence with equal avidity. To ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire: and where they

make a desert, they call it peace. Our children and relations are, by the appointment of nature, rendered the dearest of all things to us. These are torn away by levies to serve in foreign lands. Our wives and sisters, though they should escape the violation of hostile force, are polluted under the names of friendship and hospitality. Our estates and possessions are consumed in tributes; our grain in contributions. Even our bodies are worn down, amidst stripes and insults, in clearing woods and draining marshes. Wretches born to slavery are once bought, and afterwards maintained by their masters: Britain every day buys, every day feeds, her own servitude. And as among domestic slaves every new-comer serves for the derision of his fellows, so in this ancient household of the world, we, as the newest and vilest, are sought out to destruction. For we have neither cultivated lands, nor mines, nor harbours, which can induce them to preserve us for our labours. The valour, too, and unsubmitting spirit of subjects only render them more obnoxious to their masters; while remoteness and secrecy of situation itself, in proportion as it conduces to security, tends to inspire suspicion. Since, then, all hopes of mercy are vain, let those at length assume courage, to whom safety as well as to whom glory is dear. The Trinobantes, even under a female leader, had force enough to burn a colony, to storm camps, and, if success had not damped their vigour, would have been able entirely to throw off the yoke; and shall not we, untouched, unsubdued, and struggling, not for the acquisition but for the security of liberty, show at the very first onset what men Caledonia has reserved for her defence? Can you imagine that the Romans are as brave in war as they are licentious in peace? Acquiring renown from our discords and dissensions, they convert the faults of their enemies to the glory of their own army: an army compounded of the most different nations, which, as success alone has kept together, misfortune will certainly dissipate;—unless, indeed, you can suppose that Gauls and Germans, and (I blush to say it) even Britons, who, though they expend their blood to establish a foreign dominion, have been longer its foes than its subjects, will be retained by loyalty and affection! Terror and dread alone are their weak bonds of attachment, which, once broken, they who cease to fear will begin to hate. Every incitement to victory is on our side. The Romans have no wives to animate them; no parents to upbraid their flight. Most of them have either no home, or a distant one. Few in number, ignorant of the country, looking around in silent horror at woods, seas, and a heaven itself unknown to them, they are delivered by the gods, as it were imprisoned and bound, into our hands.

“Be not terrified with an idle show, and the glitter of silver and gold, which can neither protect nor wound. In the very ranks of the enemy

we shall find our own bands. The Britons will acknowledge their own cause. The Gauls will recollect their former liberty. The rest of the Germans will desert them, as the Usipii have lately done. Nor is there anything formidable behind them. Ungarrisoned forts, colonies of old men, municipal towns, distempered and distracted between unjust masters and ill-obeying subjects. Here is a general; here an army. There, tributes, mines, and all the train of punishments inflicted on slaves; which, whether to bear eternally, or instantly to revenge, this field must determine. March, then, to battle, and think of your ancestors and think of your posterity."

In accordance with the usual Roman policy, the auxiliaries were left to bear the brunt of the battle. They were stationed in the centre, the horse were drawn up on the wings, and the legionaries were placed in the rear, to bring support wherever it might be required. "The Caledonians, for the greater display of their numbers," says Tacitus, "were ranged upon the rising ground, so that the front line stood upon the plain; the rest, as if linked together, rose above one another upon the ascent. The charioteers and horsemen filled the middle of the field."* The battle was obstinately contested, and was at length decided in favour of the Romans, as their own historian admits, not so much by their great valour, as by their superior skill and better weapons. After the defeat of the main body, a reserve of the Caledonians made a movement with a view to take the Romans in flank, but the attempt was defeated by Agricola in person, at the head of a strong body of legionaries, and the flight then became universal. Ten thousand fell, either in the battle or the pursuit, whilst the loss of the Romans amounted to only three hundred and sixty men. Tacitus relates, that the natives set fire to their dwellings before mingling with the fugitives from the battle, and that some of them laid violent hands upon their own wives and children, in order to save them from slavery and

* The Latin word used by Tacitus, *covinarius*, signifies the driver of a *corvus*, or chariot, the axle of which was bent into the form of a scythe. The manner in which the Britons fought from chariots is particularly described by Cæsar, who gives them the name of *essedæ*. "The following is the manner of fighting from the *essedæ*. They first drive round with them to all parts of the line, throwing their javelins, and generally disordering the ranks by the very alarm occasioned by the horses and the rattling of the wheels; then, as soon as they have insinuated themselves between the troops of horse, they leap from their chariots and fight on foot. The drivers then withdraw a little from the battle, in order that, if their friends are overpowered by numbers, they may have a secure retreat to the chariots. Thus they act with the celerity of horse and the stability of foot; and by daily use and exercise they acquire the power of holding up their horses at full speed down a steep declivity, of stopping them suddenly, and turning in a short compass, and they accustom themselves to run upon the pole, and stand on the cross-tree, and from thence, with great agility, to recover their place in the chariot."—Bell. Gall. iv. 33.

The Roman historian mentions also, that in this battle the Caledonians used broadswords and small targets, which remained so long after, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

the Romans. Night put an end to the engagement and the slaughter, and next day nothing was seen in front of the invading army, but a silent and deserted country, and houses involved in smoke and flame. The victory was complete, but it was of no practical value in its results. The vanquished Caledonians found refuge in their mountain fastnesses, whither the victors durst not venture to follow them. Agricola led back his army to the territories of the Horestii (Fifeshire), whom he had previously subdued, and at length distributed his troops into their winter quarters.

Meanwhile, the fleet was sent on a voyage of discovery, from the Frith of Tay round the north coast of Scotland. It doubled the promontory of Caithness and Cape Wrath, proceeding as far as the Orcades and even Thule—supposed to be Foula—the most northerly of the Shetland islands; then ran down the western coast to the Land's End in Corwall, and turning to the east arrived in safety at the Trutalensian harbour, (supposed to be Sandwich, in Kent); sailing thence, along the eastern coast, it returned to its former station in the Frith of Tay. To this exploratory voyage the Roman world, in all probability, owed its first certain knowledge that Britain was an island. The imagination of the mariners was no doubt greatly excited by the novel sights which they witnessed, and they appear to have indulged in exaggerated statements respecting the icebound regions of the north; for Tacitus, who in all probability received the narrative from his father-in-law Agricola, and the officers of his fleet, states that the Orcades (Orkney) islands, till then unknown, were discovered and subdued; that Thule, which had been concealed in gloom and eternal snows, was also discovered; and that the sea in these parts is a sluggish mass of stagnant water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and scarcely ever agitated by winds and storms. "The dominion of the sea," he adds, "is nowhere more extensive, for it forces up and carries back with it the waters of rivers; and its ebbs and flowings are not confined to the shore, but it penetrates into the heart of the country, and works its way among hills and mountains as in its native bed."*

Soon after these exploits, Agricola was recalled by the jealous tyrant Domitian, and returned to Rome, where he A. D. 85. died, not without suspicions that his days had been shortened by poison.

From this period to the accession of the emperor Hadrian, the Roman historians are A. D. 117. nearly silent about Britain. But we then learn, that the imperial authority was maintained with difficulty. The Romans were attacked by the native tribes all along the northern frontiers, and the whole island was thrown into such confusion, that the emperor in person found it necessary to

* Tacit. Agric. chap. x.

make an expedition into Scotland to repress the disorders. The conquests of Agricola, to the north of the Tyne and Solway, were virtually relinquished, and Hadrian contented himself with erecting a new and much stronger rampart than that raised by Agricola, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, the remains of which may still be traced. Up to this period, therefore, it is evident that the Romans had obtained no permanent footing in Caledonia, though the discovery of a succession of coins along the line of the ancient rampart which united the Friths of Forth and Clyde, shows that they had not entirely abandoned the country to the north of the Solway.*

On the death of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius succeeded to the imperial throne. Lollius Urbicus, the governor, whom

A. D. 138.

the new emperor appointed to the command in Britain, distinguished himself by the courage and ability which he displayed against the turbulent and warlike tribes of Caledonia, whom he again drove into their inaccessible fastnesses beyond the Grampians. He rebuilt the wall

A. D. 140.

between the Forth and the Clyde, which appears to have been completely destroyed by the incursions of the barbarians.† The rampart of Lollius consisted of a deep ditch and an earthen wall raised on a foundation of stone. It extended about thirty miles, and was defended by nineteen forts, placed at intervals along the line. A military road ran, as a necessary appendage, within the rampart, affording a ready communication from station to station. Such has been the solidity of its construction, that, notwithstanding the perishable nature of the materials, this mound can still be traced after the lapse of seventeen centuries, and inscribed stones have been, from time to time, discovered in various parts of the line, recording that the second legion, and detachments from the sixth and the twentieth legions, with some auxiliaries, were employed upon the works.

For a period of about twenty years, during which the administration of Lollius Urbicus lasted, peace appears to have been maintained; and this able officer devoted himself to the improvement of the country, by the construction of various camps and fortalices, the ruins of which may still be traced; by the formation of roads, and the introduction of those useful arts which are best calculated to elevate and civilize the character of barbarous nations. This period is rendered memorable by the extension of the privileges of Roman citizenship to all the

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 116.

† Horsley's Brit. Rom. lib. i. c. 10. It is usually called the wall of Antoninus, after the emperor under whom it was erected, but among the people it bears the name of Græme's or Grim's Dyke. Gryme in Welsh and Cornish signifies 'strong,' and Chalmers conjectures that the term is applied metaphorically for "a strength or a rampart." The fable that the name was derived from a leader of the Scots who first broke through the wall, is now completely exploded.

inhabitants of the Roman empire—a measure worthy of that emperor, who has been justly denominated the second Numa, and whose glory it is, that he diffused order and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth.

The death of this benevolent monarch put an end to the administration of Lollius Urbicus in Britain, and to his

A. D. 161.

prudent and energetic measures to preserve the tranquillity of the country. Calphurnius Agricola had to be despatched by the new emperor Marcus Aurelius to quell an insurrection of the British tribes. During the twelve years which succeeded this revolt, no further mention is made of their attempts to throw off the Roman yoke. But in the reign of Commodus they again broke through the wall of Anto-

A. D. 183.

nius, and ravaged the country which lay between that rampart and the wall of Hadrian, and even defeated the Roman legions and slew their general. The alarm caused by this insurrection was so great that Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great ability and experience, was despatched in haste from Rome to take the command of the Roman troops in Britain. He speedily succeeded in chasing the native tribes beyond the barrier, and in restoring the tranquillity of the country. During the confusion that succeeded the assassination of Commodus, and the contest between Severus, Niger, and Albinus, for the imperial throne, the northern Britons were held feebly in check. Albinus, who was governor of Britain, drained the island of its best troops, when he passed over to Gaul to encounter Severus, and the Caledonians promptly availed themselves of the favourable opportunity to lay waste the settled Roman provinces, and their destructive ravages continued for years.

After the battle of Lyons, which decided the fate of Albinus, and left Severus sole master of the Roman world, the

A. D. 197.

new emperor sent Virius Lupus as his lieutenant to restore tranquillity to the revolted provinces. After a few years of timid negotiation, and an unsuccessful attempt to bribe the Caledonians with a large sum of money to retreat from the frontier, hostilities were renewed with greater violence than ever, and Virius Lupus was compelled to send urgent representations to Rome for a powerful reinforcement of troops. The intelligence was received with pleasure by Severus. His old age was rendered miserable by the profligacy and continued quarrels of his sons, and he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity to withdraw them from the luxury of Rome, and to inure them to the toils of war and of government. He therefore immediately commenced preparations for marching in person against the Caledonians. Notwithstanding his advanced age, (for he was above threescore,) and his gout, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, he set out, attended by his two sons, his whole

court, and a formidable army, and reached Britain in the year 208.

It would appear that, at this period, the various tribes who inhabited the northern part of Britain had merged their separate designations in the general appellation of the Meatae and the Caledonians. The former, according to Dion, dwelt near the barrier wall, which separated the island into two parts; the latter inhabited the mountainous region beyond. "Both of them," he adds, "inhabit barren uncultivated mountains, or desert marshy plains, where they have neither walls nor towns, nor manured lands, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, and upon what they get by hunting, and some wild fruits." Herodian, in his narrative of the proceedings of Severus in Britain, says, "Many parts of Britain were become fenny by the frequent inundations of the sea. The natives swim through these fens, or run through them up to the waist in mud; for, the greatest part of their bodies being naked, they regard not the dirt. They wear iron about their necks and bellies, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold. They make upon their bodies the figures of divers animals, and use no clothing, that they may be exposed to view. They are a very bloody and warlike people, using a little shield or target, and a spear. Their sword hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breastplate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in passing the fens. The air is always thick with the vapours that ascend from the marshes."

The natives, alarmed at the formidable preparations which Severus had made, sent deputies to offer their submission, and to sue for peace. But Severus, unwilling to lose his labour, says Herodian, or to miss the glory of being called Britannicus, dismissed their ambassadors and carried on his military preparations.

Early in the year 209 he began his march to the northern frontier. In the comparatively civilized country which extended between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, he met with little opposition; but the difficulties which he encountered as soon as he crossed that line were of the most formidable description. The classical writers who have described his campaign, inform us, that he was obliged to drain the marshes and to throw causeways across them, to cut down the forests, to level the mountains, and to open up the country by roads; and they affirm that he lost fifty thousand men, who were worn out by their incessant labours and hardships. The Caledonians hung on the rear and flanks of the army and harassed the troops on their march, but prudently avoided any general action. In spite of these obstacles, the Roman emperor penetrated so far to the north that the soldiers remarked the extraordinary length of the days and shortness of the nights in comparison with those of Italy. There seems good reason to

believe, that the extreme point to which Severus attained in this memorable expedition—the *Aræ Finium Imperii Romani*—was the narrow promontory separating the Cromarty and the Moray Friths. Here, it is alleged, the native tribes sought for peace, surrendered their arms, and agreed to relinquish a portion of their territory.*

After this success, Severus returned to York in an infirm state of health; but scarcely had he reached that station when information was received that the Caledonians were again in arms. Irritated by the undutiful conduct of his sons, and by his declining health, as well as by the violation of the recent treaty, the iron-hearted old emperor prepared again to take the field against his indomitable adversaries, vowing that he would spare neither age nor sex. But they were saved by the death of their ferocious enemy, who expired at York, Feb. 4th, A. D. 211.

Caracalla, the eldest son of Severus, who was intrusted with the conduct of the war, attempted, more than once, to shorten his father's days, and busied himself in trying to gain over the soldiers to support him as sole successor to the imperial throne, rather than in executing his father's orders. Tired of a warfare in which so little was to be gained, and anxious to reach Rome, in order to carry out his own ambitious projects, he concluded a peace with the Caledonians, ceding to them the territories between the Solway and the Forth, which they had recently surrendered to his father. Previously to his celebrated northern campaign, Severus erected a rampart almost parallel with the earthen mound which Hadrian had constructed between the Solway and the Tyne, and which must have suffered severely, both from the severity of the climate and the assaults of the barbarians, during the ninety years that had elapsed since the date of its erection. The wall of Severus was built of stone, and was about eight feet thick, and twelve feet high to the base of the battlements. Along the line of the rampart were erected, at unequal distances, a number of stations or towers, eighty-one forts, and three hundred and thirty turrets. On the northern side of the wall was dug a ditch about thirty-six feet wide and from twelve to fifteen feet deep. The erection of this strongly-fortified rampart leads irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Caledonians had regained much of the intermediate country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, and sufficiently attests the persevering and formidable character of the assaults of our rude ancestors on the Roman power in Britain.

"This Caledonian war," says Gibbon, "neither marked by decisive events, nor attended with any important consequences, would ill deserve our attention; but

* Dion, lib. lxxvi. p. 1280; Herodian, lib. iii. p. 132; Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 187.



CLAUDIUS CÆSAR



HADRIAN



CARAUSIUS



GALLEY

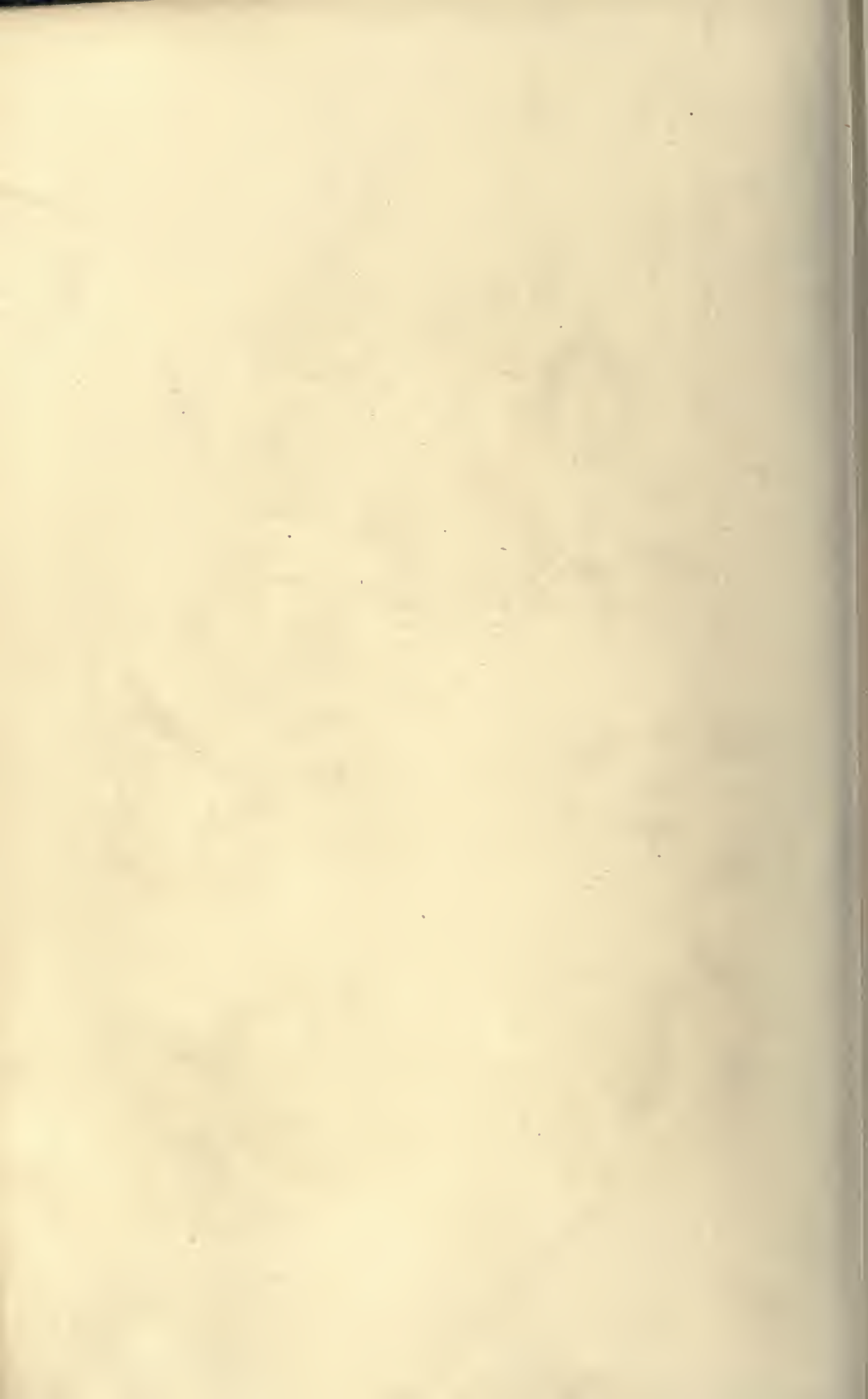
FROM A COIN OF HADRIAN

GALLEY

FROM A COIN OF HADRIAN



ANTONINUS PIUS



it is supposed, not without a considerable degree of probability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the most shining period of the British history or fable. Fingal, whose fame, with that of his heroes and bards, has been revived in our language by a recent publication, is said to have commanded the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have eluded the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carun, in which the son of *the king of the world*, Caracul, fled from his arms along the field of his pride. Something of a doubtful mist still hangs over these Highland traditions, nor can it be entirely dispelled by the most ingenious researches of modern criticism: but if we could, with safety, indulge the pleasing supposition that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung, the striking

contrast of the situation and manners of the contending nations might amuse a philosophic mind. The parallel would be little to the advantage of the more civilized people, if we compared the unrelenting revenge of Severus with the generous clemency of Fingal; the timid and brutal cruelty of Caracalla, with the bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chiefs who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the imperial standard, with the free-born warriors who started to arms at the voice of the king of Morven: if, in a word, we contemplated the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm virtues of nature, and the degenerate Romans, polluted with the mean vices of wealth and slavery.*

After the departure of Caracalla, there occurs a blank of seventy years in the history of Britain, during which the silence of Roman historians would lead us to believe that the island enjoyed peace. When it reappears in the annals of history, we find it the scene of a new enterprise, which was frequently repeated in after years. During the

joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian, Carausius, a Menapian, was appointed to the command of a powerful fleet, for the purpose of repelling the marauding incursions of the Franks and Saxons, who about this period began to ravage the coasts of Gaul and Britain. Gessaiaëum, the modern Boulogne, was chosen for the station of the fleet. Carausius, who was a bold and skilful seaman, exerted himself with signal success against the pirates; but he was speedily accused of collusion with the enemy, and Maximian gave orders to put him to death. The wary sailor anticipated the snare laid for his destruction, and fled to Britain, where his cause was embraced by the legions and the auxiliaries which guarded

that island; and, boldly assuming the imperial purple and the title of Augustus, he defied the arts and the power of his enemies. During the space of seven years he wielded the sovereignty of the island with courage and ability, defended the frontiers of the Roman province against the assaults of the northern tribes, and raised Britain to its natural station of an important maritime power. At length, just as Constantius was preparing to attack him with a fleet of a thousand ships, Carausius was treacherously

murdered at York by his first minister Allectus, who succeeded "to his power and to his danger." For about three years the assassin maintained himself in the sovereignty of Britain, when he was defeated and slain by the prefect Asclepiodatus, an officer of Constantius Chlorus, to whom Britain fell on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 296), and the division of the empire between Galerius and Constantius. After some contests with the Caledonians, of which little is known, the new emperor died at York, in the summer of A.D. 306, and his son Constantine, afterwards called the Great, succeeded to the throne. During the whole of his reign Britain

seems to have enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. Six years after the death of Constantine (A.D. 343), the Caledonians renewed their destructive inroads upon the Roman province of Britain, and Lupicinus, an officer of ability and reputation, was despatched to repel their incursions. The native tribes now, for the first time, appear under the designations of

Picts, Scots, and Attacotti. The Roman historians speak in strong, probably exaggerated terms, of their cruelty, and rapacity.* The Attacotti are even accused of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.† These savage tribes, in the reign of Julian the Apostate, broke through the wall of Severus, killed a Roman general, and Nectaridius, the "Count of the Saxon shore." Three years later, in the time of the emperor Valentinian, they spread themselves with

rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent; and it is even affirmed, though not on the highest authority, that they pillaged the city of London, and carried off its inhabitants as slaves.‡ An urgent representation of the excesses perpetrated by these marauders was sent to the imperial court, and Theodosius, the

* Ammian. xxvii. 8.

† Jerome, tome ii. p. 75. quoted by Gibbon, vol. i. chap. xxv. p. 408. Mention is made of two bands of Attacotti, who were enrolled among the imperial legions, and stationed in Italy and Illyricum. Notitia Imperii, sections xxxix. xl.

‡ Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. chap. 7.

ablest general of his time, and father of the emperor of that name, was despatched to the assistance of the southern Britons. Landing on the coast of Kent, with a numerous and veteran army, he speedily succeeded in defeating the barbarians, and chased them into the northern district of the country. In the verses of Claudian it is affirmed, that the unknown region of Thule was stained with the blood of the Piets, that the oars of Theodosius dashed the hyperborean seas, and that the distant Orcades were drenched with Saxon gore. He then repaired the wall of Antoninus and the ruined

A. D. 370.

forts, and converted into the Roman province of Valentia the recovered country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus.

During the struggle between Valentinian and Maximus, Britain suffered severely, owing to the flower of its youth, and nearly all the troops, having been withdrawn by Maximus to aid him in the contest. The Scots and Piets, taking advantage of the absence of the soldiery, renewed their destructive ravages without molestation. In the words of an old chronicler, "The whole island, deprived of all her armed soldiers and military bands, was left to her cruel tyrants, deprived of the assistance of all her youth, who went with Maximus, and, ignorant of the art of war, she groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of the Piets and Scots." They were again expelled, however, by Chrysantus, the lieutenant of Theodosius in Britain. But though driven back, in a little time they were sure to return to the attack, and on the slightest appearance of insecurity or of relaxed vigilance, they were ever ready to sally forth from their mountain fastnesses, and to lay waste the

A. D. 395.

southern provinces. On the death of Theodosius, he bequeathed Britain, with Gaul, Italy, and all the countries forming the country of the west, to his son Honorius, a boy only ten years of age. In the early part of his reign the provinces enjoyed comparative rest from the incursions of the enemy, through the exertions of the famous Stilicho, who fought long and bravely to uphold the falling empire. But the vast fabric of Roman dominion was now in a state of melancholy feebleness and decay, attacked on every side by those fierce and warlike tribes by whom it was ultimately destroyed, while a spirit of discontent and revolt diffused itself throughout the empire. The Roman legions were gradually withdrawn from the island, for the more urgent purpose of protecting the seat of dominion from the attacks of the Goths and Huns, and Britain was necessarily abandoned without defence to the Saxon pirates and the savage tribes of Caledonia. At length, Honorius wrote letters to the cities of Britain, urging them to adopt measures for their own protection, and virtually abdicating the rights of sovereignty and conceding the independence of the

island. The artificial fabric of civil and military government which the Romans had raised and maintained in Britain, was dissolved by their departure. The inhabitants were divided into numerous factions, under the government of a multitude of petty chiefs, who, instead of uniting against the common enemy, wasted their strength in intestine quarrels. Availing themselves of the favourable opportunity afforded them by the withdrawal of the Roman troops, and the dissensions of the Romanized Britons, the northern tribes rushed forth from their fastnesses to invade and lay waste the defenceless province. The Britons, in despair, according to an old chronicler, "send ambassadors to Rome, entreating, in piteous terms, the assistance of an armed band to protect them. A legion is immediately sent, provided sufficiently with arms. When they had crossed over the sea and landed, they came at once to close conflict with their enemies, and slew great numbers of them. All of them were driven beyond the borders, and the humiliated natives rescued from the bloody slavery which awaited them.

"The Roman legion had no sooner returned home in joy and triumph than their former foes, like hungry and ravening wolves, rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold which is left without a shepherd, are wafted, both by the strength of scamen and the blowing wind, back through the boundaries, and spread slaughter on every side. And now again, they send suppliant ambassadors, with their garments rent and their heads covered with ashes, imploring assistance from the Romans, like timorous chickens crowding under the protecting wings of their parents. Upon this the Romans, moved with compassion, send forward, like eagles in their flight, their bands of cavalry and marines, and, planting their terrible swords upon the shoulders of their enemies, mowed them down like leaves which fall at their destined periods. Having driven their enemies beyond the sea, the Romans left the country, giving them notice that they could no longer be harassed by such laborious expeditions, but that the islanders, inuring themselves to warlike weapons, should valiantly protect their country, their property, their wives, and children."

The last detachment of troops that Rome sent to this island was commanded by Gallio of Ravenna. After repelling a furious inroad of the Piets and Scots, the Roman general informed the British chiefs that the empire could no longer afford them protection, and that they must henceforth trust to their own courage and activity for the defence of their lives and liberties. Having given them this parting advice, supplied them with military weapons and engines, and repaired the fortifications and wall of Severus, the Romans took their final departure from Britain, nearly five centuries after Julius Cæsar first landed on its shores. About A. D. 420.

It must be apparent, from the preceding narrative, that the Roman tenure of North Britain was both brief and partial. It was not a permanent colonial settlement, but a merely temporary occupation for purely military purposes. Its influence, therefore, on native manners and arts, was slight, partial, and transitory. "Like an unwonted tide, the flood of Roman invasion swept beyond its natural limits, disturbing and unsettling many things long unaffected by change. But the tide ebbed as rapidly as it had flowed, and at most only helped to prepare the soil for a new growth."*

CHAPTER II.

THE CALEDONIANS.

THAT the earliest inhabitants of Britain were a people of Celtic origin and race, seems now to be admitted on all hands. "The present age," says Gibbon, "is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners; and the peculiar character of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances." This conclusion derives additional probability from the fact, that the greater part of the names of mountains, lakes, and rivers, in both divisions of Britain, are still descriptive and significant, in some dialect of the Celtic language. The appellations of these vast and permanent parts of nature, as Sir James Macintosh remarks, are commonly observed to continue as unchanged as themselves. Hence, after the revolutions of ages, and the fluctuations of conquest, dominion, and race, together with all the changes which time and usage insensibly introduce into language, the names in question are still distinctly traceable, while the extent to which they still prevail in both parts of Britain, seems to argue the original ascendancy of the race from whose language they were derived. Cæsar and Tacitus agree in representing the religion, the manners, and the language of the Gauls and Britons as identical, at the time of the Roman invasion; and as the tribes of North Britain practised the same religious rites, followed the same habits, and spoke the same language with the tribes in the south, they must have had a common origin.

It appears, from the investigations of the erudite Chalmers, that at the period of the Caledonian tribes. Agricola's invasion, the ample extent of North Britain was inhabited by one-and

twenty tribes, who were connected by such slight ties as scarcely to enjoy a social state. These were the *Ottadini*, who appear to have occupied the whole extent of coast from the southern Tyne to the Frith of Forth, including a part of Northumberland and of Roxburghshire, the whole of Berwickshire, and of East Lothian; the *Gadeni*, whose seats lay in the interior country, on the west of the *Ottadini*, from the Tyne on the south to the Forth on the north, comprehending the western parts of Northumberland and of Roxburghshire, the whole of Selkirk and Tweedale, much of Mid Lothian, and nearly all West Lothian; the *Selyovae*, who inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, having the Dee for their western, and the Solway Frith for their southern boundary; the *Novantes*, who inhabited the middle and western parts of Galloway; and the *Damii*, who possessed the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, with a portion of Dunbarton and Perth. "Such were the five tribes," says this author, "which occupied, during the first century, that ample region extending from the Tyne and Solway on the south, to the Forth and Clyde on the north, varying their limits with the fluctuations of war, conquest, or internal dissensions, during the succession of many ages." Beyond the Forth we find the *Horestii*, who possessed the district between the Forth and the Tay, comprehending the shires of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife; the *Venricones*, who inhabited the country between the Tay on the south and the Carron on the north, including the Carse of Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle in Perthshire, the whole of Angus, with the larger part of Kincardineshire; the *Taizali*, who inhabited the northern part of Mearns, and the whole of Aberdeenshire, to the Doveran; the *Vacomagi*, who possessed the country on the south side of the Murray Frith, from the Doveran on the east to the Ness on the west, comprehending the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Nairn, the east part of Inverness, with Braemar in Aberdeenshire. The *Alboni* inhabited the interior districts between the lower ridge of the Grampians on the south, and the chain of mountains which forms the southern limit of Inverness-shire on the north. The *Attacotti* possessed the country from Loch Fine on the west, to Lochlomond on the east. The *Caledonii* proper, inhabited the whole of the district from the ridge of mountains which separates Inverness and Perth on the south, to the range of hills that forms the forest of Balnagowan in Ross-shire, on the north. The *Cantæ* inhabited the east of Ross-shire, from the estuary of Varar on the south, to the Dornoch Frith on the north. The north-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the *Logi* on the south; the east and north-east of Caithness by the *Carnabii*. The small tribe of the *Cutini* inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness and the eastern half of Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, while the *Mertæ* occupied

* Wilson's Archaeology, &c. p. 404.

the interior, and the *Carnonacæ* the north and west of that county. The west coast of Ross was inhabited by the *Creones*. The *Cerones* inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness, and the districts of Ardnamuchan, Morven, Sunart, and Ardgower, in Argyleshire; and, finally, the *Epidii* inhabited the south-west of Argyleshire, from Loch Linne on the north, to the Frith of Clyde and the Irish Sea on the south, including Kintyre.*

The most ancient name by which the Romans designated the northern part of Britain, appears to have been *Caledonia*. Britain, appears to have been *Caledonia*, and the various tribes who inhabited it were indiscriminately termed by them *Caledonians*. As *Caioll* signifies wood in Celtic, the *Caledonii* of the Roman writers has been supposed, with much probability, to be merely a classical transformation of *Caioll daion*: literally, the people of the woods. Others, however, are of opinion that *Caledonia* is a Roman corruption of the Gaelic words *Gael-doch*, the district of the Gael.

The condition of the Caledonians at the period of Agricola's invasion very much resembled that of the kindred tribes of South Britain, in the time of Julius Cæsar. They were little removed, in the scale of social life or of civil government, from rude savages, leading a pastoral life, living on the milk of their flocks, or on the produce of the chase. They were divided into a number of petty states, which usually waged fierce war with one another. In moments of extreme danger they united under a pen-drakon, or dictator, whose authority, however, was both limited and precarious; and when disasters overtook them, or the emergency passed away, the confederacy was immediately dissolved. It was this want, as Tacitus expressly admits, which gave the Romans so great an advantage in their contests with these warlike tribes. It was rare that even two or three of these petty states united against the common enemy. They fought for the most part separately, and, as a necessary consequence, were beaten in detail.† We learn from Cæsar that the government of the British tribes was, in form at least, monarchical; but very little is known, either of the limits of the royal authority, or of the rules of succession. Hereditary right seems to have been recognised, but not to have been strictly observed or enforced; and we are informed by Tacitus, that no distinction of sexes was made in the succession to the royal office; and he gives an

example of a female sovereign in the case of the celebrated heroine *Boadicea*.* The authority of the British princes appears to have been greatly circumscribed, not only by their nobility, but by the people,† and especially by the priests. "Their kings," says Dio Chrysostom, "are not allowed to do anything without the Druids; not so much as to consult about putting any design into execution without their participation. So that it is the Druids who reign in reality; and the kings, though they sit on thrones, feast in splendour, and live in palaces, are no more than their instruments and ministers for executing their designs."

Although there is now reason to believe that a druidical origin has been erroneously assigned to not a few memoirs of antiquity in North Britain, yet there can be no doubt that among the Caledonians, as among the native tribes of South Britain, druidism was the ancient form of worship.‡ The Offices and privileges of the priests. The Offices and priviledges of the priests. sions of the island, were the most implacable foes of the Roman invaders. They combined the sacerdotal and judicial characters, and exercised permanent authority over both chiefs and people. They presided over sacred things, were the judges in all disputes and litigations, public and private, took cognisance of murders, disputes about inheritances and boundaries, decreed rewards and punishments, and were the lawgivers, physicians, poets, and philosophers of their country. Their sanction was necessary to all public transactions, which otherwise were of no validity. They were selected from the best families, and their birth, together with their station and privileges, procured them the highest veneration among the people. Whoever refused obedience to their decrees was declared impious and accursed, was debarred from attending the sacred rites, interdicted the use of fire, banished from the fellowship of men, excluded from the protection of the law, and from all offices of honour; all men shunned him, and fled from his approach lest they should be contaminated by his touch.

The Druids were divided into three classes, termed—the Druids, Vates, and the Bards. The Bards were poets and Their classes. musicians, the Vates were the priests and physiologists, and the Druids were those who combined the study of nature with that of moral science. They had one chief, or Arch-druid, who acted as high priest, and possessed Arch-druid. absolute authority over the rest. At his death he was succeeded by the most eminent of the survivors, or, if there were several competitors of equal rank, the contest for the vacant office was decided by the

* The names of these twenty-one original tribes are transcribed by Chalmers, (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 68,) from the account of Ptolemy, checked by the supposed ancient treatise, and map of Richard of Cirencester. But it may be doubted whether the possessions of the more northerly tribes were at that remote period defined with such accuracy as these authors have represented. Ptolemy's account is rendered obscure and confused, by a strange mistake into which he has fallen as to the direction of the land, which he extends, not toward the north, but toward the east.

† Tacit. Agric. chap. xii.

* Tacit. Agric. chap. xvi.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. iv. 27.

‡ The most probable derivation of the word *Druid* is that which brings it from *Drui*, the Celtic word for an oak, in the plural *Druidæ*. It is the same word with *Drus* the Greek name of the oak.

Notes of the other Druids, though sometimes the struggle terminated in an appeal to arms. Every Druid carried a wand, or staff, and wore a kind of ornament, enehased in gold, about his neck, called a Druid's Egg. They also decorated their necks with gold chains, and their hands and arms with braelets. They wore the hair of their heads short, and their beards long. Their robes were remarkably long; and when employed in religious ceremonies they always wore a white surplice.*

The Druids, according to Cæsar, enjoyed exemption from military service, from the payment of taxes, and from all other public burdens. In consequence of these privileges, and of the veneration in which they were held, the British youth flocked

Pupils.

to them in great numbers, to be instructed by them and trained up in their discipline. Their pupils were taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the motion of the heavenly bodies, and the course of the stars, the magnitude of the heavens, and of the earth, and the wisdom and power of the immortal gods. A part of

the education of their pupils consisted in getting by heart a great number of verses, commemorating the actions of distinguished men. Though they were familiar with the art of writing, they did not think it proper to commit their instructions to writing: for two reasons, as Cæsar supposes; first, because they did not wish that the knowledge of their system should be diffused among the people at large; and secondly, that their pupils, having no books to refer to, might bestow more pains in cultivating their memory.†

It was the opinion of Diogenes Laertius, that the tenets of the Druids might be comprehended under four heads: to worship God, to abstain from evil, to behave courageously, and to believe in the immortality of the soul; for enforcing all these virtues, Pomponius Meja also states, that they published the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, in order that the people might thereby be animated to bravery in war. The people, he adds, in consequence of their belief in this doctrine, were accustomed to bury along with the dead, things useful for the living, and to put off the settlement of accounts till they should meet again in another world. Some writers have conjectured that the fundamental doctrine of druidism was the belief in one God; others affirm, that the most ancient form of druidic religion was the worship of the celestial luminaries, and of fire. If this be correct, the tenets and rites of druidism must soon have degenerated into grosser idolatry;

Gods.

for Cæsar informs us,‡ that the chief object of their adoration was

Mercury; that they had numerous images of this god, whom they regarded as the inventor of all arts, as the guide of men in their journeys, and as pre-

siding over the pursuits of gain and the transactions of commerce. After him they worshipped Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, holding nearly the same opinions as other nations with regard to these deities; namely, that Apollo warded off diseases—that Minerva was the first instructor in manufactures and handicrafts—that Jupiter swayed the sceptre over the celestial regions—and that Mars was the ruler of war. To him, when they had resolved to engage in battle, they usually devoted the spoil which they had taken in war: out of what remained to them after the fight, they sacrificed the animals they had captured: the rest they gathered together into one spot. Heaps of things thus put aside, in consecrated places, were to be seen in many of the states; and it was rarely that any person was so regardless of religion as to dare, either secretly to retain any part of the spoil in his own possession, or to take it away when thus laid up; for such a crime there was appointed a very severe punishment, accompanied with torture.

Suetonius, in his Life of Claudius, informs us, that the Druids were accustomed to offer up human sacrifices; a statement which is confirmed by other trustworthy evidence. Tacitus, speaking of the capture of Anglesey by Suetonius Paulinus, states, that he cut down the druidical groves, "hallowed with cruel superstitions; for they held it right to stain their altars with the blood of prisoners taken in war, and to seek to know the mind of the gods from the fibres of human victims."* Diodorus Siculus informs us, that criminals were kept under ground for five years, and then offered up as sacrifices to the gods, by being impaled and burned in great fires, along with quantities of other offerings. He adds, that it was only upon extraordinary occasions they made such offerings,—as, to consult what measures to take, or to learn what should happen to them, by the posture in which the victim fell, the convulsions of his quivering limbs, and the course of the blood as it flowed under the knife of the officiating priest.† But Cæsar, who had the best opportunities of learning on the spot the truth on the subject, of these horrid rites, states explicitly, that persons who were attacked by any serious disease, or were exposed to the perils of war, or to any other danger, were accustomed either to immolate human victims, or to vow that they would do so, and to employ the Druids to perform these sacrifices; their opinion being, that the gods were not to be propitiated unless, for the life of a man, the life of a man were offered up.‡ There were also sacrifices of the same kind appointed on behalf of the state. With regard to the manner of offering up these sacrifices, Strabo states, that images of wicker-work, of immense size, were constructed, in which men, and all descriptions of

* Toland's History of the Druids, pp. 24—29.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

‡ Ibid. vi. 17.

* Tacit. Ann. xiv. 30.

† Diocl. Sic. v. 31

‡ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 16.

cattle and beasts, were roasted together. According to Plutarch, the noise of songs and musical instruments was employed on these occasions, to drown the cries of the sufferers. They regarded the destruction, in this manner, of persons taken in the commission of theft or robbery, or any other delinquency, as most agreeable to the gods; but when the supply of such criminals was insufficient, they did not hesitate to make victims of the innocent.

Pliny informs us, that the Druids entertained great veneration for the oak, which ^{Sacred groves.} they considered as the emblem, or rather the peculiar residence, of the Deity,* that they chose groves of oak for their own dwelling-places, and performed no sacred rites without the leaf of that tree. None of the druidical groves now remain in North Britain; but Chalmers mentions, that the sequestered spot on which stands the large cromlech, called the Auld Wives Lift, near Craigmadden, Stirlingshire, appears to have been surrounded by a grove of oaks, as several of the stumps of those trees were still visible in his day; and that, in the Isle of Skye, there is a consecrated well, called Loch Seant Well, celebrated for many virtues, and near it there is a small clump of wood, which is to this day held sacred by the surrounding inhabitants, who are careful not to cut a branch of it, from the belief that some misfortune would be the result of the act.† There are various other instances in which, within little more than a century, ancient oaks were still standing around the circles of upright stones which constituted the temples of the Druids. Chaplets of oak were worn, both by the priests and the people, in their religious ceremonies, while the altars were strewed with its leaves and encircled with its branches.

But the most remarkable of the druidical superstitions connected with the oak, was the reverence paid to the mistletoe plant, when it was found growing upon that tree. It was thought to contain a divine virtue, and to be the peculiar gift of Heaven. Pliny, who gives a particular account of the ceremony of gathering this plant, states, that whenever the mistletoe was found on the oak, which it very rarely was, a procession was made to it on the sacred day (the sixth day of the moon), with great pomp. Two white bulls were bound to the oak by their horns, then the Arch-druid, attended by a great concourse of people, ascended the tree, dressed in white, and, with a consecrated golden knife, cut the mistletoe, which another, standing on the ground, received in his sagum, or robe, amidst the rapturous exclamations of the people. The bulls were then sacrificed, and prayers offered up, that

this gift of Heaven might be rendered efficacious in those distempers in which it should be administered. They entertained a high opinion of the medicinal virtues of the mistletoe, and esteemed it as a sovereign remedy for all kinds of sickness. "They call it," says Pliny, "by a name which, in their language, signifies All-Heal, because they have an opinion that it cures all diseases." The Druids ascribed medicinal qualities, also, to the selago, a kind of hedge-hyssop; to the samolus, or marshwort; and especially to vervain; but much of the efficacy of these herbs, according to them, depended upon the manner in which they were gathered.

The influence of the Druids over their countrymen appears to have depended upon ^{Eloquence.} their eloquence, no less than upon their reputation for superior wisdom and learning. We have frequent mention made of their displays of oratory in their public proceedings, and they were evidently capable of wielding, in the most skilful manner, this powerful instrument for ruling the popular mind. They had ample opportunities to display their eloquence, and to prove its efficacy, in their instructions to their pupils, and in their public addresses to the people on religious and moral subjects; in the administration of the laws, also, and in the celebration of their religious solemnities, and especially in the debates of the great councils of the nations, and in their speeches to the armies when about to engage in battle. "The people pay a great regard," says Diodorus Siculus, "to their exhortations, not only in the affairs of peace but of war, and these are respected both by their friends and enemies. They sometimes step in between two hostile armies, who are standing with their swords drawn and their spears extended, ready to engage, and by their eloquence, as by an irresistible enchantment, they prevent the effusion of blood, and prevail upon them to sheathe their swords. So great are the charms of eloquence and the power of wisdom, even amongst the most fierce barbarians." We are told also by Tacitus, that "the British chieftains (who were educated by the Druids) before battle fly from rank to rank and address their men with animating speeches, tending to inflame their courage, increase their hopes, and dispel their fears;" and he depicts the Druids of Mona, when that sanctuary was attacked by the Roman general Suetonius, rushing with burning torches through the ranks of their armed countrymen, arrayed to repel the invaders, and inflaming their courage by pouring forth phrenzied prayers, with their hands uplifted to heaven. It is a curious fact, that the descendants of these ancient Britons long retained their taste for eloquence. "Orators," says Mr. Martin, "were in high esteem both in these islands (the Hebrides) and the continent, until within these forty years. They sat always among the nobles or chiefs of families, in the steeple or circle, and by the force of their

* The Platonic philosopher, Maximus Tyrinus, states that the Celtic nations all worshipped Jupiter under the visible representation of a lofty oak.

† Calaneoia, vol. i. p. 71.

eloquence had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time."*

It appears from the concurring testimonies of several ancient authors, that natural philosophy was the favourite

study of the British Druids, and that they entered into many disquisitions in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of this world in particular.

Natural philosophy. According to Strabo, they taught that this world was never to be entirely destroyed or annihilated, but was to undergo an endless succession of revolutions, which were to be effected sometimes by the power of water, sometimes by that of fire. Astronomy also appears to have been one of their chief studies. "The Druids," says Cæsar, "have many disquisitions concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, in which they instruct their disciples;" and Mela observes, "that they profess to have great knowledge of the motions of the heavens and of the stars."

Astronomy. Some knowledge of the science, indeed, was absolutely necessary, to enable them to fix the times of their religious solemnities, some of which were monthly, others

annual. Their method of computing time by nights and not by days, so regulating their birthdays and the beginnings of months and years, that the night came first and then the day.† Pliny says, "They began both their months and years, not from the change but from the sixth day of the moon." The 10th of March was their New Year's Day. They had also a cycle, or period of thirty years, which they called an age, and which likewise commenced on the sixth day of the moon. When no unexpected accident prevented it, they assembled upon stated days, either at the time of the new or full moon; for they believed these to be the most auspicious times for transacting all affairs of importance, and they considered it unlucky to engage in battle while the moon was on the wane.

Magic and divination. As might naturally have been expected, the art of divination was one of the favourite pretensions of the druidical priesthood. Cicero tells us, that he knew one of their number, Divitiacus, the celebrated Æduan prince, and he was wont both to profess to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, and to make predictions respecting future events, partly by augury, partly by conjecture. Pliny also mentions, that in his day the magic art was cultivated by them with such astonishing success, and so many ceremonies, that the Britons seemed to be capable of instructing even the Persians themselves in these arts. "They pretend," he says, "to discover the designs and purposes of the gods. The Eubates or

Vates, in particular, investigate and display the most sublime secrets of nature, and by auspices and sacrifices they foretel future events." One of their chief methods of divination was from the inspection of the entrails of the human victims offered in sacrifice; and, as we have already seen, they drew their predictions from the posture in which the victim fell, and the direction in which the blood flowed from his body. So famous did these druidical professors of magic and divination become, that they were consulted, on all important occasions, not only by their own princes, but even sometimes by the Roman emperors.

One of the most extraordinary superstitious notions entertained by the Druids, related to the anguinum or serpent's egg, which Pliny tells us was worn by them as their distinguishing badge. "I have seen that egg," says he; "it is about the bigness of a moderate apple. Its shell is cartilaginous incrustation, full of little cavities, like those on the legs of a polypus." The most extravagant stories were told of this production. It was said to be formed, at first, by a great number of serpents twined together, whose hissing at last raised it into the air, when it was to be caught, ere it fell to the ground, in a clean white cloth, by a person mounted on a swift horse, who had immediately to ride off at full speed, to escape from the serpents, who pursued him with great rage, until they were stopped by some river. The genuineness of the egg was to be proved by encasing it in gold and throwing it into a river. If it was genuine it would swim against the stream. The most wonderful virtues were ascribed to this egg. Its efficacy was particularly shown in rendering those who carried it about with them victorious in all disputes, and successful in their attempts to procure the favour and friendship of the great. It has been conjectured, with great probability, that these opinions and practices are connected with the worship of the serpent,—one of the most widely extended superstitions of the human race.

The practice of the druidical religion was interdicted by repeated decrees of the Roman emperors, and the priests were the objects of the peculiar hostility of the Roman generals. It was extirpated from Mona (Anglesey), its chief seat in South Britain, by Suetonius Paulinus, A. D. 59—61. but survived in the northern parts of the island long after its extinction in the south. The learned Chalmers is of opinion, that the principal seat of Druidism in Scotland seems to have been in the recesses of Perthshire, near the range of the Grampian hills; and he states, that the number and variety of Druid remains in North Britain are almost endless.* Besides these material monuments, there can be no doubt that the bonfires of May-day

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland.

† Cæsar, vi. 18.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 72.

and Midsummer (Beltein or Beltane), and many other popular customs and superstitions which still survive in some of the more remote districts of our country, have all been derived from this source, and prove the general prevalence and powerful influence of that system of religion which the lapse of eighteen centuries has not been able wholly to obliterate.

The prevalence of a system of superstition so Civilisation of cruel and debasing is wholly incompatible with an advanced state of civilization, and there is abundant evidence that the condition of the Caledonian tribes, anterior to the Roman invasion, was but a few stages removed from a state of barbarism. Cæsar informs us, that in the interior of the island they never sowed their lands, but followed the occupations of the hunter and the shepherd, clad in the skins, and living on the flesh and the milk, of their flocks and herds, and the spoils of the chase. He also mentions, that they thought it wrong to eat either the hare, the common fowl, or the goose, although they reared these animals for pleasure. Strabo states that, though they had abundance of milk, they were ignorant of the art of making cheese; and Xiphiline, or Dio Cassius, whose work he abridged, affirms, that none of them ever tasted fish, although they abounded in their lakes and rivers—a prejudice which even yet has not wholly disappeared from among their descendants—the Highlanders. The same author also tells us, that so late as the invasion of Severus, the Caledonians and the Mæatae lived upon the milk of their flocks, upon wild fruits, and whatever they could procure in hunting; and he adds, that when in the woods they fed upon roots and leaves, and that when natural sustenance failed, they were in the habit of employing as a substitute a certain composition (supposed to be some kind of drug, which deadened the cravings of hunger), by which, when they had eaten about the quantity of a bean, their spirits were so admirably supported, that they no longer felt hunger or thirst.

At this period extensive forests and marshes covered nearly the whole face of the country; the bear and the wolf lurked in its thickets and caves; and the bison, the moose-deer, the Caledonian bull, and the wild boar, roamed through its wastes.*

* Sir R. J. Murchison, describing an urus found in a bog in Scania, says, "This urus is most remarkable in exhibiting a wound of the apophysis of the second dorsal vertebra, apparently inflicted by a javelin of one of the aborigines, the hole left by which was exactly fitted by Nilson with one of the ancient stone javelins. This instrument had fractured the bone, and penetrated to the apophysis of the third dorsal vertebra, which is also injured. The fractured portions are so well cemented, that Nilson thinks the animal probably lived two or three years after. The wound must have been inflicted over the horns, and the javelin must have been hurled with prodigious force."

In the Course of Strirling there was discovered, in the year 1819, at a distance of a mile from the river, and in an alluvial soil, covered with a thin moss, the surface of which stood some twenty five feet above the full tide of the Forth, the skeleton of a whale with a perforated lance or harpoon of deer's horn beside it. A few years later, another whale

Against these gigantic animals the imperfect weapons of the Caledonian tribes must frequently have been found unavailing. The earliest inhabitants of North Britain appear to have followed the chase, or waged war, with arrow, lance, and spear-heads of flint, celts, hatchets, hammers, and other weapons formed of stone, or occasionally of horn or bone.* As civilization advanced, these rude implements were gradually replaced by weapons and tools

formed of copper and tin. At what period the art of smelting ores was discovered by the Britons, and metallic weapons and implements substituted for those of stone; whether this improvement was produced by the gradual progress of civilization among the aboriginal colonists, or by the intrusion of a new and higher race—it is now impossible to say. This much is certain, that at a very early period the ancient Britons were familiar with tin, and that about B.C. 400, if not earlier, the navies of Tyre and Carthage visited the British isles for the purpose of obtaining that metal to compound with the copper found so abundantly in several parts of Asia.† In the course of time the knowledge of the mineral treasures of the southern shores of the island would be communicated to the remoter tribes beyond the Solway and the Tyne, and they would learn to barter the skins won in the chase, for the coveted sword and spear of bronze. The knowledge of the metallurgic arts, thus communicated, would no doubt ultimately lead the Caledonian tribes to quarry and smelt the ores which abound in their native hills, and to mould the weapons and implements which they used. This is proved by the discovery of numerous stone and bronze moulds in which the earliest tools and

was found, and in 1824, a third was disclosed on the Blair Drummond estate, seven miles farther inland, and overlaid with a thick bed of moss. Beside it also lay the rude harpoon of the hardy Caledonian whaler, in this instance retaining, owing to the preservative nature of the moss, some remains of the wooden handle by which the pointed lance of deer's horn was wielded.—*Wilson's Archaeology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 25, 33.

* There was a large cairn on the Moor of Glenquicken, Kirkeudbrightshire, which popular tradition assigned as the tomb of some unknown Galwegian king, styled Aldus Mc Galdus. It was removed about the year 1809. On removing it the workmen came to a stone coffin of very rude workmanship, and on raising the lid they found the skeleton of a man of uncommon size. The bones were in such a state of decomposition, that the ribs and vertebrae crumbled into dust on attempting to lift them. The remaining bones, being more compact, were taken out; when it was discovered that one of the arms had been almost separated from the shoulder by the stroke of a stone axe, and that a fragment of the axe still remained in the bone. The axe had been of green stone, a species of stone never found in this part of Scotland. There were also found with this skeleton a ball of flint, about three inches in diameter, which was perfectly round and highly polished; and the head of an arrow, also of flint, but not a particle of any metallic substance.—*Wilson's Archaeology*, p. 131.

† Little doubt can now be entertained that Herodotus, (n. c. 484,) in his allusions to the Cassiterides or Tin Islands, refers to Cornwall and the neighbouring islands. We learn also from the "Ora Maritima" of Festus Avienus, (circa B.C. 400,) that Britain was visited at that early period by the Carthaginians.



The ground, drawn from the real objects, by W^m F. Douglas Edinburgh

1. Statue of Minerva, East Lothian
 2. Relief of Minerva, East Lothian
 3. Statue of Mars, East Lothian
 4. Key, East Lothian
 5. Dish, East Lothian
 6. Pig, East Lothian
 7. Urn, Midlothian
 8. Gold Fibula, East Lothian
 9. Altar, from East Lothian, Dumfriesshire
 10. Vase, Dumfriesshire
 11. Vase, Dumfriesshire
 12. Cross, Dumfriesshire

weapons of the native metallurgist were formed. Swords, spears, axes, and other weapons and implements of bronze, in some cases exhibiting considerable beauty and variety of form and decoration, have been found in great numbers in different parts of the country, and afford an interesting specimen of the state of the arts among our ancestors, prior to the Roman invasion.*

"Whencesoever the first knowledge of the metallurgic arts was derived," says Mr. Wilson, "it introduced into the British isles the elements of a change scarcely less momentous than those which later ages trace to letters, the magnet, the printing press, or those later applications of the metals—the railway and the electric telegraph. The native Briton was no longer confined to his little clearing on the coast, nor compelled with ingenious toil to fashion the shapeless flint and stone into the weapons and implements that supplied his simple wants. The forests rang with the axe and the wedge, the low grounds were gradually cleared of their primeval forests, and the fruits of patient industry were substituted, in part at least, for the spoils of the chase. . . . The facilities afforded by the more pliable metal tools would speedily work no less remarkable changes on the mansions of the living than on the sepulchres of the dead. The subterranean cavern would give place to the wooden structure, which the new arts rendered at once a more convenient and simple style of architecture; while the inroads on the forests which such changes led to, would necessitate the clearing of the neighbouring lands, preparatory to the extended labours of the agriculturist."†

* In the year 1780, in dragging for marl in Duddingston Loch, near Edinburgh, a large heap of swords, spears, and lumps of brass was brought up, and from the fact that some of the lumps of brass seemed as if half melted, and that gigantic deer's horns and fragments of others were discovered along with the weapons and masses of melted bronze, it has been conjectured, with some probability, that a considerable manufactory of bronze weapons had been carried on at some remote period on the margin of the loch. Some of the most perfect and beautiful of these weapons are now in the Abbotsford Museum, and about fifty pieces of swords, spear-heads, and other fragments of weapons, most of them more or less affected by fire, are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The swords are of the leaf-shaped form, with perforated handles, to which bone or wood has been attached. Some of the large spear-heads have been pierced with a variety of ornamental perforations. During the construction of the Queen's Drive, in 1846, almost directly above Duddingston Loch, two most beautiful and perfect leaf-shaped bronze swords were dug up in a bed of vegetable charcoal, and are now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. The bronze spear-heads present a great variety of forms of ornamental devices. The Scottish bronze dagger of the same period is almost invariably found to consist of a two-edged blade, tapering to a point, and perforated with holes for attaching a handle to it by means of rivets. Bronze bucklers have also been found in various places, and some of wood, full of brass nails. The circular Highland target is closely formed on the model of these bronze shields, even retaining the boss on the centre of the target, which was intended to receive and protect the hand in which the buckler was held, though the Highlanders, like the ancient Romans, wore the shield on the arm,—a striking proof of the tenacity with which the Celtic races are found to cling to ancient customs.—See *Archæology, &c.*, part ii.

† *Ibid.* pp. 205, 221.

The descriptions furnished by Julius Cæsar, Tacitus, and other classical writers, of the weapons used by the native Britons in their encounters with their Roman foes, do not in any degree correspond with the common forms of the bronze swords and spears found in the earlier tumuli. The bronze leaf-shaped sword is a short and small, though formidable weapon, evidently adapted for thrusting rather than striking; whereas Tacitus describes the Caledonians as using swords large and blunt at the point. It has, therefore, been supposed, with considerable probability, that the bronze era was passing away when the Roman legions first landed on the shores of Britain. Be this as it may, we know that, at the period of the Roman invasion, the native tribes were acquainted with the use of iron; for Herodian expressly informs us that they wore iron about their necks and bellies, esteeming this as fine and rich an ornament as others do gold. Under a vast cairn on the supposed site of the battle of Mons Grampius, great quantities of iron weapons were found mingled with bones, which there is every reason to believe were coeval with the resolute stand which the Caledonians made on this spot against the legionaries of Agricola. In various other parts of the country, remains of sword-blades, spear-heads, daggers, and other iron weapons have been discovered, in connexion with bronze implements, glazed pottery, and other relics, which lead to the conclusion that they must have belonged to the same era, though it may be doubted whether such weapons were at all in general use at this period among the Caledonian tribes.

Mention is made, both by Cæsar and Tacitus, of the war-chariots, which formed an important part of the military array of the ancient Britons. These chariots were armed with scythes and hooks, attached to the wheels and axles, for cutting and tearing the adverse ranks as they were driven rapidly along. Each chariot contained a charioteer, with one or sometimes two warriors. These vehicles they appear to have managed with considerable dexterity, and on several occasions succeeded by their means in breaking the Roman line. The very dread of the horses, Cæsar informs us, and the noise of the rapid wheels, often broke the ranks of his legions. When they had thrown the enemy into confusion, the warriors leaped from the chariots and fought on foot, while the drivers retired to a short distance, so as to favour their retreat in case of their being overmatched. "In this manner," says Cæsar, "they perform the part both of rapid cavalry and of steady infantry." It is worthy of notice, that the Gauls, nearly three centuries earlier, employed the same mode of fighting in their contests with the Romans. "A number of the enemy," says Livy, "mounted on chariots and cars, made towards them with such a terrible noise, from the trampling of the horses and the rolling of the

wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, unaccustomed to such operations. By this means, a distracting terror seized upon the victorious cavalry, and men and horses in their headlong flight were thrown in heaps to the ground. The same cause produced disorder even in the ranks of the legions; through the impetuosity of the horses, and the carriages they dragged through the ranks, many of the Roman soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death, and the Gauls, as soon as they saw the enemy in confusion, followed up the advantage, nor allowed them breathing-time.*

The horses which the Caledonians employed in their war were of a small breed, but swift, spirited, and hardy. The cavalry were accustomed, like the car-borne warriors, to dismount on fitting occasions, and to fight on foot. They are said to have been also in the habit of mixing infantry with cavalry; a foot-soldier holding by each horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions.

But the infantry, according to Tacitus, constituted the main strength of the armies of the Caledonians. Their swiftness of foot, and expertness in swimming over rivers, and crossing fens and marshes, gave them a great advantage in making sudden attacks and retreats. Like their Highland descendants, they were in the habit of throwing off the greater part of their clothing, before closing with their adversaries in a hand

conflict. They were armed with a spear and a long unwieldy sword, without a point, and only meant for cutting.† Their defensive armour consisted only of a small light target. "Their sword," says Herodian, "hangs on their naked bodies. They know not the use of a breast plate and helmet, and imagine these would be an impediment to them in passing the fens." The spear was sometimes used as a missile weapon, and at the butt end of it was a rattle, formed of a hollow ball of copper, with pieces of metal inside, to frighten the horses of the enemy. In their conflicts with the Romans, the

Caledonians displayed some knowledge of military tactics, both in their mode of drawing up their troops, and in their promptitude and skill in turning the wings of the enemy. The infantry was usually placed in the centre, and the cavalry and chariots on the wings. The waggons which contained their families were stationed in the rear, and served as a barrier for its protection; while the presence of these spectators of the engagements, and the shrill cries which they were in the habit of raising, acted as an incentive to their fathers, husbands, and sons, to fight to the last in defence of all that was dearest to them.

The strongholds of the earliest inhabitants of

Scotland were of a rude and primitive character. The simplest in construction is the earthen mound, or mote hill, Strongholds.

steeply escarped, and, no doubt, having its vallum of earth surrounded originally by wooden palisades. Nearly akin to these are the circular hill forts, or duns, as they are called in Gaelic, which still crown the summits of so many Scottish hills. Numerous specimens of this class of fortifications may be seen on the heights of Galloway and the Lothians, on the Lammermoors, and on the southern slopes of the Kilsyth and Grampian hills, immediately to the north of the great Roman wall. They usually occupy the level summit of hills difficult of access, and are inclosed with ramparts of earth and stone, without any appearance of mortar or cement. In the areas of several of them there were huts, or other buildings for habitations, and wells for supplying the garrison with water. The most remarkable of these hill forts are the strongholds which crown the summit of the Catterthuns in Angus-shire, looking across the valley of Strathmore. The mountain on which they stand is bifurcated with a fortress on each peak, the highest called the White, the other the Brown Catterthun, from the colour of the walls. The White Catterthun is of an oval form, constructed of a stupendous dike of loose stones, upwards of a hundred feet thick at the base, and twenty-five feet thick at the top, with a succession of ramparts and ditches which surround the height at lower elevations. The area within the stony mound is flat, and is a hundred and thirty-six feet in length, by two hundred feet in breadth. The hollow, which was once the well of the fort, is still visible, though now nearly filled up with stones. The Brown Catterthun is of a circular form, and consists of a series of concentric entrenchments. It must have cost uncommon labour to collect the materials of these huge works, and to carry them to such a height.*

Another class of native works to which great interest has been attached, are the Vitrified Forts, in which the stones Vitrified forts. have been fused by the action of fire. Several ingenious theories have been framed to account for the origin of these remarkable works; but the conclusion which Dr. Hibbert drew, from a series of careful investigations, is now generally acquiesced in—that the vitrification is an incidental and not a designed effect, resulting accidentally from the frequent kindling of beacon fires, as the signals of war or invasion, as well as from bon-fires, which formed a part of festive or religious rejoicings.†

"The situation of these British strengths," says Chalmers, "their relative positions to one another,

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 89; Roy's Military Antiquities, plate xlvi. ; King's Munimenta Antiqua, vol. i. p. 27, plates i. and ii.; Pennant's Tour, vol. iii. plate xvi.; Wilson's Archaeology, p. 412.

† Archæol. Scot. vol. iv.; Wilson's Archaeology, pp. 412

* Tit. Liv. lib. x. c. 23.

† Tacit. Agric. c. 36.

(STONE PERIOD)



(BRONZE PERIOD)



Drawn and Engraved chiefly from the real objects by William Douglas Edin'

and the accommodations attached to them, show that they have rather been constructed for the purpose of protecting the tribes from the attacks of one another, than for the purpose of checking an invading enemy. They are placed upon eminences in those parts of the country, which, even in these early ages, must have been the most habitable, and have furnished the greatest quantity of subsistence. They frequently appear in groups of three, four, and even more, in the vicinity of each other; and they are so disposed upon the tops of heights, that sometimes a considerable number may be seen from one another, having one much larger and stronger than the others in the most commanding situation, which has, no doubt, been the distinguished post of the chief. Such was the large and strong post on the Eildon hills, around which, in the adjacent country, there are the remains of more than a dozen smaller strengths. Such, also, were the large strengths on Burrenswark-hill, at Inchtuthel, the Catterthuns, Barra-hill, Castle-over, and others, all which had their subordinate posts around them; and the remains of many of those strengths are still to be seen. That many of these fortresses were in existence before the Romans invaded North Britain, appears from this decisive circumstance, that several of the larger strengths were converted into Roman posts. The large British fort on the Eildon hills, that at Inchtuthel, that at Castle-over, and some other smaller British fortlets, were converted into Roman posts. We may also draw the same inference from the curious fact, that Roman camps are judiciously placed among several groups of these British strengths, for the evident purpose of overawing and watching them.*

Connected with these hill-forts is another kind of primitive stronghold, consisting of artificial trenches, generally dug in the side of a hill, and evidently intended to afford shelter to the natives and their cattle from an invading foe. Examples of this class of defensive earth-works may still be seen between Kintore and Inverury, in Aberdeenshire; in the parish of Dalry, in Kirkeudbrightshire; in Glencoe, and in various other districts of the country.†

There is the clearest evidence that the earliest habitations of the aborigines of North Britain, like those of the natives of almost every other country, were "pits, or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inelimity of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf." The rudest of these primitive dwellings consist of shallow excavations, of a circular or oblong form, and about seven or eight feet in diameter. A higher order of subterraneous structures is composed of large flat stones, without any cement, and consisting of two

or three apartments about five feet wide, and covered with stones of the same kind. On digging within the area of these dwellings, charred wood or ashes, mingled with fragments of decayed bones and vegetable matter, and fragments of large earthen vessels, have generally been found, and occasionally a querno, or handmill for grinding corn.

Another class of primitive dwellings, which abound in many parts of Scotland, are the *Weems*, or natural caves, *Weems or caves*, which have been rendered more commodious by art. Great numbers of these subterraneous dwellings have been discovered in the northern districts of the country, and in the Hebrides and Orkney Islands, varying in their internal shape and dimensions, but bearing a general similarity in the style of their construction. A single aperture, in most cases, served for door and chimney, and for the admission of light and air, though occasionally a small aperture has been found at the further end, apparently to give vent to the fire. The roof, when artificial, was formed, like those of the cyclopean structures of Greece, and of Mexico and Yucatan, of huge stones, overlapping each other in succession, until the remaining vacant space could be completed by a single block extending from side to side. Ashes, quernes, deers' horns, and bones, have frequently been discovered in these weems, and occasionally a few extremely rude implements, the relics of the primitive arts of the inhabitants. In one of them, in the parish of Auchterhouse, Forfarshire, a brass ring was found, but without any inscription; and in another, in Shapinshay, Orkney, a gold ring was discovered, of very remarkable construction.

In almost every district of Scotland there are natural caves, which have been improved by art into hiding-places for the inhabitants. Few of these subterranean retreats are more interesting than the caves of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, which have been hewn, with great labour and ingenuity, in a rocky cliff overhanging the river Esk. The original entrance was most effectually concealed by being constructed in the shaft of a very deep draw-well, sunk in the court-yard of the castle. These remarkable structures, which consist of different apartments, of various forms and sizes, are well known to have afforded shelter, in the reign of David Bruce, to a courageous band of Scottish patriots, under Sir Alexander Ramsay, who endeavoured to rescue their country from the domination of the English. Other examples of a similar kind, all bearing traces, more or less, of the employment of artificial means to adapt them for human dwellings, may be seen on the banks of the Teviot and its tributary the Ale, in Roxburghshire, on the banks of the Calder, in Lanarkshire, and along the coast of Arran.

Another class of primitive dwellings, differing slightly from the subterranean weems, appears

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 87, note.
 † Archaeology, &c. pp. 418, 419.

to be peculiar to the Orkney Islands, and to the neighbouring districts of Caithness and Sutherland. They are popularly termed

Picts' houses. "Picts' houses," and are usually erected on the level ground, or excavated in part out of the side of a hill, so as to admit of a level entrance. They are built with stones of considerable size, which converge towards the centre, where an opening appears to have been left for the admission of light and air. An artificial mound has been heaped over them, so that their external appearance is scarcely distinguishable from that of the larger tumuli.*

The rude but massive structures of cyclopean architecture seem to have been gradually abandoned, first, for dwellings of a similar character, but simpler and less durable in their modes of construction, and then for huts composed of turf and branches of trees. Cæsar describes the houses of the Britons, at the time of the Roman invasion, as nearly of the same form and structure with those of the Gauls.† These, according to Diodorus Siculus, were formed of wood, and covered with straw; and Strabo represents them as being constructed of poles and wattled work, of a circular form, with lofty, tapering, or pointed roofs. There can be no doubt that

Huts of the Caledonians. the houses of the Caledonians, at the time of Agricola's expedition, were of this description; and in various districts of the country the relics of these structures have been discovered beneath an accumulation of from eight to ten feet of moss. The floors, which are generally found to measure about six feet in diameter, consist of rough oval palings of stone, bearing marks of fire, and frequently covered with charred ashes, and are sometimes surrounded with the remains of pointed hazel stakes or posts, the relics, doubtless, of the upright beams with which the walls of the ancient fabric was framed. In one of these dwellings uncovered near Comrie, in 1823, pieces of charcoal and burned wood were found, along with charred wheat and some fragments of iron, which may probably have lain there undisturbed since the time when the native tribes fired their houses before fleeing for refuge to the woods, after the fatal battle of the Grampians.‡

In many parts of the country the subterranean structures of the ancient inhabitants of Scotland are found in groups, but there is no reason to believe that they had anything among them answering to the Roman ideas of a city or town. "What the Britons call a town," says Cæsar, "is a tract of woody country surrounded by a vallum (a high bank) and a ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursions of their enemies." And Strabo observes, "The forests of the Britons are their cities; for when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it

houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for long duration."

If we may credit the statements of the classical writers, the domestic arrangements of the ancient Britons were of a very peculiar kind. Cæsar informs us that ten or twelve families used to live under the same roof, the husbands Community or having their wives in common. wives.

The offspring of these singular unions were regarded as the children of the persons by whom their mothers had been first married. Many have been disposed to call in question the truth of these statements, and to contend that the Romans drew this erroneous conclusion from the circumstance that the Britons slept promiscuously in their hovels, as the peasantry do to this day in some parts of Ireland. But it has been alleged on the other hand, that among other barbarous tribes, the Romans found many families huddled together under one roof, without, however, assuming on that account that they lived in all respects in common. Besides, the testimony of Cæsar is confirmed by that of Dio Cassius, or his abridger, Xiphiline, who reports a conversation respecting this custom between the Empress Julia and the wife of a British chief; and by the evidence of St. Jerome, who states that the practice still prevailed in his day in the northern parts of Britain. It is probable, however, that the community of wives was never at any time universal among the British tribes; for there is abundant evidence that the women were held in general respect, and that the chastity of the sexes, and the purity of domestic intercourse, were highly appreciated and strictly maintained by the Britons.

Women appear to have assumed Social rank of the prophetic office equally with women. men, and they even occasionally held the reins of sovereignty, and commanded armies in the field. And the frequent occurrence of implements of housewifery and female ornaments among the contents of the ancient sepulchres, warrants the conclusion, that women possessed, even at that early era, among the northern tribes, no unequal position in the social scale.

Of the manner in which the hovels of the Caledonians were furnished, we know scarcely anything. A variety of domestic vessels of Domestic utensils. stone, of different forms and sizes, have been discovered; but nearly all of them are extremely rude, both in their form and character, and in their attempts at ornament, and have evidently been in use among the Scottish aborigines at the same time with the stone celt and hammer. Coeval with these domestic utensils is the druidical patera, as it is generally designated, from an idea that it was used in the sacred rites of druidical worship, consisting of a small round cup or bowl, with a perforated handle on one side, and more or less ornamented, though generally in the rudest style, and bearing unmistakable evidence that it was formed by men destitute of efficient metallic tools. To this class also belongs the Scottish

* For a full description of the weems, and other primeval dwellings of the tribes of North Britain, see *Caledonia*, vol. 1. pp. 90—98; Pennant's *Tour*, vol. 1. Appendix, p. 330; and especially Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 74—81.

† *Bell. Gall. lib. v. ch. 12.*

‡ *Treat. Agric. c. 39; Archæology*, p. 70.



Engraved chiefly from the real objects by W^m Douglas Eskin.

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|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Urn of Stuns | 8. Finger Ring (Bronze) |
| 2. Vessels of Clay | 9. Head Ring (D ^o) |
| 3. Bead Stones | 10. Brooch (D ^o) |
| 4. Quern (Stone) | 11. Gold Pellets |
| 5. Basin and Palata (Stone) | 12. Ornamented Leather Shoe |
| 6&7. Gold Armlets | 13. Camrac, or Untanned Shoe |

querno or handmill, unquestionably an invention of the highest antiquity, though it has continued in use until very recently, in some of the remoter districts of the country. On the introduction of metals, these rude vessels and implements of stone were replaced by utensils formed of bronze, and even of gold, which, whensoever it was derived, appears to have been used in Scotland, to a considerable extent, from the earliest period of the introduction of metals. Many

Vessels of bronze and gold. of these interesting relics of antiquity, which have been brought to light either by opening the cairns and sepulchral barrows, or by the draining of bogs and lakes, consist of various culinary and domestic utensils, such as pots, caldrons, tripods, goblets, and bowls formed of bronze, and occasionally horns or drinking-cups of gold. It has been customary to ascribe all these vessels, either formed of bronze or of the precious metals, to the Roman era; but there is now good reason to believe that they ought rather to be regarded as the productions of native art, though, doubtless, of a late period, and not improbably, in many cases, coeval with the Roman invasion.

The art of manufacturing articles of earthenware was not unknown to the Caledonians. Numerous specimens of such articles have been discovered in the tumuli; and as they present, in every respect, a striking contrast to the pottery of the Roman colonists, we need have no hesitation in assigning them to the native manufacturer. The earliest of these specimens of native fictile ware are composed of very coarse materials, rudely formed by hand, imperfectly baked, and liable, therefore, to crack by mere exposure to the weather. Others, however, are gracefully formed and elaborately decorated, and have evidently been made by workmen who had acquired a knowledge of the potter's wheel. Numerous cinerary urns and domestic pottery of various kinds have been found in Scotland, and are characterized by considerable diversity, both in shape and decoration. The vases most frequently found are divided into three kinds: the large sepulchral urn,

which contains the burnt bones of the deceased, and is usually a truncated cone, standing mouth downwards, in a dish made to fit like a pie-dish—the drinking-cup, of a barrel form, but widening at the mouth, holding about a quart in measure, and supposed to have contained articles of food for the dead—it is most frequently found with skeletons, and is placed at the head and feet—and incense cups, small in size, and more fantastic in shape and ornaments than the former, supposed to have been filled with balsams and precious ointments or frankincense, and to have been suspended over the funeral pile.* Some of these perforated urns or cups, which are evidently designed for suspension, are provided with a cover or lid, made of the same material. Others are made round on the bottom, so as to be unfitted for setting on the ground; and it is sup-

posed that these are specimens of the earliest artificial cooking-vessels manufactured by native skill.* On the other hand, urns, coated with a dark green glaze, have been found alongside of iron weapons and other relics, which show that they belong to the last Pagan period in Scotland.

The Mæatæ and Caledonians are represented by the classical writers as living in a state of nudity; but the accuracy of the statement may be doubted, as the Romans seldom saw these warlike tribes save in battle, where, according to the general custom of the Celtic nations, they were in the habit of laying aside the greater part of their clothing for convenience. Cæsar states, that the inhabitants of the interior of Britain wore garments of skins; it is highly improbable, therefore, that the northern tribes were entirely destitute of clothing. The Gauls possessed the knowledge of the art of fabricating and dyeing cloth, and consequently so must also the inhabitants of the north of Britain. According to Pliny and Diodorus Siculus, the Gauls manufactured woollen cloth, dyed of several colours, and woven either in stripes or cheques. The Belgian Gauls wore dyed tunics of variegated colours, and close trousers, which they called *bracæe*. Red was the predominant colour, both in the chequered trousers and in the tunic. Over the tunic, both the Gauls and the Britons wore a short cloak, called a *sagum*, which was of one uniform colour, generally either blue or black. As civilization advanced, the dress, with the other manners and customs of the southern Britons, was doubtless adopted by the ruder northern tribes, and the dyed garments of wool gradually superseded the clothing of skins. Numerous allusions are made by the classical writers to the peculiar custom which the Britons practised of staining their bodies of a blue

Custom of painting their bodies. colour, with the herb vitrum or ing their bodies. wood. According to Herodian, they punctured their bodies with the figures of all sorts of animals. Isidore, speaking of the Picts, states that their name was derived from their painted skins, and that they squeezed out the juice of certain herbs upon the body, and punctured the figures with a needle. This practice, which bears a close resemblance to the tattooing common among the natives of the South Sea Islands, was in all probability at its height when the clothing of the people was most scanty; but as civilization advanced, and the articles of raiment were increased, it would be gradually discontinued, and at last wholly abandoned. The personal

Personal ornaments of the aborigines of Caledonia appear to have been formed of bone or horn, and even of coal and stone. Various relics of these primeval decorations have been preserved, consisting of perforated beads of bones, horn pins perforated animals' teeth, and other rudely formed necklaces and pendants. Ornaments of jet or shalo, and cancell coal, and large beads of glass and pebble, have also been discovered in the grave-mounds

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* See E. C. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Introd. i. 25.

* Archaeology, p. 285; Archæol. Scot. vol. ii. p. 70.

of North Britain, together with relics formed of polished pale greenstone, representing a class which appear to have been common among the personal decorations of the stone period, whether regarded merely as ornaments, or valued for some hidden virtue which may have been supposed to pertain to them. Necklaces, even ruder still, have been found belonging to this primeval period, formed of the common small shells of our coasts—of cockles and of oyster-shells, perforated, and strung together with a fibre or sinew.

The ornaments belonging to the bronze period are, as might be expected, of a much higher order. Not a few of them, indeed, were still formed of stone, or of jet and shale; but the taste and ingenuity which their workmanship displays are evidently the result of considerable mechanical skill. Some of these ornaments of shale were, until very recently, held in superstitious reverence by the peasantry, for their medicinal virtues or supernatural powers, and were especially regarded as a sovereign specific to counteract the supposed effects of witchcraft. Necklaces, beads, buttons, rings, and other relics of this class, have been discovered in great numbers in various districts of the country, exhibiting a degree of finish and decoration which distinguishes them from earlier ornaments formed of the same materials. To the same period belong the large beads of glass or vitreous paste and amber, stone, clay, and porcelain, so frequently found in the British tumuli, and commonly known as Adder Beads, Serpent Stones, and Druidical Beads. But by far the most valuable of the Scottish sepulchral deposits of the bronze period, are the beautiful gold and silver relics which are from time to time brought to light on the opening of sepulchral tumuli, or in the course of agricultural or railway operations. They are of great variety, and, in many cases, are exceedingly beautiful in design and ornament. Some of these con-

Golden bracelets consist of bracelets and armlets; others and torques. are a sort of necklace or collar, called a torque, composed of flexible bars of gold or silver, twisted like a rope or wreath, and supposed to have been the symbol of nobility or command. Herodian says that the Caledonians wore torques of iron, "of which they were as vain as other barbarians were of gold." Numerous specimens of these torques and armillæ, composed of gold, silver, and bronze, have been found in various parts of Scotland, and have attracted great attention by the beauty of their workmanship. Massive gold rings, with dilated ends, have also been discovered; and it is supposed that they, as well as the plain gold armillæ, constituted the "ring-money" of the ancient Britons, and were employed as a circulating medium till long after the era of the Roman invasion. Another class of gold ornaments peculiar to the British Isles consists of a solid cylindrical gold bar, bent into a semicircle, and terminated at both ends with hollow cups, resembling the mouth of a trumpet. It has been conjectured that these curious gold relics served as

clasps or fastenings for the ancient British chlamys, or mantle, worn by the native chief, or by the arch-priest when robed in his most stately pontificals. Metal rings of various kinds, fibulæ, hair-pins, bodkins, and needles of bronze, are frequently met with, and occasionally some small fragments of knitted or woven tissues, of the herring-bone pattern—the interesting remains of the domestic manufactures of the ancient Caledonians. The massive snake-bracelets, the beaded torques, and the rings for the hair, formed of bronze, frequently found in Scotland, are generally characterized by great beauty of form, and delicacy of ornament, and are supposed to belong to the latest Pagan era, when artistic design had been fully developed.*

From the insular position of Britain, it is evident that its first colonists must have possessed some knowledge of boat-
Boats.
building and of navigation; and various specimens of the canoes of the aboriginal Britons have from time to time been brought to light. Several of these have been dug out of Lochar-moss, in Dumfriesshire, near the Solway Frith, along with anchors, oars, and other naval implements. One brought to light in 1736, was seven feet long, and dilated to a considerable breadth at one end: the paddle was found near it. Another, hollowed out of the trunk of an oak, was examined by Mr. Pennant in 1782. "Near a place called Kilblain," says he, "I met with one of the ancient canoes of the primeval inhabitants of the country, when it was probably in the same state of nature as Virginia when first discovered by Captain Philip Amidas. The length of this little vessel was eight feet eight inches; of the cavity, six feet seven inches; the breadth, two feet; depth, eleven inches; and at one end were the remains of three pegs for the paddle. The hollow was made with fire, in the very manner that the Indians of America formed their canoes."†

Other rude barques, of a similar construction, have been discovered in Carlinwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, and in Loch Doon, Ayrshire. One of the canoes found in the latter, measured about twenty-three feet in length, and was formed of a single oak-tree, with the insertion of an upright plank into a broad groove, for the stern. The largest of these primitive barques discovered in North Britain, was found on the banks of the Carron, Stirlingshire, in 1726, at a depth of fifteen feet from the surface, and covered by successive strata of clay, shells, moss, sand, and gravel. It was formed, as usual, from a single oak-tree, and measured thirty-six feet in length by four feet in breadth, and was finely polished, and perfectly smooth both inside and outside. No fewer than nine ancient canoes have been found, at different times, on the banks of the Clyde, at Glasgow. In one of them lay a beautifully finished stone celt,

* *Archæology*, part i. chap. viii., part ii. chap. vi., and part iii. chap. v.; *Archæol. Scot.* vol. ii. plate iii., vol. iii. p. 290, vol. iv. p. 217, vol. viii. p. 429; *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 129.

† Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 107.



Engraved from authentic sources by Wm. Inglis, Edinburgh.

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|--|---|
| 1 & 2 Ancient Celtic Brooches & Ribbed Iron Sword pommel | at Hawthornden |
| 3 Ancient Celtic Dirks | at Hawthornden |
| 4 A dirk from Lillies Creek | 7 Bronze Axe found at Bannockburn |
| 5 The Brooch of Larn | 8 Marble Drinking vessel of King James V. |



apparently formed of dark greenstone. Another, found in 1825, was built of several pieces of oak, though without ribs, and exhibited unusual evidences of labour and ingenuity. A third, discovered in 1847, had a circular hole in the bottom, to admit of water shipped being run off when it was on shore; and, strange to say, this hole was stopped by a plug of cork. Another kind of boats in use among the ancient Britons at a later period, appears to have been formed of osier-twigs, covered with hide, closely resembling the currach of the Irish, and the coracle of the Welsh. But, owing to the perishable nature of the materials of which they were formed, no specimen of this class of primitive boats has been preserved.

There are few sources from which we can derive such accurate information respecting the manners and customs of a people and their progress in civil-

ization, as from the structure and contents of the sepulchral monuments they erect in honour of the departed. The ancient Britons, like most other untutored races, expected their future to resemble their present state, and that in another state of existence they would have an opportunity of pursuing the occupations in which they delighted to engage here. Hence the weapons of war and of the chase—personal ornaments—the insignia of rank and distinction—the favourite horse and dog—were deposited in the sepulchral mound along with the buried chief, in order that, in the new state of being on which he had entered, he might be arrayed in a manner befitting his rank, and provided with everything requisite for his defence, subsistence, and amusement. The sepulchres of the first colonists of North Britain for the most part consist of two classes, Barrows and Cairns, the former composed only of earth, the latter of stones.

Barrows. The Barrows are of various forms and sizes, and have been described by Dr. Wilson, in his very able and learned work, as consisting of the Long Barrow; the Bowl Barrow, a plain hemispherical mound of earth; the Bell Barrow, which is not very common in Scotland, is evidently of later date, and exhibits greater skill and labour in its construction; the Conoid Barrow; the Crowned Barrow, with one or more standing stones set upon it; the Enclosed Barrow, which is environed by an earthen vallum; and the Encircled Barrow, generally of large proportions, and surrounded by a circle of standing stones. The whole of these vast mounds have evidently been reserved only for chiefs and personages of exalted rank. The common dead were deposited in plain and undistinguished cemeteries. The long barrow, which is supposed to be the earliest of these sepulchral memorials, is an immense mound of earth of an oblong form and rude construction, but containing no metallic implements, and very few valuable relics of any kind. The contents of the other more elegantly shaped barrows indicate the existence of a much higher state of civilization among the people by whom they were constructed. There is reason to believe that this mode of burial was

not entirely superseded till some time after the introduction of Christianity into Scotland.

The Cairns, or tumuli constructed of stones, are the largest and most numerous of all the Scottish sepulchral Cairns. mounds, and appear to have been erected as a receptacle for the honoured dead from the remotest period down to the close of Pagan customs and sepulchral rites. Some of these gigantic monuments have been erected on the sites of ancient battles, and are believed to be the memorials of the victors in those bloody conflicts. Cairns abound in almost every district in Scotland, and many of them are works of great labour, containing extensive sepulchral chambers, regularly built of stones of considerable size. All the articles discovered in these stone chambers are usually of greater value than those which have been deposited in any other class of sepulchral mounds; they are, therefore, supposed to have been the burial places of the most distinguished chieftains of the aboriginal races. They are of different shapes; but the conical form is most frequently met with. Great numbers of these cairns have been opened in various parts of the country, and the interesting relics which they contained have added largely to our knowledge of the manners and customs of the primitive races of Scotland.

The Cromlech, or "Druidical Altar," as it was long termed, is now generally regarded as a sepulchral monument, and is undoubtedly by far the most laborious and costly memorial which the ancient Britons erected in honour of their illustrious dead. It usually consists of three or four rough, unhewn blocks, supporting a huge cap-stone, and inclosing an urn, within which the skeleton has been disposed in a contracted position, and accompanied with coins and relics of an early period. In some cases these cromlechs appear to have been encircled with a ring of standing stones. There is good reason to believe that these huge sepulchral memorials are the work of the earliest inhabitants of Scotland, during the primeval or stone period. They are now comparatively rare; but the traces of ruined cromlechs, which are still visible in various parts of the country, show that they must at one time have been much more numerous.

The ancient Britons appear to have adopted a variety of modes in the disposition of the body in these sepulchral monuments. In all probability, the earliest mode of interment was to place the body in a cist in a contracted posture, with the knees drawn up to the breast, that the warrior, with his weapons at his side, might be ready to spring up fully equipped for the conflict. The weapons and implements found with the remains of the body interred in this posture are usually of rude workmanship, although the custom appears to have prevailed for ages. Sometimes the body was laid in the grave at full length, and in these cases the articles of bronze and iron deposited along with it indicate greater skill in the arts, and a more advanced state of

civilization. About the closing period of the Pagan era, rude oaken coffins appear to have been substituted for the primitive cist of stone. Two specimens of these ancient coffins, each formed of a solid trunk of oak, were recently brought to light in the course of some excavations on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh. Similar examples of oaken cists, hollowed out of solid trees, have been discovered in various parts of the country. In the later tumuli have been found bronze rings, bridle bits, and other portions of horse furniture, in some instances highly decorated. The skeleton of the dog is frequently met with, and sometimes the teeth and bones, and even the entire skeleton of the horse; and, in rare cases, the relics of the British war-chariot, making evident the remarkable fact, that not only the warrior's weapons, but even his chariot and horses, were sometimes interred along with him.

The contents of these sepulchral monuments show that, at a very early period, the inhabitants of North Britain were in the frequent practice of burning the bodies of the dead. As in every state of society the rites connected with the burial of the dead are among the last things affected by change, there is every reason to believe that the practice of cineriation was introduced by a new race, along with the knowledge of the metallurgic arts. It is unquestionable that this custom must have been in use among the ancient Britons for many generations before the era of the Roman invasion. The practice of cineriation was long contemporaneous with the custom of inhumation, and it is impossible to say which of the two was esteemed the more honourable. In some of the tumuli, indeed, a single cist has been found containing a skeleton untouched by fire, and around it several cinerary urns, containing the half-burned bones and ashes of the dead. In others the central cists are large and carefully constructed, while those which are placed around them are greatly inferior, both in construction and dimensions. The former, in all probability, contains the ashes of the chief and his wife; the latter, those of their children, or favourite attendants. Cæsar relates of the Gallie chieftains, that their funerals were magnificent and sumptuous, and that not only the things which they loved best when alive, and even their dogs and horses, but their favourite servants and retainers also, were consumed along with them on the funeral pile.* Apart from the conclusion which may be drawn from this statement, the arrangement of the sepulchral tumuli of the aboriginal Britons, the groups of cists or urns, and other relics which they contain, afford strong presumptive evidence that a similar practice prevailed among them.

Analogous to the sepulchral cairns of the Caledonians are the memorials which they erected on the fields of ancient conflict, to perpetuate the remembrance of those who fell in the engagement. Some of these sepulchral tumuli mark the supposed site of the battle of

the Grampians. "On the hill, above the moor of Ardoch," says Gordon, "are two great heaps of stones; the one called Carn-wichel, the other Carn-lee. The former is the greatest curiosity of this kind that I ever met with. The quantity of great rough stones lying above one another almost surpasses belief, which made me have the curiosity to measure it; and I found the whole heap to be about one hundred and eighty-two feet in length, thirty in sloping height, and forty-five in breadth at the bottom."† In this cairn there has been found a stone coffin, containing a skeleton seven feet long. In the parish of Libberton, near Edinburgh, there were several very large cairns of this class, called Cat-stanes, beneath which were found cists containing human skeletons, and various bronze and iron weapons. There are also single stones in various parts of Scotland, still known by the same designation, which is evidently derived from the British *Cad*, or the Celtic *Cath*, signifying "a battle."

Another class of single memorial-stones are the Hare or Hoar-stones (*i. e.*, literally border or boundary stones), which have evidently been intended to serve as land-marks. One of these rude memorials stood on the Borough Moor of Edinburgh, and probably marked the western boundary of the ancient chase claimed from time immemorial by the city. When James IV. mustered the array of the kingdom there in 1513, the royal standard, according to tradition, was displayed from the "Hare Stane," which is now built into the wall on the left-hand side of the highway leading towards Braid, not far from the head of Bruntsfield Links.‡ The term "Hare Stanes," is applied to a circular group of stones near Kirkden, in the parish of Kirkurd, Peebleshire; and there are several cairns and "laws" in various parts of the country which bear the same designation.‡ To this class of memorials belongs the "Hawk Stane," at St. Madoes, Perthshire, which stands on the marches of what is known to have been the ancient possessions of the Hays of Errol, and still bounds the parishes of St. Madoes and Inchture. This stone is said to have been set up immediately after the defeat of the Danes, in the battle of Luncarty (circa A.D. 990), and is referred to by Boece as existing in his day (A.D. 1500).

A still more remarkable class of monumental or memorial-stones are the "Standing-stones." Standing-stones. "Standing-stones," as they are denominated, from their upright position. The most celebrated of these monuments of antiquity are the Stones of Stennis—the Oradian Stonchenge—as they have been appropriately termed. They consist of two groups of rude pillars, formed of single stones, placed perpendicularly in the earth. Their situation is very peculiar. Two large sheets of

* Itin. Septen. p. 42.

† "The royal standard floated wide,
The staff a pine-tree strong and straight,
Pitch'd deeply in a massive stone,
Which still in memory is shown."

‡ Marmion, c. iv. st. 28.

‡ The most celebrated of these is Harlaw, in Aberdeenshire, the scene of the well known "Battle of Harlaw."

* Bell. Gall. vi. 19.

water, communicating with the sea, are connected by a causeway, called the Bridge of Brogar, with openings permitting the tide to rise and recede. Upon the eastern tongue of land stands the smaller group, arranged in the form of a horse-shoe, the height of the pillars being fifteen feet and upwards. When entire, the circle appears to have consisted of twelve upright stones; but nearly the whole of them have now disappeared. The circle, however, is clearly marked by a surrounding mound of earth, and the remains of some of the overthrown stones. On the opposite isthmus, advancing towards the Bridge of Brogar, stands the larger group, called the Great Circle of Stennis, or Ring of Brogar. The stones of which this circle is composed are smaller in size than those on the opposite side of the lake, varying from six to fifteen feet in height, and from two and a half to seven feet in length. When entire, it appears to have consisted of sixty upright stones. Only twenty-three of these now remain, ten of which are prostrate. The whole is inclosed by a deep trench, which measures three hundred and sixty-six feet in diameter, and is still six feet deep, and twenty-nine feet broad. The entrances are formed by narrow earth-banks across the trench. In the centre of the smaller circle lies a large horizontal slab, which has been conjectured to have been used for sacrificial purposes; and it is supposed that it was on this altar that Einar-*jarl*, of Orkney, offered up Halfden, son of Harold, the fair-haired King of Norway, in sacrifice to Odin. In the immediate neighbourhood of this circle, though forming no part of it, stood the Stone of Odin, a pillar about eight feet in height, and perforated with an oval hole, large enough to admit a man's head. Through this hole lovers were wont to join hands when they interchanged vows, taking the "Promise of Odin," as it was called. In ancient times this ceremony was held so sacred, that the person who dared to break the engagement was counted infamous, and excluded from all society.* Dr. Henry states, that a tradition existed in his time, about the close of last century, that human victims destined for sacrifice were bound to the perforated column, preparatory to their slaughter as an acceptable offering to Odin. In later times, the heads of children were passed through the perforation, in order to secure them against palsy in after life. It is deeply to be regretted that this interesting relic of antiquity, as well as two of the pillars of the adjacent *semieirele*, were, in 1814, wantonly destroyed by the stupid barbarity of a neighbouring farmer.

Monolithic monuments of a similar character are to be found in many parts both of the mainland and of the islands of Scotland. Sometimes they consist of single stones, and as often they appear in groups of two, three, four, or more; but in all cases they are without any mark of chisel or tool. There have been many conjectures as to the origin and purpose of these erections. Some have contended

that they are of druidical, others that they are of Scandinavian origin. Both of these conjectures, however, may now be regarded as exploded, and the opinion is gaining ground, that these huge unhewn monolithic columns, which abound in such numbers both in Asia and in Europe, owe their origin not to one creed, but to one remarkable phase of the human mind, the influence of which has long since disappeared. "The varieties apparent in their grouping and structure," says Dr. Wilson, "are such as may well justify the conclusion, that instead of being the temples of a common faith, they are more probably the ruins of a variety of edifices designed for divers purposes, and, it may be, even for the rites of rival creeds. This at least is certain, that the latest, if not the only unquestionable evidence of their use which we possess, is not as religious temples, but as courts of law and battle-rings, wherein the duel or judicial combat was fought, though this, doubtless, had its origin in the invariable union of the priestly and judicial offices in a primitive state of society. The several concentric circles, so frequently characterising them, add to the probability of their adaptation to the purposes of judicial or deliberative assemblies."

CHAPTER III.

PICTISH PERIOD. A.D. 446 TO 843.

AT the period of the Roman abdication, the names of Caledonli and *Mæatæ* had disappeared, and the inhabitants of North Britain bore the designation of Picti, or Piets. Historians are now agreed that the Piets were The Piets. not a new race, but merely the Caledonians under a new name. The first writer who mentions the North British tribes, under this designation, is Eumenius, a professor at Antrim, who in a panegyric on Constantius, in the year A.D. 297, speaks of "the Caledonians and other Piets."† Eleven years later, in an oration pronounced in the presence of the Emperor Constantine, he repeats the statement that the Caledonians were a part of the Piets. About the close of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the Piets as divided into two nations, the *Dicalcdones*, or, according to another reading, *Deucealedones*, and the *Vecturiones*.‡ On this passage Mr. Grant remarks:—"The term *Deucealedones* is attended with no difficulty. *Du-choailldain* signifies, in the Gaelic language, the real or genuine inhabitants of the woods. *Du*, pronounced short, signifies *black*; but pronounced long, signifies *real, genuine*; and in this acceptance, the word is in common use. *Du Errinnach*, a genuine Irishman. *Du Albinnach*, a genuine Scotsman. The appellation of *Deucealedones* served to distin-

* *Archæology*, p. 113.

† "Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum."

‡ "Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi *Dicalcdones Vecturiones*." *Lib. xvii. chap. 8.*

* *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. p. 263; vol. iii. p. 122; *Pirate*, chap. 33.

guish the inhabitants of the woody valleys of Albinn, or Scotland, from those of the cleared country on the east coast of Albinn, along its whole extent, to certain distances westward along its mountains, in the interior parts of the country. These last were denominated, according to Latin pronunciation, *Vecturiones*, but in the mouths of the Gael, or native inhabitants, the appellation was pronounced *Uachtarich*. The *Vecturiones* thus possessed the more level surface of the country, while the *Deucealedones* inhabited the narrow, deep valleys, which were universally completely covered with thickly growing woods.* Chalmers and Sir William Betham, however, are of opinion that *de*, in the British language, has the same disjunctive effect with the particle *dis* in English, and that the *Deucealedones* meant the separated Caledonians who lived without the Roman provinces, in the western and northern parts of Caledonia, and who were thus distinguished from the *Vecturiones*, that dwelt along the eastern coast from the Forth to the Varar. "As this open country," says the former, "obtained from the British provincials the descriptive appellation of *Peithu*, so the inhabitants of it were consequently termed *Peithi*, *Peithuyr*, and *Peithwyron*, all which terms denoted the people of the open country. The only difference between the British words *Peithi* and *Peithwyron* is, that the former is a more general, and the latter a more special term, the same in import as the *English* and *Englishmen*. The British words, *Peithi* and *Peithwyron*, would naturally be Latinized by the Romans into *Picti* and *Pecturones*, or rather, *Vecturones*." † A more simple and natural derivation of the word, however, is from the Latin term *Picti*, signifying *painted*, bestowed upon the Caledonians from their well-known custom of staining or tattooing their bodies. The Latin writers themselves seem to have understood the name in this sense. ‡

On the final departure of the Romans from Britain, the five Romanized tribes who inhabited Valentia, or the country between the walls of Agricola and Antoninus, were declared independent; and as the incessant attacks of the fiercer tribes beyond the wall rendered it necessary for them to unite in their own defence, they formed by their union a new kingdom, called sometimes the *Regnum Cumbrense*, or more frequently, the kingdom of Strathelyde. This Cumbrian kingdom of the Romanized Britons extended from the Solway on the south, to the Forth and Loch Lomond on the north; and from

the Frith of Clyde on the west, to the limits of the Merse and Lothian on the east. It appears to have included the present Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrew, Strathclyde, the midland and western parts of Stirlingshire, with the largest portion of Dunbartonshire. "The metropolis of the kingdom," says Chalmers, "was Alcluyd, which they still retained when the pen dropped from the hand of the venerable Bede, A. D. 734, and which is situated on the north bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven. The descriptive name of Alcluyd, which signifies the rocky height on the Clyde, was applied to the bifurcated rock, on the summit of which these Capital. associated Britons had a strong hill-fort, which formed a secure residence for their reguli or kings. To this fortress the Scots-Irish subsequently applied the name of *Dun-Briton*, signifying the fortress of the Britons, an appellation which, by an easy transition, has in modern times been converted into *Dunbarton*."* The Cumbrian Britons, in imitation of their former protectors, endeavoured to protect their country from the inroads of their enemies by the erection of an artificial safeguard, consisting of a broad and deep Catrail. fosse and double rampart, extending upwards of forty-five miles, from Galashiels on the north, to Peel-fell, at the eastern extremity of Liddesdale on the south, and defended by forts built at intervals along the line, on the summits of the neighbouring heights. Some remains of this interesting work, which is known by the name of the Catrail, may still be traced. † Among the petty chiefs who reigned over Strathelyde, there are none whose names or exploits are worthy of preservation, with the single exception of the famous King Arthur. At King Arthur. the commencement of the sixth

century, this semi-fabulous monarch was chosen pendragon, or chief military leader of the Cumbrian Britons, expelled his sovereign, the feeble Hual or Hoel, and reigned over Strathelyde from A. D. 508 to A. D. 542, when he was killed in the fatal battle of Camlan. ‡ The fame of his deeds of valour has been perpetuated both by the romances of the poets and the tales of tradition, while his obscure successors, continually occupied either in civil broils or foreign conflicts, have engaged neither poet nor chronicler to transmit their deeds to more inquisitive times.

At the period of the Roman abdication the Picts were governed by a chieftain, Pictish kings. named Drust, the son of Erp, who, for his prowess in his various expeditions against the Roman provincials, has been honoured by the

* Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael. By James Grant, Esq., of Corrimony, p. 276.

† Caledonia, vol. i. book ii. p. 201, note. See also Pinkerton's Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the reign of Malcolm III.

‡ "ferroque notatos Perlegit exanimis Pictis moriente figuras."

—Claudian, De Bello Getico, lib. xxvi. v. 416.

* Ille loves Msauros nec falso nomine Pictos Edomuit. —Ibid.

† James' Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 67—68.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 238.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 239, Gordon's Iter. Septen. p. 103.

‡ It has been strenuously maintained that Arthur is not a real but only a mythological personage, the chief divinity of that system of revived Druidism which appears to have arisen in the unconquered parts of the west of Britain, after the departure of the Romans. For an elaborate examination of this question, see "Britannia after the Romans," pp. 70—141. A defence of the historic reality of Arthur will be found in "Turner's Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. pp. 268—283.

Irish annalist with the name of "Drust of the hundred battles." The following chronological table of his successors was first printed by Innes, from an ancient manuscript in the Colbertine Library, which had once belonged to Lord Burleigh, and had at that time been seen by Camden. Its authenticity has not been questioned, and has, indeed, been confirmed by various collateral circumstances.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PICTISH KINGS.

Series	Date of Accession.	Duration of their Reign.	Period of their Deaths.
	A. D.	Years.	A. D.
1. Drust, the son of Erp			451
2. Talore, the son of Aniel	451	4	455
3. Nacton Morbet, the son of Erp	455	25	480
4. Drest Gurthinmoch	480	30	510
5. Galanau Etelich	510	12	522
6. Dadrest	522	1	523
7. Drest, the son of Girom	523	1	524
Drest, the son of Wdrest, with the former	524	5	529
Drest, the son of Girom, alone	529	5	534
8. Gartinach, the son of Girom	534	7	541
9. Gealtraim, the son of Girom	541	1	542
10. Talorg, the son of Muircholaich	542	11	553
11. Drest, the son of Munait	553	1	554
12. Galam, with Aleph	554	1	555
Galam, with Bridei	555	1	556
13. Bridei, the son of Mailcon	556	30	586
14. Gartinach, the son of Domelch	556	11	567
15. Nectu, the nephew of Verb	597	20	617
16. Cineoch, the son of Luthrin	617	19	636
17. Garnard, the son of Wid	636	4	640
18. Bridei, the son of Wid	640	5	645
19. Talore, their brother	645	12	657
20. Talorean, the son of Enfret	657	4	661
21. Gartnait, the son of Donnel	661	6½	667
22. Drest, his brother	667	7	674
23. Bridei, the son of Bili	674	21	695
24. Taran, the son of Entifidich	695	4	699
25. Bridei, the son of Dereli	699	11	710
26. Nechtan, the son of Dereli	710	15	725
27. Drest and Elpin	725	5	730
28. Ungus, the son of Urganis	730	31	761
29. Bridei, the son of Urganis	761	2	763
30. Ciniol, the son of Wredech	763	12	775
31. Elpin, the son of Bridei	775	3½	779
32. Drest, the son of Talorgan	779	5	784
33. Talorgan, the son of Ungus	784	2½	786
34. Canaul, the son of Tarla	786	5	791
35. Constantine, the son of Urganis	791	30	821
36. Ungus (Hungus) the son of Urganis	821	12	833
37. Drest, the son of Constantine, and Talorgan, the son of Wthoil	833	3	836
38. Uuen, the son of Ungus	836	3	839
39. Wrad, the son of Bargoit	839	3	842
40. Bred	842	1	843

Little is known of the history of the Pietish tribes for more than a hundred years after the Roman abdication. The first event that occurred

Arrival of the worthy of notice, was the arrival Saxons in Scotland. in Scotland (A. D. 449) of the Saxons, a race of Gothic origin, who invaded and finally effected a settlement in Lothian. They speedily subdued the Ottadini, who were the ancient inhabitants of this district, and took possession of a portion of the province of Valentia. For some time this territory formed a sort of debatable land, alternately subject to the Saxons and to the Picts. After the lapse of a century, however (A. D. 547), Ida, the founder of the Saxon kingdom

* Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum. Innes, vol. i. pp. 101—141.

of Northumbria, and one of the boldest and most adventurous of the sons of Woden, landed at Flamborough, and brought such an important accession to the strength and numbers of his countrymen, that they extended their dominion from the Humber to the Forth, and, for the time, added the districts of lower Teviotdale, Berwickshire, and Lothian to the Northumbrian monarchy. Edwin, the most powerful of the Northumbrian kings, who ascended the throne about A. D. 621, appears to have largely extended the Saxon conquests in North Britain; and there can be little doubt that to this energetic chief the present capital of Scotland owes its foundation and its name. Egfrid, one of his successors, lost these territories, together with his life (A. D. 685), in an unfortunat contest with the Pictish king Bridei, or Brude. In opposition to the advice of his counsellors, he crossed the Forth and the Tay, and penetrated through the defiles of the Pictish kingdom, plundering and destroying the country as he advanced. At length, his career terminated at Dun-nechtan (the hill fort of Nechtan), in Forfarshire, the Dunnichen of the present times, where he was completely routed and slain by the exasperated Piets.* This was a fatal blow to the Northumbrian monarchy, which never regained its previous ascendancy, and was henceforth confined to the country south of the Tweed. Lodonia became ultimately a part of the Pietish dominions; † and both the Dalriadic Scots and the Strathelyd Britons were freed, for a time, from the inroads of the Saxons.

Meanwhile, the important event of the conversion of the Piets to Christianity had taken place. The Dalriadic Scots appear to have been converted by St. Patrick, previously to their establishment in Cantyre. Their ecclesiastical patron was Ciaran, a prelate of high reputation, to whom several churches in Argyleshire and Ayrshire were dedicated. St. Ninian, himself a Briton, though educated as a monk at Rome, had, about the commencement of the fifth century (A. D. 412), founded a monastery at Whitberne, in Galloway, which supplied the country with a succession of religious instructors, and had erected a church, which is expressly mentioned by Bede as the first that was built of stone in North Britain. ‡ About the middle of the sixth century, Kentigern, or St. Mungo, signalized himself by his pious labours among the Britons of Strathelyd, and is supposed to have founded the see of Glasgow. But the conversion of the northern Piets was reserved for St. Columba, an Irish monk of illustrious birth, connected with the royal families of Ireland and of the Dalriadic Scots. This celebrated benefactor of North Britain was born, A. D. 521, at Garten, a

* Saxon Chron. p. 45. Ogygia Vindicated, p. 108. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 255.

† Lodonia appears to be a Teutonic word, signifying the Marches or Borders. The name still survives in the Lothians, the modern designation of the district.

‡ Bede, book iii. chap. iv.

village now included in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, and his education was carefully conducted under the best masters which that country, long before this converted to Christianity, could supply. After founding several monasteries in his native land, he became involved in the factious contentions by which, then as now, Ireland was torn asunder; and, in the year 563, he took his departure from that country to introduce the gospel into the desolate and barbarous dominions of the northern Picts. Embarking with twelve companions, in a boat of wicker-work, covered with hides, he set out upon his pious and benevolent mission, and landed on a solitary isle near the south-west angle

of Mull, then known by the name of I, signifying, in Irish, an island; afterwards changed by Bede into Hy, Latinised by the monks into Iona, and again honoured with the name of I-columb-cil—the isle of St. Columba's retreat or cell.

—“Isle of Columba's cell,
Where Christian piety's soul-cheering spark
(Kindled from heaven between the light and dark
Of time) shone like the morning star.”

Here Columba settled with his twelve disciples. “They now,” says Bede, “neither sought nor loved anything of this world.” For two years they laboured with their own hands, erecting huts and building a church.



IONA.

They lived under a strict discipline, which Columba had established as the rule of the monasteries he had founded, and employed much of their time in reading and transcribing the Holy Scriptures from the Latin translation. Having organized his establishment, the pious missionary commenced his labours among the Picts. The difficulties which he had to encounter were of the most formidable kind. The country was woody, mountainous, and infested with wild beasts, so that travelling was both dangerous and painful. The inhabitants were so rude and savage, that they are said to have attempted his life. The king himself not only refused him an audience, but ordered the palace gates to be shut against him; and the powerful Druidical priests employed all their eloquence to counteract his efforts. But the energy and zeal of Columba overcame every obstacle. Though he at first required an interpreter to make himself intelligible to the barbarians, he speedily acquired such a mastery over their language as to enable

him to address them in their native tongue. His self-denying labours were crowned with rapid success. The Picts were at this time governed by Bridei, the son of Mailcon, a prince of great influence. The patience and perseverance of Columba, and the influence of his virtues, overcame the prejudices of the king; and, along with the greater portion of his subjects, he embraced the Christian religion. Attended by his disciples, Columba traversed the whole of the Pictish territories, and even penetrated into the remote islands of Orkney, everywhere instructing the people in the truths of the gospel, and in gardening, agriculture, and other useful arts, erecting churches, and establishing monasteries. These monasteries or cells were long subject to the Abbey of Iona, which thus became not merely “the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion,” and the nursery which supplied with learned pastors the monasteries, and above three

hundred churches which Columba himself had erected, and also gave divines to many of the religious establishments among the Anglo-Saxons, the Norwegians, and other neighbouring nations, but was probably at that time the chief seminary of learning in Europe.

Few circumstances connected with the early history of Christianity in Scotland have excited so much controversy as the question regarding the nature of the system of ecclesiastical polity founded by Columba; one class maintaining it to have been strictly Presbyterian, while others contend no less strenuously that it was Episcopalian. The former, which has been adopted by the learned Selden, is the opinion generally deemed most in accordance with the expressions of Bede, the earliest authority on the subject. But though this diversity of sentiment exists as to their form of church-government, there is a general agreement as to their zeal and simplicity of character, the purity of their doctrines, and the holiness of their lives. Even Bede, who laments over their rejection of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and their neglect of the peculiar practices of the Romish Church, yet testifies that "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolical writings." The Culdees, as the clergy were called, were not forbidden to marry, and some of them are known to have earned their subsistence by engaging in secular employments. Columba died in the year 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him a name which will ever occupy a distinguished place on the pages of ecclesiastical history.*

With the exception of this interesting episode, the history of the Pictish monarchy, so far as it has been preserved, is made up of little else than a tissue of domestic strife and foreign war; sometimes with the Saxons, sometimes with the neighbouring kingdom of Strathelyd, and sometimes with the Dalriadic Scots. A civil war, which began in 724, raged for several years with great fury, and at length terminated in the complete triumph of Ungus, honoured by the Irish annalists with the title of Great, and who appears to have been the ablest and most powerful of all the Pictish kings. He was equally successful in his contests with the Scoto-Irish, the Northumbrians, and the Britons of Strathelyd, all of whom he defeated in successive engagements. After a life of incessant strife, he died in peace, in the year 761.

In the midst of these conflicts with their neighbours, the Picts found a new enemy in the northern Vikings, or pirates, or sea-kings, who had previously ravaged the coasts of England and France, and indeed, generally, of all the north-west of Europe. They first appeared on the

* Smith's Life of St. Columba. Bede, lib. iii. ch. v. Adamnan, lib. i. ch. xxxii., lib. ii. ch. xxxix. Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 318—323; and Jamieson's Account of the Culdees of Iona.

east of England in the year 787. A few years later, they found their way to the shores of Caledonia, and carried their ravages throughout the Hebrides, where they burned the religious houses which the disciples of St. Columba had established. In 839, these marauders entered the Pictish territories: and a sanguinary conflict ensued between them and the Picts, in which the latter were defeated, with the loss of their king, Uen, and his only brother, Bran, together with many of their chiefs.

This disastrous event hastened the downfall of the Pictish monarchy. Enfeebled by foreign invasion, and distracted by domestic strife, the Picts were compelled to yield to the power and policy of Kenneth, the King of the Dalriadic Scots, who at length succeeded in carrying into execution his long-cherished project of uniting the two crowns in his own person. To understand how this important event was brought about, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the arrival and progress of the Irish Scots in North Britain.

Few controverted points have given rise to a keener discussion than the question, Whether the Scots were the indigenous inhabitants of Britain, or merely emigrants from Ireland? That question has long been set at rest; and it is now admitted, on all hands, that the Scots came originally from Ireland, but that, at a very early period, they had passed over from the western shores of Britain into that island, and before the commencement of the fifth century, had given their name to the whole of that country.† They were, undoubtedly, of Celtic origin, and spoke the Celtic language. Two of their tribes, who took possession of the northern division of Ireland (the ancient Irish Ulladh, the modern Ulster), carried on such frequent and fierce domestic feuds, that, about the middle of the third century, Cormac, who then reigned over Ireland, was compelled to interfere, by force of arms, to quell the disturbances of his turbulent subjects. In this intestine war, Cairbre-Riada, the cousin and general of Cormac, conquered a territory of thirty miles in extent, in the north-east of Ireland, and, taking possession of it in right of conquest, called it Dal-Riada, the portion of Riada.‡ The descendants of Cairbre-Riada, and his followers, like the rest of their countrymen, were continually engaged either in domestic broils or in hostile excursions against the Romanized inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of Britain.

* See the Ulster Annals and the Pictish Chronicle.

† Orosius, b. i. ch. i. "Ibernia," he says, "which we call Scotland, is surrounded on every side by the ocean." See also Claudian—

"Totum cum Scotos Hibernem movit.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

Porphyry, who flourished at the close of the third century, is the first writer who speaks of the "Scoticæ Gentis." See Camden, vol. i. p. 98. Caledonia, vol. i. ch. vi. There can be no doubt that Ireland was the ancient Scotia of the Romans. Camden demonstrates that ancient Scotia was an island, that it was separated from Britain, and that it was not a distinct island from Ireland. Camden's Epist. p. 369.

‡ O'Flaherty's Ogygia. O'Connor's Dissert. pp. 196, 197. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 273.

Their first invasion of the Roman provinces of Britain appears to have taken place about the year 364, on the accession of Valentinian. But their aggression was repelled by the valour and skill of the celebrated Theodosius; and they did not succeed in forming any permanent settlement in Britain till a considerable time after the abdication of the island by the Romans.

In the beginning of the sixth century (A.D. 503), their first settle- Loarn (or Lorn), Fergus, and Angus, ment in North the three sons of Ere, King of Dal- Britain. riada, led a colony into the ancient province of the British Epidii, and effected a settlement upon the promontory of Cantyre. They seem to have met with but feeble opposition from the native tribes; and the silence both of history and of tradition in regard to this point, has led to the supposition that the Dalriads obtained possession of their new settlements by favour rather than by force. Their chiefs seem to have had each his own territory and tribe. Cantyre was the portion of Fergus, Loarn took possession of the district which still bears his name, and Angus is supposed to have colonized Ila.

"In the records of time," says Chalmers, "there scarcely occurs a period of history which is so perplexed and obscure as the annals of the Scoto-Irish kings and their tribes, from their settlement in A.D. 503, to their ascendancy in A.D. 843. The original cause of this obscurity is the want of contemporaneous writing. An ample field was thus left open for the conflicts of national emulation. Ignorance and ingenuity, sophistry and system, all contributed by their various efforts to make what was dark still more obscure. The series and genealogy of the kings have been involved in peculiar perplexity by the contests of the Irish and Scottish antiquarians for pre-eminence in antiquity, as well as in fame. And Cimmerian darkness has over- spread the annals of a people who were too restless for the repose of study, and too rude for the elaboration of writing." Fortunately, the annals of Tigernach and of Ulster, with the judicious commentaries of O'Flaherty and O'Connor, together with several brief chronicles and historical documents, first brought to light by the laborious Father Innes, have thrown some rays of light on a period of history which would otherwise have been involved in total darkness. From these various sources the learned and industrious Chalmers has compiled the following genealogical and chronological table of the Scoto-Irish kings during this dark era, extending from the settlement of Fergus, in 503, to the accession of Kenneth to the Pietish throne,— a period of 340 years.

A GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE SCOTO-IRISH KINGS FROM THE YEAR 503 TO 843.

Series	Name	Date of Accession. A.D.	Duration of Reign. Years.	Demise. A.D.
	Loarn, the son of Ere, reigned contemporary with Fergus.	503	3	506
1.	Fergus, the son of Ere	506	5	511
2.	Domangart, the son of Fergus	511	24	535
3.	Comgal, the son of Domangart			

Series	Name	Date of Accession. A.D.	Duration of Reign. Years.	Demise. A.D.
4.	Gauran, the son of Domangart	535	22	557
5.	Conal, the son of Comgal	557	14	571
6.	Aidan, the son of Gauran	571	34	605
7.	Eocha'-Bui, the son of Aidan	605	16	621
8.	Kenneth-Cear, the son of Eocha'-Bui	621	4	621
9.	Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn	621	16	637
10.	Donal-Breac, the son of Eocha'-Bui	637	5	642
11.	Conal II., the grandson of Conal I.	642	10	652
12.	Dungal reigned some years with Conal.			
13.	Donal-Duin, the son of Conal	652	13	665
14.	Maol-Duin, the son of Conal	665	16	681
15.	Ferchar-Fada, the grandson of Ferchar I.	681	21	702
16.	Eocha'-Kinevel, the son of Domangan, and the grandson of Donal-Breac	702	3	705
17.	Ainbhealach, the son of Ferchar-Fada	705	1	706
18.	Selvach, the son of Ferchar-Fada, reigned over Lorn from 706 to 729.			
19.	Duncha-Beg reigned over Cantyre and Argail till 720			
20.	Eocha III., the son of Eocha'-Rinevel, reigned over Cantyre and Argail from 720 to 729, and also over Lorn from 729 to 733.	706	27	733
21.	Muredach, the son of Ainbhealach	733	3	736
22.	Eogan, the son of Muredach	736	3	739
23.	Aodh-Fin, the son of Eocha III.	739	30	769
24.	Fergus, the son of Aodh-Fin	769	3	772
25.	Selvach II., the son of Eogan	772	24	796
26.	Eocha-Annuine IV., the son of Aodh-Fin	796	30	826
27.	Dungal, the son of Selvach II.	826	7	833
28.	Alpin, the son of Eocha-Annuine IV.	833	3	836
29.	Kenneth, the son of Alpin	836	7	843

The Irish chroniclers affirm, that the three chiefs who headed the emigration were far Lorn, Fergus, and advanced in the vale of years before Muredach, leaving Ireland, and that they received the benediction of St. Patrick before his death, in the year 493. This statement is confirmed by their early decease after they had laid the foundation of their new settlement. Angus was the first who died, leaving a son, Muredach, who succeeded him in the government of Ila. The death of Lorn, the eldest brother, soon followed, so that Fergus was left sole monarch of the Dalriadic Scots, a dignity which he enjoyed for the short space of three years, having died in A.D. 506. Fergus was succeeded by his son Domangart, whose troubled Their successors. reign lasted only five years. His two sons, Comgal and Gauran, successively enjoyed his authority. The former had a peaceful reign of four and twenty years, which afforded him leisure to extend his territory and to consolidate his power; the latter, who ascended the throne in 535, without opposition, to the exclusion of his brother's son, after a reign of twenty-two years, was slain in a battle with the Piets. The succession was thus opened to his nephew, Conal, the son of Comgal, whose unfortunate administration terminated by a civil war, in 571. A contest for the

vacant throne then took place between Duncha, his son, and Aidan, the son of Gauran, in which the latter lost his life on the bloody field of Loro, in Cantyre. The successful competitor was formally inaugurated by Columba in June (A. D. 574). His long and active reign was chequered with alternate success and defeat. Having gone to the assistance of the Cumbrian Britons, he overthrew the Saxons at Pethenlea on Stanmore, in 584, and again at the battle of Leithredh, in 590, when two of his sons, Arthur and Eocha-fin, were slain. On the other hand, he was worsted by the Saxons, in 598, in the battle of Kirkim, where his son, Domangart, was slain; and five years later he was totally defeated by the Northumbrians, under Æthelfrid, at the battle of Dawstane, in Roxburghshire. Three years before this disastrous conflict, which greatly weakened the power of the Dalriads, Aidan, attended by Columba, appeared at the celebrated council of Drum-keat, in Ulster (A. D. 590), where he claimed the principality of Dalriada, the land of his fathers, and obtained an exemption from the homage which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay to the chiefs of Ireland. Aidan, the most powerful of all the Scoto-Irish rulers, died in the year 605, at the advanced age of eighty, and was buried in the church of Killocheran, in Campbelton.

Aidan was succeeded by his son Eocha-bui, or Eocha the yellow-haired, who reigned sixteen years. Towards the close of his reign he became involved in a war with one of the tribes of Ulster, whom his troops twice vanquished in battle. He did not long survive his victories, when his son, Kenneth-*cear*, or the awkward, ascended the throne (A. D. 621); but, after a reign of only three months, he was killed fighting against the Irish, in the unfortunate battle of Fedhaevin.

Kenneth-*cear* was succeeded by Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Lorn. Lorn who reigned over the Scoto-Irish in North Britain. He died A. D. 637, after a reign of sixteen years. He was followed by Donal, surnamed *breac*, or freckled, the son of Eocha'-bui, of the race of Gauran, the grandson of Fergus. At the instance of Congal, a fugitive chief from Ulster, Donal was induced to invade Ireland at the head of a motley army of Scoto-Irish, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, but he was completely defeated in a bloody battle fought on the plain of Moyrath, A. D. 637, and was obliged to consult his safety by a rapid retreat to his own dominions. He was equally unsuccessful in an enterprise against the Picts, by whom he was defeated at Glenmoreson, in Perthshire, in the year 638. Four years after this disaster, he was slain at Straith-Cairmaie by Hoan, one of the reguli of Strathelyd. His son, Catha-suidh, fell by the same hand in 649.

Conal II., the grandson of Conal I., who was also of the Fergusian race of Comgal, was the next ruler over the tribes of Cantyre and Argyle. His claims were disputed by Dungal, who had obtained the government of the tribe of Lorn, and was a descendant of its first ruler. The contest, however,

does not appear to have been of long duration, for Conal died in undisturbed possession of his dominions, in 652, after a reign of ten years. Donal-*duin*, or the brown, son of Conal, reigned thirteen years, and was succeeded by his brother, Maol-*duin*, in 665. The family feuds which had long existed between the Fergusian races of Comgal and Gauran, broke out with great fury during the reign of this prince, and led to the assassination, in 672, of Domangart, the son of Donal-*breac*, who was of the race of Gauran, and, in retaliation, to the murder of Conal, the son of Maol-*duin*, in 675. These dissensions contributed greatly to weaken the race of Fergus, and to increase the ascendancy of the rival house of Lorn.

On the death of Maol-*duin*, the sceptre was seized by Ferchar-*fada*, or the tall (apparently of the race of Lorn, and probably the grandson of Ferchar, who died in 673), who kept possession of the throne, amidst family feuds and domestic dissensions, for one and twenty years. On the death of Ferchar, in 702, the sceptre passed again to the house of Fergus, in the person of Eocha'-*rineval*, the son of Domangart, who was assassinated in 672. The reign of this prince was short and unfortunate. His ambition prompted him to invade the territories of the Britons of Strathelyd, but he was defeated in a bloody conflict on the banks of the Leven. In the following year, the sceptre was wrested from his feeble grasp by a prince of the rival house of Lorn. This prince was Aimbhealach, the son of Ferchar-*fada*. His excellent disposition obtained for him the epithet of Aimbhealach-*mhaitih*, or the good; but, after reigning one year, he was dethroned by his brother Selvach, and obliged, in 706, to take refuge in Ireland. At the end of twelve years he returned to Cantyre, and made a gallant effort to regain his authority, but he perished (A. D. 719) in an engagement fought in Finglein, a small valley among the mountains of Lorn. In the mean time, a more formidable antagonist to the usurped power of Selvach arose in the person of Duncha-beg, who was descended from the rival race of Fergus, by the line of Comgal. He assumed the government of Cantyre and Argyle, and confined the authority of Selvach to the family district of Lorn. The rivalry between these two princes led to a fierce and protracted warfare, which inflicted much misery on their unhappy followers. In an attempt which they made, in 719, to invade each other's territories by means of their currachs, a naval battle ensued, which was maintained for a considerable time with great bravery and perseverance, and terminated in the defeat of Selvach. The death of Duncha, which took place in 721, put an end to this strife, but it was speedily renewed, and carried on for several years with great fury, by his successor, Eocha III., the son of Eocha-*rineval*. The death of the able but unscrupulous Selvach, in 729, at length put an end to the bloodshed and misery which flowed from the contests of these rival houses. This event transferred the govern-

ment of Lorn to Eocha, and the whole Scotch-Irish kingdom became again united under one monarch.

On the death of Eocha III., in 733, Muredach, the son of Ainhcealach, of the race of Lorn, ascended the throne. This peaceful succession is believed to have been the result of a compromise, brought about by the interposition of the tribes, who were worn out by intestine feuds. Muredach, who now reigned sole monarch of the Dalriadic tribes, is called by the Gaelic bard, Muredhaigh-mhaith, or Muredach the good; but his reign was short and disastrous. In revenge for a base outrage committed by Dungal, the son of Selvach, who had carried off Forai, the daughter of Brude, and niece of the great Pictish king Ungus, the

Invasion of Lorn by the Picts. army from Strathern, through the passes of the mountains, into Lorn, which he wasted with fire and sword. He seized Duna, and burned Creic, two of the fortresses of Lorn; and having taken prisoners Dungal and Feradach, the two sons of Selvach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot, his capital. Muredach collected his forces, and pursued after the retiring invaders, and having overtaken them at Cnuic-Coirbre, a battle ensued, in which the Dalriads were defeated with great slaughter by Talagan, the brother of Ungus. Muredach is supposed to have perished in the pursuit (A.D. 736), after a reign of three years.

Muredach was succeeded by his son Eogan or Ewen, who continued the war with the Picts, but died in 739, in which year the Dalriadic sceptre was assumed by Aodh-fin, the son of Eocha III., and grandson of Eocha-rinevel. This sovereign, who was descended from Fergus by the race of Gaaran, is called by the Gaelic bard, Aodhna Ard-slaith, or Hugh, the high or great king. In 740, he encountered Ungus, the celebrated king of the Picts, with such success, that this powerful monarch did not again come into collision with the Scots. After the death of Ungus, in 761, the tide of success

Invasion of Pictavia by the Scots. turned against the Picts, and Aodh-fin penetrated, through the passes of Glenorchy and Breadalbane, into the heart of the Pictish territories, and reached Forteviot, the capital, where he fought a doubtful battle with Ciniod, the Pictish king. As the Picts had seized the defiles of the mountains in his rear, his situation became extremely critical; but he succeeded, by great skill and bravery, in leading his army within the passes of upper Lorn, where the Picts did not venture to follow him. Aodh-fin died in 769, after a glorious reign of thirty years.

Aodh-fin was succeeded by his son Fergus II., who reigned three years. After him Selvach II., the son of Eogan, assumed the government (A.D. 772), which he held for twenty-four years; but of their reigns history has recorded nothing worthy of notice. Eocha IV., designated Eocha-annuine, the son of Aodh-fin, of the Gaaran race of Fergus, succeeded Selvach II. in 796. This monarch is the Achaius of the Latin annalists. On his accession,

he found a civil war raging in his dominions between the rival tribes of Argyle and Lorn, which was productive of great bloodshed and misery. The story of an alliance between Achaius and his great contemporary, Charlemagne, was long firmly believed, but has now been proved to be a fable, though Chalmers is of opinion that something of the kind may have taken place with one of the reguli of Ireland.* To Achaius has also been ascribed, but without the slightest evidence, the institution of the ancient order of the Thistle. It is certain, however, that he entered into an alliance with the Picts, which exercised a Alliance of Achaius with the Pictish future history of the country. most important influence on the with the Pictish royal family.

marriage with Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis, and the sister of the Pictish kings, Constantine and Ungus, who reigned in succession, from A.D. 791 to 830, enabled his grandson, Kenneth, to claim and acquire the Pictish sceptre, as the heir of his grandmother. Achaius died in 826, after a prosperous reign of thirty years. His successor, Dungal, the son of Selvach II., was the last of the powerful family of Lorn. After a feeble reign of seven years, he relinquished the sceptre, in 833, to Alpin, the son of Achaius, or Eocha IV., and Urgusia. The ancient chronicles agree that Alpin died in 836, after a reign of three years; but conflicting accounts have been given of the time, place, and circumstances of his death. According to the fabulous narrative of Boece, Alpin, asserting his title to the Pictish throne, was taken prisoner in a battle with the Picts, near Dundee, and beheaded. Another and more credible account represents him as having lost his life in an encounter with the Gallowegians, on a spot in the parish of Dalmellington, in Ayrshire, which, in memory of this event, for several centuries bore the name of Lacht-Alpin,—the stone or grave of Alpin. He was succeeded, in 836, by his son Ken-

Accession of Kenneth, and union of the crowns. neth, surnamed the Hardy. On the death of Uven, the king of the Picts, in 839, Kenneth asserted his claim to the Pictish throne, in right of his grandmother, Urgusia. His claims were opposed by Wrad, the son of Bargoit, who appears to have been the true heir; but, after an arduous struggle of three years, during which Wrad died, and Bred, his successor, both in his claims and in his misfortunes, was slain at Forteviot, in 842, fighting in defence of his capital and kingdom, the Scottish monarch succeeded in uniting the two crowns in his own person. There is every reason to believe that the story of the total extermination of the Picts by the sword of the victorious Kenneth, is the invention of a later period. It is certainly supported by nothing approaching to contemporary evidence. Kenneth and his immediate successors styled themselves, not kings of Scotland and of Pictavia, but kings of the Scots and the Picts. The Picts are spoken of as a distinct people down to the tenth century, and they appear

* See "Remarks on the History of Scotland," by Lord Hailes.

to have been gradually absorbed by the predominating nation of the Scots—a result which may be accounted for by the fact, that they were in all probability a people of the same race, speaking a similar language, and differing little in their manners, customs, and institutions. “In the person of Kenneth,” says the learned Chalmers, “a new dynasty began. The king was changed, but the government remained the same. The Picts and Scots, who were a congenial people, from a common origin, and spoke cognate tongues, the British and Gaelic, readily coalesced. Yet has it been asserted by ignorance, and believed by credulity, that Kenneth made so bad a use of the power which he had adroitly acquired, as to destroy the whole Pietish people in the wantonness of his cruelty. But to enforce the belief of an action which is in itself inhuman, and had been so inconsistent with the interest of a provident sovereign, requires stronger proofs than the assertions of uninformed history, or the report of vague tradition. The Picts continued throughout the succeeding period (from 843 to 1097) to be mentioned by contemporary authors, because they still acted a conspicuous part, though they were governed by a new race, and were united with a predominant people.”*

On examining the line of Pietish kings as contained in an ancient chronicle, we find that hereditary succession was wholly unknown to them, even so late as the ninth century. From a remarkable statement of Bede,† it may be inferred that

the Pietish kings the election was confined to some specific class of individuals; and that whenever there existed a doubt as to the proper object of the election, the person most nearly related to the last king by the female line was chosen. Mr. Skene is of opinion that the

* “Caledonia,” vol. i. p. 333. Innes, in his “Critical Essay,” (vol. i. pp. 145—166) has given a most learned refutation of the absurd story respecting the extermination of the Picts. The indefatigable Chalmers has, with his wonted acuteness and industry, searched out all the information that can now be obtained respecting the historical events of this obscure period, and has thrown light on many points which were previously enveloped in darkness. See “Caledonia,” vol. i. books ii. and vi. On the other hand, the whole story of the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, and also Kenneth’s extraction from the old royal line of the Irish Scots, have been called in question by Pinkerton, in his “Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III.” a work of great learning and ingenuity, but disfigured by rash assertions and a pervading spirit of prejudice and paradox.

A somewhat different view of this important revolution is taken by a recent writer, Mr. Skene, in his able work on the “Highlanders of Scotland.” He contends that the conquest by the Dalriadic Scots was confined exclusively to the Picardach, or southern Picts; that the Scots were assisted in that conquest by the Cruithne, or northern Picts; and that, after the conquest, the northern Picts, although they owed a nominal submission to the kings of the Scottish line, yet remained, in fact, independent, and still retained their ancient territories and peculiar designation. See Skene’s “Highlanders of Scotland,” vol. i. pp. 57—63.

† Bede says that the Picts on their first landing agreed, “ut ubi res veniret in dubium magis de femine regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent, quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.” The Picts, therefore, continued to elect their monarchs in 731, the period in which Bede closes his history.

election was not unlimited in its range, but was confined exclusively to the hereditary chiefs of the different tribes into which the nation was divided.*

“Such a mode of succession as this, however,” he justly remarks, “was not calculated to last: each chief who in this manner obtained the Pietish throne, would endeavour to perpetuate the succession in his own family, and the power and talent of some chief would at length enable him to effect this object, and to change the rule of election into that of hereditary succession. This object appears in reality to have been finally accomplished by Constantine, the son of Fergus, who ascended the Pietish throne towards the end of the eighth century, and in whose family the monarchy remained for some time.” But though the regal authority among the Picts became hereditary in the male line at this period, yet in several points the succession differed from our ordinary rules of male succession. In all cases, brothers succeeded before sons; after all the brothers had succeeded, the sons of the elder brother were called to the succession; then the sons of the remaining brothers in regular order.

Among the Dalriads the succession both to the chieftainship of the different tribes, and to the supreme government of the nation, was neither strictly hereditary nor strictly elective, but was regulated by what has been termed the law of Tanistry. According to this Law of Tanistry, law, which appears to have been generally followed in Ireland, as well as among the Scots-Irish, the person in the family of the reigning prince, whether son, brother, or even more remote relative, who was judged best qualified, either from abilities or experience, was chosen under the name of Tanist, to lead the army during the life of the king, and to succeed to him after his death. Taxes were, of course, wholly unknown among these rude clans; the dignity of the chief was supported by voluntary contributions of clothes, cattle, furniture, and other necessaries.†

Chalmers has asserted that at this era the tenure of land, throughout the country, Tenure of land, terminated with the life of the

possessor; an opinion, it has been justly said, requiring some modification, as it indicates a state of barbarism even greater than is discovered by the few glimpses of light which sometimes shoot athwart the twilight of our history.‡ By a custom which the Scots brought with them from Ireland, denominated, in Irish, *gabhail-cine*, meaning, literally, “family settlement,” it appears that the fathers of families divided their lands among their sons, sometimes in equal, sometimes in unequal, portions: females were strictly excluded from any share in

* He refers to Adomnan, b. ii. ch. 24, v. 33, in proof of the fact that there existed among the Picts a division of the people into nobles and plebeians, and to Tacit. (Vita Agric.), and to Tigernach, to show that it was the former alone that were eligible to fill the throne.

† Ware’s Antiq. p. 70; Davis’s Reports in the case of Tanistry, p. 101; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 306.

‡ Ibid. Leland’s Prelim. Disc. xxvi.

this appropriation, but were assigned a certain number of their father's cattle as their marriage portion.* A striking example of the operation of this law was exhibited so late as the reign of Alexander II., when the Gallowaymen took up arms in support of the pretensions of a bastard son against the claims of the three legitimate daughters of their late lord. As Galloway was at that time governed by "its own proper laws," there can be no doubt that the Gallowegians had both law and custom on their side.

As to the legislative code of the Scoto-Irish: traditional maxims and local usages seem to have supplied the place of written laws; and there can be little doubt that their customs bore a close resemblance to the Brehon laws of Ireland. "This Brehon law," says Cox, "was no written law,—it was only the will of the Brehon, or lord; and it is observable that their Brehons, or judges, like their physicians, bards, harpers, poets, and historians, had their offices by descent and inheritance. The Brehon, when he

administered justice, used to sit on a turf or heap of stones, or on the top of a hillock, without a covering, without clerks, or, indeed, any formality of a court of judicature.† This state of law, as Chalmers observes, may be traced among the Scoto-Irish in Scotland till recent times. Every baron had his mote-hill, where justice was distributed to his vassals by his baron-bailie. Under the Brehon law, all crimes, even of the deepest dye, might be commuted by a mulet, or payment, which was called *eric*—a term signifying a fine, a ransom, a forfeit, and also a reparation. This rude system of jurisprudence was long recognized by the law of Scotland; and even so late as the reign of William the Lion, a statute was passed enacting that, "Gif ane slays anie man, he shall give twenty-nine kye and ane young cow, and make peace with the friends of the defunct conforme to the law of the countrie." Among the Albanian Scots, the fine, or mulet, was termed *cro*; and the "Regiam Magistatem" has a whole chapter showing "the *cro* of ilk man, how mickil it is." According to this authority, the *cro* of a villain was sixteen cows; of an earl's son, or thane, one hundred; of an earl, one hundred and forty; and that of the King of Scots, one thousand cows, or three thousand *oras*; that is to say, three *oras* for every cow.‡

Very little is known of the state of society, or of the Houses, food, and the condition of the people, in this remote period. But a few incidental notices may be gleaned from the lives of the early saints. We learn from Adomnan's Life of Columba, which was written only eighty years after the saint's death, that the houses of the Scoto-Irish were constructed entirely of wattles. Even the

* Among the Irish a marriage portion was called *Spre*, which literally means cattle. *Croth* also signifies both cattle and dowry.

† Cox's Apparatus to his History; Harris's Ware, p. 70.
‡ Ibid. p. 71; Ieland's Pref. Disc. p. 29; Skene's Stat. of King William, ch. vi.; Regiam Mag. lib. iv. ch. xxiv.; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 308.

Abbey of Iona was built of the same rude materials. The clothing, even of the monks, seems to have been often composed of the skins of beasts, though latterly they had woollen stuffs and linen; the first probably manufactured by themselves, the linen imported from the Continent. The variegated plaid was introduced at a later period. Venison, fish, milk, flesh, and wild-fowl were the common food of the people. Their favourite beverage was a kind of mead made from honey. Their wealth consisted principally of their cattle, and the royal revenue was paid in cows, even down to the accession of Robert Bruce. "The monks of Iona," says Chalmers, "who lived by their labour, cultivated their fields, and laid up corn in their garner. But it is to be recollected that the monks were everywhere, for ages, the improvers themselves, and the instructors of others, in the most useful arts. They had the merit of making many a blade of grass grow where none grew before. Even Iona had its orchards in the rugged times of the ninth century, till the Vikings ravaged and ruined all. Whatever the Scoto-Irish enjoyed themselves, they were very willing to impart to others. The most unbounded hospitality was enjoined by law and by manners, as a capital virtue. Manufactures the Scoto-Irish had none, and every family had its own carpenter, weaver, tailor, and shoemaker, however unskillful and inadequate to the uses of civilization. The division of labour and of arts takes place only during periods of refinement." With regard to their shipping, we have seen that the earliest inhabitants of North Britain used canoes, but the vessels of the Scoto-Irish were constructed by covering a keel of wood and a frame of wicker-work with the skins of cattle and of deer. These were denominated *currachs*. Afterwards they were enlarged, and made capable of containing a pretty numerous crew. In these currachs the first colonists must have emigrated from Ireland to the western coast of Scotland; and it was in a vessel of this description—a wicker boat, covered with hides—that Columba, accompanied by his twelve disciples, sailed from Ireland to Iona.

Such, then, was the condition of the different nations inhabiting North Britain in the ninth century. The Picts were by far the most powerful of these nations. Their territories were bounded by the Frith of Forth on the south, the German Ocean on the east, the Pentland Frith on the north, and on the south partly by a range of hills termed Drumalban, which form the present western boundary of Perthshire and Inverness-shire, and partly by the sea from Loch Linnè to Cape Wrath. The Pietish kingdom, therefore, consisted of the present counties of Kinross, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Moray, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the northern part of Argyre. The original capital of the kingdom appears to have been at Inverness, but was afterwards removed to Abernethy in Strathcarn. The Dalriads were much less power-

ful. Their original territory seems to have been limited to that part of the county of Argyle which lies to the south of Loch Linne, and they appear to have maintained their possession of a territory so inconsiderable in comparison with that of the Picts, partly by the strong natural boundaries and impervious nature of the country itself, partly by the close connexion which they at all times preserved with their native country, and perhaps also, partly by the policy with which they took advantage of the jealousies and rivalry between the northern and southern Picts.* The former of these tribes, indeed, on three several occasions, actually entered into a league with the Dalriadic Scots against their own countrymen. And it is by no means improbable, as Mr. Skene has conjectured, that the Scots obtained political pre-eminence in the first instance, only over the southern Picts, and that the northern tribes, if they did not actually assist the Dalriads in the struggle, at least did not actively oppose them. But the union of the various independent tribes under the rule of one monarch, led to most important changes, both in the internal condition of the country, and in its external relations; hereditary succession was established, the once formidable designation of Picts disappeared, and the name of Scotland gradually extended itself over the whole of North Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCOTTISH PERIOD.—A. D. 843 TO 1097.

THE union of the two nations of the Picts and Scots under one sovereign, exercised an important influence, both on the security and extension of the united kingdom. Kenneth Macalpin. Kenneth Macalpin appears to have been an able and a warlike prince, and he vigorously repelled the aggressions of the Saxons and Danes on his newly-acquired territories, and even made frequent incursions into Lothian.† It required, indeed, all his energy and valour to defend his kingdom against the assaults of the invaders, by whom its independence was menaced. On the one hand, the Britons wasted the country adjoining Strathelyd, and burnt Dunblane; and on the other, the Danish pirates, under Ragner Lodbrog, plundered the east coast, and carried their ravages as far as Dunkeld, on the Tay.‡ Kenneth, however, succeeded in making good his position against all his assailants, and, after a successful reign, he died at his capital of Forteviot, or Abernethy, A. D. 859, having governed the Scots seven years, and the Scots and Picts jointly, sixteen years. Kenneth is said to have been a religious prince, “as reli-

gion was then understood and practised.” He erected a church in Dunkeld, to which he removed the relics of Columba from Iona. He has been celebrated also as a legislator, which may probably be correct; but the laws which have been ascribed to him are undoubtedly spurious.

Kenneth left both a son and a daughter; but he was succeeded by his brother Donald, A. D. 859. Donald, according to a mode of inheritance common both in the Scottish and Pictish royal families, by which the brother of a deceased monarch was called to the throne in preference to the son, probably in order to escape the inconvenience of frequent minorities. Of Donald there is scarcely anything to be said. The Gaelic bard calls him “Dhomknaill dhreachruaid,” or Donal the ruddy countenance; and the Chronicon Elegiacum states that he was strenuous in war. After a reign of four years, he died at his palace of Balachon, A. D. 863, and was buried at Icolm-Kill, “the grand storehouse of his progenitors.” It is said, that during the reign of Donald the old laws of Aodfin, the son of Eochan III. were re-enacted by the Scotch-Irish chiefs, at Forteviot.*

Donald was succeeded by his nephew, Constantine, the son of Kenneth, who, Constantine, during a reign of eighteen years, A. D. 863. was engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with the Danish pirates. After half a century of fierce contests, they succeeded in establishing themselves in Ireland, and took possession of the commodious harbours on the east and north of that island, from which they were enabled to extend their destructive ravages along the whole of the western coast of Scotland. Fresh bands of these roving depredators issued from their native shores and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, by all its maritime inlets; by the Clyde on the west, and by the Friths of Moray, Tay, and Forth on the east. According to the old chronicles, these marauders were first called in by the subjugated Picts, to assist them in obtaining revenge on the son of their conqueror; but, as might have been expected, friend and foe appear to have equally suffered from their plundering incursions. In 866, under Aulaf, or Olave, a descendant of the famous Vi-kingr Ragner Lodbrog, they ravaged the coasts of Scotland for the space of three months. Four years later a more formidable armament sailed from Dublin, under the same ferocious leader, took Alcluyd, or Dumbarton, the capital of Strathelyd, ravaged the whole extent of North Britain, and returned to Dublin laden with plunder and glutted with slaughter. Thrice, during the reign of Constantine, did their vessels re-appear on the coasts of the devoted country; and, at last (A. D. 881), the Scottish monarch was slain on the shores of the Forth, in an ineffectual attempt to defend his territories against these ruthless invaders. According to another, but less trustworthy account, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and

* Skene's Highlanders of Scotland, pp. 33, 45, and 50.

† Innes, Append. Chron. No. 3.

‡ Ibid. Turner's Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. ii. pp. 115—117.

* Chron. Pict. Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 178; Caldonia, vol. i. p. 377.

sacrificed in a cave on the sea-coast, near Crail, in Fife, to the manes of the leader of the pirates who had fallen in the engagement.*

Constantine's immediate successor was his brother Aodh, or Hugh, whose reign
Hugh, A.D. 881. was short and unfortunate. Grig,

the Maormor, or chief of the country between the Dee and the Spey, now forming the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, raised the standard of rebellion against him. Hugh was wounded in a battle which took place at Strathallan, and died two months after at Inverury, having held the reins of government only one year.† The sceptre was im-

mediately seized by the successful
Usurpation of Grig, 882. rebel, who associated with himself on the throne, Eocha, or Eth, son of the King of Strathelyd by a daughter of Kenneth Macalpin. Grig is said to have reigned for about eleven years, with a more extensive authority than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The monkish chroniclers, who have conferred on him the high-sounding title of Gregory the Great, represent him as a mighty conqueror, who not only overthrew the Picts and the Britons, but even subdued England and Ireland. According to Chalmers, the virtues, the valour, the successes of Gregory, which shine so resplendent in the pages of these fablers, may all be traced up to the pious gratitude of the monks of St. Andrews. Grig, like other usurpers, appears to have conferred some privileges on the ecclesiastics of his age, and they were studious, by grateful falsehoods, to eulogize his character and asperse the reputation of his predecessor.‡ In spite of the favour of the church, however, he and his colleague were expelled from the throne by a popular

insurrection, A.D. 893, and were
Donald IV., 893. succeeded by Donald IV., the son of Constantine II. § During his reign the Danish pirates re-appeared in Scotland, and were defeated at Collin, on the banks of the Tay, in the vicinity of Scone. Notwithstanding this defeat they returned from Ireland, in 904, under Ivar O Ivar, and having penetrated to the neighbourhood of Forteviot, were bravely encountered by Donald, who lost his life in the engagement, after having slain the Danish leader. ||

Donald was succeeded, A.D. 904, by Constantine III., the son of his uncle Hugh, who, like his predecessors, had to sustain repeated attacks of the Danes. In 907, they invaded Scotland, and plundered Dunkeld; but, in an attempt to assault Forteviot, they were defeated and driven from the country. This did not prevent their return in 918, when Constantine, with the assistance of the Northern Saxons, encountered and repulsed them at Timmore—a defeat

which appears to have given a considerable period of repose to the kingdom.*

A new adversary, however, appeared in the person of the Saxon, Athelstan, son of Edward the Elder. The causes
Invasion by Athelstan.

which led to an open rupture between this prince and Constantine have been variously stated. Some writers assert that the Scottish king had given offence by breaking the league which he had made with the Saxon prince; others, that he had provoked the wrath of Athelstan by affording an asylum to Godred, a fugitive Northumbrian prince.† Be this as it may, the English chroniclers affirm that the Saxon monarch, in 934, invaded Scotland by land and sea, and wasted the country, while Constantine remained secure in his inaccessible fastnesses beyond the friths. In revenge for this invasion, Constantine, along with his son-in-law Aulaf (or Olave), the Danish chief of Northumberland, who had lately made considerable conquests in Ireland, and his allies, the people of Strathelyd and Cumbria, and the northern Welsh, invaded England, and entered the Humber with six hundred and fifteen ships. But in the memorable battle of Brunanburgh, (A.D. 937)—a place, the situation of which is now uncertain—‡ the united army was completely routed, with great slaughter. Aulaf escaped with the remnant of his forces to Ireland; and Constantine, whose son was left among the slain, with difficulty made good his retreat into his own dominions beyond the Forth. A few years after this defeat, in A.D. 944, he retired into a monastery, and passed the remainder of his life as Abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews. According to Fordun, Constantine was the first of the Scottish kings who made the heir-apparent to his erowu Prince of Cumberland.§ But there is reason to believe that Cumbria was not connected with Scotland till the reign of his successor, Malcolm I, the son of Donald IV.,
Acquisition of Cumberland by Malcolm I.

to whom it was ceded by the Saxon king, Edmund, A.D. 945. The territory thus ceded to the Scots consisted of the modern Cumberland and Westmoreland. It had constituted an independent British kingdom under the name of Reged, and had strenuously resisted the attempts of the Saxon kings to destroy its independence. At length Edmund the Elder, of England, succeeded in conquering this little kingdom, and put out the eyes of the five sons of Dunmail, its last British king. He then bestowed his new acquisition on Malcolm, on condition that he would become his associate in war, or, as the terms are explained by Matthew of Westminster, "that he

* Colbert, Chron.; Chron. No. 3, in Innes, Append.; Annals of Ulster.

† Saxon Chron. p. 111; Ogygia, p. 485. It is worthy of notice, that North Britain is for the first time called Scotland by the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 934.

‡ Supposed by some to be Brun, in the south of Lincolnshire, by others Burgh, on the Humber, in the north of the same county. See Simeon of Durham; Saxon Annals; Innes, App. Chron. No. 3; Irish Annals; Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 183.

§ Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxiv. xxv.; Saxon Annals.

* Ware's Antiq. pp. 102—108; Ulster Annals, sub an. 852; Innes, Append. Chron. No. 3; O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 484.

† Chronicles in Innes, App. No. 3 and 6; Reg. of St. Andrews; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxiv.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 382; Chron. in the Reg. of St. Andrews.

§ Chron. No. 3, in Innes, Append.

|| Ibid. Annals of Ulster, sub anno 904.

would defend the northern parts of England from the invasions of his enemies, whether they came by sea or land." Some ingenious writers have attempted to discover in this transaction an acknowledgment of feudal dependence on the part of the Scottish monarch; but they have overlooked the important fact, that the agreement was entered into between two independent princes,—the one of Saxon, the other of Celtic race,—more than a century before the feudal usages or tenures were introduced into England by the Normans.

Malcolm I. appears to have been a prince of great ability and prudence; but having Malcolm I., A. D. 944. overthrown and slain Cellach, the insurgent Maormor or chief of Moray, he was assassinated at Fetteressoc (A. D. 953) by one of the Moraymen, in revenge for the death of his chief.*

Indulph, the son of Constantine III., succeeded Malcolm. "In his reign," says the ancient Pictish Chronicle,† "the town of Eden was vacated and left to the Scots to this day." It is supposed that allusion is here made to Edinburgh, which had been seized by Athelstan in his invasion of Scotland, A. D. 934. The reign of Indulph was

Renewed invasions of the Danes. grievously troubled by the invasions of the northern pirates; and he at last lost his life in a successful engagement with these fierce plunderers, fought near the bay of Cullen, in Banffshire, where a considerable number of barrows on a moor still preserve the memory of the defeat of the Danes.‡ This encounter, which took place in 961, is called, by the old writers, the Battle of the Bauds.

Duff, or Odo, the son of Malcolm, now mounted the throne, according to what appears to have been the legal order of succession at this time, when each king was succeeded, not by his own son, but by the son of his predecessor; but his right was disputed by Culen, the son of Indulph, who laid claim to the sceptre which his father had wielded. In an engagement which took place at Duncrub, in Perthshire, Culen was defeated, and Doncha, Abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubdou, the Maormor of Athol, his most influential supporters, lost their lives. But in the following year Duff was driven from Forteviot into the north, and was assassinated at Forres, A. D. 965, after a troubled reign of four years and a half.§

Culen, the son of Indulph, succeeded to the vacant throne. "During this reign," says Culen, A. D. 965. Fordun, "which was equally unfit and remiss, nothing either kingly or worthy of recollection is to be recorded." But Culen did not long retain the power which he had so traitorously

obtained and so unworthily held. Having committed an act of atrocious violence on his relation, the daughter of the King of Strathelyd, the Britons took up arms to avenge the injury, and Culen, with his brother Eocha, was slain, A. D. 970, in a battle fought at a place situated to the south of the Forth.*

The crown now fell to Kenneth III., another son of Malcolm I., and the brother of Kenneth III., Duff. Kenneth was evidently a A. D. 970. prince of great ability, but of a daring and unscrupulous character. His first act was to follow out the war with the Britons of Strathelyd, rather, it is to be presumed, with ambitious views of conquest, than to avenge the merited fate of his predecessor, who was of a rival family. The Britons had enjoyed a precarious independence for upwards of five centuries, under various reverses and the multiplied attacks of powerful adversaries; but, pressed on every side, their territories were gradually narrowed, and their power diminished. They made a gallant struggle for independence, but, weakened by the frequent devastating invasions of the Danes, they were unable to resist the attacks of their powerful neighbours. Dunwallon, the last king of Strathelyd, after exhibiting the Conquest of Strathelyd. utmost courage in defence of his

kingdom, was defeated by Kenneth at the battle of Vacornar, in A. D. 973, retired to Rome, where he assumed the religious habit and died a monk, and his territories were incorporated with the rest of the Scottish dominions.† During the reign of Kenneth, the northern pirates, undismayed by their repeated defeats, renewed their invasion of Scotland, and sailed up the Tay with a numerous fleet. They were met by the Defeat of the Danes at Lun-carty. Scottish forces at Lun-carty, in the vicinity of Perth. The battle was

long and fiercely contested. At length the two wings of the Scottish army were compelled to give way; but they rallied behind the centre, which was commanded by the king in person, and taking up a new position on more advantageous ground, they renewed the conflict, and finally defeated the invaders with great slaughter, and drove them to their ships. Monumental barrows, filled with the relics and arms of the slain, attest the truth of this battle, although some historians have affected incredulity on the subject. Connected with this memorable engagement, which is still famous in Scottish story, is the well-known tradition of the origin of the family of the Hays, Earls of Errol. It is said, that when the Scots were flying from the field, with the Danes in pursuit, a husbandman, named Hay, with his two sons, who happened to be at work in a neighbouring field, armed only with their ploughbeams, placed themselves in a narrow pass through which the vanquished were hurrying, and impeded their flight. "What!" said the gallant rustic, "had you rather be slaughtered by your merciless foes than die honourably fight-

* The ancient chronicles differ as to the circumstances of Malcolm's death; but the above seems the most trustworthy account. See Chron. No. 3 and 5 in Innes; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxvii.; Wytown, vol. i. p. 170; and Dalrymple's Collections, p. 99.

† Innes, App. No. 3.

‡ Ibid. Chron. No. 5.

§ Chron. No. 5, Innes, App.; Ulster Annals.

* Ulster Annals, and Chron. No. 3; Fordun, vol. i. p. 830.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 866.

ing for your country? Come, rally, rally!" With these words, brandishing his ploughbeam, he rallied the fugitives, and led them back to victory. "Sone efter," to use the simple language of Boece, "ane counsail was set at Scone in the quihlk Hay and his sons war maid nobil and dotad for thair singular virtew provin in this field, with sundray lands to sustene thair estait. It is said that he askit fra the king certane lands liand betwixt Tay and Arole and gat als mekil thairof as ane falcon flew of ane mans hand or scho lichtit. The falcon flew to ane town four milis fra Dundee called Rosse and lichtit on ane stane quihlk is yet callit The Falcon Stane and sa he gat al the lands betwixt Tay and Arole six milis of lenth and four of breid quihlk lands ar yit inhabit by his posterite."* In proof of this story, an appeal is made to the arms of the Hays—three escutcheons supported by two peasants, each carrying the beam of a plough on his shoulder, with a falcon for the crest. But it is quite as likely that the story may have been invented to explain the arms; and there can be no doubt that the tradition is entirely fabulous. It has been proved that armorial bearings were unknown at the date of the battle of Luncarty—that the Hays are a branch of the Norman De Hayas, and did not come to Scotland till more than a hundred years after the period referred to—that they only obtained the lands of Errol from William the Lion about the middle of the twelfth century—and that it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that they were ennobled.

This decisive victory over his foreign enemies afforded Kenneth leisure and opportunity to mature and execute his domestic projects. With characteristic energy he proceeded to take measures for the abrogation of the most remarkable peculiarity

Change in the of the Scottish regal constitution rule of succession.—the mode of succession to the throne—and procured the consent of the states to a law, settling the succession on the nearest surviving descendant or blood relation of the deceased monarch, of whatever age; and providing that, in case the heir should not be of age at the time of the king's decease, a regent should be appointed to govern the kingdom until the minor attained his fourteenth year. In the prosecution of the line of policy he had adopted, Kenneth is believed to have put to death Malcolm, the son of his brother Duff, who had been already recognised as Tanist, or next heir to the throne, and invested with the lordship of Cumberland. Some of the English chroniclers†

Cession of state that Lothian was ceded to Lothian to the Kenneth by the Saxon king Edgar; but as no mention is made Scots. of this important event in the Saxon Chronicle, or in the more ancient English annals, or in Fordun, the accuracy of the statement has been called in question. Mr. Allen, however, whose authority is entitled to the greatest weight, is of opinion that

the account given by Wallingford may be relied on, as, although he wrote in the twelfth or thirteenth century, he appears to have possessed original materials, which are now lost. From the defeat of the Northumbrian king Egfrid by the Picts, in 685, the district of Lothian seems to have been a kind of debateable land, alternately subject to the Scotch or Pictish, and to the Northumbrian kingdoms, though it was probably at this time in the actual possession of the Scottish King. Wallingford's account of the manner in which the quarrel respecting this disputed territory was at last determined, is, that when Kenneth came to London on a visit to Edgar, he represented to the English monarch that Lothian belonged, by hereditary right, to the English kings; that Edgar, after consulting with his nobles, agreed to resign the territory to Kenneth, as it was difficult to maintain, and of little advantage to England, but only on condition that he should do homage for it to the English crown; that Kenneth assented to these terms, and promised that he would allow the people to retain their ancient customs, and to continue English in name and in language: all which, adds the historian, remains firmly established to this day. Mr. Allen is of opinion that the whole, or part of the district, was re-annexed to Northumbria on the defeat of Malcolm II., in 1005; but, after the victory over the Northumbrians, gained by the same monarch, at Carham, in 1020, a final cession of the district to the Scottish king was formally made by the Northumbrian earl Eadulf.

One of Kenneth's acts of cruelty recoiled upon him to his own destruction. After the suppression of an insurrection in the Mearns, he had put to death the only son of the chief of the district.* By some means or other Kenneth was induced to pay a visit to Fenella, the mother of the victim, in her castle near Fettercairn, and here he was assassinated by her orders.† Immediately after the commission of the murder, she fled down a valley, still called Strath-Fenella, to a place in the parish of Fordun, where she was overtaken and put to death. This event took place, A.D. 994, after Kenneth had reigned twenty-four years.

In spite of the energetic and unscrupulous policy of Kenneth, his son did not, after all, succeed him on the throne. The right of succession was contested by three competitors. Of these, Constantine IV., the son of the ruthless Culen, is believed to have been first crowned; but in a few months he was defeated, and slain in a conflict near the river Almond, in Perthshire,‡ with a son of Duff, and younger brother of the murdered prince, Malcolm, who immediately mounted Kenneth IV. the throne as Kenneth IV., sur-named the Grim by the Scottish chroniclers, from the strength of his body. His claims, however,

* Chron. No. 5, in Innes.

† Ulster Annals, anno 994; Chron. Elegiacum; Wuntown's Chron.

‡ Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xxxvii., but he is mistaken as to the place of Constantine's death; Ogygia, p. 487.

* Haden's Boece, book xi. chap. viii.
 † W. Dugdale; Matthew of Westminster; Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland.

were opposed by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth III., and who, after the murder of his cousin Malcolm, the son of Duff, had been recognized as the heir to the throne, and as such appointed Regulus, or Prince, of Cumberland. At length the rival claimants met in conflict at Monivaird, when the contest was decided by the death of Kenneth, A. D. 1003, after a reign of eight years. The scene of the battle is marked by a large barrow, called Carn-chainichin—the Cairn of Kenneth.*

Malcolm II. was an able prince, and renowned leader. He is styled "Rex Victoriosissimus," by the ancient chroniclers; but his reign appears to have been of a chequered character, according to the saying of the Gaelic bard:—

"Thirty years of variegated reign
Was king by fate, Malcolm."

In the earlier part of his reign he was harassed by successive invasions of the Norsemen, who had now, for some time, obtained possession of the Orkney islands. They made their appearance in great strength on the coast of Moray, and seized and fortified the promontory called the Burghead, where they found a commodious harbour and a secure retreat. Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, one of these Danish Vikings, carried on his depredations along the shores of the Moray Frith, even after he had formed a matrimonial alliance with Malcolm, by marrying his daughter; but friends and foes were equally laid under contribution by Danes defeated by these marauders. In the year Malcolm, A. D. 1010. 1010, they made a fresh descent upon Moray; but they were encountered near Mortlach, and defeated with great slaughter, after a protracted struggle, by Malcolm, who, in pursuance of a vow which he is said to have made on the field of battle, endowed a religious house near the scene of his victory. This endowment was, shortly after, confirmed by Pope Benedict, and Mortlach became the seat of the earliest Scottish bishopric. Several Danish skulls, the relics of distinguished warriors who fell in the battle, were built into the walls of the church of Mortlach, and were still to be seen there not many years ago. The scene of this bloody conflict is marked by a number of sepulchral mounds, which contained human bones, broken armour, and other relics of the slain.† In spite of this severe defeat, Sweno, the Danish king, renewed the attempt at invasion, by detaching a fleet and army, under Camus, one of his most renowned leaders. They appear to have effected a landing on the coast of Angus, near to Panbride; but they had advanced only a few miles, when they were encountered at Aberlemno, by Malcolm. After an obstinate contest, the Danes were overthrown with great slaughter, and their leader, in his retreat from the field of battle, was overtaken and slain. A tall and highly sculptured monu-

mental stone, which bears the name of Camus-cross, is supposed to mark the spot where he was killed.*

Still the Danes were not discouraged, and they renewed their attempts to subjugate Scotland by landing on the coast of Buchan, about a mile west from Slaines Castle, in the parish of Cruden; but they were attacked and defeated by the Maormor of the district. Sweno, at length, disheartened by so many defeats, appears to have entered into a convention with Malcolm, A. D. 1014, by which he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, and to abstain from future invasion. Thus, after a severe struggle, which appears to have continued, at intervals, for nearly a century and a half (866 to 1014), the valour and energy of the Scots triumphed over the efforts of the Norsemen. It was certainly highly to the honour, both of Malcolm and his people, that these fierce Norsemen, who had been the scourge and terror of every other country in Europe, and had even placed their leaders on the English throne, should thus have been baffled in their attempts to establish themselves in the Scottish territory, and have been at last compelled to desist from the contest.

Soon after the termination of his warfare with the Danes, Malcolm was involved in a contest with the Northumbrians; and in the year 1018 he led his army to Carham, near Wark, on the southern bank of the Tweed, where he was encountered by Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland. The battle was fiercely contested, and the issue was doubtful, though the victory was claimed by the Northumbrian earl. Uchtred, however, was soon after assassinated by the Danes, and his brother and successor, Eadulf-Cudel, from the dread of a second invasion, was induced to purchase the friendship of Malcolm, by ceding to him, or confirming the former cession, of the rich district of Lothian, including not only the whole of the three counties which now bear this designation, but Berwickshire, and the lower part of Teviotdale.

The last important event which occurred in the reign of Malcolm, was his dispute with the celebrated Canute, the Danish king of England. The cause of the war is involved in much obscurity; but it appears to have been connected with some dispute respecting the homage due by the Scottish king for the principality of Cumberland. Canute led an army against Malcolm, who, on his part, prepared to repel the invasion; but, by the interposition of mutual friends, the dispute was amicably adjusted,

* There are several other stones in different parts of the county, which bear the same name. Dr. Wilson is of opinion that these Camus-stones have all probably served as landmarks, or hoar-stones, and that the name is derived from the Celtic, *cam*, crooked, which enters into many Gaelic compounds and proper names. About the year 1610, however, a huge skeleton was dug up near Camus-cross, which appeared to have received a mortal stroke upon the head, as part of the skull was cut away. It was found lying in a sepulchre, which was inclosed with four stones.

* Chron. No. 5, in Innes; Chron. Eleg.; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xli.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 399; Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xl.; Old Stat. Acc. vol. xvii. p. 444.

and it was agreed that Malcolm should retain possession of Cumberland on performing the conditions upon which it had been transferred to him by the Saxon kings.* Malcolm died peaceably, in 1033, after an eventful reign of thirty years, and was buried at Iona. The story of his assassination at Glamis is a fiction, invented by the monkish chroniclers, and the laws which are ascribed to him by Boece and Buchanan, have been clearly proved to be the forgery of a much later age.

Duncan, grandson of Malcolm, by Bethoc, or Accession of Dun- Beatrice, one of his daughters, now can, A.D. 1033, ascended the throne, which he occupied for six years—"the gracious Duncan," who fell by the dagger of Macbeth. "On reading these names," says Sir Walter Scott, "every reader must feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noonday, so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recall the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends, because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakespeare having found the tale of Macbeth in the Scottish Chronicles of Holinshed, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is, by a near investigation, discovered to be of no worth or estimation." Macbeth was the Maormor of the remote district of Ross, where, it is probable, he was all but nominally independent of the royal authority. His lady, whose real name was Gruoch, had regal

Revenge of blood in her veins. She was the Macbeth, granddaughter of Kenneth IV., surnamed the Grim, who was slain fighting against King Malcolm; she had, therefore, deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning monarch. Her grandfather had been dethroned and killed by Malcolm, her brother assassinated, and her first husband, Gilcomgain, the Maormor of Moray, burned in his castle along with fifty of his friends, whilst she herself had to fly for her life along with her infant son Lulach. She sought shelter in the district of Ross, of which Macbeth was hereditary lord, and to him she gave her hand. Macbeth, on the other hand, had wrongs of his own to avenge, for his father also had been slain by Malcolm; and thus, instigated both by ambition and revenge, he attacked and slew Duncan at a place called Bothgowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as the chronicler or the dramatist allege, in his own castle of Inverness.† Macbeth immediately mounted the throne, to which, it has been alleged, his title, according to the old rule of Scottish succession, was

better than that of Duncan. He appears to have been in reality a just and equitable prince, and there is reason to believe that his administration was conducted with great ability, and to the general satisfaction of the people. The adherents of the family of the murdered monarch, however, resisted his authority from the first. After several unsuccessful attempts to dispossess him, they were at length joined by Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumberland, whose relation Duncan had married, and by Macduff, the Maormor of Fife, whose patriotism is said to have been inflamed by some personal injuries. These two powerful chiefs having espoused the cause of Malcolm, Duncan's elder son, who had fled to England on his father's death, they advanced against Macbeth at the head of a formidable army, during the year 1054. Their first encounter is believed to have taken place at Dunsinane Hill, on the summit of which Macbeth, according to tradition, had a stronghold. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle to his fastnesses in the north, where he appears to have protracted the war for nearly two years. He was at length defeated, and slain at Lum-

phanan, Aberdeenshire, on the 5th death, A.D. 1056. of December, 1056, in the seventeenth year of his reign.* His adherents did not immediately abandon the contest, but set up as king, Lulach, the son of Lady Macbeth by her first husband. After a brief struggle, however, he too was defeated, and lost his life in a battle which was fought at Essie, in Strathbogie, on the 3rd of April, 1057. All opposition to his claims being thus completely crushed, Malcolm was crowned at Scone, on the 20th of the same month, the Festival of St. Mark.† The powerful chief to whom he was mainly indebted for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, was rewarded with the important privileges,—that he and his successors, Lords of Fife, should have the right of placing the kings of Scotland on the throne at their coronation,—that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies whenever the royal banner was displayed,—and that if he, or any of his kindred, "committed slaughter of suddenty," they should have a peculiar sanctuary, and obtain remission on payment of an atonement in money.‡

Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore (Cean-mohr), or Great-head, ascended the throne Malcolm Canmore, in 1057. He was a prince of great A.D. 1057. energy and valour, and his reign forms an important era in the early history of Scotland. His dominions included not only the ancient possessions of the Scots and Picts, but the kingdom of Strathclyd, the province of Cumbria, consisting of Cum-

* Wyntown, vol. i. pp. 238-9; Simeon of Durham, p. 187; Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 404-416; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 2.

† Pinkerton strenuously maintains that Malcolm must have been not the son, but the grandson of Duncan, and the great length of the interval—fifty-four years—between the dates assigned to the death of Duncan and that of Malcolm, is adduced by him in support of this conjecture. Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 203.

‡ Fordun, lib. v. chap. ix.; Buchanan, lib. vii. p. 115; Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 3.

* Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xli.; Matthew of Westminster, p. 20.

† Fordun, lib. iv. chap. xlix.; Register of St. Andrews.

berland and Westmoreland, and the district of Lothian, forming the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland. The Cumbrians and the people of Strathelyd were of British race, while the inhabitants of Lothian appear to have been chiefly of Saxon and Danish extraction. The south-western angle of Scotland, on the other hand, known by the name of Galloway, was inhabited by a mixed race, partly of Scottish and partly of Pictish descent, and their numbers had been increased in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, by various bodies of colonists from Ireland. "They appear," says Mr. Allen, "at all times to have owed subjection to the Scottish kings, but they long retained the barbarous habits and the ferocious manners, which the ravages of the Northmen had impressed on the country they had quitted. In the twelfth century they are called Piets or Galwegians, and as late as the fourteenth century, they are distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Scots of Galloway."

The accession of Malcolm Canmore was followed by events which ultimately led to most important changes in the manners and customs of his subjects. He had passed about fifteen years at the court of

Edward the Confessor before he became king, and the habits and connexions which he had formed there, induced him to maintain a more friendly intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors; so that, with the exception of the short and hasty incursion which he made into Northumberland in 1061,* nothing occurred during the reign of the Confessor, to interrupt the harmony between the sister kingdoms. He had contracted a most intimate friendship with Tostig, brother of Harold, and earl or governor of Northumberland. Simeon of Durham says they were so much attached to each other, that they were popularly termed "the sworn brothers." On the accession of Harold to the English throne, Tostig took up arms against him; but having been repulsed, he took refuge with Malcolm, and remained in Scotland during the whole summer.† But the Scottish king took no part in the invasion of England made by Tostig and his ally, Hardrada, King of Norway, in the close of the same year, and in which they both lost their lives at the battle of Stamford Bridge, near York, 25th September, 1066.

The death of Harold, at Hastings, a few weeks later, and the conquest of England by the Normans, caused a considerable number of the friends of the Saxon dynasty to seek refuge in Scotland from the oppressions of the victorious Normans. The most distinguished of these was the unfortunate Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, who, along with his mother, Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christian, fled to Scotland in the beginning of 1068, accompanied by Maerleswegen and Gospatric, two powerful Northumbrian chiefs, who were disgusted at the Norman tyranny.

* Simeon of Durham, p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 193.

Soon after the arrival of these illustrious fugitives in Scotland—probably about 1070—Malcolm espoused Margaret, the elder of the two princesses, at Dunfermline. She was beautiful, accomplished, and pious; and as Edgar was weak, almost to imbecility, she might be looked upon as inheriting the claims of the Saxon royal line. The marriage of the Scottish monarch was soon followed by his invasion of England, in conjunction with the Danes and the Northumbrian barons, who were hostile to William the Conqueror. The Danes, however, after storming York, and putting the Norman garrison to the sword, were repulsed, and returned to their ships; and the discontented Northumbrians were gained over by William before Malcolm took the field. Entering England with a numerous army, the Scottish king routed the English, who opposed him at Hunderskelde, and mercilessly ravaged Durham, and the northern and western parts of Yorkshire. Gospatric, who had made his peace with William, in the meantime laid waste the district of Cumberland, and Malcolm, exasperated by this retaliation on his own frontiers, continued his ravages with increased severity. Even the churches were destroyed and burnt, while the miserable inhabitants, who had fled to them for refuge, were consumed in the flames. Malcolm returned home, leading captive, says an English historian, such a multitude of young men and maidens, "that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay, even in every Scottish hovel."*

William was incensed to the highest degree by the repeated insurrections of the Northumbrians, and both to punish their recent revolt, and to oppose an obstacle, in the desolation of the country, to the future invasions of the Danes, he laid utterly waste the fertile district between the Humber and the Tees.† "At this time," says William of Malmesbury, "there were destroyed such splendid towns, such lofty castles, such beautiful pastures, that had a stranger viewed the scene, he might have been moved to compassion, and had one inhabitant been left alive, he would not have recollected the country."‡ The inhabitants of this once populous and fertile district seem to have been almost wholly exterminated. Many who escaped the sword, died of famine; many sold themselves into slavery, to escape starvation; and many thousands of the lower orders, together with a considerable number both of Anglo-Saxons and Normans of condition, who had incurred the displeasure of the Conqueror, fled for refuge into Scotland, and found a cordial reception at the court of Malcolm, who, sensible of the value of such auxiliaries, conferred honours and estates upon them with no sparing hand.

William, having secured peace at home, prepared to chastise Malcolm for his inroads into Eng-

* Simeon of Durham, p. 201.

† Ingulphus p. 79.

‡ William of Malmesbury, p. 106.

land, and, in 1072, he invaded the Scottish territories both by sea and land. He overran and wasted the country as far as the Tay; but as the inhabitants, according to the policy which they seem to have followed from the earliest times, destroyed or removed everything of value as the enemy advanced, William, as the Saxon Chronicle expresses it, "nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, Malcolm met him at Abernethy,* when a peace was concluded between the two kings, on the conditions that Malcolm should give hostages and pay homage to William.† The question has been raised, and keenly disputed,—For what was this homage performed? The advocates of the English supremacy

contend that it was for the Scottish crown. No satisfactory evidence, however, can be produced in support of this assertion. It is true that certain of the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed the title of Monarch, or Emperor, of all Britain. But this vain-glorious assumption of a vaunting title proves nothing; and it would be easy to produce a parallel case of similar pretensions having been put forth without any foundation. The notion that the Scottish kings were the acknowledged vassals of the Anglo-Saxon princes of England, is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries. Scotland was never conquered by any of these monarchs; nor is there any evidence that they ever made an attempt to wrest it from its ancient possessors. There is as little trustworthy evidence that any acknowledgment of the dependence of the kingdom of Scotland upon the English, was ever made by any of Malcolm's predecessors. The only homage which was paid by the Scottish kings, prior to the Norman Conquest, was not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for the territories which they held in England, such as Cumbria and Lothian, and which were ceded to them by the English kings on this express condition. For these possessions they of course did homage to the English crown, exactly in the same manner as the Norman kings of England did homage to the French crown, for the possessions which they held in France.

When Malcolm espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarily at the same time denied the right of William to the English throne, and refused to acknowledge him as his liege lord. But when William took measures to assert his authority, and invaded Scotland, Malcolm submitted to his claims, and acknowledged his title to the same

homage as had been paid to his Saxon predecessors. To employ the words of Lord Hailes, one of the ablest inquirers into this subject, "According to the general and most probable opinion, this homage was done by Malcolm for the lands which he held in England."*

William, on his return from this expedition, deprived Gospatric of his earldom of Northumberland, under the pretext that he had secretly instigated the murder of Comyn, the former governor. Gospatric a second time took refuge in Scotland, where, notwithstanding his former defection, he was again cordially welcomed by Malcolm, who bestowed upon him extensive estates on the eastern marches, together with the castles of Dunbar and Cockburnspath.† The possessor of these strong fortresses was popularly said to have the keys of Scotland at his girdle. "And the circumstance is worthy of remembrance," says Mr. Tytler, "not only as marking the origin of a potent family, destined to act a leading part in the future history of the country, but as indicating the policy of Malcolm, who, conscious of the inferiority of his own Celtic race, manifested a wise anxiety to prevail on strangers, whether Normans, Danes, or Saxons, to settle in his dominions."

After this agreement with William, Malcolm seems to have remained quiet for some years; but, in 1079, hostilities were renewed with England, on what grounds historians have omitted to state. Availing himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the absence of the English king, who was on the Continent, carrying on a war with his son Robert, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland, and wasted the country as far as the river Tyne, returning home laden with plunder.‡ The following year, as Robert was now reconciled to his father, he was intrusted with the command of an army against Scotland. But the expedition proved unsuccessful, and Robert soon returned without effecting anything worthy of notice. It was at this period that the fortress of Newcastle on the Tyne was erected as a protection against the inroads of the Scots. It necessarily and professedly tended to render insecure the authority of the Scottish king over the district of Northumbria.

After the death of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1087) and the accession of his son, William Rufus, various causes of dispute took place between England and Scotland. This prince appears to have withheld from Malcolm part of the English possessions to which he claimed a right; and, probably with the view of vindicating his claim, the Scottish king invaded England in May, 1091, and penetrated as far as Chester-le-Street, between Newcastle and Durham,

* Annals, vol. i. p. 316; Allen's Vindication; Piet. Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 534—536.

† Simeon of Durham, p. 205; Gospatric is a corruption of Comes Patricius, the name and title of this powerful baron, who was the ancestor of the Earls of March.

‡ Ibid. p. 210.

* The place where Malcolm met the Conqueror is called "Abernethi" by Ingulphus, and "Aberneathi" by Florence of Worcester. Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and other writers, have contended that it was probably some place on the river Nith. But in a speech ascribed by Ealred, Abbot of Rievale, a contemporary of David, Malcolm's son, to Walter Espee, before the battle of the Standard, it is said that William penetrated through Lodonia, Calatria, and Scotia, as by Abernethi, (evidently Abernethy,) where the warlike Malcolm surrendered himself to William as his vassal. *Border History*, p. 63, and note.

† *Sax. Chron.*, Goodall, *Introd.* to *Fordun*, p. 45.

where, receiving intelligence that Rufus was advancing to meet him with a superior force, he prudently retreated without risking a battle. In the autumn of the same year, William made preparations to invade Scotland, both by sea and land. His fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and many of his cavalry perished by want and cold; but in spite of these disasters he advanced with his army to the shores of the Forth. Meanwhile the Scots, in accordance with their usual policy, had driven away their cattle, and laid waste the country; so that their enemies were reduced to great extremities by the want of provisions. Malcolm crossed the Forth with his forces, and advanced into Lothian to meet the invaders. The hostile armies met, and were

Peace between
Malcolm and
Rufus.

ready to engage; but through the mediation of Robert, the brother of Rufus, and Edgar Atheling,

who was at that time with Malcolm, a peace was concluded between the two monarchs. "King Malcolm," says the Saxon chronicler, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father, and that he confirmed with an oath. And the king William promised him in land and in all things whatever he formerly had under his father." Malcolm consented to do homage to William, and to hold his land under the same tenure of feudal service as he had formerly paid to his father. William on his part agreed to restore twelve manors which Malcolm had held under the Conqueror, and to make an annual payment to him of twelve marks of gold.* At the same time Edgar Atheling was reconciled to William, and permitted to return to England.

The peace thus made was not of long continuance. In the following year

New disputes
between them.
A.D. 1092.

(1092) William erected a castle at

Carlisle, a step which Malcolm appears to have resented, as an encroachment on the freedom of the territories which he held in Cumberland. A personal interview between the kings was proposed as the best mode of settling their differences. Malcolm accordingly repaired to Gloucester (24th August, 1093); but on his arrival, William demanded that he should do homage there, in the presence of the English barons. With this demand the Scottish monarch refused to comply, but offered to perform his homage according to the ancient usage, on the frontiers, and in the presence of the chief men of both kingdoms.† This proposal was contemptuously rejected by William, and Malcolm returning home in great displeasure, assembled an army, and burst into Northumberland, which he wasted with fire and sword. But while he was besieging Alnwick Castle, he was suddenly

Death of Malcolm,
A.D. 1093.

attacked and slain by Robert de

Mowbray, a Northumbrian earl. His eldest son, Edward, shared his fate. The manner of Malcolm's death has been variously

related. According to Fordun, the castle of Alnwick was sore pressed, and the garrison despaired of relief, when one of the besieged undertook either to deliver them or to perish in the attempt. Issuing, therefore, from the castle, and carrying the keys of it on the point of his spear, he advanced to the Scottish camp, where he inquired for the king, in order that he might deliver the keys into his hand. Malcolm, informed of his approach, came hastily out of his tent, without his armour, when the traitor pierced him with his spear, and in the confusion succeeded in making his escape. In the old chronicle of Alnwick Abbey, the soldier who slew King Malcolm is called Hammond, and it is stated that he escaped through the river Aln, at a place which was long after called Hammond's Ford. Fordun relates that the English, availing themselves of the confusion caused by the death of the king, made a fierce attack upon the Scots, and put them to the rout, and that Prince Edward was severely wounded in the encounter, and died three days after.*

The death of Malcolm was followed, in a few days, by that of his excellent ^{Death of Queen} Margaret, who had exercised a great and most beneficial influence over the fierce and impetuous character of her husband. When the king set out on his fatal expedition to England, Margaret, worn out, it is said, by her vigils and fastings, was suffering from a fatal and lingering complaint. Her biographer, Turgot, acknowledges that abstinence ruined her constitution, and brought on excruciating pains in her stomach, which death alone removed. Her last moments are described by that faithful minister, who related what he saw. Her thoughts were much occupied with the welfare of her children. "Farewell," said she to Turgot, "my life draws to a close, but you may survive me long. To you I commit the charge of my children; teach them, above all things, to love and fear God, and whenever you see any of them attain to the height of earthly grandeur, O, then, in an especial manner, be to them as a father and a guide! Admonish, and if need be, reprove them, lest they be swelled with the pride of momentary glory, through avarice offend God, or, by reason of the prosperity of this world, become careless of eternal life. This, in the presence of Him who is now our only witness, I beseech you to promise and to perform." During a short interval of ease she devoutly received the communion. Soon after, her anguish of body returned with redoubled violence. She stretched herself upon her couch, and calmly waited for the moment of her dissolution. Cold, and in the agonies of death, she ceased not to put up her supplications to Heaven. These were some of her words: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies; blot out my iniquities; make me to hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice;

* Simeon of Durham, p. 216; Sax. Chron. pp. 147—198; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 22.

† Simeon of Durham, p. 218; William of Malmesbury, p. 122; Annals, vol. i. p. 24.

* Chr. Sax. p. 109. Fordun, lib. v. c. 25; Border Hist. p. 60.

cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me; restore unto me the joy of thy salvation!" "At that moment," continues Turgot, "her son Edgar, returning from the army, approached her couch. 'How fares it,' said she, 'with the king and my Edward?' The youth stood silent. 'I know all,' cried she, 'I know all. By this holy cross, by your filial affection, I adjure you to tell me truth.' He answered: 'Your husband and your son are both slain.' Lifting up her eyes and her hands to heaven, she said: 'Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me from the corruption of my sins; and thou Lord Jesus Christ, who, through the will of the Father, hast enlivened the world by thy death, oh deliver me!' While pronouncing the words, 'deliver me,' she expired."

The character of this excellent princess is worthy to be "held in everlasting remembrance." Her piety was sincere and deep, though somewhat tinged with asceticism; and her biographer expressly admits that her health was injured by her long vigils, fasts, and mortifications. Her beneficence was exhibited, not merely in public and somewhat ostentatious almsgiving, in feeding indigent orphans with her own hands, ministering at table to crowds of poor persons, and washing their feet; but in secret acts of charity, and in her unwearied efforts to relieve the necessities, and assuage the afflictions, of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, who had been expelled from their homes by the oppressions of the Norman invaders. Many of these unhappy exiles had been compelled, by the want of the common necessaries of life, to sell themselves into slavery, and were dispersed over the country. She employed her agents to seek out such persons, and to inquire into their condition, and whenever their bondage appeared oppressive, she secretly paid their ransom and restored them to liberty.

Margaret appears to have laboured to elevate the condition of the people, as well as to improve their manners and morals. We are told by her biographer, that she encouraged merchants to come from various parts of the world with many precious commodities, which had never before been seen in that country. Among the articles thus imported, special mention is made of highly ornamented vestments of various colours, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the king to put on, they seemed to become new beings, so fine did they appear in their new-fashioned clothes. She was also magnificent in her own attire. She increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and caused him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. "At least," says the honest historian, "the dishes and vessels were gilt or silvered over." In the management of her own household, she displayed such a mixture of strict-

ness and kindness, that she was equally revered and loved by all who approached her. She entertained many ladies, employed their leisure hours in the amusements of the needle, and paid strict attention to the decorum of their conduct. "In her presence," says Turgot, "nothing unseemly was ever done or uttered."

The gentleness and amiability of this excellent woman, together with her prudence and good sense, enabled her to acquire complete control over the fiery temper of her husband; and her influence over him appears to have been exerted with the most beneficial effect. To her he seems to have committed the management of the religious affairs, and the internal polity of his kingdom. "Malcolm," says Turgot, "respected the religion of his spouse, was fearful of offending her, and listened to her admonitions. Whatever she loved or disliked so did he. Although he could not read, he frequently turned over her prayer-books, and kissed her favourite volumes. He had them adorned with gold and precious stones, and presented them to her in token of his devotion. She instructed him to pass the night in fervent prayer, with groans and tears. I must acknowledge," he adds, "that I often admired the works of the Divine mercy, when I saw a king so religious, and such signs of deep compunction in a layman."

Various abuses appear at this time to have crept into the church, as well as among the people, and Margaret employed her learning and eloquence, not only in the instruction of her husband, but in controversy with the clergy, and in urging them to reform their various errors of doctrine and discipline. At this period, the Scottish clergy had ceased to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper, on the plea that they were sinners, and dreaded to communicate unworthily. They made no distinction between Sabbath and week days; and they permitted the marriage of a man with his step-mother, or the widow of his brother—a practice originating probably in avarice, as it relieved the heir of a jointure. All these abuses the queen corrected, in a firm yet temperate manner. "She displayed to the clergy," says Lord Hailes, "the vanity of their superstitious or indolent excuse for their neglect to celebrate the communion, and she restored the religious observance of Sunday, an institution no less admirable in a political than in a religious light." She held a solemn conference with the clergy regarding the proper season for celebrating Lent; and "three days," says Turgot, "did she employ the Sword of the Spirit in combating their errors. She seemed another St. Helena, out of the Scriptures convincing the Jews."

After her death, Margaret was received into the Romish calendar. "Others," says her candid biographer, "may admire the indications of sanctity which miracles afford: I much more admire in Margaret the works of mercy. Such signs are common to the good and

the evil, but the works of true piety and charity are peculiar to the good. With better reason, therefore, ought we to admire the deeds of Margaret, which made her a saint, than her miracles—*had she performed any*—which could only have pointed her out to mankind as a saint.* Nearly two hundred years after her death, her body was removed to a tomb of more distinction, in the church of Dunfermline. A legend of “a well imagined miracle” narrates, that it was found impossible to lift the body of the new saint until that of her husband had received the same honour; as if, in her state of beatitude, Margaret had been guided by the same feelings of conjugal deference and affection which had regulated this excellent woman’s conduct while on earth.*

The character of Malcolm Canmore himself, it has been justly said, stands high, if his situation and opportunities be considered. Though he was not altogether free from the fierceness and barbarity of his age, he was a man of undaunted courage, and of a noble and generous disposition. “From his early youth,” says Lord Hailes, “to his last invasion of England, his conduct was uniform. He maintained his throne with the same spirit by which he won it. Though he was the ruler of a nation uncivilized and destitute of foreign resources, and had such antagonists as the Conqueror and William Rufus to encounter, yet for twenty-seven years he supported this unequal contest; sometimes with success, never without honour. That he should have so well asserted the independency of Scotland is astonishing, when the weakness of his own kingdom, and the strength and abilities of his enemies, are fairly estimated.”†

An incident is related concerning Malcolm by Aldred, on the authority of David I., Malcolm’s son, which is strongly illustrative of his courage and generosity. A nobleman of his court had formed a design against his life. His traitorous intentions became known to the king, who, during the amusement of a hunting-match, drew the conspirator into a solitary glade of the forest, upbraided him with his treachery, and defied him to mortal and equal combat. “Now,” said the gallant monarch, unsheathing his sword, “we are alone, and armed alike. You seek my life; take it.” The traitor, surprised at this act of generosity, threw himself at the king’s feet, confessed his crime, and intreated forgiveness. The king pardoned and restored him to his confidence, and never had any reason to repent of his manly and generous conduct.‡

An attempt has been made to claim for Malcolm the character of a great legislator. It is asserted by Boece, that immediately after his accession, he held a parliament at Forfar, and restored to their estates, dignities, and jurisdictions, all the nobles whose fathers had been murdered by Macbeth—that he introduced

among his nobles the custom of taking surnames from the lands which they possessed—that he invented new titles of honour, such as those of Earls and Barons;* and it has even been alleged by later and abler writers, that Malcolm introduced the feudal system into Scotland.† The story is circumstantially told, how he summoned all his nobles to meet him at Scone, and how each, bringing with him, as directed, a handful of earth from his lands, surrendered them by that symbol to the king, who granted charters of them anew to each proprietor, under the form of feudal investiture. The Moat-hill at Scone is said to be composed of earth brought together for this purpose, and thence called *omnis terra*. But this legend is not supported by any trustworthy authority, and is totally incredible. It is very probable, as Lord Hailes remarks, that Malcolm assembled the chief men of his kingdom immediately after his accession, and that he restored the estates forfeited in the reign of his predecessor; but the other political acts ascribed to him are merely conjectural. The modern title of Earl may be traced nearly to his time, and it is probable that it was now assumed by some of those who had previously borne the designation of Maormor, or Thane. Surnames also began to be employed about this period, though they were not in general use till long after the days of Malcolm. The collection of laws ascribed to this monarch has been proved to be a forgery of the fourteenth century; and the assertion, that the systematic introduction of the feudal system into Scotland is to be ascribed to his policy, is destitute both of proof and of probability. That system was not introduced by any one monarch, or in the course of a single reign, but appears to have grown up gradually under the fostering influence of various natural causes, assisted from time to time by a train of favourable circumstances. Lord Hailes is of opinion that this important change was accomplished so slowly that Innovations. in some parts of Scotland the custom of feudal investitures did not begin to prevail, till its rigour began to be mitigated in others. Great changes, doubtless, took place in the manners and customs of the Scottish people during the reign of Malcolm Canmore; but these changes were brought about, not by any new institutions which he established, but by the example of his queen, and of the Saxon nobles and their followers, whom the oppressions of the Normans forced to take refuge in his kingdom. The revolution which the introduction of English manners at the court of Malcolm produced in the frugal and abstemious habits of the Scotch, is thus piteously bewailed by an old chronicler:—“It is said that such outrageous riot ensued at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottish men, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, flying out of their country, were

* Turgot, Acta Sanctorum, 10 Jun. 328, quoted by Lord Hailes, Annals, vol. i. pp. 36—45.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 25.

‡ Ibid. p. 20, and note.

* Boece, xii. 256.

† Lord Kaimes’s Essays concerning British Antiquities, Essay i.

daily received into Scotland to inhabit there), that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommodity and decay to the whole realm would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realm, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobriety of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedy in time, before hope of redress were past, that the people might be again reduced into their former frugality, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meats and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but only feeding to satisfy nature, and not their greedy appetites. Hereupon King Malcolm took great pains to have redressed this infectious poison, and utterly to have expelled it forth of his realm. Howbeit, the nature of man is so prone and ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit, yet, after they had once tasted the sweet-poisoned bait thereof, there was no means to be found to restrain their liquorish desires. But to bewail that in words," he sagely adds, "which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a folly."*

Malcolm had a family of six sons and two daughters: Edward, who died of his wounds at Alnwick a few days after his father; Etheldred, who entered the church; Edmund; Edgar; Alexander; David; Maud, the wife of Henry I., king of England; and Mary, the wife of Eustace, count of Boulogne. They all, as it has been remarked, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. All the children of Malcolm were under age at the time of their father's death. He was succeeded by

his brother, Donald Bane, who seized the crown, had fled to the Hebrides on the A.D. 1093. death of his father, Duncan, and does not appear to have visited his brother Malcolm at any period of his reign. As soon as he received intelligence of his brother's death, he hurried to Scotland with a powerful armament, collected in the western isles, by the assistance of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway;† and apparently with little opposition took possession of the throne. According to the Celtic law of succession, Donald, as the eldest male of the royal family, was heir to the crown, and his pretensions were supported by a powerful party among the Scottish nobles, to whom the innovations of the last reign, and the preference shown to strangers, had been peculiarly obnoxious. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England, and placed in a state of security by their uncle Edgar Atheling.

The first edict of Donald Bane was a sentence of banishment against all the foreigners, who had taken refuge at the Scottish court—an ignorant and foolish attempt to arrest the progress of civilization, and to bring

* Holinshed, vol. v. p. 231. † Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxvi.

back the country to the savage state of the western isles, in which his own life had been spent.* His triumph, however, was short-lived. Duncan an illegitimate son of the late king,† who had been sent as a hostage to

Duncan.

England, with the permission of William Rufus, collected a numerous force of English and Normans, expelled Donald from the country, and took possession of the throne (May, 1094,) whether in his own right, or for the lawful family of Malcolm, does not clearly appear. After a reign of only a few months, Duncan was assassinated by Malpedir, the Maormor, or Earl, of the Mearns, in November, 1094, at the instigation, it is alleged, of Edmund, the second of the legitimate children of Malcolm Canmore, who had entered into an agreement with his uncle, Donald Bane, to share the kingdom between them.‡ On the restoration of Donald to the throne, his inhospitable edict for

Donald.

the expulsion of foreigners was strictly enforced, and every effort was made to overthrow the measures which his brother had taken for the civilization of the country. Matters remained in this state for more than two years. At length, in 1097, Edgar Atheling, along with his nephew Edgar, raised a powerful army in England, and marching against Donald, overcame him in battle, and having obtained possession of his person, imprisoned him and put out his eyes. William of Malmesbury states, that Edmund, the unworthy son of the pious Margaret, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for his accession to the murder of Duncan; that, during his captivity, he was touched with remorse, and in token of penitence for his guilt, ordered the fetters he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin.§ Donald Bane died at Roscobie, in Forfarshire, and with him terminated the line of the Scottish kings.||

We are informed by the learned Chalmers,¶ that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyd. I. FIFE, Districts of comprehending the country between the Forth and the Tay, below the Ochil Hills. Of this extensive district the celebrated Macduff was the Maormor. II. STRATHERN, including the country between the Forth and the Ochil Hills on the south, and the Tay on the north. III. ATHOL and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and Badenoch. IV. ANGUS, comprehending the country from the Tay and the Ila on the south, to the northern Esk upon the north. V. MEARN'S comprehended the district which lay between the North Esk and the Dee. Fenella, the inhospitable murderess of Kenneth III., was the wife of the Maormor of this district, and

* Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 49; Sax. Chron. pp. 100, 200.

† Annals, p. 49, note; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 422.

‡ Ibid. p. 423; Fordun, lib. v. chap. xxviii.

§ William of Malmesbury, p. 158.

¶ It is worthy of notice, that John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch, during the great competition for the crown, claimed the succession as heir of Donald Bane, through the female line.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 452—454.

the daughter of the Maormor of Angus. VI. ABERDEEN and BANFF comprehended the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey. Greg, the Maormor of this district, occupied the Scottish throne from A. D. 882 to 893. VII. The extensive district of MORAY comprehended the country from the Spey to the Farar or Beaully, and reached, westward, to the limits of northern Argyle. The Maormors of Moray were persons of great importance at that period, and the Moray men acted a conspicuous part in the bloody scenes of Scottish history. VIII. ARGYLE, which formed the ancient kingdom of the Scots, extended along the mainland of Scotland, from the Clyde to Ross, and comprehended the adjacent isles. IX. The great district of ROSS was composed of the counties of Ross and Cromarty. The powerful chiefs of this province were often engaged in bloody conflicts with the rapacious Norsemen. Macbeth was Maormor of Ross-shire when he slew "the gracious Duncan," and seized his sceptre. X. SUTHERLAND and CAITHNESS formed a district which, at the end of the tenth century, was governed by Sigurd, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, and after him, by his son, Thorfinn, the grandson of Malcolm II. These districts, during the Scottish period, were connected by very slight ties. The inhabitants of each province possessed peculiar rights, followed their own customs, and were governed by their own chiefs or Maormors, who could not be appointed or displaced by the king; and there was scarcely any recognition of a supreme legislative body or authority, having the power to make laws for the whole community. The authority of the king, though it was acknowledged, was often resisted, because it could not easily be enforced.

To every careful student of the events and institutions of this period, it must be evident that the predominant people were a Celtic race. The laws were Celtic, the government Celtic, the titles of honour Celtic, the usages and manners Celtic, the church Celtic, the language Celtic. "If," says Chalmers,* "Malcolm Canmore, a Celtic prince, who did not arrogate the character of a lawgiver, had been disposed to effect a considerable change in this Celtic system, he would have found his inclination limited by his impotence. The Scottish kings, during those times, seem not to have possessed legislative power. Whenever they acted as legislators, they appear to have had some coadjutors, either some Maormors, a term by which we are to understand the civil ruler of a district, or some bishop."† At a later period, when the children and grandchildren of Malcolm attempted to introduce new institutions and maxims of government in the provinces of Galloway and Moray, so firmly attached were the people to their ancient customs and habits, that the innovations gave rise to frequent insurrections.‡

Mention has already been made of the residence of Donald Bane, in the Hebrides, and the powerful

support which the inhabitants of these remote islands gave to him in his attempts upon the Scottish crown. It is evident that they had at this period little or no political connexion with the mainland of Scotland, but were under the domination of petty chiefs, who were sometimes independent, and at other periods under the superiority of the kings of Norway. During the early portion of the ninth century they suffered much from the depredations of the Norwegian pirates, whose incessant ravages were severely felt by the various religious communities scattered over the Western Islands. It appears from the Irish annals, that these fierce marauders not only laid waste the country, and plundered the monasteries of their treasures, but also carried off great numbers of captives, both male and female, and sold them for slaves in the markets of Norway and Sweden. They had not as yet, however, effected any permanent settlement either in the isles or on the mainland of Scotland. But towards the latter end of the ninth century the number of these pirates was greatly increased by a revolution which had taken place in Norway. Harold Harfager, or the light-haired, after a protracted struggle, obtained possession of the Norwegian throne,* and united the provinces of the Scandinavian peninsula into one monarchy. The Vikings who had unsuccessfully opposed his ambitious designs, fled for refuge to the Scottish Hebrides and Orkneys. The numerous bays and inlets of these islands afforded shelter to their galleys, as well as facilities for the incessant excursions with which they harassed the conqueror who had expelled them from their native country. Harold was not slow to retaliate on these marauders, and every summer sent out his fleet to chastise them for their depredations, and to expel them from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge. They easily evaded his attacks, however, by flying to the open sea; and as soon as his ships were withdrawn, they returned again in winter to their old retreats.

At length Harold, exasperated by the failure of these repeated attempts to protect his newly-acquired dominions from the incursions of these plunderers, resolved to put an end to their predatory inroads by the conquest of the islands which had afforded them shelter. Accordingly, in the year 875, he set sail from Norway with a powerful fleet, and proceeding successively to the Shetland Isles, the Orkney Isles, and the Hebrides, he subdued and expelled the pirates, and took possession of their settlements. Continuing his course, he came to the Isle of Man, which he found entirely deserted—its inhabitants having fled to the Scottish mainland on his approach. Returning homeward, ravaging the coast of Scotland as he proceeded, he conferred the government of his newly acquired possessions on Sigurd, a distin-

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 455.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 182.

‡ Ibid.

* Torfeus, Hist. Norw. vol. ii. b. ii. chap. xii.; Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 91.

guished Norwegian chief, who was accordingly installed first Jarl of the Orkneys.

His return to Norway was the signal for revolt. The native Hebridean chiefs immediately availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by his absence, and the dispersion of the pirates whom he had expelled from their settlements, to take possession of the islands, and to drive out or put to death the Norwegians whom Harold had left behind him to secure his newly conquered territory. On hearing of this revolt, Harold sent out a second expedition, under the command of a powerful chief, named Ketil, to chastise the insurgents, and to re-establish his authority. As Harold bestowed the title of Jarl on Ketil before he set out, it is evident that he intended to adopt the same method, for the permanent subjection of the Hebrides to his sway, which had proved successful with the Orkneys. The islemen appear to have been quite unprepared for the vigorous measures which Harold adopted, and were easily subdued by Ketil, who compelled the native chiefs to acknowledge his authority, and to pay him tribute.

No sooner, however, did the Norwegian Jarl find himself in the quiet possession of his new dominions, than he resolved to renounce his allegiance to Harold, and to declare himself the independent sovereign of the Hebrides. With this view, he sought to gain the favour of the islanders by confirming to them their ancient privileges, and by forming alliances of various kinds, both with the native chiefs, and with several of the leaders of the pirates. He then dismissed the troops he had brought with him from Norway, and declared himself independent of the Norwegian king. His plans were so skillfully laid and so vigorously executed, that, in spite of the power of Harold, Ketil remained sovereign of the Western Isles during the remainder of his life. He was succeeded by his son Helgi, and his grandson, Thorstein the Red; but the native chiefs of the Isles seem soon after to have succeeded in throwing off the Norwegian yoke altogether. Helgi, with his adherents, settled in Iceland, while Thorstein, in company with his mother, Audur, the daughter of Ketil, proceeded to the Orkneys. At a subsequent period, the Western Isles fell under the power of Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, and his son, Thorfinn, although they seem never to have been altogether independent of Norway, as they received their rulers from the Scandinavian peninsula, and paid tribute to its monarchs. But their subjection was little more than nominal, till, in the last year of Malcolm Canmore's reign, Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway, invaded the Hebrides with a powerful fleet, and completely subdued them, together with the Orkneys and the Isle of Man. Many of the inhabitants fled for refuge to the mainland of Scotland, and the remainder, with their chiefs, were compelled to submit to the power of the conqueror. As the Scottish king was at that time making preparations for that fatal expedition into England in which he lost his life, he found it impossible to defend these remote parts of his dominions, and

was compelled to leave them in the possession of the Norwegian monarch.

At the time of Ketil's death, Sigurd was Jarl of the Orkney Islands. He gave a hospitable reception to Thorstein, the Red, the grandson of the de-^{Norwegian dominion in the North of Scotland, A.D. 894—900.} ceased chief, on his expulsion from the Hebrides, and entered into a close alliance with him. With their united forces the two pirate chiefs invaded the northern districts of Scotland, and made themselves masters of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and Moray. Two of the Scottish Maormors of these provinces, Meldun and Melbrigda Tonn, were slain. According to the Norse Sagas, the death of the latter was revenged upon Sigurd in a very singular manner. Melbrigda Tonn, or Maolbride the Buck-toothed, say these writers, derived his appellation from a peculiarly prominent tooth; and Sigurd having slain him in battle, cut off his head, and suspended it to the front of his saddle as he galloped over the battle field. The violence of the motion caused the prominent tooth to inflict a wound on the thigh of the Jarl, which inflamed, and ultimately caused his death.*

Sigurd was succeeded by his son, Guttorm, as Jarl of Orkney, while Thorstein the Red took possession of the newly acquired territories on the mainland, and assumed the regal title. But his sovereignty was of short duration. He had enjoyed his conquests only about six years, when a vigorous attempt was made to wrest them from his possession by the native chiefs of the district, under the command of Duncan the Maormor of Caithness. A fierce battle ensued, in which Thorstein was defeated and slain, and the Norwegians were expelled from the mainland of Scotland about A.D. 900.†

About eighty years after this date, the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkney Islands were converted to the Christian faith, by the influence of the Norwegian king, Olaf, on his return from an expedition to Ireland, in the year 998. The Celtic part of the population had, at an early period, been induced to embrace Christianity, by the zealous followers of St. Columba.‡

For nearly a century after the death of Thorstein, the Scottish chiefs appear to have retained undisturbed possession of the northern districts of the country, with the exception of Caithness, which fell into the hands of Thorfinn, Jarl of Orkney, in consequence, it is supposed, of his marriage with the daughter of Duncan, the Maormor of that province. Towards the close of the tenth century, an attempt was made by the Scots, under Finlay, son of Ruari, Maormor of Moray, to recover possession of Caithness; but, after an obstinate engagement, they were defeated by Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, who immediately overran the whole of the northern districts of Scotland with his victorious army, and

* Landnamabok, Olafs Saga, &c., quoted by Mr. Skene vol. i. p. 95.

† Ibid.

‡ Torsteus, Orcades, chap. ii.; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 240.

took possession of Sutherland, Moray, Ross, and Argyle. After holding these territories for seven years, the Norwegians were surprised and expelled by a sudden rising of the Scottish Maormors and their followers. Sigurd, on receiving intelligence of this successful revolt, collected a numerous army among the islands, and proceeding at once to the Scottish mainland, attacked and put to flight a hostile army stationed near Duncansbay Head, for the purpose of arresting his progress. But on learning that Malcolm, the Maormor of Moray, was approaching with an overwhelming force, the Norwegian Jarl retreated to his own dominions in the Orkneys, and left the Scots in possession of the disputed territory.

Soon after this success, Malcolm obtained possession of the Scottish throne on the defeat and death of his rival, Kenneth Macduff, at Monivaird, A.D. 1003. Two years after his accession to the

throne, a reconciliation was effected between the new monarch and his former antagonist, Sigurd; and their alliance was strengthened by the marriage of the Norwegian earl with the daughter of Malcolm. The only issue of this union was a son, named Thorfinn, who afterwards became the most powerful earl of his race. On the death of Sigurd in the bloody battle of Clontarf, near Dublin,* the Scottish king took charge of Thorfinn, who was at that time only five years of age, and ultimately put him in possession of the province of Caithness, which had so often been the subject of contention between the Norwegians and Scots. Mr. Skene, who has altogether departed from the generally received history of this period, is of opinion, that instead of Malcolm II. having reigned thirty years over Scotland, there were two Malcolms, of different families, the first of whom reigned twenty-six, the latter four years.† He contends that, on the death of Malcolm II., his successor, who belonged to a rival faction, endeavoured to dispossess Thorfinn of the territories which he held on the mainland of Scotland, and that the Norwegian not only overcame his assailants in repeated engagements, both by sea and land, but followed up his success by conquering the whole country as far as the Frith of Tay, and completely subjugating the inhabitants.

"The Norwegians," he adds, "thus obtained effectual possession of the greater part of the north of Scotland; and their kingdom, which, by the talents and energy of Thorfinn they were enabled to retain for thirty years, was unparalleled in its extent and duration by any previous or subsequent conquest. Besides the Orkneys, which was their original seat, their possessions in

* This event is celebrated in an ancient poem, of which Gray's celebrated Ode, "The Fatal Sisters," is a paraphrase. Sigurd had gone to the assistance of Sigtrig, the Viking of Dublin, against the famous Irish monarch, Brian Boru.

† This view he has adopted, he says, in consequence of finding the most remarkable coincidence between the Irish Annals and the Norse Saga, both of whom agree in these particulars. See Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. pp. 108—114.

Scotland consisted now of the Hebrides, and of nine of the great districts, or earldoms, of Scotland, which, as far as can be gathered from the Sagas, appear to be those of Caithness, Ness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Garmoran, Buchan, Marr, and Angus, while to the Scots there remained nothing north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, except the districts of Fyfe, Strathern, Menteith, Gowry, and Lennox, with the two northern districts of Atholl and Argyll."

The version which the Norwegian Sagas give of the history of Duncan and Macbeth also differs considerably from the account contained in the pages of the Scottish chroniclers. According to the former, Duncan, who was the son of Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, by Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm II., reigned only over the southern part of Scotland, while Thorfinn, who also was the grandson of Malcolm, possessed the northern portion of the kingdom. After Duncan had enjoyed the throne for six years, his people resolved to attempt the recovery of the extensive territories in the north which Thorfinn had conquered. Taking advantage of the absence of the Norwegian prince on an expedition to England, the Scots, with Duncan at their head, penetrated as far as the district of Moray, without encountering apparently any resistance. The Gaelic inhabitants of the north, however, who preferred remaining under the Norwegian yoke rather than submit to a chief of their own race, whose title to the throne they could not admit, opposed the farther progress of Duncan, and Macbeth, the Maormor of Moray, attacked him in the neighbourhood of Elgin, defeated his army, and put him to the sword.

The victorious chief, following up his success, made himself master of the whole country that had acknowledged the authority of Duncan, and with the sanction and assistance of the Norwegians, kept possession of the Scottish throne for a period of eighteen years. The adherents of Duncan's family made several unsuccessful attempts to dispossess him. In one of these, A.D. 1045, Crinan, the father of Duncan, was slain, with a great number of his supporters. Nine years after, Malcolm Canmore, Duncan's eldest son, who had taken refuge in England, obtained the assistance of a Saxon army, under his uncle Siward, earl of Northumberland, to recover possession of his father's throne, but he succeeded in wresting from Macbeth only the province of Lothian. Four years afterwards, Macbeth was defeated and slain in the battle of Lumphanan, during the absence of his Norwegian allies, on a maritime expedition, in which their fleet was almost totally destroyed by a tempest. And on the death of Thorfinn, which took place six years after the accession of Malcolm Canmore, nearly the whole of the Scottish mainland returned under the dominion of the native chief, though the northern and western isles continued in the possession of the Norwegian Jarls; and about the close of the eleventh century, were sub-

Norwegian account of the history of Duncan and Macbeth.

jugated by Magnus Barefoot, the powerful king of Norway.*

It is difficult to say how far this narrative of the Norse Sagas is to be relied on, in those points in which it differs from the generally received history. It is evident, however, from the statements, both of the Norwegians and of the Scottish chroniclers, that the incursions and settlements of the Norwegian colonists. the Norsemen must have produced a great change on the character of the population of the northern provinces of Scotland. In the more mountainous districts, the impervious nature of the country presented an almost insuperable barrier to the incursions of the pirates, and the ancient Celtic inhabitants retained possession of their territory. But in the eastern and more level provinces, especially near the sea-coast, the ancient inhabitants were almost entirely driven out and replaced by Norwegian colonists. About the middle of the eleventh century, therefore, the pure Celtic race, who once possessed the whole of the north of Scotland, from the western to the eastern sea, were confined within those limits, which they have never since exceeded, while the eastern districts became inhabited by a mixed race, principally, however, of Norwegian origin.

In the meantime, the population of the south of Scotland remained partly of Saxon, and partly of Celtic descent,—the Saxons possessing the whole of the country south of the Frith of Forth, while the Celts occupied the remaining districts. The numbers and influence of the former, however, were rapidly augmented by what has been called “the Saxon Colonization of North Britain,”—the emigration of Saxon colonists of all classes, into the country, which, during the succeeding reigns, led to the introduction of Saxon laws, institutions, and forms of government into Scotland, and produced a great revolution in the manners and customs of its ancient Celtic inhabitants.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CHRISTIANITY was introduced into Scotland at a very early period. Towards the latter end of the fourth century, Ninian, the son of a British prince of Cumberland, visited Rome, and remained there till the succession of Siricius to the bishopric of Rome, A.D. 394, who, according to Bede, ordained the young Briton, and sent him to preach the gospel to the pagan tribes of Caledonia. St. Ninian or St. Ringan, as he is commonly styled in Scotland, arrived in Britain about the year 397, and established the chief seat of his mission at Whitherne, in Galloway, where he erected the cele-

brated “Candida Casa,” which Bede describes as “a church of stone, built by the southern Piets, in a manner unusual among the Britons.” This “white-walled cathedral church” of Whitherne, which, notwithstanding its reputation, was doubtless a very humble and primitive structure, became the shrine of its famous founder, and continued to be the resort of many a royal and noble pilgrimage, down even to the Reformation. The death of St. Ninian took place on the 16th of September, A.D. 432—a day which, for ages, was celebrated as a festival in honour of the virtues and labours of this primitive bishop, whose memory is still preserved in Scotland by the numerous churches, chapels, and caves which bear his name. From Whithern, as a centre, the Christian faith speedily radiated to the surrounding districts, and there is reason to believe that the labours of “the brethren of St. Ninian” extended even to England and Ireland. So rapid was the progress of the new faith in the British Isles, that about the time of St. Ninian’s death, Palladius was sent from Rome “to the Scots believing in Christ, as their first bishop.” * This statement has occasioned a great deal of controversy. There can be little doubt now, however, that the chief mission of Palladius was not to the Scots of Britain, but of Ireland, though it appears that, after leaving that country, he personally visited the converted Piets of North Britain, and sent his disciple, St. Servanus or St. Serf, to the northern islands to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland. The author of the Scotch-chronicon states that King Eugenius gave Palladius and his companions a place of residence where he asked it, at Fordun in the Mearns, and there he is said to have ended his days. There is good reason to believe that the influence of his labours was not evanescent, for before the close of the century, a number of churches had been founded, both in the islands and on the mainland of Scotland.

About the middle of the sixth century, St. Kentigern imparted the knowledge of Christianity to the Strathelyd Britons, and is said to have founded the see of Glasgow. In honour of his pious labours the cathedral of that diocese was afterwards dedicated to him, under the endearing name of St. Mungo,† and many other localities in Scotland perpetuate his memory. St. Rule, St. Adrian, St. Woloc, and St. Kieran, are also deserving of notice, as taking part in the good work of preaching the Christian faith to the inhabitants of the southern districts of Scotland. But the conversion of the northern Piets, which took place in the sixth century,

* Prosper of Aquitaine, Chron. Temp. p. 26; Bede, b. i. chap. xiii.; Jamieson’s Account of the Ancient Culdees, p. 7; Goddall’s Introd. to Fordun.

† Mungo, in the Norwegian language, signifies “dear friend;” in the British, it means “kind, gentle, courteous.”—See Caledonia, vol. i. p. 316, note.

* See Skene’s Highlanders of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 106—119; Caledonia, vol. i. b. iii. chap. iii.; Torfaeus, Orades, chap. 100; Orkneyinga Saga, pp. 6—29.

was effected, as we have seen,* by the labours of St. Columba; and the religious establishment which he founded at Iona is justly regarded as the great centre from which the blessings of religion and of civilization diffused themselves over the whole country. It was certainly not owing to its natural features that this island was selected to become "the luminary of the Caledonian regions." It is scarcely three miles in length, and one in breadth. The highest elevation in it is 400 feet, and the surface is diversified with rocky hillocks and patches of green pasture, or of mossy and boggy soil. At the southern extremity, with the exception of a low sandy tract, it is a mere labyrinth of rocks. It has been supposed that the isolation of this little island, placed "far amid the melancholy main," and the security which it seemed likely to afford, were the principal attractions to Columba and his twelve disciples, when they sought an asylum among the Scottish Picts, from the troubles of their native land. But the old Celtic traditions seem rather to indicate, that in the true missionary spirit, this noble-minded benefactor of our country "bearded the ancient faith in its stronghold, and reared the primitive Christian fane of Iona, where of old the pagan circle had stood." The Highlanders, to the present day, frequently designate Iona by the name of *Innis nan Druidheanach*, or the Island of the Druids or magicians; and a green eminence, close to the sound which separates it from the west point of the Island of Mull, is still called *Claodh nan Druidheanach*, or the Druids' Burial-place.† Odonellus relates, that when Columba first landed in Iona on Pentecost eve, some Druids who had been there disguised themselves in the habits of monks, and pretended that they had come to that place to preach the gospel, with a request that he and his followers might betake themselves to some other place, but that Columba immediately discovered the imposture, and that they resigned the field to him.‡

We are informed by Bede, that the first churches of the Britons were constructed of Northern Picts—timber; but the ecclesiastical structure erected by Columba and his disciples seems not even to have aspired to the dignity of a wooden church, but to have been composed only of stakes and wattles. A curious passage in his *Life* by Adomnan, speaks of the primitive apostle of the Picts as sending forth his attendants to gather bundles of twigs with which to build their hospice, and as being challenged by the proprietor from whose lands they had collected the materials. After spending two years in erecting the sacred edifice, and the private dwellings of the monks, and in organizing the religious establishment, Columba commenced his pious labours among the northern Picts. In the execution of the arduous duties to which he had devoted himself, the zealous missionary met with astonishing success. He

and his disciples seem to have travelled through every part of the Pictish territories. In a few years the greater part of the nation was converted to Christianity, and hundreds of churches, monasteries, and cells were established throughout the country. The indefatigable zeal of the Culdee clergy induced them to carry the knowledge of the Christian faith to the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Northumbria; and, not satisfied with the range of action afforded by the mainland of

—and of the inhabitants of the Northern and Western Isles.

Britain, they undertook voyages to the northern islands and the Norwegian seas, for the purpose of propagating the gospel in these far distant regions. Columba himself is said to have made a voyage to the North Sea in his *currach*, and to have remained there twelve days. His biographer mentions, that the Saint happening to meet with a prince of the Orkneys in the palace of King Brude, at Inverness, requested him to extend his protection to certain monks who had lately sailed to the Northern Seas, and that the missionaries were afterwards rescued by him from a situation of imminent danger.* Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, states that monks from Ireland resided in Iceland for six months, and when the Norsemen first visited that island in the latter half of the ninth century, it was uninhabited, but they discovered traces of the former presence of Irish monks, and found their books, croziers, and bells. The monks referred to were, in all probability, Culdees of Iona; for it is well known that there existed in ancient times a church in Iceland dedicated to St. Columba.† There is ample evidence that the inhabitants of the Western and Northern Isles were converted to the Christian faith prior to any Norwegian settlement among them; and in many of these islands interesting traces still remain of the collegiate establishments founded by St. Columba and his followers.‡ After a life of unwearying activity in doing good, this illustrious benefactor of our country died on the 9th of June, 597, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, "leaving his monastery firmly settled, a people converted by his labours from Paganism to Christianity, and a name for the celebration of every age."

Oswald, who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria in the year 634, had spent his youth in Iona, to which northern sanctuary he had fled for refuge, and having been instructed in the doctrines of the Christian faith by the primitive disciples of Columba, he naturally made application to them for religious teachers who might communicate the knowledge of Christianity to his people also. "He sent to the elders of the Scots," says Bede, "amongst whom, during his bas-Culdee mission to Northumberland, he had been baptized, that they might send him a bishop by whose doctrine and ministry the nation of the Angles whom he governed might be instructed in the

* Vita St. Columb. lib. ii. chap. xvii. apud Messingham.

† Wilson's *Archæology*, p. 465.

‡ Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 320, and note), enumerates upwards of twenty churches, chapels, and monasteries bearing the name of St. Columba.

* Ante, pp. 25—27.

† Old Stat. Acc. vol. xiv. p. 199.

‡ Smith's *Life of Columba*, p. 92.

Christian faith." A monk, named Corman, was accordingly sent from Iona to Northumberland, but his temper and disposition seemed to have rendered him unfit for the difficult duty intrusted to him, and he speedily returned to the monastery. A council of the elders was convened to hear his report. While he was describing the barbarous dispositions and gross ignorance of the Northumbrians, and vindicating on that ground the abandonment of his mission, a voice was heard exclaiming, "Brother, you seem to have forgotten the apostolic injunction, that little children should be fed with milk, that they might afterwards be fitted for stronger food." Every eye was turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan, a monk of the establishment. The council immediately determined that he should be sent "to instruct the unbelieving and the illiterate—it being proved that he was supereminently endowed with the gift of discretion."* He was accordingly ordained and sent to the court of Oswald, where he was eminently successful in instructing and civilizing the rude Northumbrians. He was, it seems, but imperfectly acquainted with the English language, but Oswald, who understood the Celtic tongue, acted as interpreter between the preacher and the people. Aidan was appointed Bishop of Lindesfarne, where he fixed his seat and erected a monastery in the year 635. The northern limits of his bishopric extended into Teviotdale and Lothian, and the monastery of Mailros owes its original foundation to his zealous labours. Finan, his successor in the bishopric, was also ordained and sent by the Colloge of Iona, A.D. 651, and he, as we shall see, sent missionaries to preach the gospel to the East Saxons. Ten years later, on the death of Finan, the Culdees appointed Colman, one of their number, to discharge the duties of the office. But, in consequence of a dispute with the Romish bishops respecting the proper mode of observing Easter, in which they were supported by King Oswy, Colman resigned his bishopric, and, along with his disciples, returned to Iona, about A.D. 664. The religious community which Aidan had established on the island of Lindisfarne continued to flourish for more than two centuries, until it was destroyed by the Danes.

With regard to the doctrines held by Columba, we are informed that he was accustomed to draw them from the unpolluted fountain of Divine truth. As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to appeal constantly to the same infallible standard, and declared that only to be the Divine counsel which he found in the word of God.† His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive those things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, diligently observing the works of piety and purity. And of Aidan, one of the most distinguished of their number, who, as we have seen, was sent to instruct the North-

umbrians in the truths of Christianity, he says, "All the gifts which were conferred on him by kings, or by the rich of this world, he immediately distributed with the greatest cheerfulness to the poor who came in his way. So far was his mode of living removed from the indolence of our time, that he required of all his associates, whether clergy or laity, that they should give themselves to meditation, either by reading the Scriptures, or by being at pains to learn the psalms."*

The establishments of the Culdees,† although they were characterized by not a Nature of the few of the peculiarities of the Culdee establishments. monastic societies, yet in many important points differed widely from these ascetic institutions. So far were they from regarding the marriage relation as inconsistent with their character, that it seems to have been held in honour among them. Although, as members of the same society, they possessed some things in common, yet their wives and children, or their nearest relations after the death of any of them, divided their property and laid claim even to the offerings which had been made at the altar.‡ At a later period, it appears that their abbots, in some places at least, succeeded to their office by hereditary right; and so strictly did they follow this mode of succession in the bishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, that fifteen generations of the same family filled the episcopate. The Culdees of St. Andrews, however, were not permitted to keep their wives in their own houses; but this regulation is supposed to have been framed in a subsequent age, when the increasing influence of that system of superstition which "forbids to marry," and presumes to put asunder those whom God hath joined together, constrained the Culdees so far to yield to the tide of popular feeling in favour of celibacy.

The members of the Culdee establishments lived under a rule usually called "The Rule of Columbkil," which is said to have been drawn up by Columba himself, and is still extant.§ But though they might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, they were not, like the monastic societies, associated expressly for the purpose of observing this rule. Their main design was to train up others for the work of the ministry. Their establishments were, in fact, seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and in Ireland. Hence it has been justly observed, that they may more properly be viewed as colleges, in which the various branches of useful learning, both human and divine, were taught, than as monasteries. The clergy of Iona passed much of their leisure time in working at the mechanical arts and in the practice of music, and their pupils were not only

* Bede, lib. iii. chap. iv. and v.

† Culdee is supposed to have been derived either from *Cuil*, or *Cel*, a retreat, and *De*, God—or more probably from *Gille-De*, a servant of God.

‡ Excerpt Reg. St. Andr. Pinkerton's Enq. i. App. p. 462.

§ Smith's Life of Columba, p. 135; Jamieson's Account of the Culdees, p. 33.

• Bede, lib. iii. chap. v.

† Vita St. Columb. lib. lii. chap. xii.

instructed in theological learning and in the knowledge of the arts and sciences which were at that time known, but were also taught experimentally the benefits arising from bodily labour and the exercise of some mechanical art. The purity of their lives, their industry and frugality, and their disregard of secular honours and preferments, obtained for them universal esteem, and gave them vast influence among all classes of the community.

In each of the monasteries or colleges established by the Culdees there were twelve brethren, with a provost or abbot, who had supreme authority over the rest, and who was chosen by the brethren from

Form of govern- among themselves. The form of
ment— church government established among the Culdees has been the subject of a keen and lengthened controversy.* The zealous Presbyterian maintains, that the church established by Columba was formed on a Presbyterian model, and that it recognized the great principle of clerical equality. The devout believer in the apostolic origin and authority of Episcopacy, can discover nothing essentially different from the diocesan episcopacy which at that time generally prevailed; and the Roman Catholic sees evidence of the existence of his own peculiar doctrines in that church, which both the other parties are agreed in pronouncing to be the solitary exception to the universal prevalence of its dogmas, and the earliest witness against its corruptions. Each party has, unfortunately, been more anxious to prove its resemblance to their own cherished system of church-government than to ascertain its actual constitution. They have eagerly seized hold of every circumstance which appeared to favour their hypothesis, and attempted to neutralize and explain away whatever was adverse to their system.†

The principal authority with regard to the form of government in the Culdee church is the following passage of Bede: "That island (Iona) is always wont to have for its governor a presbyter-abbot, to whose authority both the whole province and —controversy re- even the bishops themselves, by an
garding. unusual constitution, ought to be subject, after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk."‡ From this passage the Episcopalians argue, that Bede must have used the word bishop (episcopus) in its ordinary sense, and consequently, that the church of the Culdees must have been an Episcopalian one; and they attempt to explain the anomalous circumstance of these bishops being subject to a presbyter, by asserting that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, and that the bishops (episcopi) who were subject to the presbyter-abbot were merely those bishops of Iona over whom the abbot had some jurisdiction in temporal matters. They farther allege, that in mentioning the mission of Aidan and Finan, from

the college of Iona, to preach the Christian faith to the Northumbrians, Bede adds, in both cases, that they "received the degree of episcopacy;" that the same author elsewhere states, that "Cedd the presbyter had been sent to preach the gospel to the East Saxons, and that Bishop Finan, seeing his success in the work of the gospel, and having called to him two other bishops for the ministry of ordination, made him bishop over the nation of the East Saxons; and that he, having received the degree of episcopacy, returned to the province, and with greater authority fulfilled the work which he had begun, erected churches in different places, ordained presbyters and deacons, who might assist him in the work of faith and in the ministry of baptism;" and that, in another part of his work, Bede mentions that Pope John wrote a letter to the heads of the Scottish or Culdee church, addressed to the bishops, presbyters, doctors or abbots of the Scots, and implying both the existence and the superiority of the episcopal order in the church.† The evidence of Adomnan is also adduced, who narrates, that Columba upon one occasion sent for a priest at the consecration of the eucharist, and that, suddenly casting a look at him, he desired him to use the privilege of his order and to break the bread according to the episcopal mode.‡ On the other hand, it is argued by the Presbyterians, that if a presbyter possessed the supreme government of the Culdee church, it must have been essentially a Presbyterian church; and in answer to the objection derived from the mention of bishops by Bede, they assert that the word had a different signification in the Culdee church from that in other churches, and did not imply a distinct or superior order of clergy. They deny that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, as there is not, either in the Irish annals—which contain many particulars regarding that island—or in other historians, the smallest trace of any Bishop of Iona different from the Abbot of Iona, and they contend, that if there was nothing unusual or anomalous in the constitution of the Culdee church, with the mere exception that the abbot exercised jurisdiction over the bishop in some temporal matters, it is difficult to suppose that Bede would have intimated the existence of an unusual form of government in the strong and precise terms which he uses. With regard to the mission of Aidan and Finan it is alleged, that they were not only chosen and sent forth, but ordained by the college of Culdees at Iona, in which there were no bishops; and consequently, that though these missionaries were termed bishops, they could not have been diocesan bishops, as they received holy orders from the hands of presbyters. Colman, who succeeded Finan, and was also sent from Iona, expressly declares that he received his episcopal honours, of what kind soever they were, from the College of Elders. "The Easter which I keep," says he, "I received from my Elders, who sent me hither as

* On the Episcopalian side, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Keith may be consulted; or the Presbyterian, Selden, Sir James Dalrymple, and Dr. Jamieson.

† Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. i. p. 183.

‡ *Hist. lib. iii. chap. iv.*

* *Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxii.* + *Ibid. lib. ii. chap. xix.*

‡ *Vita St. Columb. lib. i. chap. xvi.*

bishop." The missionaries sent to the Northumbrians, though clothed with episcopal honours, considered themselves as still subject to the authority of the Council of Elders, by whom they were ordained and sent out, and supplied from time to time with coadjutors, and to whom, on their return, they gave a report of their mission. The ordination of Cedd took place among the Saxons, and is accounted for by the fact that the Church of Rome had greater influence in the south than in the northern part of Britain, as, half a century before that event, Augustine had been sent to England by Pope Gregory, for the purpose of subjecting it more effectually to his authority. The letter of Pope John, it is affirmed, was addressed to the dignitaries of the Scots in Ireland, not in North Britain; and in proof of this statement, reference is made to the fact, that mention is made in the superscription of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Connor and Clonmacnois, and of the Abbot of Roscrea,—all in Ireland; and it is argued that, as the seats and titles of the rest of the bishops and abbots are not known, the presumption is, that they were Irish too. The statement of Adomnan is regarded as of little weight, because it rests on the authority of a very credulous writer, who makes it appear that Columba discovered the bishop by some supernatural impulse, and who, moreover, is known to have strained every nerve to bring the monks of Iona under the papal authority. And at all events, it is alleged, all that can be inferred from this solitary proof is, not that Columba did not claim an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over "bishops themselves," but that he paid this respect to a stranger who had come from a distance, and did not belong to the province over which he presided. The testimonies of various other ancient writers are adduced in support of the account given by Bede. In the Saxon Chronicle it is stated, under the year 560, that "there ought to be always in Ii an abbot but no bishop, and to him ought all the Scottish bishops to be subject, for the reason that Columba was an abbot, not a bishop." Fordun says, that before the coming of Palladius, "the Scots had, as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments, only presbyters and monks, following the custom of the primitive church." And in the Breviary of Aberdeen it is said, that before the time of Palladius "the Scots had for teachers of the faith and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters and monks, following only the rite and custom of the primitive church."

A theory, differing in some respects from both of these views, has been advocated by Mr. Skene, in his "History of the Highlanders of Scotland."† In his opinion, the Culdee church was essentially an episcopal church, but at the same time it differed in various respects from that form of church-government. To understand the peculiarities of its constitution, he says it will be necessary to bear in mind that the Culdee church included the province of the northern Scots in Ireland, as well as the

northern Picts in Scotland; and that it was the work of St. Patrick in the fifth century, not that of Columba in the sixth (as generally supposed), who merely added the nation of the northern Picts to its jurisdiction. The churches of Britain, of the southern Scots, founded by Palladius, and of the southern Picts by Ninian, had all emanated from Rome, and unquestionably derived their form of government and worship from her. The Culdee church—the church of the northern Picts and northern Scots—was in a very different situation, for it as unquestionably emanated from the church of Gaul, a church always opposed to that of Rome, and claiming a descent from the church of Ephesus, and its founder, St. John the Evangelist; and it was under the teaching of St. Martin, of Tours, that St. Patrick framed the system of church-government which he afterwards introduced. In the year 380, about fifty-two years before the Culdee church was established by St. Patrick, the monastic system was, for the first time, introduced into Europe by St. Martin. In the monastery which he established at Tours, the monks consisted of laymen, and the abbot was at first an ordained presbyter. But in a short time a bishop was provided for the exclusive use of the monastery, who was elected by the abbot and monks, and ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that he might preach and discharge episcopal offices in the monastery; and this bishop was obliged to reside within its walls, and submit to its monastic rule. St. Patrick was the nephew of St. Martin, whom he visited at Tours; and Mr. Skene contends that the system of church-polity which he afterwards introduced into Ireland, was framed on the model of his uncle's monastic institutions. In the Culdee monasteries, however, the monks were not laymen, but ordained clergymen, and their system presented the still more remarkable peculiarity, that many of the abbots possessed the same character, exercised the same functions, and in every respect occupied the same position with the bishops of the other churches; and the monasteries over which these abbots presided possessed a jurisdiction over a certain extent of territory in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the bishops did in other churches. Mr. Skene therefore concludes, that the great peculiarity of the Culdee church was the union of the clerical and monastic orders into one collegiate system, where the abbot and the bishop was the same person, and the inferior orders of presbyters and deacons formed the monks, who were under his control. This conclusion, he maintains, is borne out by the statements of the older historians, in whose works we can distinctly trace a division of the Culdee abbots into two orders, of bishop-abbots, and presbyter-abbots; the former being the rulers of the monasteries which had been founded by the primate, the latter, of the monasteries which had emanated from those ruled by a bishop-abbot, and were intended to remain subordinate to the monastery from which they proceeded, and not to form a separate jurisdiction. In

• Scotchman, lib. iii. chap. viii. † Vol. I. pp. 192—197.

its polity, then, the Culdee church may be regarded as a collegiate system carried to its fullest extent; and in its mode of operation it may be viewed as a missionary church, peculiarly adapted to the stato and character of the people among whom it was established.

The Culdee church, at first, consisted of the province of the northern Scots in Ireland alone, and the primacy of the whole church was vested in the monastery of Armagh. In the middle of the seventh century, the primacy was removed from Armagh to Iona, the abbot of which, though only a presbyter, assumed the office of primate of the whole Culdee church. On the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Dabriada, the Culdee system of polity was introduced among that race, and appears to have supplanted the system founded by St. Ninian, who, as we have seen, was educated at Rome. In consequence, it would seem, of this great accession of territory to the Culdee church, the primacy was removed from Iona to Dunkeld, a monastery belonging to the northern Picts. After an interval of only forty years, the primacy was once more removed from Dunkeld to St. Andrews, during the usurpation of Grig, the Gregory of the chroniclers, probably with the view of conciliating the clergy of the southern Picts. After this period there appears to have been no alteration in the outward form of the church until the reign of David.*

The most important religious establishments which the Culdees possessed in Scotland were at Abernethy, Dunkeld, Scone, Brechin, Monymusk, Mortlach, St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Lochleven. Many of these afterwards became episcopal sees. According to the Pictish Chronicle, a religious house was founded at Abernethy, by Nectan, King of the Picts, who reigned about the year 455. He dedicated the royal foundation to God and to St. Brigid, and endowed it with lands "until the day of doom;" the boundaries of which are minutely specified from the stone at Apurfeirt to the stone near Cairfuill.† The structure erected by Nectan was in all probability a wooden church, "after the manner of the Britons," and so remained until about A. D. 711, when we are informed by Bede that a second Nectan, King of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfred, Abbot of Jarrow, requesting him to send architects, who, according to the manner of the Romans, should erect a church of stone among his people. A collegiate church was founded here during the reign of

William the Lion, and it attained high celebrity as a place of learning. William bestowed the church of Abernethy, with its chapels, lands, and tithes, on the abbey of Aberbrothoc, and the Culdees were replaced by canons regular in the year 1273. Every vestige of the ecclesiastical buildings has been annihilated, except a single round tower, which still

remains, as the only evidence of the former glory of this once celebrated seat of religion and learning.

A religious house, which was dedicated to St. Servanus, or St. Serf, was erected at a very early period on an islet in Lochleven. In the Register of St. Andrews it is stated, that Lochleven. Brude, the King of the Piets, about the year 700 bestowed the island of Lochleven on St. Serf, and the Culdees residing there and serving God. St. Serf was (according to Wyntown, the Prior of Lochleven) contemporary with Adomnan, Abbot of Iona. This religious establishment was enriched by liberal donations from successive kings of Scotland. Macbeth, Malcolm III., Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, appear in the list of its benefactors. The brethren of St. Serf were expelled from their secluded retreat by David I., and their establishment was merged into the new priory of canons regular of St. Austin, established at St. Andrews. A catalogue of the Lochleven library has been preserved,* at the time of its spoliation by the "soir sanct," as David was termed by one of his successors. It consisted of seventeen volumes, among which were the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the three books of Solomon; a Commentary on the book of Genesis, and another on the Song of Solomon,—no discreditable indication, it has been justly said, of the studies of these recluses of St. Serf's Isle. At Portmoak. Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Lochleven, there was founded during the ninth century, by Hungus, the Pictish king, a religious house, where the Culdees performed their accustomed functions for many a generation, till they, too, became the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews, during the general re-organization of the ancient religious establishments.

Dunkeld was selected for the site of a Culdee house at a very early period. It Dunkeld. is stated by Abbot Myln, who was a canon of Dunkeld, that Constantine, King of the Piets, "from his devotion for St. Columba, at that time patron of the whole kingdom, founded and endowed an illustrious monastery here, about the year 729, and in this monastery he placed those religious called Keldees, having wives, according to the custom of the oriental churches." † Dunkeld for some time possessed the primacy of the kingdom, and was long regarded as a second Iona.

The house of the Culdees, at St. Andrews, was one of the most celebrated of their St. Andrews. religious establishments. According to an old monkish legend, it owes its origin to

* Reg. of St. Andr. pp. 44, 45. The remaining volumes consisted of the works of Origen, the Book of Sentences, written by St. Bernard; three Quires or Books concerning the Sacrament and the Reader, or Companion; a Lectionaria, or Lectionarium, or book containing the ecclesiastical lessons; a work ascribed to Jerome; the writings of Prosper of Aquitain; a Dictionary; a Book of Sentences; a Pastoral for explaining the Duties and Privileges of Bishops and Abbots; the Gradual, or Book of Responses; the Missal, or Mass-Book, and part of a book which is supposed to have been a collection of the writings of the fathers.

† Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 267; Wyntown, b. vi. chap. vii.

* Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

† Now written and pronounced Carpow—a place about a mile east from the present village of Abernethy.

Regulus, a monk of Achaia, who, being warned of God in a dream or vision, that the Emperor Constantine intended to translate the relics of St. Andrew the martyr, then deposited in Patræ, to Constantinople, removed a portion of them, with which he sailed westward, and after being long tossed about at sea, he was driven into a bay near the place where St. Andrews now stands,—which then bore the name of Mucros (the Promontory of Swine), and subsequently of Kilrymont (the cell or church on the King's Moor), and there, about the middle of the fourth century, he built the tower and church now known by his name. This account places the date of this edifice probably 400 years earlier than that of any building in Scotland, of which the age is satisfactorily ascertained. In all probability, the religious house at St. Andrews was founded by Hungus, the Pictish king, who died in 833; for it is certain that, about the year 825, he founded a church at Kilrymont, which henceforth received the name of the Apostle Andrew, to whom it was dedicated.

There is an ancient legend recorded in the Register of St. Andrews, respecting the foundation of the church of St. Regulus, which is worthy of notice, rather as a curious example of the earliest tradition as to the national emblem of the cross of St. Andrew, than on account of the authenticity of its statements. Hungus, King of the Picts, it appears, had invaded Northumberland, and upon his return was overtaken by Athelstan, King of the West Saxons, at the head of a powerful army. "Having given order for battle against the next day," says the historian, "Hungus betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. A little time before day, falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the Apostle St. Andrew stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which vision being related to the army, did much encourage them. The history addeth, that in the joining of the battle, there appeared in the air a cross in the form of the letter X, which so terrified the enemies as presently they gave back, King Athelstan himself being killed. Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the victory, gave to the church of Regulus, now called St. Andrews, divers rich gifts, as chalices, basons, the image of Christ in gold, and of his twelve apostles in silver. He gave, likewise, a case of beaten gold for preserving the relics of St. Andrew, and restored to the spirituality, the tithes of all corn, cattle, and herbage within the realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal judge; farther, he did appoint the cross of St. Andrew to be the badge and cognizance of the Picts, both in their wars and otherwise, which, so long as that kingdom stood, was observed, and is by the Scots as yet retained."

These gifts of the Pictish king were undoubtedly intended for the benefit of the Culdees; for the register of St. Andrews states, that a tract of land, called "the Barony of the Culdees, below the Boar's

Raik," was given by King Hungus to St. Rule. In the tenth century, such was the celebrity of the Culdee establishment at St. Andrews, that Constantine III. abdicated his throne, and took up his residence among them, and died, A.D. 943, abbot of this monastery. It is supposed by some antiquarians of high authority, that the interesting little church of St. Regulus or Rule, to which allusion has already been made, owes its origin to the Culdees, and was used by them as a place of worship. Others, however, are of opinion that it was erected by Bishop Robert, the founder of the Priory of Canons Regular of St. Andrews, about A.D. 1144.

The ecclesiastical foundation at Brechin belongs to the era of the kings of the Scottish race, and is believed to have
Brechin.

been erected by Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, who reigned from 967 to 991. The ancient Pictish chronicle sums up the brief record of his reign in these words: "This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord." Connected with this establishment is one of those curious edifices called round towers, so plentiful through-
Round towers.

out Ireland, but of which there are only two examples in Scotland, at Abernethy and at Brechin. The wildest theories of antiquarian speculation have, from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to those of O'Brien, been framed to account for the origin and purpose of these singular buildings. They have been regarded as intended for the performance, respectively, of the religious rites of the followers of Budha and of the Druids, and of the early worshippers of fire and of the sun. They have been identified with minarets for calling the people to prayer; they have been regarded as the representatives of the material object of Phallic worship; they are supposed by some to have been penitentiary prisons; by others, monumental tombs; while others, again, affirm them to have been the observatories of ancient astronomers. Some writers have maintained that they were erected by the Phœnicians, others by the Danes. At length the conclusions which Mr. Petrie has come to in his instructive Prize Essay, published by the Royal Academy of Dublin, seem to be generally acquiesced in. 1. That the towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods, between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. 2. That they were designed to answer, at least a two-fold use, namely, to serve as bell-towers and as keeps or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack. 3. That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons or watch-towers.* The round tower of Brechin is a slender turret of freestone, eighty-five feet in height to the cornice, and fifteen feet more to the pinnacle of the roof or spire, of later date, which

* Spenser's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 29; Dalrymple's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 457.

* Petrie's Round Towers; O'Brien's Round Towers of Ireland; Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 30; Billing's and Burn's Baronial and Eccles. Antiq. of Scotland, part 22.

has been added when the cathedral church was erected in the thirteenth century. The sides of the doorway are adorned with sculptures of a singular and very antique style of carving. The tower has a decided inclination in one direction, and in storms of wind is seen visibly to sway from side to side.

The Culdees had establishments also at Mortlach, Dunblane, Scone, Culross, Kirkaldy, Mailros or Melrose, and in Oronsay, and Colonsay, and various other places; but these, and all the other ancient Culdee houses, were merged by David I. into the monastic establishments which he founded. Columba, as we have seen, taught his disciples to appeal to the Holy Scriptures as the source of Divine truth, and from a very early period they abjured the errors and

strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Church of Rome. It has already been shown that the Culdees denounced the Romish doctrine respecting the marriage of the priests, and there is reason to believe that their practical opposition to celibacy was one great cause of their suppression. They obstinately refused to conform to the mode in which the Church of Rome observed Easter, and the rite of the clerical tonsure.* It is believed, on the authority of the celebrated Alcuin, who was nearly contemporary with Bede, in the eighth century, that the Scottish clergy rejected auricular confession and priestly absolution.† “They rejected auricular confession as well as authoritative absolution,” says Toland, “and confessed to God alone, as believing God alone could forgive sins.” And the famous St. Bernard denounces the Irish

* As this matter has been very often misunderstood, it may be well to quote the following correct explanation:—

“The difference between the Roman and Eastern Church concerning Easter, which began about the year 200, lay in this:—The churches of Asia observed this feast on the fourteenth moon, upon whatsoever day of the week it fell out, being the day on which the Jews offered their paschal lamb. The church of Rome celebrated it on the Sunday following that day, if it chanced not to fall on Sunday; but did not, as the eastern churches had from perpetual practice and tradition ever done, celebrate Easter on a weekday. Thus the difference between the Roman and Eastern church only consisted in six days at most; and the only question was, whether Easter was to be celebrated on the week-day on which it fell, or on the Sunday following.

“Very different was the dispute between the Roman Church, and those of Britain and Ireland, concerning Easter. It began in the sixth century upon this ground:—In 532, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman priest, introduced a great variation into the mode of computing Easter, of which the technical terms would neither instruct nor entertain the reader. Suffice it to say, that his rule, adopted by the Roman Church, threw the celebration of Easter a whole month farther back than before. But Britain and Ireland were as obstinate for their old Easter, as they were lately for the old style; and thus kept Easter a whole month before the Roman Church. Cuminus, who lived at the time, specially mentions this difference of a month; and the dispute between the Roman and the British and Irish churches was not known till Augustin the monk was sent to convert the Saxons in 597.”—*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 265.

With regard to the tonsure, the Romish priests wore the hair round the temples, in imitation of a crown of thorns, while the Scottish clergy, according to the custom of the Eastern Church, shaved it from their foreheads into the form of a crescent.

+ Epistle to the very learned Men and Fathers in the Province of the Scots; Sibbald's *Life*, p. 169.

Culdees for this among other reasons, that “they do not go to confession; no one can be found who applies for the prescription of penance, nor any one who will prescribe it;” * and he elsewhere states that “Malachy, Bishop of Arinagh, anew introduced the most salutary use of confession and the sacrament of confirmation.” It has been supposed, from the language of Bede, that the Culdees did not administer the sacrament of baptism according to the practice observed in the Romish Church, which is confirmed by the complaint made by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Irish Culdees, that “they baptized infants by immersion, without the consecrated christen.” That they were also opposed to the doctrine of the real presence, has been inferred from the commentary which Sedulius, a bishop of Scottish extraction, who lived in the early part of the eighth century, has given on 1 Cor. xi. 24: “Do this in remembrance of me.” “He has left his memorial to us in the same manner as any one who was about to go to a great distance, should leave some pledge to him whom he loved, that as often as he saw it he might be able to recollect the benefits and the love of his friend.” †

The Culdees, it would appear, also withstood the worship of angels and saints. “They paid no respect to holy relics or to the mass; and they condemned the Romish practice of appointing masses for the dead, and offering up prayers to them.” Toland observes of the Irish Culdees, that “in their public worship they made an honourable mention of holy persons deceased, offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for sins.” For he says, “They neither prayed to dead men nor for them. And though naming particular men on such occasions gave a handle for creating them afterwards into tutelary saints, yet, at that time, the Irish were as far from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuaded (to use the words of Claudius, one of their most celebrated divines) that ‘while we are in the present world, we may help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden;’ which is plain sense and Scripture. But that which is plain nonsense, and nowhere authorized in Scripture—I mean the service for the dead—the Irish never practised till they were obliged to do it by the Council of Cashel, convoked by order of Henry the Second, in the year 1172.” †

They were equally opposed to the doctrine of works of supererogation. “They were so far,” says the same author, “from pretending to do more good than they were obliged to do, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but

* Vit. Malach. chap. vi. p. 357. ap. Messingham; *Jamieson's Culdees*, p. 218.

† Toland's *Nazar*. Lett. ii. p. 23.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 26.

such others as should purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the priests), that they readily denied all merit of their own, and solely hoped for salvation from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ, whose faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as Claudius observes, from some other sage, 'The faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.' This excellent sentence, culled out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controversy.*

Since such doctrines as these were held by the Culdees, it is not to be wondered at that they were the objects of dislike and hostility to the supporters of the Papal pretensions, who denounce their exclusive devotedness to the authority of Scripture, their rejection of the ceremonies, doctrines, and traditions, enjoined in "the statutes of the holy fathers," the rudeness of their forms of worship, and the unauthorized character of their ecclesiastical government. In the acts of the second Council of Chalons, A.D. 813, the Scottish clergy are denounced in the following terms:—"There are in certain places Scots who call themselves bishops, and contemning many, without the licence of their lords or superiors, ordain presbyters and deacons; the ordination of whom, because for the most part it falls into the Simonian heresy, and is subject to many errors, we all with one consent decree that it ought to be invalidated by all possible means." And the fifth canon of the Council of Ceal-hythe, A.D. 816, decrees, that no Scotch priest shall be allowed to perform any duty of his function in England,—ungratefully overlooking the important fact, that a great part of the north of England was converted by missionaries sent from Iona.

"The chief reasons," says Dr. Henry, "assigned by that Council for refusing to keep communion with these Scotch Culdees were—that they had no metropolitan amongst them, paid little regard to other orders, and that the Council did not know by whom they were ordained, i. e., whether they were ordained by bishops or not. The rectors or bishops of the several cells of the Culdees were both chosen and ordained, or consecrated by the members of these societies, which was probably the very thing with which the Council of Ceal-hythe was dissatisfied."† It is not without sufficient grounds, therefore, that the following testimony has been given to the noble resistance made by the Culdees to the corruptions of Rome:—

"About the end of the seventh age, men from Scotland, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and seeing it lay much that way then, they did their best to advance the design of the Romish party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome and among the sects of that party. Many men went to and fro, between

Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity. By name there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in these affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Culdees, or divines, namely, by Clemens and Samson, who told him freely, 'That he, and those of his party, studied to bring men to the subjection of the Pope, and slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Christ;' and so, in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his assistants, 'That they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the Bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the apostles, excluding other bishops; that they used and commanded clerical tensure; that they forbad priests' marriage, extolling celibat; that they caused prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches;' to be short, 'that they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them.' For the which and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Concels, although the true reasons of their excommunication be not there set down.*

Throughout the whole of Europe, at this period, learning was at a low ebb; but, all circumstances considered, the literature of the Learning of the Culdees will bear a comparison ^{Culdees.} with that of the clergy in any other part of Christendom. Their Irish brethren were held in the highest estimation for their scholarship; and, indeed, Ireland was at this time regarded as the chief seat of learning in Europe. Bede informs us that it was customary for the English of all ranks to retire for study and devotion to Ireland, where they were all hospitably received, and supplied gratuitously with food, with books, and with instruction.† His contemporary, Aldhelm, describes Ireland as "rich and blooming in scholars, and adorned, like the poles of the world, with innumerable bright stars," and speaks of the "troops of scholars daily transported thither." We know, from other sources, that at this time, and down to a considerably later period, the most distinguished scholars in Europe were either Irishmen, or had received their education in Irish schools. "That the Hibernians," says the learned Mosheim, "who were called Scots, in this (the eighth) century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted; as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of doctor in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and

* Toland's Nazar. pp. 25, 26.

† History of Britain, vol. iii. p. 254.

* Pref. to Knox's Hist.

† Bede, Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxviii.

the following century." Now the monastery of Iona was an Irish foundation, and many of the Scottish Culdees, in subsequent times, were either natives of Ireland, or were educated there, and must, consequently, have been imbued with the learning for which the Culdee establishments of that country were so famous. So early as the fourth century, the celebrated heresiarch Pelagius, a Scottish monk, enjoyed the highest reputation for his intellectual ability and accomplishments; and some controversial writings attributed to his pen still exist. His disciple, Celestius, whose reputation was nearly as great as his master's, appears to have been his fellow-countryman; for Jerome, the great opponent of the Pelagian heresy, in one of his scurrilous invectives, calls him a blockhead, swollen with Scotch pottage.*

St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, and the real founder of the Culdee Church, who flourished in the fifth century, was a native of North Britain. He was a great patron of learning, and his chief religious foundation, which was at Armagh, soon became so famous as a school of theology, that at one time it was said to have communicated instruction to seven thousand students. The monastery of Armagh long possessed the primacy of the Culdee Church, both of Scotland and Ireland, and many of the Scottish Culdees received their education in that seminary. The Confession of St. Patrick was written in Latin; but the author apologizes for the rudeness of his Latinity, owing to his long habit of speaking Irish. To this period also belongs Gildas, our earliest historian, the author of two declamatory effusions in Latin, the one entitled a "History of the Britons," the other an "Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain." Historians differ both as to the degree of credibility due to this author, and as to his country and parentage; but he appears to have been the son of Caw, Prince of Strathclyd, and to have been born about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He was the brother of Aneurin, the famous bard. The historian Nennius, or Ninian, one of the monks of Bangor, was, in all probability, a fellow-countryman of Gildas. Contemporary with Nennius was the Irish Culdee, St. Columbanus, who died in 615. "The writings of this eminent man," observes Mr. Moore, "display an extensive and various acquaintance, not merely with ecclesiastical, but with classical literature. From a passage in his letter to Boniface, it appears that he was acquainted both with the Greek and Hebrew languages; and when it is recollected that he did not leave Ireland till he was nearly fifty years of age, and that his life afterwards was one of constant activity and adventure, the conclusion is obvious, that all his knowledge of elegant literature must have been acquired in the schools of his own country. Such a result, from a purely Irish education in the middle of the ninth century, is, it must be owned, not a little remarkable."† Another learned Culdee of this age was

St. Cummian, the author of an epistle, still extant, in defence of the Roman mode of computing Easter, addressed to Segienus, Abbot of Iona, in which he shows a very extensive acquaintance both with the subject of chronology and with the works of the fathers, Greek as well as Latin. "The various learning, indeed," says Mr. Moore, "which this curious tract displays, implies such a facility and range

Learned men among the Scottish clergy.

of access to books, as proves the libraries of the Irish students at that period to have been, for the times in which they lived, extraordinarily well furnished." Among the Culdee scholars of this age, mention must also be made of Cuminus, the successor of Columba as Abbot of Iona, in 657, and of Adomnan, who succeeded Cuminus in the same office, 679. Both of these learned men wrote a Latin Life of their illustrious predecessor. The work of Adomnan, in particular, gives a most interesting picture of the early condition of the country, and of the arduous labours of these primitive missionaries of the Cross.

Alcuin, the chief ornament of the imperial court of Charlemagne, and the president of the University of Paris, was by birth a Scot.* So also was Clement, the undaunted opponent of papal errors, who was at the same time set over a public school in Italy;—Albin, the author of a treatise, published in the name of Charlemagne, against the proceedings of the Council of Nice, which had decided in favour of image-worship, and Dungal, who presided over the institution at Pavia, and was selected by the Emperor Lothaire I. to superintend the whole system of the Italian universities, and who has left various works, "which bear honourable testimony, both to his scientific and his literary acquirements." Among the learned Scotch ecclesiastics of this age, mention must also be made of Sedulius, the author of a celebrated commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and on the Epistles of Paul, and of a treatise, entitled "The Concordance of Spain and Hibernia," who subscribed himself at a council of Pope Gregory II., "a British bishop of Scottish descent." His countryman, Virgilius, the Bishop of Salzburg, a skilful philosopher and mathematician, as well as a good divine, is the author of a treatise in which he refuted the then received opinion, that the earth is a plain surrounded by the heavens at its verge, and proved that it is of a spherical form, and, consequently, that every nation had their antipodes. For broaching this opinion, he was persecuted as a heretic by his British contemporary, Boniface, and nearly lost his life. Rabanus Maurus, another Scotchman, who finished his education under Alcuin, was an accomplished scholar, and wrote several commentaries on portions of the

* So great was the resort of learned men from Scotland to the court of Charlemagne at this period, that Hericus, in the dedication of his *Life of Casarius* to that monarch, says, "Why do I speak of Scotland? that whole nation, almost despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our country with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most famous, abdicating their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise Solomon."

* "Scotorum pulvis prægravatus."

† Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 267; Pict. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 290

Sacred Scriptures, a dissertation on etymology, a treatise upon the signification and properties of words, one on the respective duties of parents and children, and various other works which attained to high celebrity, both for scholarship and genius.

But by far the most illustrious of these learned Scots was Joannes Scotus, or Erigenia, who was undoubtedly of Scottish origin, though it has been disputed whether the place of his birth was in Scotland or Ireland. This accomplished scholar, who was probably the most learned man in Europe during the ninth century, is the author of a considerable number of treatises on metaphysics and theology, and the translator from the Greek of certain mystical works on the Divine Names and Celestial Hierarchy, ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, and also, it is alleged, of a treatise of Aristotle, on the Right Government of Princes. The works of Scotus furnish conclusive evidence that the Greek language was at that time taught in the Culdee schools. His principal work, "On the Division of Nature," is characterized by Mr. Turner as "distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness and extensive information." In one place it is observed, "he takes occasion to give concise and able definitions of the seven liberal arts, and to express his opinion on the composition of things. In another part, he inserts a very elaborate discussion on arithmetic, which he says he had learned from his infancy. He also details a curious conversation on the elements of things, on the motions of the heavenly bodies, and other topics of astronomy and physiology. Among these, he even gives the means of calculating the diameters of the lunar and solar circles. Besides the fathers Austin, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Origen, Jerome, and Ambrosius, of whose works, with the Platonising Dionysius and Maximus, he gives large extracts, he also quotes Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Pliny, Plato, and Boethius; he details the opinions of Eratosthenes and of Pythagoras on some astronomical topics; he also cites Martianus Capella. His knowledge of Greek appears almost in every page."* The subtle speculations of Scotus exercised a very remarkable influence on the philosophy, both of his own age and of succeeding times, and the introduction of the later Platonism of the Alexandrian school into the theology and metaphysics of Europe, has been ascribed to the influence of his writings. The learned Mosheim states that the Scots were also the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and that so early as the eighth century they illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy.

Among the branches of literary and scientific knowledge taught at this time in the schools of the Culdees, were arithmetic, geometry, Branches taught in the Culdees under which geography was comprehended. geography, astronomy, music, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, to which must be added divinity, or the study of the Holy Scriptures,

and controversial theology. In the eighth century the seven liberal arts were divided into two great classes: the first, or more elementary of which, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic, was called the Trivium; the second, comprehending music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the Quadrivium. It is impossible to say when this system originated; but John of Salisbury speaks of it as an ancient one in his day. "The Trivium and Quadrivium," he says, "were so much admired by our ancestors in former ages, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient for the solution of all questions and the removing of all difficulties; for whoever understood the Trivium could explain all manner of books without a teacher; but he who was further advanced, and was master also of the Quadrivium, could answer any questions and unfold all the secrets of nature."* Latin was the language of the learned at this period; not only the scholastic divines and philosophers, but also all writers on geometry, astronomy, and other branches of science, composed their works in this tongue. But the great body of the people, and even the kings and chiefs, still employed the Celtic speech of their ancestors.† The oldest existing Celtic language compositions in the Celtic language are some fragments of metrical productions which have been preserved in the old annalists, and are supposed to be of the date of the fifth century. The earliest Irish or Celtic prose writings of this period are the annals of Tigernach and of the four masters of Ulster, which contain a large amount of valuable information respecting the early history both of Ireland and of Scotland. Tigernach, the oldest of these writers, lived in the latter part of the eleventh century, but both his annals, and those of the other chroniclers, are believed to have been compiled from authentic records of much greater antiquity. The Albanich Duan, a metrical composition in the Celtic tongue, written in the early part of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, whatever may be its merits as a poem, has supplied some interesting historical notices.

What learning existed, however, was for the most part confined to the religious and monastic orders. Few, if any, even of the higher classes, appear to have been acquainted with the Latin language, which was then the key to all other erudition. Malcolm Canmore himself, as we have seen, was unable to read. We may easily conceive, then, what must have been the intellectual condition of the great body of his subjects.

The abrogation of the privileges and peculiar observances of the Culdees began with Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore. This pious princess, the grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, not contented with redressing the abuses of the Scottish Church, strove to assimilate it to the ecclesiastical system of her

* Joan. Salis. Metalog. lib. i. chap. xii

* Turner's Anglo-Sax. vol. liii. p. 303; Pict. Hist. vol. i. p. 293

† "Totaque cum Scotia prisco sermone et institutis uteretur."—Buchanan's Hist. p. 167. See Caledonia, book iii. chap. xi.

Saxon countrymen, which was closely formed after the model of Rome. She appears to have held frequent conferences with the clergy for the purpose of persuading them to lay aside what she termed their novelties, and to embrace the Catholic faith. The proper period for the celebration of Lent was the subject of a solemn conference, held in 1074. When the council met, it was found that the Scottish clergy could only speak Gaelic. Margaret could only speak Saxon; but the king, who understood the English language as well as his own, acted as interpreter between the fair and royal reformer and the Scottish ecclesiastics. As might have been expected, the queen's arguments prevailed. Her biographer states, that "the clergy, overcome by the arguments of reason and truth, abandoned their erroneous usage, and observed Lent according to the Catholic institution." According to Lord Hailes, "conscious of their own ignorance, they dutifully acquiesced in the dictates of a learned queen, as delivered by the royal interpreter."* A similar course was followed by the sons of Queen Margaret, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who all concurred in carrying out the reorganization of the Scottish Church on the model of the Church of England. They founded bishoprics, endowed monasteries, and filled them with English monks; merged the primitive societies of the Culdees into the new orders of the canons regular, and superseded their missionary bishops by a complete parochial system. The suppression of the Culdees was completed by David I., who founded or restored most of the Scottish sees and of the principal monasteries. This revolution in the Scottish ecclesiastical system was effected, first, by the establishment of parochial clergy, and consequently superseding the missionary system, which had hitherto supplied the spiritual wants of the people; secondly, by the introduction of the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church into the country; and, thirdly, by appointing a bishop over the parochial clergy, and declaring the territory over which the Culdee monastery had exercised their jurisdiction to be his diocese in the Roman Catholic sense of the word.†

Ecclesiastical districts were not unknown, however, previous to this period, but they were inconveniently large, and were established by private persons rather than by public authority. "That Origin of parochial parishes existed during the reign districts. of Malcolm Canmore," says Chalmers, "is certain from unquestionable records. It seems equally certain, that when churches were erected, parishes laid out, and parochial duties stately performed, ecclesiastical dues must have been incidentally paid. In the charters of Alexander the First, and of David, tithes are mentioned as if they were familiarly known and had been long established. It is clear that tithes were paid to the clergy during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and probable that such ecclesiastical dues were paid to the clergy as early as the commencement of the

tenth century (910), when Constantine the king, and Kellach the bishop, solemnly vowed to observe the faith, discipline, and rights of the churches."

We conclude this sketch with the following list of the Scottish bishoprics, according to the date of their foundation, taken from Keith's Catalogue. In some of its dates, however, it must be regarded rather as an approximation to the truth, as far as it can be ascertained from authentic sources, than as fixing the exact years of the erection. It is to be observed, also, that the See of Galloway, or Whithern, founded by St. Ninian, was destroyed about the commencement of the ninth century; and this and some of the other early sees are believed to have been restored by David I.

	A. D.
1. See of the Isles	447
2. See of Galloway	450
3. See of Glasgow	500
4. See of Dunkeld	729
5. See of St. Andrews	892
6. Mortlach, afterwards Aberdeen	1010
7. See of Ross	1123
8. See of Brechin	1150
9. See of Caithness	1150
10. See of Dunblane	1160
11. See of Moray	1163
12. See of Argyle	1200

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD. A.D. 1097—1306.

EDGAR, the son of Malcolm Canmore, ascended the Scottish throne in 1097, while still a youth, and retained it till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107. During his reign the country appears to have enjoyed tranquillity both at home and abroad. The marriage of his sister Matildis, or Maud, to Henry Beauclerk, King of England, doubtless contributed to the maintenance of peace between the two countries, and the disposition of Edgar was little likely to provoke hostilities. "He was a sweet-tempered, amiable man," says Aldred, a contemporary chronicler, "in all things resembling Edward the Confessor, mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent."*

Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother, Alexander I. Soon Alexander I., 1107. after his accession, the existing amity with England was strengthened by the marriage of Alexander with the Lady Sibilla, one of the numerous illegitimate daughters of Henry I. Such an alliance, Lord Hailes remarks, was not held dishonourable in those days. The extent of Alexander's territorial dominions, however, was lessened by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar, on his deathbed, had bequeathed to his youngest brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this bequest; but, as David was supported both by the English barons and by Henry, he found himself obliged to acquiesce in the settlement.†

* Aldred, Gen. Reg. Angl. p. 307; Hailes's Annals, vol. I. p. 53.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 54, and note.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 39, and note.

† Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 203.

The leading event of Alexander's reign was the struggle which he maintained for the independence of the Scottish Church against the pretensions of the English archbishops. Turgot, a monk of Durham, and the confessor of the late Queen Margaret, had been appointed by Alexander to the bishopric of St. Andrews, A.D. 1109, but his consecration was delayed for two years, in consequence of a dispute respecting the right of performing the ceremony. This privilege was claimed both by the Archbishop of Canterbury and of York, while the king and the Scottish clergy denied that it belonged to either. The dispute was on this occasion terminated by a compromise, which left the point unsettled.

On the death of Turgot, in 1115, the see remained vacant for five years. At length, in 1120, Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was appointed to the bishopric. The dispute concerning the right of consecration was immediately renewed, and the English prelates used every effort to obtain the recognition of their assumed authority over the clergy of Scotland. But Alexander steadily resisted their pretensions, and vindicated, with complete success, the freedom and independence of the Scottish church.

This contest lasted for fourteen years, and Alexander did not long survive its termination. He died on the 27th of April, 1124, about two years after the death of his queen, who had brought him no issue. He is traditionally remembered by the epithet of the "Fierce," according to Wyntown, on account of the vigour and promptitude with which he quelled an insurrection of the Moraymen, and punished them for their rapine;* or rather, perhaps, as Lord Hailes supposes, from his imperious and passionate disposition. The resolute manner in which he maintained the rights and privileges of the Scottish church shows him to have been possessed of undaunted courage, and great firmness of character. "He was humble and courteous to the clergy," says a contemporary writer, "but to the rest of his subjects terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; (he does not appear, however, to have ever been foiled in any of his undertakings); not ignorant of letters, zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics, and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor."†

On the death of Alexander, David his brother, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and

Accession of David, Margaret, ascended the throne. 1124. Having passed his youth at the court of his sister in England, "his manners," says

* Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. I. p. 283: "He was callit the Fierse, or Strenthle, because he was ane gritt punisser of malefactoris and evil doaris. He dantonit Murray and James that had rebellit, and causit hang the Lord of Mernis, and some, because they talk away the guddis of ane pair of." David Chalmers's Chronicle, p. 66.

† Alfred, Gea. Reg. Angl. p. 308.

Malmesbury, "were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity;" while his possession of Cumberland, bequeathed to him by his brother Edgar, had accustomed him to the cares and labours of administration, and had made him acquainted with the more advanced civilization and the better regulated government of the sister country. He had also, before his accession to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, the daughter of Walthcof, Earl of Northumberland, and the widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. On the separation of Cumberland from the Scottish kingdom, the king ceased to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears, that Alexander never attended at the English court. But David, both by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland, and of the earldom of Huntingdon in right of his wife, was bound to pay homage to the English king; and accordingly, when Henry I., in 1127, summoned the clergy and nobles of his realm to swear that they would maintain the rights of his daughter Matilda as heir to the throne, David was present at the assembly, and was the first who took the oath.

While David was residing at the court of Henry, Angus, Earl of Moray, rose in rebellion against him, and claimed the crown as the lineal descendant of Kenneth IV., the son of Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I.; while David was descended from Kenneth III., the youngest son of Malcolm I. David was zealously supported by the martial barons of Northumberland, and at the head of a numerous army he marched against the northern insurgents, and overthrew them at Stracathrow, in Forfarshire, A. D. 1130.*

On the death of Henry, in 1135, his nephew Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, in spite of his oath to maintain the settlement of succession made by his uncle, deposed Matilda, and forcibly seized the English crown. David, however, was faithful to his engagements, and immediately led an army into England, and, taking possession of the whole country to the north of Durham, excepting the castle of Bamborough, compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda, his niece, and to give hostages for the performance of their oath.† When the news of this inroad was brought to Stephen, he said, "What the king of Scots has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful army and marched to Durham. On the approach of Stephen, David, finding himself deserted by the English barons, who had sworn to maintain the pretensions of Matilda, retreated to Newcastle. A compromise was ultimately effected, (Feb. 1136,) by which David consented to withdraw his troops, and to restore the country of which he had taken possession; while Stephen engaged to confer upon Henry, Prince of Scotland, David's eldest son, the earldom of Huntingdon,

* Chron. Melrose, p. 165.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 77.



FORBANK CASTLE.

W. E. Bennett

sculpted by

with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promised not to make any grant of the earldom of Northumberland, until the claim of Prince Henry to that earldom, in right of his mother, was heard and determined. For these possessions Prince Henry did homage to Stephen; but David himself refused to do so, although still retaining the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was however renewed before the end —and war between of the same year, by David, on the England and Scot-ground that Stephen had refused land.

or delayed to put Prince Henry in possession of Northumberland; but in reality, in consequence of a confederacy with the partisans of Matilda, to eject her rival from the throne. Stephen was at that time in Normandy; but through the efforts of Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, David consented to a cessation of hostilities till the English monarch should return to England. But Stephen, on his return, having rejected the demands of David, the truce was at once broken off, and the Scottish king again entered Northumberland (A. D. 1137), and ravaged the country with merciless character merciless barbarity. The English

of the warfare. historians impute these shocking excesses, not to the leaders of the Scots, of whose moderation they give some examples, but to the soldiers, who were composed, they tell us, of Normans, Germans, and Angles, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, the men of Teviotdale and Lothian, the Picts, or Galwegians, and Scots.* “As for the king of Scots himself,” says an old chronicler, “he was a prince of a mild and merciful disposition; but the Scots were a barbarous and impure nation; and their king, leading hordes of them from the remotest parts of that land, was unable to restrain their wickedness.” “They exercised their barbarity in the manner of wild beasts,” says another contemporary writer, “sparing neither sex nor age, nor so much as the child in the womb.” On the approach of Stephen, in the beginning of the following year, David deemed it advisable to fall back upon Roxburgh, where he took up a strong position and waited the approach of the English king. Stephen, however, having, it is said, discovered that some of the leaders of his army had a secret understanding with the enemy, avoided the snare laid for him, and, after laying waste the Scottish borders, hastily returned to the south.

David re-entered Northumberland in March, 1138, with the main body of his army, sending, at the same time, his nephew William, at the head of a body of Galloway men, into the west of England, where he defeated a considerable body of English, near Clitherow (4th June), and carried off a great quantity of plunder. Meanwhile, David laid siege to the strong castle of Norham, which Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, had erected in 1121, to

repress the inroads of the Scottish borderers. Norham surrendered, after a feeble resistance, and David, having dismantled the fortress, marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Stephen was so hard pressed by the partisans of Matilda in the south, that he could offer no effective opposition to the invaders, whose numbers exceeded twenty-six thousand, and were composed of all the various races now united under the sway of the Scottish king. The inhabitants of the northern counties were therefore left to their own resources, and they succeeded, chiefly by the efforts of the aged Archbishop of York, in collecting an army, though less numerous than that of the Scots. It consisted, however, of all the nobility and gentry of the northern counties, and was under the command of William Peveril, Gilbert and Walter de Lacy, and especially of Walter l'Espee, an aged warrior of great experience and reputation. The venerable Thurstan bestowed his blessing upon the soldiers, and the remission of their sins; assured them of victory if they were penitent; and promised eternal happiness to all who should fall in battle “in defence of Christ's Church against the barbarians.”

The English army was drawn up on Cutton Moor, in the neighbourhood of Northallerton. Here they erected a remarkable standard, consisting of the mast of a ship fastened in a four-wheeled car. At the top of the mast a large crucifix was displayed, having in its centre a silver box containing a consecrated host, and lower down were suspended the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon. From this standard the engagement which ensued derived the name of “The Battle of the Standard.” The Battle of the Scots, whose ensign was a lance, Standard, 22nd August, 1138.

around it, advanced toward the enemy in several divisions. The van guard, commanded by Prince Henry, consisted of the men of Lothian and Teviotdale, of border troopers from Liddesdale and Cumberland, and of the fierce and barbarous “Scots of Galloway,” reinforced by a small body-guard of men-at-arms, under the command of Eustace Fitz-John, a Norman baron. Next came the Highlanders and the Islesmen, armed only with their small round target and the claymore. After these marched the king, with a strong body of Saxon and Norman knights and men-at-arms, and the rear-guard consisted of a mixed body from Moray and other parts of the country. Many of the Scottish soldiers were very imperfectly armed and equipped, and were, therefore, unequally matched with the well-appointed men-at-arms who composed the great body of the English army.

David endeavoured to take the English by surprise, and, favoured by a dense fog, which concealed his advance, he succeeded in reaching the moor on which they were posted before they received the tidings of his approach. The alarm was suddenly given, and the English ran to arms in great dis-

* R. of Hexham, p. 216; I. of Hexham, p. 260. Gesta Stephani. It is worthy of notice, that this is the last time the Picts of Galloway are mentioned in history. It appears that a considerable body of the Pictish nation had remained in that district, and up to this date had preserved their national peculiarities.

order. To gain time at this critical conjuncture, and probably also actuated by a sincere desire to prevent farther hostilities, the English leaders sent to the Scottish army Robert de Bruce, Earl of Annandale, and Bernard de Baliol, two barons of Norman descent, who held lands both in Scotland and England, to offer, as conditions of peace, to procure from Stephen a grant of the earldom of Northumberland in favour of Prince Henry. Bruce, who was far advanced in years, had a high reputation for wisdom and eloquence, and, during a long residence in Scotland, had lived on terms of the closest friendship with David. He represented to his old master, the impolicy of the war which he was carrying on against his former allies, and urged upon him the duty of putting a stop to the horrible outrages of the Scottish army, which were a violation of all the laws of humanity and religion. "I charge your conscience," said he, "with the innocent blood which cries aloud for vengeance. You have beheld the enormities of your army, you have mourned for them, you have openly disclaimed any approbation of them. Prove now the sincerity of your protestations, and withdraw your people from a war disgraceful in all its operations, and dubious in the event. We are not mighty in numbers, but we are determined; urge not brave men to despair. To see my dearest master, my patron and my benefactor, my friend and companion in arms, with whom I spent the season of youth and festivity, in whose service I am grown old,—to see him thus exposed to the dangers of battle, or to the dishonour of flight, it wrings my heart." At these words he burst into tears. David was deeply moved by the tears and expostulations of his old friend and companion in arms, but he nevertheless rejected his proposals. Bruce, on receiving this answer, and hearing himself denounced as a traitor by William Mac Donochy, the king's nephew, renounced his allegiance to the Scottish crown; Baliol also gave up the fealty which he had once sworn to David, and returned with all haste to the English army, to warn them of the approach of the Scots.

David had resolved to place the men-at-arms and the archers in the van, but that post of honour was claimed by the Galwegians, who maintained that, by ancient custom, the privilege of commencing the conflict belonged to them. The men-at-arms were, for the most part, English and Normans, who had abandoned their native country, and taken refuge at the court of the Scottish king, and the disputes between them and the half-naked clans threatened the most disastrous consequences. "Whence comes this mighty confidence in those Normans?" said Malise, Earl of Strathern, to the king; "I wear no armour, but there is not one among them that will advance beyond me this day." "Rude earl," said Allan de Percy, a Norman knight, "you boast of

* The speech of Bruce, which contains many curious facts, is reported at full length by Aldred; and, as he was not only a contemporary, but was honoured with the peculiar confidence of David, we may presume that it is substantially accurate. See Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 87; Aldred, *De Bello Standardi*, pp. 337—345.

what you dare not do." The altercation was repressed by the interposition of the king, who unwillingly yielded to the demands of the Gallowaymen, and placed them in the van, under their chiefs, William Mac Donochy, Ulrick, and Dovenald. The second division consisted of the men-at-arms, the archers, and the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, under the command of Prince Henry, with whom was associated Eustace Fitz-John, a powerful and valiant Northumbrian baron, whom Stephen had offended by depriving him of the important fortress of Bamborough. The third body was composed of the men of Lothian, with the islanders and the Highland Caterans. The king himself commanded the reserve, consisting of the Scots properly so called, and the inhabitants of Moray. The English were drawn up in one compact body around the sacred standard. The men-at-arms dismounted and sent their horses to the rear, and, mingling with the archers, ranged themselves in the front of the battle.

The Bishop of Orkney, as the representative of the aged Thurstan, delivered an energetic speech for the encouragement of the troops; and assured them that those who fell in this holy war should immediately pass into Paradise. The venerable Walter l'Espece also ascended the carriage in which the holy standard was fixed, and harangued the soldiers, reminding them of the glory of their ancestors, and of the barbarities perpetrated by the Scottish invaders. "Your cause is just: it is for your all that you combat. I swear," said he, grasping the hand of the Earl of Albemarle, "I swear that on this day I will overcome the Scots, or perish!" "So swear we all!" exclaimed the barons assembled around him.*

The Scots advanced to the attack, shouting their war-cry, Albanich! Albanich!† The Gallowaymen charged the English infantry so fiercely, that their front ranks were thrown into disorder; but the English archers came to the assistance of the spearmen, and overwhelmed the Scots with incessant and well-directed showers of arrows. Prince Henry advanced to their support, and, at the head of the cavalry, charged and broke through the English ranks, says Aldred, as if they had been cobwebs, and dispersed the troops which guarded the horses in the rear. The Gallowaymen, though they had lost their leaders, Ulrick and Dovenald, rallied and prepared to renew the combat, which had now continued for two hours with the greatest fury. At this critical moment, an English soldier, elevating on the point of his spear the head of one of the slain, proclaimed it the head of the King of Scots. A sudden panic seized the

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 90.

† That is, "We are the men of Albyn!"—the most ancient name of Scotland. This war-cry, of course, asserted that the Galwegians were the most ancient inhabitants of Scotland; in other words, the descendants of the Picts or ancient Caledonians. When they were repulsed, the English shouted in derision, "Erygh! Erygh!"—"Ye are but Irish! Ye are but Irish!"—alluding to that part of the Galwegians who, though ranked among the Picts, were yet wild Scots of Irish extraction.

Scottish forces; the Gallowaymen threw away their arms, and the troops forming the third division of the army also fled without resistance. David promptly brought up the reserve, and strove to retrieve the fortune of the day, but without effect. The terror and confusion became general; and the knights and men-at-arms who attended on the king, seeing that the battle was irretrievably lost, constrained him to retire from the field. He succeeded, however, in rallying around the royal standard a strong body of troops, which covered the retreat, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. In this memorable battle, which was fought on the 22nd of August, 1138, the Scots are said to have lost 10,000 men.

Three days after the engagement, David reached Carlisle with the remains of his army, and employed himself in collecting and re-organizing his scattered troops, which had fallen into a state of confusion bordering on mutiny. For some days he was in a state of uncertainty respecting the fate of his gallant son, who, carried away by his impetuosity, had pursued too far the troops whom he had routed. On his return from the chase of the fugitives, the Prince, finding the battle lost, commanded his men to throw away their banners, and, mingling with the pursuers, he passed through the horses ranks undiscovered, and, after many hazards, succeeded in reaching Carlisle the third day after the king his father.

An assembly of the prelates and nobles was held at Carlisle, by Alberic, Bishop of Carlisle. Ostia, the papal legate, who earnestly entreated the Scottish king to listen to overtures of peace. He also persuaded the savage Galwegians to restore their female captives, and induced the whole Scottish army to enter into a solemn engagement that they would not in future violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children *—a circumstance which affords conclusive proof of the ferocity of the troops, and of the barbarity with which the war had been carried on.

Meanwhile, the victors at Northallerton were not in a condition to follow up the advantage they had gained, and the Scottish army soon re-assumed the offensive by laying siege to the castle of Wark, which they reduced by famine; and David, having razed that fortress, "returned into Scotland," says Lord Hailes, "more like a conqueror than like one whose army had been routed." Peace was soon after concluded (9th April, 1139) through the mediation of the legate and of Stephen's wife, Maud, who was David's niece. The terms granted by Stephen were highly favourable to the Scottish king, and showed that, though defeated, he was not humbled. The earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the two fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough, was ceded to Prince Henry. As an equivalent for these castles, he obtained a grant of lands in the south of England. The North-

umbrian barons were to hold their estates of the Prince of Scotland, reserving their fealty to Stephen; and, in return, David and all his people became bound to maintain an inviolable peace with England, and gave the sons of five earls as hostages to Stephen for their performance of this part of the treaty.* These conditions of peace were arranged at Durham; and Prince Henry, proceeding southward with the English queen, met Stephen at Nottingham, and there ratified the negotiation. The prince, who, "by his noble and generous carriage," says an English chronicler, "had so won the heart of Stephen, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own son," accompanied the English king to the siege of Ludlow Castle, which was held out against him by the adherents of Matilda. Having incautiously approached too near the walls, Prince Henry was unhorsed by the besieged, but was gallantly rescued by Stephen.

In 1141, the cause of Matilda was for a short time triumphant, and David re-^{David's escape}paired to the court of his niece, ^{from Winchester.} and vainly endeavoured to persuade her to follow his mild and wise counsels. Her haughty demeanour, and violent measures, speedily alienated from her the affections of the people. The Londoners rose up in arms against her. She fled precipitately from the capital, and, accompanied by her uncle, took refuge in the royal castle of Winchester, where she was besieged by Stephen, and from which she with great difficulty effected her escape. David accompanied her in her flight, and was indebted for his concealment, and his safe conveyance home to his own country, to the exertions of a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who was at that time serving in the army of Stephen.

From this period David seems to have given his almost exclusive attention to the ^{Disturbances} affairs of his own kingdom. ^{caused by an ad-}venturer. The tranquillity of the country was disturbed for a considerable time by the pretensions of an adventurer, named Wimund, who, it is alleged, had been a monk, first in the abbey of Furness, and afterwards in the Isle of Man, but claimed to be the son of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain at Stracathow, in 1130. Having succeeded in collecting some vessels, he began to make piratical excursions among the western isles. Many persons of desperate fortunes espoused his cause, and he obtained in marriage the daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, who either from policy, or from a belief in the justice of his claims, favoured his enterprise. Wimund next invaded the mainland of Scotland, slew many of the inhabitants, and pillaged the country. For several years he carried on his depredations successfully, and constantly eluded the forces sent against him, either by concealing himself and his followers amid the dense forests which covered the country, or by retreating to his ships. Strange to say, the Scottish king was at length obliged, in order to put

* R. of Hexham, p. 326; I. of Hexham, p. 264; Annals, vol. i. p. 93.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 95, and note.

an end to the outrages of this daring and crafty adventurer, to enter into terms of accommodation with him, and to bestow on him a certain territory, together with the government of the abbey of Furness, in which he had passed his earlier years. His insolent and arbitrary conduct, however, excited an insurrection against his authority, and the people took him prisoner, and put out his eyes. He passed the remainder of his strangely chequered life in the abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire. His audacious spirit, however, appears not to have been depressed, or even humbled, by his calamities. He took great delight in relating his adventures to the friars at Biland; and is reported to have said, "Had they but left me the smallest glimmering of light, my enemies should have had no cause to boast of what they did."*

The remaining years of the reign of this wise and just monarch were peaceful and prosperous. Relieved, both from foreign wars and from internal disturbances, he applied himself assiduously to the improvement of the country, by the encouragement of agriculture and of manufactures, the establishment of towns, the erection of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and the enactment of judicious and equitable laws.

Aldred represents him as cultivating and encouraging every art that tended to soften and civilize his subjects. He speaks of his attention to his gardens, buildings, and orchards, that he might, by his example, induce his people to follow the like pursuits. He represents him as employing some part of his time, even in the last year of his life, either in planting herbs or grafting shoots, and mentions the improvements made by him in agriculture, so that a country formerly indigent and barren, was now able, out of its abundance, to supply the necessities of its neighbours. He enumerates the towns and castles which David erected, the foreign commodities he had introduced by commerce, and the improvements thence made on the dress of his subjects. Lastly, he celebrates the reformation made on the morals, both of the clergy and people, and the beneficial effects which the instructions and example of the king exercised upon all classes of the community.†

It is assumed by some writers, that the establishment of incorporated bodies in Scotland, for the promotion of trade and commerce, is to be ascribed to the wise and far-seeing policy of David. It was during his reign that Louis le Gros introduced these institutions into France, and in some of the ancient copies of the old Scottish laws, it is stated that David framed his burgh laws from

the information furnished by certain learned men, whom he sent to other countries to observe the constitutions that had been there introduced.*

The death of this excellent monarch was probably hastened by that of his son Death of Prince Henry, which took place on the Henry—
12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, who had formed high anticipations of the benefits to be conferred by his accession to sovereign power. Aldred, who had lived with him from childhood, and knew him intimately, says that he resembled his father in all things, except that he had a somewhat greater suavity of manner, and that he was a son in all respects worthy of such a father. Prince Henry left by his wife Ada, the daughter of the Earl of Warenne and Surrey, three sons: Malcolm, who succeeded his grandfather; William, surnamed the Lion; and David, Earl of Huntingdon; and three daughters. The afflicted monarch roused himself from his grief to provide for the succession of his grandson, Malcolm, a child in his twelfth year. He ordered the youthful prince to be proclaimed heir to the crown, and sent him on a progress through his dominions, to receive the homage of the barons and the people. He also settled his Northumbrian territories on his grandson William, and presented the boy to the barons of that province as their future ruler, and required them to promise obedience to his authority. Having completed these prudent arrangements, the aged king, within a year, followed —and of David.
his son to the grave. He died at

Carlisle, on the 24th of May, 1153. In striking and beautiful consistency with his life, he was found dead in an attitude of devotion. "His death had been so tranquil," says Aldred, "that you would not have believed he was dead. He was found with his hands elapsed devoutly upon his breast, in the very posture in which he seems to have been raising them to heaven."

The remarkable liberality of David to the church was highly extolled by the monkish David's grants to historians his contemporaries, and the church.
has been as severely censured in later times. "Had David duly considered," says Major, "the number of religious houses founded by his predecessors, the parsimony wherein churchmen, especially monks, ought to live, and the little allowance made by the Scots to their kings in those times, he would not lavishly have given the crown lands to nourish the sensuality of bishops, and spoil the devotion of monks."† To which Buchanan adds, that, "as in bodies too corpulent, the use of the members in some measure ceases, so wit, oppressed by plenty, began to languish, learning became nauseous, piety superstition, and vice was taught in the schools of virtue."‡ These complaints respecting the donations which David bestowed upon the clergy, were summed up in the pithy saying of James, the first of that name king of Scotland, that David "was ane soir sanct

* W. Newbr. vol. i. chap. xxiv.; Fordun, lib. viii. chap. ii.; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 100. Fordun calls this adventurer Malcolm M'Heath. It is worthy of notice, however, that Mr. Gregory, a high authority on questions of this kind, states that the claim of Wimund seems, on minute inquiry, to have been well founded. See History of the Western Highlands and Isles, p. 15.

† Aldred ap. Fordun, lib. v. chap. xlix., lii., liii.

* Ridpath's Border History, p. 88.

† Major de Gestis, Scot. lib. iii. chap. xi. p. 105.

‡ Ber. Scot. lib. vii. p. 120.



A SILVER COIN
AND



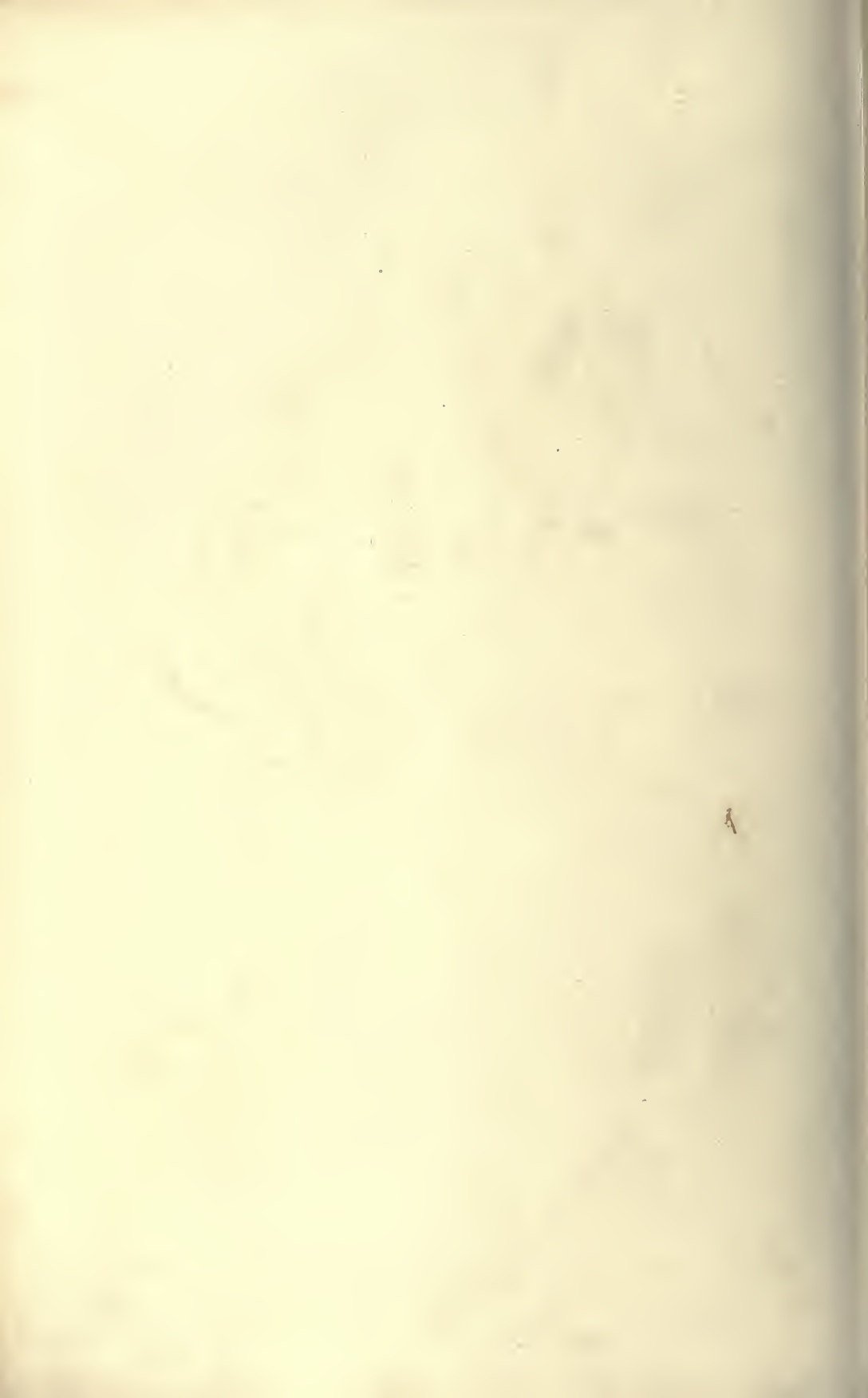
THE GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER I.



A SILVER COIN
AND



THE GREAT SEAL OF DAVID I.



(sore saint) for the crown."* But it has been justly remarked by Lord Hailes, "that we ought to judge of the conduct of men according to the notions of their age, not of ours. To endow monasteries may now be considered as a prodigal superstition, but in the days of David I. it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence." Much may be urged, too, in justification of this beneficence; and it may fairly be questioned whether any course could have been followed, better fitted to promote the civilization of a people just emerging from barbarism, as the Scots were at this period, than the erection, in all parts of the country, of these monastic establishments, which were, at the outset, not only seminaries of piety but of learning, for training men of business for the service of the state, as well as men of letters for the church; and which, moreover, served as a kind of general reservoirs for diffusing a knowledge of architecture, of agriculture and gardening, and other useful arts. No doubt, in process of time, many monasteries became the seats of sloth, ignorance, and debauchery, but candour should forbid us to ascribe accidental and unforeseen evils to the virtuous founder.†

David, however, had many other estimable qualities, besides his liberality to the church. He was at all times accessible to all classes of his subjects; his apartments were always open to suitors, for he had nothing secret but his counsels, says Aldred. On certain days of the week he sat at the gate of his palace, for the purpose of hearing and deciding the causes brought before him by the poor. He took great pains also to make them understand the reasons, and to convince them of the justice of his decisions; for, says Aldred, "they often argued with him, and he with them, when he refused to accept the person of the poor in judgment, contrary to justice, and they were very reluctant to acknowledge the equity of his decisions when adverse to their claims." His custom was to dismiss all his attendants at sunset, and to retire for solitary meditation. At daybreak he resumed his labours. He was fond of hunting, but he never permitted this amusement to interfere with the discharge of his duties. "I have seen him," says Aldred, "quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even of the meanest of his subjects, implored an audience."‡ So estimable

—his estimable character. of this excellent monarch, and so faithfully did he discharge the duties of his office, that Buchanan, who was no flatterer of princes, declares, that "he equalled all former kings in military science, and excelled them in the arts of peace; in so much, that if the best heads and greatest wits should set themselves to frame the character of an accomplished prince, they could never devise nor imagine such an one as he did express himself in the whole course of his life."§

* Bellenden, fol. 185.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 115.

‡ Aldred apud Fordun, lib. v. c. xlix.; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 110.

§ Rer. Scot. lib. vii. p. 122.

The tide of Saxon colonization had, as we have seen, steadily set in during the three preceding reigns, but it flowed still more copiously after the accession of David to the Scottish throne. His education at the court of Henry I., his marriage to an English countess, and his long residence in England, had made him extremely partial to the institutions, manners, and customs of that country; and great numbers of Saxon, Nor-^{Settlement of} man, and Flemish settlers were Anglo-Saxons and attracted to his court, where they Anglo-Normans in Scotland. received a cordial welcome and munificent grants of land. Among the Northumbrian nobles who sought an asylum in Scotland from the vengeance of William the Conqueror, were the powerful Earl Gospatric, the founder of the great family of the Earls of March; Arkel, the progenitor of the Earls of Lennox; and Siward, the founder of a distinguished family, which terminated in an heiress, who carried the estates to the Maxwells. Among the Anglo-Normans who settled in North Britain during the reign of David, the most eminent was Hugh de Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, who acquired vast possessions in Lauderdale, the Lothians, and Ayrshire, and was the original founder of Dryburgh Abbey. The ancestor of the Riddells came from Yorkshire before 1116, and settled in Roxburghshire, of which he was one of the earliest sheriffs. The Corbets, a Shropshire family, acquired lands in Teviotdale about the same period. The Lindsays came from Essex, and obtained from David, a grant of estates in upper Clydesdale and in the Lothians. The ancestor of the Somervilles was the second son of a Norman baron, who came over with the Conqueror, and obtained from him lands in Staffordshire and Gloucestershire. The Umphravilles came from Redesdale in Northumberland. The Maxwells are descended from Maccus, the son of Unwyn, who attached himself to David before his accession to the throne; as did the ancestor of the family of de Sules, or de Soulis, who followed him from Northamptonshire into Scotland, and was rewarded by a grant of Liddesdale and other lands, both in Teviotdale and in Lothian. His descendant, Nicolas de Soulis, was one of the competitors for the crown with Baliol and Bruce, in 1290, and the whole family seem to have been involved in the ruinous effects of that memorable contest. The ancestor of the Oliphants, as we have seen, accompanied David in his flight from Winchester, in 1142, and was rewarded by a grant of the manors of Smailholm and Crailing, in Roxburghshire. The ancestor of the noble family of Seton was a Norman, named de Say, who obtained from David, lands in East Lothian, designated from him Say-ton, which his descendants assumed as their surname. The Keiths, Earls Marischal, are descended from Hervei, the son of Warin, who received from David, a grant of the manor of Keith in East Lothian. The progenitors of the Maules and Melvilles, the de Quincies, Berkeleys, Herrieses, Cunninghams, Lockharts, Ramsays, Falconers, Rollos, Colvilles, Gor-

dons, Grahams, Rosses, Sinclairs, Frasers, and many other families celebrated in Scottish history, sprung from Anglo-Norman lineage, and settled in Scotland during the twelfth century. The ancestor of the Hays was an Anglo-Norman, who acted as Pincerna to Malcolm IV., and to William the Lion, in the early part of his reign. The progenitor of the Ruthvens was Thor, a Danish chief, who came from the north of England, and settled in Scotland under David I. Radulph, the founder of the Kinnaird family, obtained from William the Lion, before the year 1184, the lands of Kinnaird in the Carse of Gowrie. The Kers are a branch of an Anglo-Norman family, which settled in Roxburghshire during the thirteenth century. The powerful family of the Cumyns, which acted so conspicuous a part in the wars of Bruce and Baliol, came from Northumberland during the reign of David I. A younger son of this family held the office of chancellor from 1133 to 1142. Bernard de Baliol, the founder of the Baliol family, came from Barnard Castle in Durham, and was a courtier of David I. Robert de Bruis or Bruce, the founder of the illustrious family of Bruce, was an opulent Yorkshire baron, who received from King David, his friend and companion in arms, a grant of Annandale. The royal family of the Stuarts are descended from Walter, the son of Alan, a Shropshire baron, who obtained from David I., and his successor Malcolm IV., extensive possessions and a high office. The progenitors of the immortal patriot Wallace settled under the Stuarts in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. The Hamiltons derive their descent from the two younger sons of Robert, Earl of Leicester, the grandson of one of the barons who came over with the Conqueror. Their settlement in Scotland took place during the reign of William the Lion. During the same reign, the Dundasses, Grays, Mortimers, Mowbrays, Gourlays, Anstruthers, Montfichets or Muschets, Bissets, Cheynes, and Grants, all of Anglo-Norman lineage, settled in Scotland. The ancestor of the great family of the Campbells obtained a settlement in Argyle, as early as the twelfth century, by marrying the heiress of O'Dubhin, a Gaelic chief, with whom he obtained Lochow. His descendant, Sir Nigel Campbell, who married Mary, the sister of Robert Bruce, joined that hero at the outset of his enterprise, and adhered to him in prosperity and in adversity, till his final triumph at Bannockburn. Not a few of the most eminent families in Scotland are of Flemish origin. The Sutherlands, Morays, Douglasses, Leslies, Flemings, Inneses, and many others, all owe their descent to Flemish ancestors. The Flemings, indeed, were the most enterprising race of the twelfth century, and all classes of them settled in every district of North Britain, especially in the towns and hamlets. So great was the number of Flemings who settled in Scotland at this period, that they obtained the right to be governed by their own laws. The illustrious family of the Douglasses are derived from "Theobald, the Fleming," who, between 1147 and 1160, obtained from Arnold, the Abbot

of Kelso, the grant of some lands on the Douglas Water in Lanarkshire. Bartholomew, a Flemish chief who settled in the district of Gairloch, Aberdeenshire, was the ancestor of the Leslies. Another Flemish chief, named Freskin, obtained from David the lands of Strathbrock in West Lothian, and at a later date, after the suppression of an insurrection among the turbulent inhabitants of Morayshire, was rewarded by the grant of some of the most fertile lands in that district. He was the progenitor both of the Earls of Sutherland, and of the celebrated family of Moray, one of whom, the gallant Sir Andrew, was the associate of Wallace and of Bruce, whose sister, Christian, he married. "Such," says Chalmers, "were the Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic families, who were the principal settlers among the Gaelic people of Scotland, during this period of her annals; such were the men who governed Scotland throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, who formed her constitution and administered her laws, who established her church and transmitted her authorities, who vindicated her rights and restored her independence."*

David was succeeded by his grandson, MALCOLM IV., a youth only in his twelfth year. Accession of Malcolm IV., a youth only in his twelfth year. This was the first of the minorities which were of such frequent occurrence in the government of Scotland, and was attended with not a few of the calamities which usually fall upon the nation "whose king is a child." The old Celtic law of succession was now again in opposition to the Saxon rule. According to the former, the true heir of the throne was William, termed the Boy of Egremont, the son of William Fitz-Duncan, and grandson of Duncan, who was Malcolm Canmore's eldest son.† His claims were supported by no less than seven earls—of whom the principal were the earls of Strathern, Ross and Orkney—and by the great body of the Celtic inhabitants of the country. But notwithstanding the powerful support given to the Boy of Egremont, this attempt, like every other, to re-establish the old law of succession, failed of success, and the Celtic race were obliged to submit to the sway of the Saxon kings of the family of Malcolm Canmore, and to the prowess of the Saxon and Norman barons whom their prudent policy attracted to the Scottish court.

A few months after Malcolm's accession, the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the invasion of Somerled, the powerful chief of the Isles, whose daughter or sister, as we have seen, had married the adventurer Wilmund, or Malcolm Mac Heth, the alleged son of Angus, Earl of Moray.‡ The events of this war, which lasted for several years, are unknown; but in 1157, the contest was brought to a close by a treaty, which was considered so important, as to form an epoch, from which royal charters were dated.§ About this time, also, occurred Malcolm's

* Caledonia, vol. i. book iv. chap. i.

† The Boy of Egremont died in his nonage; his connexion with this insurrection has not been very clearly established.

‡ Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 118.

§ Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p. 425.

first transaction with the English king. Eight years before this, Henry had an interview with David, at Carlisle, and received from him the honour of knighthood. On that occasion he made oath, that, if ever he attained the English crown, he would restore Newcastle to the Scottish king, and cede to him and his heirs for ever the whole territory between Tyne and Tweed. Instead of

performing this solemn engagement, however, Henry now demanded the restitution of those territories which Malcolm already held in England. An interview between the monarchs took place at Chester, and Malcolm, young and inexperienced, either overreached by the superior cunning of the English king, or betrayed by the treachery of his counsellors, whom Henry had corrupted,* not only relinquished his claim to the territory to the north of the Tyne, but also abandoned to England his whole possessions in the northern counties, and received in return the earldom of Huntingdon, which Henry appears to have taken from Malcolm's younger brother, David, to whom it had been bequeathed by the late king.† Malcolm is stated, at the same time, to have performed homage to Henry, in the same manner as his grandfather had done to Henry I., "reserving all his dignities." This step produced deep and universal discontent among Malcolm's subjects. The following year (1158), he repaired to the English court at Carlisle, with the view of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry. But this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned home in disgust, without having obtained the coveted distinction. He seems, however, to have been bent on procuring the object of his ambition, at whatever cost; and when Henry set out on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse, in 1159, Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there.

The Scottish nobles and people, however, were discontented of the indignant at the conduct of their Scottish people. king, in forgetting his station as an independent prince, and fighting under the banner of the English monarch; and they sent a deputation into France, to remonstrate against this desertion of his duty on the part of their sovereign. "We will not," said the deputies, "have Henry to rule over us." Malcolm was constrained to comply with their wishes, and to return with all haste to his own dominions. The supporters of the Boy of Egremont seem to have regarded this as a favourable opportunity for urging his claims; and while Malcolm was holding a great council at Perth,‡ Ferquhard, or Feretach, Earl of Strathern, and five other earls, conspired to seize the person of their sovereign, and assaulted the tower in which he had taken refuge; but a reconciliation was effected by the intervention of the clergy. "The intentions of these noblemen," says the continuator of Fordun, "were not traitorous or selfish, but singly directed to the welfare of

the state."* At this critical period, also, a formidable insurrection broke out in Galloway; partly, it would appear, ^{Insurrection in Galloway—} from the jealousy with which the Celtic inhabitants of that district viewed the introduction of Saxon settlers, and Saxon laws and customs. Malcolm promptly led an army against the insurgents, but was twice repulsed by them. With characteristic intrepidity he attacked them a third time, and obtained a complete victory. Fergus, the Lord of Galloway, submitted to the authority of Malcolm, gave his son, Uchtred, as a hostage, and assumed the habit of a canon-regular in the Abbey of Holyrood, where he died in 1161.†

The turbulent inhabitants of the province of Moray, "whom," says Fordun, —and in Moray. "no sollicitations or largesses could allure, no treaties or oaths could bind to their duty," like the men of Galloway, were indignant at the intrusion of foreign settlers, and the introduction of foreign manners. They had often rebelled against the Scottish government, and at this juncture they once more raised the standard of revolt, "in support of their native principles, and in defence of their ancient laws." After a violent struggle, Malcolm finally succeeded in suppressing the rebellion, and completely crushed the powerful family which had hitherto possessed the title of Earl of Moray, and bestowed that dignity upon the earls of Mar. It is asserted by some historians, that he had recourse to the strong measure of dispossessing the ancient inhabitants of the province, removing them to other parts of the country, and planting new colonies in their room. But such a step, if adopted at all, could have been only very partially carried into effect. There can be no doubt, however, that Malcolm availed himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the suppression of this revolt, to abrogate many of the ancient customs of the province, and to introduce Saxon laws in their room, and to subject the district completely to his authority.

From some unexplained cause, the ambitious Somerled a second time declared ^{Defeat and death of Somerled.} war against Malcolm, and assembling a numerous army from Argyle, Ireland, and the Isles, he sailed up the Clyde (1164) with one hundred and sixty galleys, and landed his forces near Renfrew, threatening, as some of the chroniclers inform us, to make a conquest of the whole of Scotland. Here, according to the Chronicle of Melrose,‡ Somerled was slain, with his son, Gilliecolane, and his great armament dispersed by a very inferior force of the Scots. According to tradition, however, this celebrated chief was assassinated in his tent, by a person in whom he placed confidence; and his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles, suffering severely in their retreat from the attacks of their enemies.§

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. iv.

† Ibid.; Chron. S. Crucis; Hailes, vol. i. p. 124.

‡ Chron. Mel. p. 169.

§ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands, p. 16.

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. iii.

† R. Hoveden, p. 491; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 120.

‡ Chron. Mel. 1160.

This was Malcolm's last exploit, for he died soon after at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December, 1165, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

Some historians affirm, that Malcolm was deprived of the government shortly before his death. Bower relates that Malcolm, having made a vow of perpetual chastity, and being intent on divine things, neglected the administration of his kingdom; that from these causes he became odious to the people, who constrained his brother William to accept the office of Regent.* The story of Malcolm's vow of chastity appears to have been a fable, in all probability founded upon his surname of the Maiden, which is supposed to have been given to him on account of his youthful and effeminate countenance; for it is known from one of his own charters, that he had a natural son.† If such a revolution as has been mentioned did actually take place, it may have been caused by Malcolm's surrender of the northern counties to England, and his impolitic attachment to the English monarch.

Malcolm was succeeded by his brother WILLIAM, the second son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and grandson of David the First. The new monarch began his reign by courting the friendship of the English king. Contrary to the advice of his counsellors, he passed over to the Continent to Henry, who was engaged in suppressing an insurrection in Brittany, and spent his Christmas with him in the famous old castle on Mount St. Michael. If the object of William in thus paying court to the English monarch was to obtain the restitution of Northumberland, he was disappointed in his expectations. But Henry kept up his hopes with fair promises, and agreed to prolong the truce with Scotland, because it was for his own interest to preserve peace on the borders, during his absence on the Continent. William seems, ere long, to have discovered that he had been amused with fruitless expectations, for, in 1168, he sent ambassadors to France, to negotiate an alliance with that kingdom against England. This is the first negotiation between Scotland and France of which we have any authentic information.‡ Two years later, however, when Henry, the eldest son of the English king, was associated with his father in the government, both William and his younger brother, David, were present at his coronation (14th June, 1170), and both did homage to the youthful monarch along with the other English barons. But, in 1170, when

War between Wil. a quarrel broke out between Henry I. and Henry II. and his son, the Scottish king, apparently wearied of fruitless solicitations, joined in confederacy with the young king, and obtained from him a grant of the earldom of Northumberland for himself, and of that of Cambridge for his brother David. Stimulated by these concessions, William raised an army and invaded England. This inroad terminated, however, in the fruitless devastation of

the country, and a truce was agreed to, which was prolonged to the close of Lent in the following year. In 1174, he again invaded Northumberland; and while the rest of his army spread themselves over the country, burning and destroying wherever they came, William, with a small body of troops, lay in careless security near Alnwick. While thus engaged, he was, on the 12th of July, suddenly surprised and made William taken prisoner by a party of Yorkshire prisoner. barons, headed by Ranulf de Glanville. They had set out from Newcastle at an early hour that morning, with a party of four hundred horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Alnwick without being discovered. During their march, a thick mist fell and bewildered them; so that they became uncertain of their road. Some of the more cautious or timid proposed to turn back. "If you should all turn back," said Bernard de Baliol, one of their leaders, "I will go forward alone." Animated by this declaration, they rode forward, and in a short time discovered the battlements of Alnwick Castle. In their way they suddenly encountered the Scottish king, who was riding in the fields with a slender train of sixty horsemen. William so little expected an attack of this nature, that he at first mistook the English for a returning party of his own stragglers. On perceiving his error, however, he cried out, "Now it will be seen who are true knights," and instantly charged the enemy with the handful of men who attended him. But he was speedily overpowered by superior numbers, unhorsed, and taken prisoner. His companions and several of his nobles, who were not present at the conflict, voluntarily shared the fate of their sovereign. The English barons carried off their royal prize with all celerity, and returned in safety to Newcastle that night. William was at first confined in the castle of Richmond; thence he was taken to Northampton, to meet King Henry, and was brought before him with his feet tied under his horse's belly—an act of wanton and indecent barbarity, which is calculated to give a very unfavourable idea of the personal character of the English king.* A few days after, Henry carried his prisoner to Falaise, in Normandy. In this strong fortress he was confined till the month of December following, when he regained his liberty by disgracefully Disgraceful surrendering the independence of independence his country. With the consent of of Scotland, the Scottish barons and clergy, given at Valogne on the 8th of December, 1174, William became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland, and all his other territories.† He agreed to deliver up to the English king the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, and gave his brother David and twenty of his prin-

* This is the account given by Hoveden (See Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 135); it is proper to add, however, that Jordan Fantosme, who has given a minute account in rhyme of William's capture, makes no mention of this circumstance, and states, that Henry had departed for Normandy before the Scottish king could be presented to him.

† Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 140; Hoveden, p. 550.

• Fordun, lib. viii. c. vi.

• Chart. Kelso, fol. 16; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 129.

• Haile's Annals, vol. i. p. 131.



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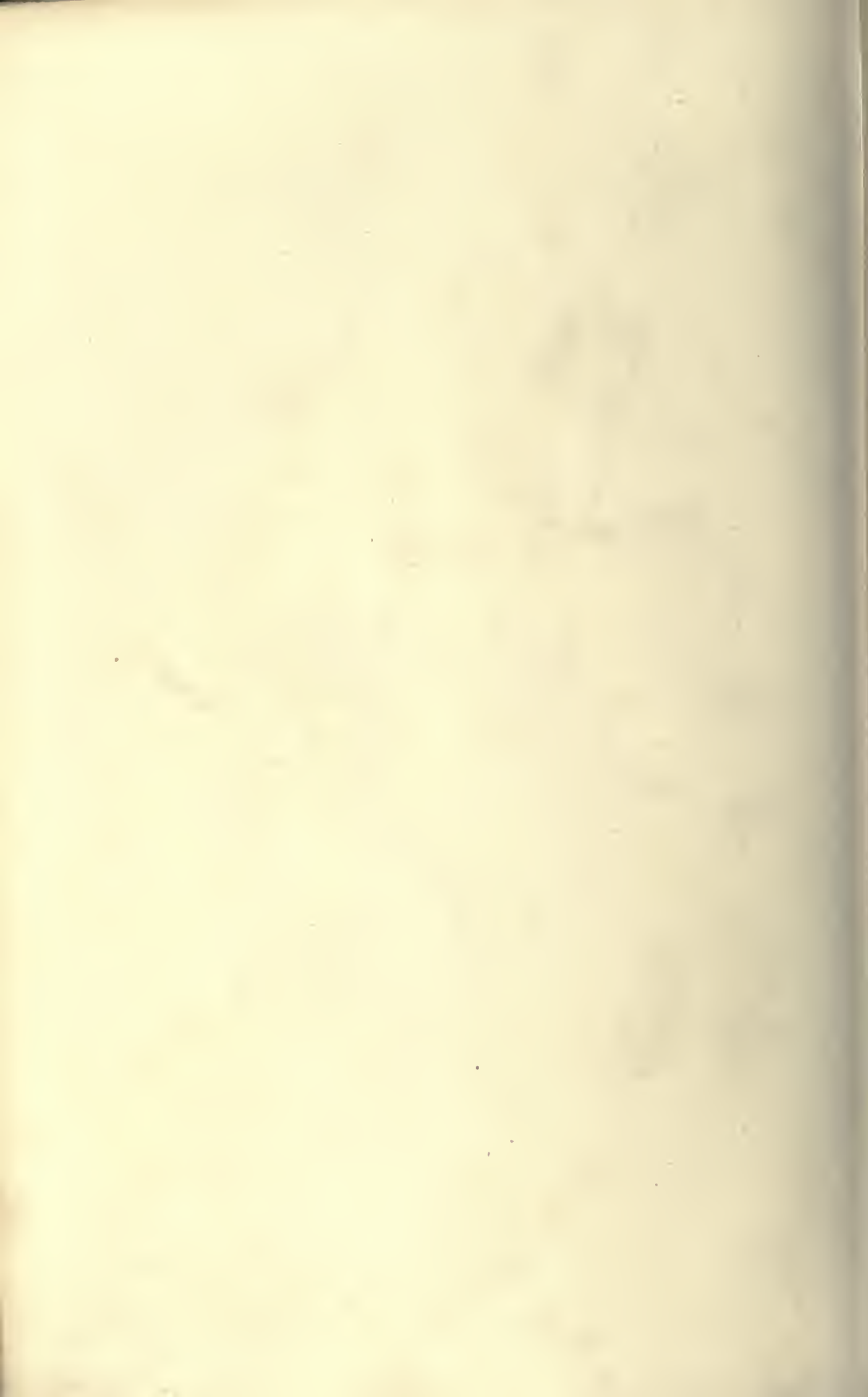
1. Seal of Malcolm IV

2. Seal of William I

3. Coin of William I

4. Privy Seal David I

5. Seal of Edward Balliol



cial barons as hostages for the performance of the treaty. It is worthy of remark that, while the independence of the nation was bartered away in this weak and pusillanimous manner, a prudent and memorable clause, as it has been termed, was introduced into the treaty, leaving entire the independence of the Scottish Church. This clause was successfully pleaded by the bishops and clergy before the Papal legate, in a council held at Northampton (1176), when Henry required them "to yield that obedience to the English Church which they ought to yield, and were wont to yield in the days of his predecessors." The Scottish clergy, though on English ground, and in the power of Henry, boldly made answer, "that they had never yielded subjection to the English Church, nor ought they."*

In the beginning of the following year (1175), William returned to Scotland along with his brother David, and on the 10th of August following, he and his clergy and barons did homage to Henry at York, in terms of the treaty of Falaise. Meantime his captivity was the signal for an insurrection among the turbulent inhabitants of Galloway.

Fergus, the chief of that province, who was subdued by Malcolm IV., died in 1161. According to the ancient Celtic law of inheritance, his territories were divided between his two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert. At the head of their clansmen, these chiefs were in attendance upon King William during that disastrous expedition into Northumberland which terminated in his captivity. On the loss of their sovereign, the Scottish army made a precipitate retreat into their own country. The Gallowaymen retired into their native fastnesses, and, with their characteristic turbulence and jealousy of foreigners, they availed themselves of this favourable opportunity to attack the Saxons and Normans who had settled in their district, and to expel the regal officers. They proceeded next to turn their arms against each other (September 22, 1176), and Gilbert caused his brother Uchtred to be assassinated with circumstances of horrible barbarity.† His attempts, however, to possess himself of his murdered brother's inheritance were gallantly resisted by Roland, the son of Uchtred; and next year, William, having regained his liberty, marched into Galloway in order to chastise Gilbert; but instead of executing justice upon him for his double crime of murder and rebellion, he contented himself with exacting a pecuniary satisfaction, according to the ancient Celtic custom. In 1176, Gilbert presented himself, among the other Scottish barons, at York, did homage to the English king, and was received into favour. Henry is said to have sold his protection to the fratricide for a thousand marks. In 1184, this turbulent and ferocious chief, trusting probably to the protection of Henry, again took up arms, and began to lay waste and plunder the

country with his wonted barbarity. Terms of accommodation were offered him, which he rejected; but his death in the following year freed the country from his devastations.

Roland, the son of Uchtred, promptly availed himself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the death of Gilbert, to obtain possession of the whole province of Galloway. On the 4th of July, 1185, he defeated the adherents of Gilbert, and slew Gilpatric, their leader. With equal courage and success he overthrew and dispersed a formidable band of robbers who had overrun the country.* The Scottish king, it is alleged, was gratified by these enterprises of the gallant Roland; but Henry was highly incensed, and in 1186, he assembled a powerful army at Carlisle, with the intention to invade Galloway. Roland, however, was not dismayed. He fortified the passes of the country, and prepared to offer the most desperate resistance. But a compromise was afterwards made. It was agreed that Roland should retain the possessions which had been held by his father, Uchtred, and should submit to the decision of the English court as to what had belonged to Gilbert, and was now claimed by his son Duncan. Henry was satisfied with the acknowledgment thus made of the paramount authority of England, and William granted to Duncan the territory of Carrick, a district of ancient Galloway, as a full satisfaction for all his claims.

In the meantime, and during all the remainder of Henry's reign, entire harmony subsisted between England and Scotland. On the death of Simon de St. Lis, Earl of Huntingdon, without issue, Henry restored the earldom to the Scottish king, who conferred it on his brother David. On the 5th of September, 1186, William, on the proposal of Henry, married, at Woodstock, Ermengarde, daughter of Richard, Viscount of Beaumont, and the descendant of an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.; on which, as part of the dower of the young queen, "his cousin," the English king restored to William the castle of Edinburgh.† Two years afterwards he offered also to give up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of his kingdom for the holy war. The proposal was submitted to an assembly of the clergy and nobility, but they made answer, that "they would never pay the tenth, although both kings should have sworn to levy them."

Scarcely were the commotions in Galloway suppressed, when the Celtic inhabitants, in various parts of the country, took up arms against the new settlers, and forced them to seek shelter in the fortified places. In the more remote districts, the native chiefs exercised almost a regal sway; and notwithstanding the vigorous measures adopted by Malcolm IV. to reduce them to obedience, it is evident that they still acknowledged, at the utmost, only a qualified dependence upon the Scottish

* Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 152; Chron. Mel. p. 176; Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxxix.

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 39.
† Fordun, lib. viii. c. xxv.; Benedict. Abbas. p. 92; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 151.

* Chron. Mel. p. 176; Hoveden, p. 632; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 153.

crown. The inhabitants of Moray revolted in 1171.

Insurrection in Moray and Ross. In 1179, William and his brother David were obliged to march into the district of Ross, to suppress some disturbances which had arisen there. They erected two fortresses to bridle the turbulent inhabitants of that wild and remote province, but without the desired effect. It is probable that these commotions were caused by the pretensions of Donald Bane, who claimed the crown as the son of William and grandson of Duncan, commonly called the bastard king of Scotland, and, as usual, obtained the support of the Northern chiefs. For seven years he held out the earldoms of Moray and Ross against all the power of the Scottish king, plundering the rest of the country far and wide. At length, in 1187, while William lay with his army at Inverness, a marauding party, commanded by Roland, the lord of Galloway, accidentally met Donald on the heath of Mangarvy, accompanied only by a small body of his followers, attacked, and slew him.* By his death, tranquillity was restored to the country.

A singular incident is related by Buchanan, on the authority of an old chronicler, as having occurred to William on his return from the expedition against Donald Bane. Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, for the great services performed by him to the crown and nation in this and the preceding reign, had the king's sister given him in marriage, who, abusing his bed, he caused her to be slain. This murder so enraged the king against him, that, forgetting former services, he devastated his castles, confiscated his estate, and banished him the kingdom, whereupon he retired to England. But in the treaty between William and Henry, it being stipulated that neither of the contracting powers shall shelter their respective enemies, Gilchrist was obliged to leave England, and, returning to Scotland with his two sons, shifted from place to place, passing their time in great misery and want; but being seen by the king on the road in the neighbourhood of Perth, in the disguise of farmers, by their mien they discovered themselves to be above that station, and on William's approach left the way, to prevent discovery. This shyness raising William's curiosity, he had them brought before him, when, inquiring who they were, Gilchrist, kneeling, in a very moving speech acquainted him with their lamentable condition, wherewith the king was so sensibly touched, that he not only pardoned him, but restored him to his former honours, favour, and estate.†

The death of Henry II., 6th July, 1189, led to an important and memorable event, the recovery of the independence of the country. of the kingdom. Richard Cœur de Lion, his successor, then intent upon collecting money for his expedition to the Holy Land, invited the King of Scotland to his court at Canterbury, and upon William's engagement to pay to him the

sum of ten thousand marks sterling—equal to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling at the present day, agreed to restore the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, "to be possessed by him and his heirs for ever, as their own proper inheritance." "Moreover," the charter proceeds, "We have granted to him an acquittance of all obligations which our father extorted from him, by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity, under this condition always, that he shall completely and fully perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm, King of Scotland, of right performed, or ought of right to have performed, to our predecessors."* The boundaries of the two kingdoms were at the same time re-established, as they had existed at the date of William's imprisonment. The Scottish king was put in possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon or elsewhere, and all the charters of homage done to Henry II. by the Scottish barons were delivered up, and declared to be cancelled for ever.

There can be no doubt that Richard, by this instrument, made a full renunciation, at least of whatever new rights of sovereignty over Scotland had been extorted from William by the treaty of Falaise. As Mr. Allan remarks, "The charter replaces the two kingdoms on their ancient footing, and leaves it open for discussion, what were the lands and possessions for which homage and fealty were due to the English crown. But from one of the most full and accurate of our contemporary chroniclers, it is apparent that the independence of Scotland was understood at the time to be the effect and purport of the treaty. Benedictus Abbas, in his account of the transaction, informs us that William did homage to Richard for his English dignities, and that Richard, on the part of himself and his successors, granted to the Scotch king, and to his heirs for ever, an acquittance from all allegiance and subjection for the kingdom of Scotland." It is owing to this wise and just treaty, which the later English historians have censured as impolitic, and to the fidelity with which it was observed on both sides, that for more than a century after its date there occurred no national quarrel or hostilities between the two countries. The sum which William paid for this valuable boon could not have been raised without considerable difficulty among a people so poor as the Scots were at this period; and there is reason to believe that an Act was granted to him, for the payment of the ransom, by a convention of the clergy and barons held at Musselburgh. Lord Hailes concludes, from the terms of a charter granted by William to the Abbey of Scone, that the clergy (who contributed a share of the aid) re-imbursed themselves, to a certain extent at least, by imposing something of the nature of a capitation tax on the inhabitants of their territories, and that this tax was so burdensome, as to induce some of the inhabitants to leave their places of residence in order to elude payment.† It is worthy of notice, as

* Fordun, lib. viii. c. xviii.; Chron. Mel. p. 177; Buchan. Hist. lib. vii. p. 126; Major Hist. lib. iv. c. v. p. 130.

† Lib. vii. p. 126.

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 64; Hoveden, p. 662; Bened. Abb. p. 576; Hailes's Annals, vol. i. p. 155.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 156 (note).

indicating the kindly feelings which William entertained towards his benefactor, that when Richard was treacherously made prisoner by the Duke of Austria, on his way home from the Holy Land, the Scottish king sent two thousand marks to assist in paying the price of his redemption.*

David, Earl of Huntingdon, heir presumptive to the Scottish crown, accompanied David, the king's brother, Richard in his crusade, and shared both in his successes and in his misfortunes.†

He was shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, and taken prisoner by the Saracens, who sold him as a slave. Having concealed his rank, he was purchased for a small sum by a Venetian, who brought him to Constantinople. There he was accidentally recognized by some English merchants, who ransomed and sent him home. On his homeward voyage he was overtaken by a violent storm, and narrowly escaped a second shipwreck on the coast of Scotland. He ascribed his deliverance to the Virgin Mary; and, as a token of his gratitude for her intercession, he founded a monastery for Tyrone monks, at Lindores, in Fife.

Scarcely any events worthy of notice occurred during the remaining years of William's reign. In

1196, the peace of the northern counties was disturbed by an insurrection, headed by Harold, Earl of Orkney.

William, with his usual promptitude, marched against the insurgents, and speedily dispersed them. In the following year, however, they again appeared in arms near Inverness, under Torfin, the son of Harold, and a second time they were defeated by the royal army. The king now marched through Ross and Caithness to the northern extremity of the country, where he seized Harold, and detained him in captivity until his son, Torfin, surrendered himself as a hostage. Harold was allowed to retain the northern part of his earldom, but the southern division was bestowed upon Hugh Freskin, the progenitor of the earls of Sutherland. Fordun says, that William, returning from this expedition into Caithness, "passed over again into Scotland," which shows that at this period the northern province was not included in Scotland proper. The chiefs of that remote district had hitherto been accustomed to consider themselves subject to the Danish, rather than to the Scottish crown. Harold having again rebelled, his son, as a punishment for his father's reiterated insurrections, and his own turbulence, had his eyes put out, and perished miserably in prison, in the castle of Roxburgh.‡

On the accession of John to the English throne, A. D. 1199, William did homage to him at Lincoln, "saving his own rights." After the performance of the ceremony, the Scottish monarch endeavoured, but without effect, to obtain the restitution of the

three northern counties of England, which he claimed as his ancient inheritance. Two years

after, a misunderstanding arose between John and William. The two kings, respecting a

fort which John erected at Tweedmouth to overawe the garrison at Berwick, and which William repeatedly demolished as soon as it was built. The quarrel increased to such an extent, that a war threatened to arise out of it; and, in 1209, John led an army to Norham, while William assembled his forces at Berwick. But by the intervention of the barons of both countries, hostilities were averted, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the kingdoms. John became bound not to rebuild the castle of Tweedmouth, and William, on his part, agreed to pay fifteen thousand marks "for procuring his friendship, and for fulfilling certain conventions between them."§ William also delivered his two daughters to John, that they might be provided with suitable matches. The Scottish writers affirm, that by the terms of the agreement, Henry and Richard, the sons of John, were to marry the two princesses. If so, this stipulation was not fulfilled. At a great council or parliament held at Stirling, in 1211, William asked assistance to enable him to fulfil the stipulations of this treaty, and received from the barons a grant of ten thousand marks, and six thousand from the boroughs.†

In the meantime, a new insurrection broke out among the turbulent inhabitants of Ross, who were not even yet recon-

ciled to the government of the Saxon descendants of Malcolm Canmore. Guthred, a descendant of William Fitz-Duncan, and the son of Donald Bane, who fell A. D. 1187, asserted his claim to the throne, and, landing from Ireland, spread devastation through the northern provinces. William, in spite of his age and infirmities, led an army against him in person; but Guthred kept possession of the mountain fastnesses of the north for some time, and baffled every attempt on the part of the king to take him, until he was treacherously betrayed into the hands of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland, and executed, A. D. 1212.‡

This was the last exploit of William, who, after a long illness, died at Stirling on the 12th of December, 1214, in the

seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth year of his reign—the longest reign in the range of Scottish history. Besides six natural children, he left by his queen, Ermengarde de Beaumont, one son and two daughters, Marjory and Isabel; the former of whom was married to the celebrated Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary of England, and the latter to Gilbert, Earl-marshal of that kingdom. Before the reign of William, none of the Scottish kings seem to have assumed armorial bearings. § The Lion Rampant, the Royal Arms of Scotland, first appears on his seal:

* Chron. Mel. p. 170.

† Boece, Hist. book xiii.; Buchan. Hist. lib. vii. p. 120. Few of our readers will need to be reminded of the conspicuous part which David is made to perform in Sir Walter Scott's "Talisman."

‡ Fordun, lib. viii. c. lvi.

* Rym. Foed. vol. i. p. 155; Hailes, vol. i. p. 164.

† Fordun, lib. viii. c. lxxiii.

‡ Ibid. c. lxxvi.; Hailes, vol. i. p. 165.

§ Anderson's Diplomata, p. 54.

and it is probable, that from this circumstance he received the surname of The Lion. From a similar cause, the president of the Herald's Court in Scotland is termed Lord Lion King-at-Arms. It is worthy of notice, that most of the rulers of the northern countries of Europe, the kings of England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, the native princes of Wales, the dukes of Normandy, the counts of Flanders, Holland, Hainault, &c., all about the same period—during the twelfth century—appear, as with one accord, to have adopted a lion as their cognizance; and that the assumption of the eagle by the monarchs of the eastern and southern portions of Europe took place almost contemporaneously.*

ALEXANDER II., a youth in his seventeenth year, Accession of Alexander II. ascended the throne on the death of his father William, and was crowned at Scone on the 10th of December, 1214. One of the first acts of his reign was to enter into an alliance with the patriotic English barons against King John, in expectation of regaining the northern counties; and having crossed the borders, he invested the castle of Norham, but without success. John was so incensed, that he marched to the north with a mixed and savage host of mercenaries—the outcasts and freebooters of Europe—headed by “Buch the Murderer,” “Godeschal the Iron-hearted,” “Falco without Bowels,” “Manleon the Bloody,” and other ruffians of a similar character, for the purpose of wreaking his vengeance on the disaffected barons and their adherents. His progress through York-Savage conduct of shire and Northumberland was King John. marked with flames and blood.

The towns and castles of Morpeth, Mitford, Alnwick, Wark, and Roxburgh, together with all the villages and hamlets on the road, were given to the flames, John himself setting fire with his own hands in the morning to the house in which he had spent the preceding night, and the most shocking tortures were inflicted upon the inhabitants by the ferocious soldiery, to make them confess where they had concealed their money.† The Scottish king retired before a superior force; and John, vowing that he would “smoke the little red fox out of his covert,”‡ followed him as far as Edinburgh, burning the towns of Dunbar and Haddington on his way. Alexander having drawn together a powerful force, encamped on the river Esk, near Pentland, a few miles to the south of Edinburgh. John feeling disinclined to risk a battle, and unable to remain longer in a country which his savage fury had laid waste, hurried back to England, in his retreat setting fire to the Priory of Coldingham and the town of Berwick.

In retaliation for these outrages, Alexander Alexander invades England in concert with the English barons. marched into England, and laid waste the western border counties with fire and sword. The Chronicle of Melrose states that the Scots in his army—meaning, probably, the Galwegians—

burnt the Monastery of Holmeultram, in Cumberland, and that, in returning home with their plunder, nearly two thousand of them, as a judgment for their sacrilege, were drowned in the river Ede:—rather, perhaps, in the shifting sands of the Solway Frith.* The Scottish king dismissed these ferocious plunderers from his army, and then advanced to the south to join Prince Louis, of France, whom the barons had invited over to assist them in protecting their rights, against their own detested and contemptible sovereign. On his way, he took possession of Carlisle and assaulted Barnard Castle, the seat of the Baliol family, where Eustace de Vesci, one of the leaders of the barons, was slain. Alexander, on reaching Dover; is said to have done homage to Louis for the possessions which he held from the King of England;† and Louis and the barons, on their part, expressly recognized the right of the Scottish king to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and made oath that they would not conclude a separate peace.

After the death of the infamous John (17th October, 1216), Alexander continued to co-operate with Prince Louis and the confederated barons; and as John, before his death, had made his peace with Rome, the king of the Scots, and his whole army and kingdom, were in consequence Papal interdict— included in the excommunication which Gualo, the Pope's legate, fulminated against Louis and his adherents. The sentence seems to have been very little regarded either by the clergy or the people of Scotland—it was not even published by the former till after the lapse of nearly a twelvemonth.‡

The disgraceful overthrow of Louis next year (25th May, 1217), induced him to make peace with Henry III., the young king of England, without paying any regard to the interest of his Scottish ally. On hearing of the treaty, Alexander, who was on his march into England, returned home. He soon after effected his reconciliation both with Henry and the Papal See. On the 1st of December, 1217, he received absolution at Tweedmouth, from the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, the delegates of Gualo; and at the same time he yielded up to Henry the town of Carlisle, and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon and the other possessions which he held in England. In the following year, the papal legate and his delegates exacted large sums from the Scottish clergy as the price of absolution.§ Those —its removal. who satisfied their exorbitant demands were at once relieved from the excommunication and interdict under which they had been laid; others were commanded to repair to Rome, to be absolved there; while a third class, who were either reluctant to submit to the authority of the legate, or to pay the price of reconciliation, were

* Planche's Pursuivant of Arms.

† Chron. Mel. p. 190; M. Paris, p. 275; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxviii.

‡ M. Paris, p. 191—“because Alexander was of a red complexion,” he adds; Hailes vol. i. p. 171.

* Chron. Mel. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 191.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 173; Chron. Mel. p. 192; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxi.

§ Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxvii.

suspended or deposed. At length the clergy, wearied of these exactions, sent a deputation of three bishops to the Papal court, where, on a profession of penitence, they easily obtained absolution. "He must have a tender conscience," said a cardinal, in their hearing, "who confesses a crime when he has not been guilty of an offence."* Gualo was recalled, and the Pope confirmed the liberties of the Scottish Church, alleging as one of the grounds of this boon, "the respect and obedience which Alexander had manifested to the Papal see." It was agreed that the disputes between Henry and Alexander should be referred to Pandulph, the new Papal legate, but they remained undecided till 1237.

On the 25th of June, 1221, Alexander married the princess Joan, Henry's eldest sister. This fortunate union had a most favourable effect in strengthening the bonds of amity between the two kingdoms; and it was followed by a long period of uninterrupted peace, which enabled the Scottish king to turn his undivided attention to the regulation of the internal affairs of his own kingdom, by the enactment of wise and just laws, many of which are still in force. Almost the only events that mark the history of the country during the next twelve or thirteen years, are some insurrections which broke out among the turbulent inhabitants of Argyle, Galloway, Moray, and Caithness, and were suppressed by the vigorous measures of the king. The disturbances in Caithness were caused by the rigorous exaction of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, by the officers of Adam, the bishop of that province; and the bishop himself is alleged to have excommunicated the people for their refusal to comply with his demands. A great multitude having assembled to consider what course they should follow in these circumstances, one of them exclaimed, "Short rede, good rede—slay we the bishop." The crowd ran instantly to the episcopal residence at Halkirk, assaulted it with fury, set it on fire, and burnt the prelate alive in his own palace (A.D. 1222). Alexander, who was at Jedburgh on his way to England when he heard of this atrocious deed, immediately hastened to the north, and inflicted condign punishment on the murderers, putting, it is said, no fewer than four hundred of them to death. The Earl of Orkney and Caithness was accused of having abetted or connived at the murder, for when some of the bishop's servants, who had escaped through the flames, came in haste to him to crave assistance for their master, he coolly answered, "Let the bishop come to me, and I will protect him." The earl was in consequence deprived of his estate, but the king afterwards permitted him to redeem it. In the year 1231, however, he was himself murdered in his own castle by his servants, and then burned, in revenge for this atrocious crime.†

†

The insurrection in Moray was connected with the claims of Gilliescop McSeolane, a descendant of William Fitz-Duncan, to the earldom of that province. He at first obtained a temporary success—burnt the town of Inverness, spoiled the crown lands in that neighbourhood, and baffled the king himself, who went against him in person (A.D. 1223). Next year, however, he was betrayed into the hands of the Earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland, who put him and his two sons to death.* "He appears to have been the last of his race," says Mr. Skene, "and thus terminated those singular attempts to place a rival family on the throne of Scotland, which lasted during a period of upwards of one hundred years, and which exhibit so extraordinary a proof of the tenacity and perseverance with which the Highlanders maintained their peculiar laws of succession, and the claims of a hereditary title to the throne."

The most formidable of these internal commotions was the last, which broke out in Galloway in 1233, on the death of Alan, the son of Roland, the chief of that district, and high constable of Scotland, leaving three daughters, but no male heir. This Alan of Galloway, who was the representative, in the female line, of the great family of the Morevilles, was the most powerful subject in the kingdom. His eldest daughter, Helen, by his first wife, married Roger de Quiney, Earl of Winchester, who became Constable of Scotland in her right. By his second wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion, he left two daughters,—Christian, who married William de Fortibus, son of the Earl of Albemarle, but died without issue; and Devorguil, the wife of John Baliol, of Barnard Castle, whose son, John Baliol, was the successful competitor for the crown, on the death of Margaret of Norway. The rude and turbulent Galwegians, who elung pertinaciously to their ancient customs, resolutely opposed the partition of their country among the heiresses of their late lord, and headed by Thomas, a bastard son of Alan, and Gilroth or Gilderoy, an Irish chief, who had come to his assistance, they marched against the Scottish king, who was approaching to attack them, and ravaged the adjacent country with merciless fury. Alexander got entangled among morasses, and was placed in a situation of imminent peril, from which he was extricated by the Earl of Ross, who assailed the rebels in the rear, and discomfited them with great slaughter. Their leaders, Thomas and Gilroth, made their escape to Ireland, but next year they returned with a fresh army, and renewed the war. This second attempt, however, was as unsuccessful as the first. The two leaders submitted to the king's mercy, and were pardoned, but their Irish followers, straggling towards the Clyde in the hope of being able to find a passage to their own country, fell into the hands of the citizens of Glasgow, who are said to have

* Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxiii.

† Chron. Mel. p. 199; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xxxvii.; Uoece, lib. xiii. p. 293.

* Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlvii.

beheaded them all with the exception only of two, whom they sent to Edinburgh to be hanged and quartered there.*

About this period dissensions began to arise between the English and Scottish kings. Their claims upon each other had never been finally settled; and Henry, either from ambition or weakness, was induced to support the pretensions of the Archbishop of York to the right of officiating at the coronation of the Scottish kings, and to solicit Pope Gregory IX. to employ his authority with Alexander, to perform the conditions of the old treaty between Henry II. and William the Lion, in strange forgetfulness of the fact, that all claims under that treaty had been expressly renounced by Richard I.† The Pope accordingly issued a bull (A.D. 1234), admonishing the Scottish king to comply with the demands of Henry, "as his doing so would greatly conduce to the peace and tranquillity of both kingdoms." Instead of submitting to these claims, Alexander sent an ambassador to the English court, to demand the restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which he claimed in right of inheritance. He also alleged that his father, William, had paid to John, the father of Henry, the sum of fifteen thousand marks, on condition that Henry and Richard, the sons of John, should marry Margaret and Isabella, the daughters of William, which condition had not been performed, and that Henry himself had failed to perform his engagement to marry Marjory, another daughter of William's.

—their settle- These claims were not finally ad- ment. justed till September, 1237, when, at a conference held at York, in the presence of Otho, the Papal legate, it was agreed that Alexander should receive lands in Northumberland and Cumberland, of the yearly value of two hundred pounds, in full satisfaction of all his demands.‡ The following year (4th March, 1238), Joan, Alexander's

Death of the queen, and second marriage of Alexander. her's queen, sister of Henry, who had been long in a declining state, died at Canterbury, without leaving any issue. In the course of next year (15th May, 1239) Alexander married again. His new queen was Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great lord of Picardy, who, on account of his brave actions, extensive possessions, and three marriages with ladies of royal and illustrious families, was surnamed *Le Grand*.§ The death of Joan, and the alliance with a family which had always been hostile to the interests of England, weakened the bonds of amity between Alexander and Henry; but, for several years, their old friendship continued to exist, and in 1242,

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 182; Fordun, lib. ix. c. xlviij.

† Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. I. pp. 323, 334, 335.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 374—400; *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 130—134.

§ The de Couci family affected great pomp, and professed to consider all titles as beneath their dignity. The *Cri de Queen* of this Ingelram, was—

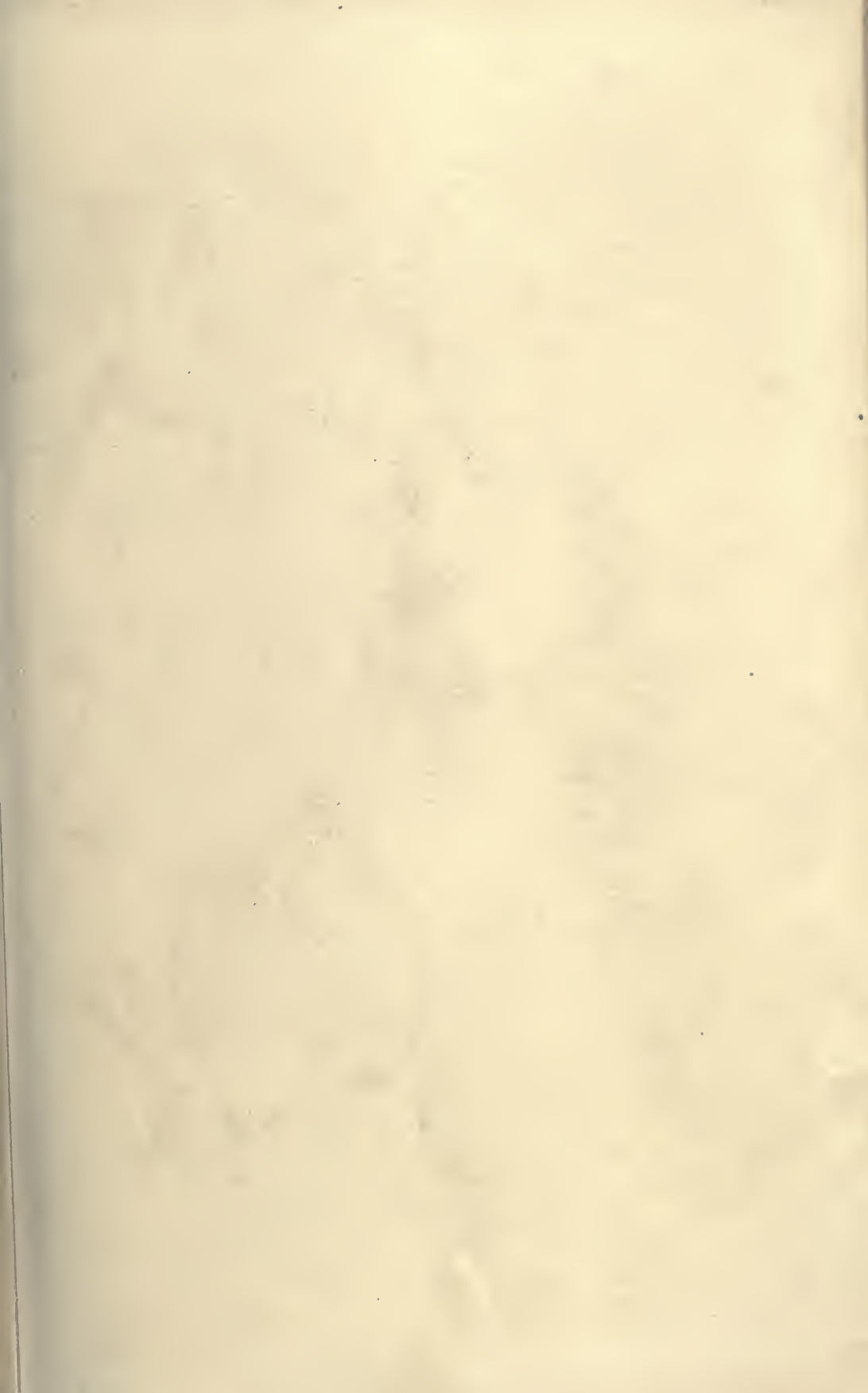
"Je ne suis Roy, ni Prince anssi,
Je suis le Seigneur de Couci."

Henry, when about to set out on his expedition to France, confided to Alexander the care of the northern borders. But in this same year, an event occurred which drew after it important consequences.

At a tournament held at Haddington, Walter Bisset, a member of a powerful family in the north, was over-
Murder of the Earl of Athole by the Bissets—
thrown by Patrick, Earl of Athole, a youth distinguished for his knightly accomplishments. It is alleged that the defeat was embittered by an old feud which existed between the Bissets and the family of Athole. A day or two after, the earl was murdered in the house where he lodged, which, probably for the purpose of concealing the atrocious crime, was set on fire by the assassins. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Bissets, and the nobility, headed by Patrick, Earl of March, and David de Hastings, who had married the aunt of Athole, flew to arms, and demanded vengeance, both upon Walter Bisset and his uncle William, the chief of the family, to whom popular clamour pointed as the author of the conspiracy. Bisset strenuously denied the charge. He urged that he was fifty miles distant from Haddington when the murder was committed. He instantly procured the sentence of excommunication against the assassins to be published, both in his own chapel and in all the churches of the kingdom. He offered to maintain his innocence by single combat, but he declined a trial by jury, "on account of the malevolence of the people and the implacable resentment of his enemies." The king strove to protect him from the fury of his enemies, and the queen, according to Fordun, offered to make oath, "that Bisset had never devised a crime so enormous;" that is to say, she was so convinced of his innocence, that she was willing to appear as one of his compurgators, if the case should be submitted to that mode of trial. At length it was decided that the estates of the Bissets should be forfeited, and that —their banishment. they should swear upon the Holy Gospel that they would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there, for the remainder of their lives, pray for the soul of the murdered earl.*

Walter Bisset, however, escaped to England, and sought to avenge himself on his enemies at the expense of his country and of the king, to whose protection he owed his life. He artfully represented to the English monarch that he was lord superior of Scotland, and ought to have been first consulted before judgment was given; "that Alexander, being his vassal, had no right to inflict such punishments on his nobles without the permission of his liege lord;" and in order still farther to excite Henry against the Scottish king, he described Scotland as the ally of France, and as the asylum of the fugitive enemies of England. Henry, who was a weak monarch, was inflamed to such a pitch by these misrepresentations, that he determined on an in-

* Hailes's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 157; Fordun, lib. ix. c. lix; *M. Paris*, p. 568.





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1. Great Seal of Alexander II.

2. Coin of Alexander II.

3. Seal of Euphemia Wife of Robert I.

4. Coin of Alexander III.

5. Great Seal of Alexander III.

mediate invasion of Scotland. He secretly applied to the Earl of Flanders for assistance. Henry III. and Alexander, organized a confederacy of Irish chiefs to aid him in his enterprise, by making a descent upon the Scottish coast, and assembled a large body of troops, with which he marched to Newcastle. Alexander was nothing daunted at these preparations. He declared that he never did and never would consent to hold from the king of England any portion of the kingdom of Scotland; and, with the strenuous support of his nobles, he succeeded in raising an army of a hundred thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to repel the unprovoked invasion. Matthew Paris, a contemporary English historian, has given us an interesting description of the accoutrements and discipline of this powerful host, and of the spirit by which it was animated. "The Scottish cavalry," according to his account, "were brave and well mounted, although their horses were neither of the Spanish nor Italian breed, and the horsemen were clothed in armour of iron net-work. The infantry," he adds, "approached to one hundred thousand, all unanimous, all animated by the exhortations of their clergy and by confession, courageously to fight and resolutely to die in the just defence of their native land."* The hostile armies came in sight of each other at a place in Northumberland called Ponteland; but, fortunately for both countries, peace was concluded without bloodshed. Alexander, as M. Paris tells us, was "a devout, upright, and courteous person, justly beloved by all the English nation no less than by his own subjects." The English nobles were by no means favourable to the rash enterprise of their imbecile king; and, through the exertions of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry, and the Archbishop of York, a treaty was concluded (A.D. 1244) on equitable terms. Henry prudently waived all demand of homage from Alexander for the kingdom of Scotland; and the Scottish monarch, on the other hand, agreed always to bear good faith and love to Henry as his dear and liege lord, and never to enter into alliance with the enemies of Henry, or of his heirs, unless they should unjustly aggrieve him. It was also stipulated, that the treaty concluded at York in 1237 should be maintained, and that the proposal there made of a marriage between the son of the King of Scots and the daughter of Henry should be carried into effect. Allan Durward, Henry de Baliol, David de Lindsay, with other knights and prelates, then swore on the soul of their lord the king that the treaty should be kept inviolate by him and his heirs.†

The only event of the reign of Alexander which remains to be noticed, is the maritime expedition which he undertook, in 1249, against Angus, Lord of Argyle, with the view of compelling that chief to pay to the Scottish crown the homage which he had been accustomed to render to the King of Norway. Alexander had conducted his fleet as far as

the Sound of Mull, when he was seized with a fever, and died in a small island, named Kerrara (8th July), in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried in the Abbey of Melrose in accordance with his own desire. Alexander was undoubtedly one of the ablest and best of our Scottish princes; and he was justly characterized by Fordun as "a king pious, just, and brave; as the shield of the church, the safeguard of the people, and the friend of the miserable." He was a zealous supporter of the independence of the Scottish Church, and a liberal patron of the clergy, particularly of the Dominican or Black Friars, for whom he founded no fewer than eight monasteries at Edinburgh, Berwick, Ayr, Perth, Aberdeen, Elgin, Stirling, and Inverness. Boece supposes that his partiality to these mendicants may have arisen from his having seen their founder, St. Dominic, in France, about the year 1217. "The sight of a living saint," says Lord Hailes, "may have made an impression on his young mind; but, perhaps, he considered the mendicant friars as the cheapest ecclesiastics. His revenues could not supply the costly institution of Cistercians and canons regular, in which his great-grandfather, David I., took delight."*

Alexander was succeeded by his only son, ALEXANDER-III., who had not completed his eighth year when the death of Alexander III. his father, on the 8th of July, 1249, opened to him the accession to the Scottish throne. He was immediately conducted by an assembly of the nobility to the Abbey of Scone, for the purpose of being crowned. It was objected by some of the nobles, that the king ought to be knighted before his coronation took place, and that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky. But Comyn, Earl of Menteith, urged the danger of delay, as Henry was intriguing at Rome to procure from the Pope an interdict against the coronation of the young prince, alleging that Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission; and he proposed that the Bishop of St. Andrews should both knight and crown the youthful monarch, as William Rufus had been knighted by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.† The patriotic arguments of Comyn prevailed. On the 13th of July, David de Bernham, the Bishop of St. Andrews, girded the king with the belt of knighthood, and then explained to him his duties, first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman-French. The various ceremonies employed upon the occasion presented a curious combination of old Celtic usages and of recently imported Anglo-Norman customs. The youthful monarch was seated upon the sacred stone of destiny, which formed the coronation chair; the crown was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand; he was invested with the royal mantle, and the barons and knights, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A

* M. Paris, p. 645; Chron. Mel. p. 156.

† Rymer's Foed. vol. i. pp. 374, 423; M. Paris, p. 646.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 174.

† Ibid.; Fordun, lib. x. c.

grey-haired Highland sennachy, or bard, clothed in a scarlet mantle, stepping forth from the crowd, repeated, in the Gaelic tongue, a long genealogical recitation, in which, beginning with "Hail, Alexander, King of Albion, son of Alexander, son of William, son of David," he carried up the royal pedigree through all its generations, to the fabulous Gathelus, who married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and was the contemporary of Moses.* It is doubtful whether Alexander understood a word of the rhapsody addressed to him, but he is recorded to have liberally rewarded the venerable genealogist.

The English king had at this time, in the spirit of his age, resolved upon an expedition to the Holy Land; and, in order to secure the northern borders of his kingdom from the incursions of the Scots during his absence, the marriage formerly agreed

The king's marriage on between his daughter Margaret and the young king of Scotland,

was solemnized at York, on the 20th of December, 1251. The ceremony was graced by the presence of Henry and his queen, of Mary de Couci, Queen-dowager of Scotland, who had come from France on the occasion with a numerous train, and of the principal nobility and prelates of both countries. The festivities, which lasted several days, appear to have been of the most magnificent character. "Were I," says a contemporary chronicler, "to explain at length the abundance of the feasts, the variety and the frequent changes of the vestments, the delight and the plaudits occasioned by the jugglers, and the multitude of those who sat down to meat, my narrative would become hyperbolic. I shall only mention that the Archbishop, who, as the great Prince of the North, showed himself a most serene host to all comers, made a donation of six hundred oxen, which were all spent upon the first course; and from this circumstance I leave you to form a parallel judgment of the rest."†

In the midst of these festivities, Alexander performed homage for the lands which he held in England; and Henry, with that mean and dishonourable policy, which was afterwards fully

Henry's attempt upon the independence of Scotland.

developed by his son, endeavoured to take advantage of the youth and inexperience of his relative and guest, by cunningly proposing that he should also render fealty for his kingdom of Scotland. But the young monarch, with a prudence and spirit beyond his years, replied, "that he had been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his parliament."‡ Henry was constrained to rest satisfied with this reply, and for the present, at least, to desist from his demand. It was agreed, however, that he should send into Scotland a trusty counsellor who might act in con-

cert with the Scottish nobles as guardian of the young king; and Geoffrey de Langley, keeper of the royal forests, was appointed to this important office; but he was speedily expelled by the barons on account of his rapacity and insolence.

It soon appeared that the English king had by no means laid aside his designs upon the independence of Scotland. In the year 1254, he procured Pope Innocent the Fourth to grant him a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom during three years, ostensibly for the aid of the Holy Land, but really for his own uses; and he despatched Simon de Montfort, the celebrated Earl of Leicester, on a secret mission, for the purpose of strengthening the English interest at the court of Alexander. At this period, the powerful family of the Comyns were at the head of Scottish affairs, and two of the barons of their party, Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, held the office of regents. They were fiercely opposed by a rival Scottish factions.

March, Strathern, and Carrick, Alexander the Steward of Scotland, and Alan Durward the High Justiciary, who had been accused at York of a design upon the crown. The interests of this party were espoused by Henry and his daughter, Queen Margaret, who complained that she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, a sad and solitary place, without verdure, and by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to choose her female attendants; and that she was not allowed to enjoy the society of her husband, the king.* Henry despatched the Earl of Gloucester, and Maunsell, his chief secretary, to the Scottish court, under the pretence of inquiring into the grievances complained of by the queen, but in reality for the purpose of assisting the discontented nobles in their machinations against the party which steadily opposed his interested schemes. While the Comyns and their supporters were engaged in preparations for holding a parliament at Stirling, the Earls of Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, in concert with the Earl of Gloucester and his associates, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and obtained possession of the persons of the king and queen.† As soon as Henry heard of the success of his forerunners, Gloucester and Maunsell, he immediately issued his writs to his military tenants, and assembling a numerous army, marched to the Scottish border, declaring, however, that in his visit to his son and daughter, he should attempt nothing prejudicial to the rights of the king, or the liberties of Scotland. Alexander and his queen were suddenly removed to Roxburgh, where they had an interview with Henry, who came from the castle of Wark for that purpose. The government of Scotland was there remodelled under his influence, and a deed was drawn up by which Alexander bound himself not to admit his Change of counsellors, or their friends, to any share in the management of the affairs of his

* Fordun, lib. x. c. l.; Chron. Mel. p. 219; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 405.
 † M. Paris, p. 630.
 ‡ Ibid. p. 829; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 467.

* M. Paris, p. 610. † Chron. Mel. p. 220.

kingdom, until they should make satisfaction to himself and the King of England for offences they were or might be charged with. In the room of the Comyns and their associates, the Earls of Fife, Dunbar, Strathern, Carrick, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and others of the nobility and clergy who were favourable to the English interest, were appointed regents of the kingdom, and guardians of the king and queen for seven years, till Alexander should have reached the age of twenty-one.* This deed, which was deposited in the hands of the English king, was loudly condemned, as derogatory to the honour of the kingdom, and the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop-elect of St. Andrews, the Chancellor, and the Earl of Menteith, indignantly refused to affix their seals to an instrument so prejudicial to the independence of the country.† Henry having thus, with characteristic cunning, concealed his designs against the liberties of Scotland under the mask of friendship, proceeded to recruit his exhausted coffers by selling a pardon to John de Baliol, and confiscating the estates of Robert de Ros, the late regents.

The arrangement made at Roxburgh by Henry and his partisans appears to have been maintained for about two years, during which the country was the scene of continual broils. Gamelin, the Bishop-elect of St. Andrews, who had been removed from his secular office on account of his opposition to the English faction, procured himself to be consecrated by the Bishop of Glasgow, in spite of an interdict issued by the regents; and although placed without the protection of the laws, he hastened to Rome, laid his complaint before the Pope, and induced him to excommunicate his enemies, and to declare him worthy of the bishopric.‡ The regents, enraged at the opposition of Gamelin, seized the revenues of his see, while Henry prohibited his return, and issued orders to arrest him if he attempted to land in England. But the opponents of the English faction continued to gain ground. Mary de Couci, the widow of Alexander the Second, and John de Brienne, her second husband, visited Scotland in 1257, and, animated with all her old hereditary hatred of England, immediately espoused the cause of the Comyns. At this juncture, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose—the delegates of the Pope—published the sentence of excommunication against the counsellors of the king. The Comyns promptly availed themselves of this favourable occurrence, declared that the government was in the hands of excommunicated and accursed persons, who had shamefully mismanaged the affairs of the state, and that the kingdom would soon be laid under a papal interdict. Finding that their cause increased in popularity, they suddenly rose in arms, seized the king and queen at Kinross, carried them to Stirling, and

totally dispersed the English faction.* Henry was at that time engaged in a contest with the Welsh, and the now dominant Comyns entered into a league with Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and the chiefs of the Principality, which stipulated that neither of the parties should make peace with the King of England without mutual consent.†

Alan Durward meanwhile fled to England, and the Comyns assembled their forces, The English faction put down. and, taking the king with them, marched against the English party. No hostilities, however, took place—the contest was ultimately settled by negotiation—and the King of England was compelled to dissemble his animosity against the Comyns, and his bitter mortification at the failure of his designs, and to accommodate himself to the altered state of parties in Scotland. A new regency was appointed (1258), which left the government of the country mainly in the hands of the queen dowager and the Comyns; but, with the view of conciliating the opposite party, Alan Durward, and other three of the late counsellors, were included in the number of the regents.‡

Shortly after the new government was established, the Comyns lost their great leader, Walter, Earl of Menteith. It was reported, in England, that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse; but, in Scotland, it was believed that he had been poisoned by his countess. The unhappy woman appears to have been instigated to the commission of this crime by a criminal passion which she had cherished for an Englishman, named John Russell, whom she soon afterwards married with indecent haste. She was openly charged with the murder of her husband, and she and her paramour were cast into prison, deprived of their estates, and ultimately compelled to leave the kingdom.§

In 1260, Henry, probably encouraged by the death of his opponent, made an attempt to regain his lost influence, and sent William de Horton, Renewed attempts of Henry on the independence of Scotland. a monk of St. Albans, on a secret mission to invite Alexander and his queen to repair to England, to treat of certain important affairs, which, however, were not communicated to the Scottish counsellors or parliament. Alexander and his nobles were, with good reason, jealous of this perpetual intermeddling of England, and they took careful precautions against any sinister designs upon the independence of their country. Alexander and his queen consented to visit London, but on the express condition that neither the king nor any of his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during their stay at the English court, and that Henry should make oath that he would not detain either the queen or her child, if her delivery should take place in England.

In accordance with this arrangement, the king

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 202; Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 566.
 † Chron. Mel. p. 221; Fordun, book x. chap. ix.
 ‡ Chron. Mel. p. 221.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 205; M. Paris. p. 644.
 † Rymer's Foed. vol. i. p. 653
 ‡ Ibid. p. 670.
 § Hailes, vol. i. p. 207.

and queen, accompanied by a considerable body of the Scottish nobility and clergy, repaired to the court of Henry, where they were entertained with unusual magnificence. The queen now drew near her time; and, at the urgent solicitation of her father, it was agreed that she should lie in at the English court. But such was the well-founded jealousy which was entertained of English ambition and intrigue, that Henry was required, a second time, to make oath that, in the event of the death of the queen or of Alexander, the royal infant should be delivered to an appointed body of the Scottish nobility and clergy, consisting of the leaders of both the great national parties. This stipulation having been made, Alexander returned

to Scotland, and in the month of February, 1261, his queen was delivered, at Windsor, of a daughter, who was named Margaret, and afterwards married to Eric, King of Norway.*

In the beginning of the following year, Henry interposed his good offices to prevent a rupture between Alexander and Haco, King of Norway, without effect. The Norwegian chiefs of the western islands, from their predatory habits, had long been formidable neighbours to the western coasts of Scotland; and they had not only overspread the whole of the western archipelago, but had frequently invaded and plundered the mainland. The Scottish king had made repeated attempts to obtain possession of these islands, and a number of the chiefs were induced, either by force or by motives of interest, to renounce their allegiance to the Norwegian crown, and to become the feudatories of Scotland. Alexander II., as we have seen, died on the coast of Argyleshire, while leading an expedition against the isles, to compel their chiefs to acknowledge him as their feudal superior. On the death of the king, the object of the expedition was abandoned, but it was resumed when Alexander III. took the reins of government into his own hand. After an unsuccessful attempt to gain his end by negotiation, he is alleged to have instigated the Earl of Ross, and other island chiefs, to invade the Hebrides, with the view of compelling the petty kings of these isles to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland. If we may credit the narratives of the Norwegian chroniclers, the invaders not only burned and plundered the villages, and even churches, but inflicted the most horrible cruelties upon the helpless inhabitants.† Haco, the Norwegian king, made immediate preparations for vengeance. Having collected a large fleet, he set sail from Herlover on the 7th of July, 1263. With this splendid armament—the most powerful that had ever sailed from Norway—Haco reached Shetland in two days, and thence sailed to Orkney, and anchored in the Bay

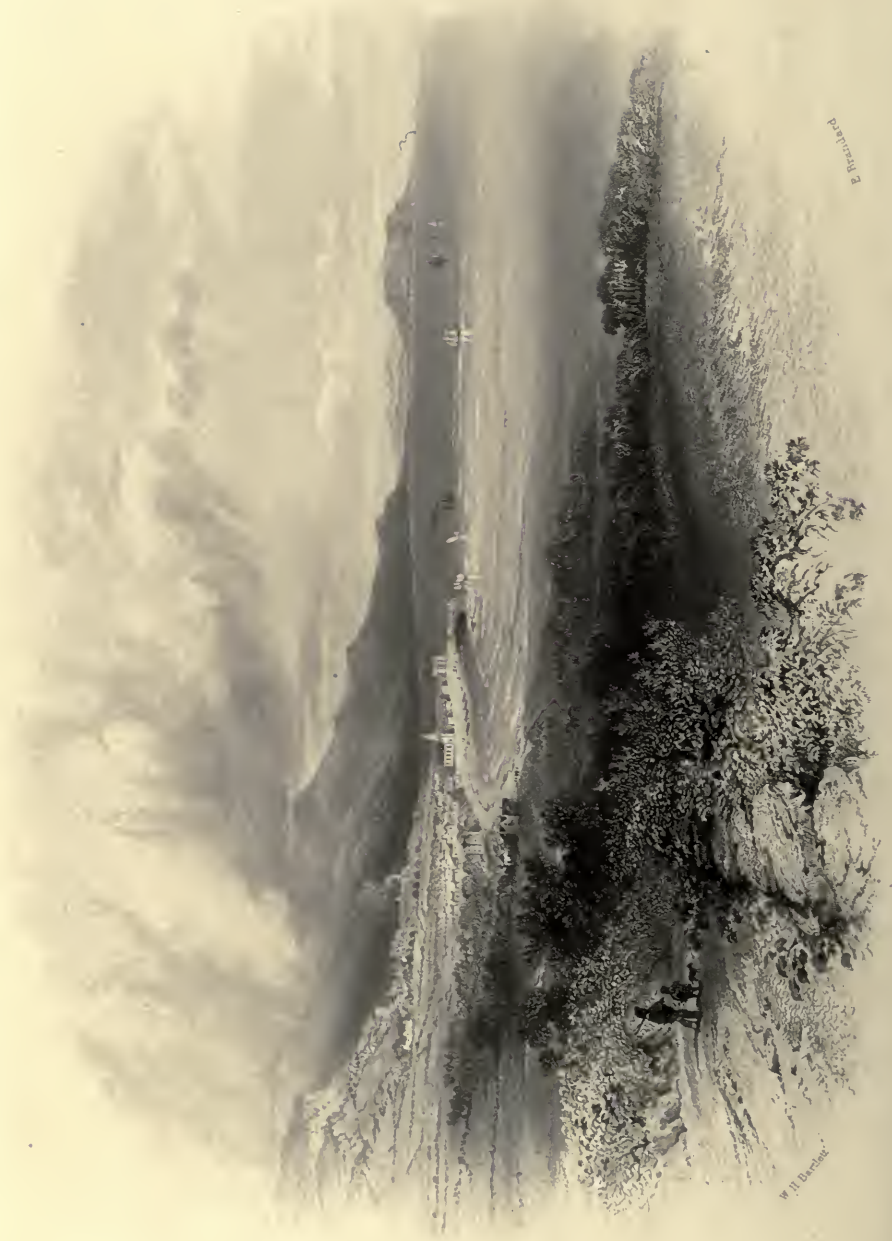
of Ronaldsvoe. There he remained for several weeks, levying contributions from the inhabitants both of the islands and of the opposite mainland. It is mentioned by the Norse Chronicle of the expedition, that while the fleet lay at Ronaldsvoe, “a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round the orb.” This incidental notice has afforded the means of ascertaining exactly the date of this expedition; and it is found that the remarkable phenomenon of an annular eclipse must have been seen at Ronaldsvoe on the 5th of August, 1263; “a fine example,” it has been justly said, “of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history.”

Haco now sailed for the south, and being joined, as he proceeded, by Magnus, the Lord of Man, and by Dugal, and other Hebridean chiefs, he found himself at the head of a fleet of above a hundred sail, most of them vessels of considerable size, and all well provided with men and arms. Dividing his forces, he sent a squadron of fifty ships to plunder the Mull of Cantyre; another, of five ships, to make a descent on the Isle of Bute; while Haco himself, with the rest of the fleet, remained at Gigha, a small island between Cantyre and Isla. The division which sailed against Bute, compelled the Scottish garrison of the Castle of Rothesay to surrender, and it appears that, at the instigation of Roderie, a pirate chief, who claimed Bute as his inheritance, the island was laid waste, and part of the garrison of Rothesay basely murdered. In the meantime, Haco himself, having recalled the forces which had been detached to plunder the peninsula of Cantyre, entered the Frith of Clyde, and anchored in the Sound of Kilbrannan, between the mainland and the Isle of Arran.

The Scottish government, seeing the imminent danger of a descent of the Norwegian host upon the mainland, endeavoured to effect a treaty of peace with Haco, and a temporary truce was agreed on, to afford an opportunity for the discussion of the terms of pacification. The demands made by Alexander were of the most moderate kind; he claimed Bute, Arran, and the two small islands of the Cumbrays, but offered to give up to Norway the whole of the Hebrides. Fortunately for Scotland, Haco would not listen to these terms, and as soon as the truce terminated, he despatched a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde into Loch Long, to plunder and lay waste the country on its shores. This detachment penetrated to the head of this loch, committing great devastation as they passed. A narrow neck of land divides Loch Long from Loch Lomond, the islands of which lake were crowded with inhabitants, who had fled for safety to those secluded retreats, doubtless with the confident expectation that they were thus placed completely beyond the reach of their ruthless foes. But the Norwegians dragged their light boats across the Isthmus of Tarbet, and launched them on Loch Lomond, and wasted with fire and sword

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 212; M. Westminster, p. 377.

† Johnstone's Notes to the Norse Account of Haco's Expedition.



E. Pringle del.

L. A. Beck sculp.

W. H. Barlow sculp.

the islets and shores of this beautiful lake. In the words of a Norwegian bard who commemorates this exploit, "The persevering shielded warriors of the thrower of the whizzing spear drew their boats across the broad isthmus. Our fearless troops, the exactors of contribution, with flaming brands wasted the populous islands in the lake, and the mansions around its circling bays." Another expedition of a similar character was undertaken into Stirlingshire, by one of the Hebridean chiefs, who slew great numbers of the inhabitants, and returned laden with plunder.

But the delay which had taken place had given the Scots time to collect their forces, and the elements now began to fight against the invaders. A storm destroyed ten of the ships which lay in Loch Long, and soon after, on Monday, the 1st of October, the rest of the fleet, which still lay in the Frith of Clyde, encountered a tempest of such tremendous violence from the south-west, accompanied with torrents of hailstones and rain, that several of the vessels were cast a-shore, and the remainder, mostly dismantled or otherwise disabled, were driven up the channel towards Largs. A multitude of armed peasants occupied the heights above the sea-shore, ready to take advantage of the disaster of the invading fleet, and they immediately fell upon the crews of the stranded vessels. But the Norwegians defied themselves with great intrepidity, and the wind having somewhat abated, assistance was sent them by Haco, and they succeeded in driving off their assailants. When daylight appeared, the Norwegian king landed at the head of a strong reinforcement, for the protection of two transports that had been cast ashore the preceding day, and which the Scots had attempted to plunder during the night. Soon after, the Scottish army, led by the king in person, along with Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, came down from the high grounds above the village of Largs. It consisted

Battle of Largs. of a numerous body of foot soldiers, well accoutred, and for the most part armed with spears and bows, and of fifteen hundred cavalry, armed from head to heel, and mounted on Spanish horses, which were also clothed in complete armour. The Norwegians, who were greatly outnumbered by this force, were drawn up in three divisions, one of which occupied an eminence that rises behind the village of Largs, while the other two were stationed on the beach. As the engagement was about to commence, Haco was with great difficulty prevailed upon by his chiefs to return in his barge to his fleet at the Cumbrays, to send them further reinforcements. But he had scarcely reached his ship when another storm arose, and rendered it impossible, for the present, to land additional forces. In the meantime, the van of the Scottish army had encountered and put to flight the advanced body of the Norwegians. The fugitives, in their headlong retreat, disordered the ranks of the squadrons drawn up on the shore. The rout soon became general. Many of the Norwegians threw themselves into their boats and attempted to regain their ships, but some of the

boats became overloaded and were swamped. The rest of the troops retreated along the shore, closely pursued by the victorious Scots. They repeatedly rallied, however, and made an obstinate stand wherever the nature of the ground afforded a favourable opportunity of resistance. The Scottish king was wounded in the face by an arrow, and Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, was slain. But the pursuers pressed on in increasing numbers and with redoubled fury. The slaughter among the retreating Norwegians now became very great, and Haco, the nephew of the king, and one of the most renowned champions in the host, fell, along with many others of the principal leaders; and but for the timely arrival of a reinforcement from the fleet, which by extraordinary efforts effected a landing through a tremendous surf, the Norwegian army would have been entirely destroyed. These fresh troops immediately attacked the victorious Scots, and, if we may give implicit credit to the Norse account of the battle, succeeded in driving them back from the high grounds overhanging the shore. "At the conflict of corslets on the blood-red hill," says the Norwegian chronicler, "the damasked blade hewed the Defeat of the mail of hostile tribes, ere the Scot, Norwegians. nimble as the hound, would leave the field to the followers of an all-conquering king." The relics of the invading force then re-embarked in their boats and regained their ships.

Meanwhile, the storm continued to rage with unabated fury, and the remaining ships of Haco's magnificent fleet were dreadfully shattered and distressed. Many of them were driven from their anchorage, and dashed against each other, or flung upon the shores and rocks. The beach was covered with the fragments of the vessels, and with the dead bodies of their crews. A truce was granted to Haco, for the purpose of burying his dead.* After the performance of this melancholy duty, the unfortunate monarch collected all that remained of his once noble fleet, and sailed away to the Island of Arran. He then, after a short delay, steered for the northern islands, which at that time were the undisputed property of the Norwegian crown; and after much loss and suffering from the stormy weather, which continued throughout the whole of his homeward voyage, he at last reached Orkney, on the 29th of October. Here an illness seized him, brought on by mental anxiety and grief, as much as by incessant fatigue. He lingered for some weeks, struggling Death of King bravely against his disease, and Haco. endeavouring to soothe his mind under his misfortunes, with the thought that he was overthrown by divine, rather than by human power. "The arm of God," he said, "and not the strength of

* The cairns and tumuli erected over the slain Norwegians are still visible on the field of battle, a little to the south of Largs. In the centre there once stood a large granite pillar, ten feet high; it fell down many years ago. On some of the cairns being opened, great quantities of human bones have been found, and also warlike weapons, particularly axes and swords.

man, hath repulsed me, wrecked my ships, and sent death among my soldiers." As he felt his end approaching, he received the last rites which the church administers to the dying, and the spirit of the old Norse warrior reviving within him, he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors, the pirate kings, to be read to him; and he expired at midnight, on the 15th of December, with these wild tales of bloodshed and rapine still sounding in his ears.*

The victory of Largs was, in its consequences, one of the most important ever won by the Scots. It extended and consolidated the Scottish dominions, and freed the kingdom for ever, from the incursions of those savage warriors, who had been so long the terror and scourge of western Europe. Alexander lost no time in following up the advantages already gained; and so vigorous were the measures which he adopted, that the King of Man, and all the chiefs of the western isles who had adhered to Haco, were compelled to acknowledge themselves the liegemen of the King of Scotland, and to consent that, in future, they should hold their dominions of the Scottish crown. Magnus, the King of Man, did homage to Alexander at Dumfries, in 1264, and became bound to furnish to his lord paramount, when required by him, ten galleys or ships of war; five with twenty-four oars, and five

Final settlement with twelve.† Two years later, of the quarrel with after long negotiations, a treaty Norway.

was concluded with Norway, by which all claim of sovereignty over the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and all other islands in the southern and western seas, was ceded to the Scottish crown. But the islands of Orkney and Shetland were expressly excepted from this stipulation. It was agreed that the Hebrides, and other isles made over to Scotland, were in future to be governed by the laws of that kingdom; but the Scandinavian inhabitants received permission to retire with all their property. On the other hand, it was stipulated that the King and estates of Scotland should pay to Norway four thousand marks, of the Roman standard, and a yearly quit-rent of a hundred marks sterling, for ever. And all parties became bound to fulfil their obligations, under a penalty of ten thousand marks, to be exacted by the Pope.‡ This treaty ended for ever the wars betwixt Scotland and Norway; and the bonds of amity between the two kingdoms were subsequently drawn still closer by the marriage of the Princess Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, with the youthful Eric, Haco's successor.

In 1272, Henry III. of England died, after a reign of nearly sixty years. At the death of Henry III., and accession of his son, the able, of Edward I. but unscrupulous Edward I., in 1274, Alexander and his queen, the new king's

* See the Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland, translated, with Notes, by the Rev. James Johnstone; and Observations on the Norwegian Expedition, &c. by James Dillon, Esq., in Transactions of the Society of the Antiquarians of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 350—407.

† Hailes, vol. i. p. 213; Fordun, book x. chap. xviii.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 215; Fordun, book x. chap. xix.

sister, attended with a splendid retinue, and did homage, according to custom, for his English possessions. He seems, not without reason, to have placed no great reliance on the honour or upright intentions of this brother-in-law; for he took good care to obtain a letter, under Edward's hand, declaring in explicit terms, that this friendly visit should not be construed into anything prejudicial to the independence of Scotland. In 1278, the King of Scotland appeared before the English Parliament at Westminster, and in general terms acknowledged himself the liegeman of Edward, and the oath of fealty was taken for him by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, concluding with these words:—"I shall faithfully perform the services used and wont for the lands and tenements which I hold of the said king."* Edward, who had evidently formed the design of entrapping the Scottish king into the performance of an unconditional homage, on which he might afterwards have founded the plea that Scotland was the fief of England, was forced to accept the guarded acknowledgment as it was given. And he showed his understanding of the oath of fealty, as sworn on this occasion, and at the same time manifested his chagrin at the failure of his crafty scheme, by declaring that he reserved his claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it.

The preceding years of Alexander's reign, from the time that he assumed the reins of government into his own hand, had been remarkably prosperous. The firm, yet prudent and conciliatory manner in which he conducted the affairs of his kingdom, had secured him the confidence and affection of his people; and the country, freed from both foreign invasion and internal disturbances, was steadily developing its energies and advancing in civilization.

In 1281, the Princess Margaret was married to Eric, King of Norway, then a youth in his fourteenth year,† and this most politic alliance was, soon after (1282), followed by the marriage of Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, then in his nineteenth year, to Margaret, a daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders. But the fair prospect of continued prosperity and happiness to the king and nation which these alliances held out, was speedily overcast, and the tidings of disasters which followed each other in rapid succession, spread dismay throughout the kingdom. Alexander had, some years before this, met with a severe domestic affliction, in the death of his queen. His second son, David, died when a boy. His daughter, Margaret, the Queen of Norway, died in child-bed, in the latter part of the year 1283, leaving an only child, named after

* Rymer's Foed. vol. ii. p. 126.

† It appears from her marriage settlement, that at this period of our history, the price of land was ten years' purchase.

Designs of Edward on the independence of Scotland.

Marriage of the Princess Margaret and of the Prince Royal of Scotland—

—their deaths.

her mother, and called in Scottish history the Maiden of Norway. The death of Queen Margaret was followed by that of her brother Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, on the 28th of January, 1284. The Scottish king was thus in a few months bereft, by death, of all his children, and the hopes which were entertained, that the peace and prosperity of the country would be maintained under the sway of his descendants, were suddenly blasted.

These sad calamities rendered it necessary that immediate measures should be taken for the settlement of the succession to the crown. For this purpose the parliament was assembled at Scone, on the 5th of February, 1284, when the estates of the realm solemnly bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret, Princess of Norway, as their sovereign, failing any children whom Alexander might have, and failing any issue of the Prince of Scotland, deceased. Mention is made of the issue of the prince, because the parliament, having assembled immediately after his death, it was uncertain whether the princess might not yet present the kingdom with an heir to the crown.* Alexander was still a man in the flower of life, and to avert, if possible, the evils of a disputed succession, he took for his second wife, Joleta, the young and beautiful daughter of the Count of Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated at Jedburgh with great magnificence and much popular rejoicing. But evil omens accompanied this union. In the midst of the festivities which graced the joyful occasion, a spectral figure, habited like the King of Terrors, glided with fearful gestures among the personages of a strange masque which was exhibited, and at length suddenly vanished. This skeleton-like figure was, no doubt, a part of the pageant; but it was in bad taste, and excited such terror and apprehensions of evil among the guests, that Fordun considers it as a supernatural prognostication of the fearful calamities that were about to fall upon the country.† These forebodings of evil were unhappily soon realised. Within a year

Death of Alexander III. March, 1286, as Alexander was riding in a dark night between Kinghorn and Burntisland, on the northern shore of the Frith of Forth, his horse suddenly stumbled over a rocky cliff above the sea, at a place now known by the name of King's Wood End, and the rider was killed on the spot.

The death of Alexander at this critical juncture was, perhaps, the greatest national calamity that has ever befallen the kingdom of Scotland. The lamentation was universal, and all classes looked forward with dismay to the consequences which seemed likely to ensue,—

“—Old men and beldames
Did prophecy about it dangerously.”

“When it is considered,” says Sir Walter Scott,‡ that his only near heir was a mere infant, and

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 222. † Fordun, book x. chap. xl.

‡ Quarterly Review, vol. xi. p. 340.

residing in the distant country of Norway, and that the failure of a life so precarious must necessarily open the way to all the evils of a disputed succession, it is no wonder that the credulous recalled the phantom of death which had appeared in the hour of nuptial revelry; that even the nobles of the land listened to pale-eyed soothsayers intimating disasters which they dared not openly name;* or that a people, attached to music and poetry, should have commemorated their king's gentle government and their own loss, in the following rude but affectionate lines, supposed to be the earliest specimen that is preserved of the Scots-Saxon, or Lowland Scottish dialect. (The spelling is modern.)

“When Alexander our king was dead,
Who Scotland led in love and le,
Away was sonse‡ of ale and bread,
Of wine and war, and game and glee,
Our gold is turned into lead;
Christ, born into virginity,
Scourge poor Scotland and remeid,§
That stad|| is in perplexity.”

Alexander died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign. “Let no one question the salvation of this king because of his violent death,” says Fordun; “he who has lived well, cannot die ill.”¶ He was universally regretted, for his virtues both public and private. He was temperate in his habits, His character. pure in his morals, and exemplary in all his domestic relations. He was kind and gentle in his manners, and at the same time firm and constant in his purposes. His policy towards England was conciliatory and forbearing, but he was the resolute defender of the independence both of the kingdom and church of Scotland. His love of justice was most conspicuous, and greatly endeared him to the whole body of his subjects. Attended by his justiciary and his principal nobles, he made an annual progress through his kingdom, for the redress of injuries and the punishment of evil-doers; so that the common people were protected from the oppressions of the barons, and their bands of insolent retainers. “In his time,” says Fordun, “the church flourished; its ministers were honoured with due reverence; vice was openly discouraged; craft and violence were alike overawed; injury ceased, and the reign of virtue, truth, and justice, was maintained throughout the land. He reigned over himself as well as others, and was regarded far and near, not only among his friends but his enemies, and especially the English, with

* Referring to the well-known prediction of Thomas the Rhymer to the Earl of March, the day before Alexander's death, “That before the next day, at noon, such a tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt for many years before.” The next morning, the day being clear, says Boece, and no change appearing in the air, the nobleman did challenge Thomas of his saying, calling him an impostor. He replied that noon was not yet passed. About which time a post came to advertise the earl of the king his sudden death. “Then,” said Thomas, “this is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland.”—See Spottiswoode, p. 47.

‡ Tranquillity. § Remedy.
|| Placed. ¶ Boec x. chap. xl.

love as well as fear." We need not wonder that a monarch adorned with so many virtues was deeply lamented, and that his memory was long and affectionately cherished by the people of Scotland.

MARGARET OF NORWAY, the granddaughter of Alexander, who had been recognized as heir to the crown in 1284, was residing in Norway at the time of her grandfather's death. It was therefore necessary, both on account of her infancy and her absence from the kingdom, to appoint a regency; and at a parliament held at Scone, on the 11th of April, 1286, six guardians of the realm were by common consent chosen to carry on the government of the country. Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, Duncan, Earl of Fife, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan, were intrusted with the administration of the northern division of Scotland, beyond the Frith of Forth. The country to the south of the Forth was committed to the charge of Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, and James, the High Steward of Scotland.*

It soon became apparent, that a long minority was the least of the evils which the kingdom had now to dread. The rule of a female sovereign was new to Scotland, and was repugnant to the whole course of the habits and feelings of the powerful and turbulent barons, who exercised almost regal sway in that country. According to the feudal system, the king was little else than the first of a band of warriors—their leader in battle as well as their ruler in peace; and in that rude and warlike age, it was reckoned disgraceful for noble knights to obey the orders of a woman. The right of the Maiden of Norway to the Scottish throne was therefore immediately called in question. Even in the parliament at Scone, the claims of Bruce and Baliol were zealously advocated by their respective partisans; and a few months later (Sept. 20, 1286), the adherents of the former, including Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith; James, the High Steward of Scotland; Angus, son of Donald, the Lord of the Isles; and others of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, along with two influential English barons,—Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster,—assembled at Turnberry Castle, for the purpose of supporting Bruce's title to the crown as the descendant of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion. For this purpose they entered into an agreement, by which they bound themselves to adhere to one another on all occasions and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and also to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland, as the rightful heir of the late king.†

In the meantime, the able but unprincipled King of England had formed the project of annexing the kingdom of Scotland to his own dominions. On being informed of

the death of Alexander, his brother-in-law and faithful ally, he exclaimed to his confidential counsellors, "Now the time is at last arrived, when Scotland and its petty kings shall be reduced under my power." He was careful, however, to conceal his insidious designs till the proper time for their disclosure should arrive. Meanwhile, he contented himself with watching the progress of affairs in Scotland, and observing, with malignant satisfaction, the intestine strife to which the heartburnings and jealousies of the Scottish nobles gave rise. In 1288, the number of the regents was reduced to four, by the assassination of Duncan, Earl of Fife, and the death of the Earl of Buchan.* The High Steward, another of the regents, had espoused the cause of Bruce, and was therefore hostile to the rights of the youthful queen; and at length the quarrel between the rival factions of Bruce and Baliol broke out into an open war, and the whole kingdom was plunged into a state of confusion.†

While the country was thus torn by internal dissensions and rapidly tending to a precarious state of anarchy, it is alleged that the States of Scotland foolishly sent ambassadors to the King of England, requesting his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom; but the truth of this statement has been denied, as not resting upon any good authority. It is certain, however, that in the end of the year 1289, Eric, King of Norway, opened a negotiation with Edward regarding the affairs of his infant daughter, and her kingdom of Scotland. This was precisely what the English monarch wished and expected, and he at once eagerly caught at the offer made to him by the father of the youthful queen. At his request, the Scottish regents appointed the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Robert Bruce and John Comyn, to treat, in the presence of the English monarch, regarding the matters proposed by the Norwegian ambassadors, "saving always the liberty and honour of Scotland."‡ To this conference, which was appointed to be held at Salisbury, Edward sent the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and the Earls of Pembroke and Warenne.

Edward had, at the outset, formed the project of a marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and his only son, Edward, Prince of Wales, and he had secretly procured a dispensation for the marriage from the Pope, as the youthful pair were within the prohibited degrees. This scheme, however, was not yet suffered to transpire, and no direct allusion was made to it in the treaty which was drawn up at Salisbury. It was there stipulated, that the queen should be immediately conveyed either to her own dominions or to England, untrammelled by any matrimonial engagement; and that if Edward received her thus free, he would, on demand, deliver her as free to

* Fordun, book xi. chap. i.; Hailes, vol. i. p. 225.

† Tytler's Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 55.

* Fordun, book xi. chap. xi.

† Hailes, vol. i. p. 226.

‡ Ibid., Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 481.

the Scottish nation; provided always, that good order should be previously established in Scotland, so that she might reside there with safety to her person,—a clause which evidently gave an unscrupulous monarch, like Edward, the power of detaining the queen in England as long as it might serve his purpose to do so. The Scottish commissioners undertook, before receiving the queen, to give security to Edward, that she should not marry without his counsel and consent, and that of her father, the King of Norway. It was also stipulated that peace and good order should be established in Scotland before the arrival of the queen, so that she might go there with safety, and remain in all freedom; and with regard to the guardians or public officers in Scotland, it was provided, that should any of these be suspected persons, or in the opinion of the King of Norway unfit for their offices, they should be removed, and persons of the highest rank and character appointed in their room by the advice of the "good men" of Scotland and Norway; and if they differed in their opinions, the dispute should be settled by the commissioners whom Edward might appoint to act as umpires. Of this convention three copies were made, one in Latin, which was transmitted to the King of Norway, and two, in French, were retained for the use of the Scots and English,—a proof, as Lord Hailes remarks, that among both nations at this period, Norman-French was the language in which state affairs were generally conducted.*

The conditions of this treaty, so favourable to the designs of the English monarch, render it evident that some at least of the Scottish commissioners had been gained over to his interest; and it is probable that they had been privately sounded respecting the proposed marriage between Prince Edward and their queen, and had been instructed to prepare the minds of the nobility and people of Scotland for its favourable reception. As soon as the projected alliance became generally known, the Estates of Scotland assembled at Brigham, a village on the north bank of the Tweed, between Coldstream and Kelso, and from thence addressed a letter to the English king, expressing, in warm terms, their joy at the good news which had reached them, "that the Apostle had granted a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret, their dear lady and their queen, with Prince Edward, and beseeching him to inform them if the report was true. 'If it is,'" they conclude, "'we, on our part, heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to such reasonable conditions as we shall propose to your council.'"† They wrote at the same time to Eric, King of Norway, informing him of their consent to the union, and urging him to send his daughter immediately to England. It is evident that, at this period, the idea of an alliance with England was by no means unpopular among the

Scottish nobility, many of whom, as we have seen, were of Anglo-Norman extraction, and held estates in both kingdoms. They were careful, however, to take the most jealous precautions that all the rights and immunities of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, should be upheld and preserved. The final arrangements respecting the proposed marriage were concluded at Brigham, Articles of the on the 18th of July, 1290, be-treaty of Brigham tween the guardians, clergy, carls, barons, and whole community of Scotland, and the Bishop of Durham and five other plenipotentiaries on the part of England. It was agreed that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to be inviolably observed in all times coming, throughout the whole kingdom and its marches, saving always the rights which the King of England, or any other person, has possessed before the date of this treaty, in the marches or elsewhere, or which may accrue to him in all time coming. It was stipulated also, that failing Margaret and Edward, or either of them, without issue, the kingdom should belong to the nearest heirs to whom it ought of right to belong, wholly, freely, absolutely, and without any subjection; that the queen, if she should survive her husband, was to be given up to the Scottish nation free from all matrimonial engagements; that the kingdom of Scotland was for ever to remain separate from England; that the ecclesiastical privileges of the country should be preserved in all their integrity; that no native of Scotland was in any case whatever to be compelled to answer, out of the kingdom, for offences committed in Scotland; that the national records were to remain within the realm, and that no aids of money or levies of troops should be demanded, unless in such cases as were warranted by former usage.*

The articles of this treaty were ratified by the guardians and community of Scotland, and eagerly confirmed by Edward, who took a solemn oath to maintain them inviolate. Edward, presuming on the power which he Edward's impetuous conduct. had thus acquired over the Scottish people, appointed the Bishop of Durham to the office of Governor of Scotland, a step altogether unwarrantable; and growing more insolent in his demands as he found them patiently submitted to, he intimated to the Estates, "that certain rumours of danger and peril to the kingdom of Scotland having reached his ear, he judged it right that all castles and places of strength in that kingdom should be delivered up to him."† This demand, however, met with a peremptory refusal, with which Edward was obliged to rest satisfied. But the events of a few weeks rendered these treaties and stipulations of no effect. The young queen having at length set sail from Norway, fell sick on her passage, and died at Orkney, about the end of September, 1290, in the eighth year of

* Annals, vol. i. p. 228; Rymer Foed. vol. ii. pp. 446, 447.

† Hailes, vol. i. p. 228; Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 472.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 231—235.

† Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 488.

her age. When the tidings of this fatal event reached Scotland, "the kingdom was troubled," says the Bishop of St. Andrews, "and its inhabitants sank into despair." In 1284, the crown had been settled on the descendants of Alexander III., but no further provision had been made for its descent. By the untimely death of the Maiden of Norway, the descendants of Alexander III. were altogether extinguished,* and the country was now exposed to all the evils of a disputed succession, to intestine broils, and, as it proved, to foreign conquest.

INTERREGNUM.—The situation in which Scotland Edward's measures. was now placed seemed every way favourable to the designs of the English king. There is no authority for believing, as has sometimes been asserted, that the parliament or people of Scotland ever requested the advice and mediation of the English monarch in settling the succession to the throne. But it now appears, from some important documents recently discovered,† that a direct invitation to interfere in the affairs of Scotland was given to him by Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and his adherents; and that they appealed to the authority and protection of Edward and of the royal crown of England, against an alleged design of William, Bishop of St. Andrews, and John Comyn, the guardians of Scotland, to raise John Baliol to the throne; and placed themselves, their adherents, kindred, and effects, moveable and immoveable, under the special guard and protection of the English king. These documents afford too much reason to suspect, that Bruce and his accomplices were prepared to sacrifice the independence of their country, to conciliate the favour of Edward and to gain their own selfish ends. It would appear, also, that two of the guardians of Scotland, and a majority of the nation, were at this period inclined to prefer Baliol as the lawful heir of the Scottish crown; and hence this base and treasonable attempt, on the part of Bruce and his partisans, to obtain the support of the English king. Edward readily listened to their appeal, so far as suited his own interest. There can be no doubt that he had already resolved to claim the right to determine this question, in his pretended character of Lord Superior of the kingdom of Scotland; and the motives which led to his interference are candidly stated by an old English historian:—"The King of England having assembled his privy council and chief nobility, told

them that he had it in his mind to bring under his dominion the king and the realm of Scotland, in the same manner that he had subdued the kingdom of Wales."*

For this purpose he summoned the barons and military tenants of Yorkshire, Lan- Conference at cashire, Westmoreland, Cumber- Norham. land, and Northumberland, to assemble at Norham, on the 3rd of June, 1291; and he requested the clergy and nobility of Scotland to hold a conference with him at the same place, but on an earlier day—the 10th of May. On the day appointed the conference took place. The proceedings were opened by the English Justiciary, Roger Brabazon, who, in the name of his sovereign, distinctly announced that he meant to regulate the succession to the throne of Scotland, as Lord Paramount of that kingdom. "Wherefore," he added, Edward's claim as "our lord the king, for the due Lord Paramount. accomplishment of this design, doth require your hearty recognition of his title of Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland."†

There could be nothing more unjust than this claim of the English monarch. It Injustice of the has been observed by Sir Walter claim. Scott, that "to create a fief as a feudal dependence, the superior must be proprietor of the lands which he bestows upon the vassal, and the vassal must receive them under condition of homages and services. Now, the monarchs of England were never in possession of Scotland, properly so called. That kingdom, the original seat of the Scots in the remote province of Argyre, was extended by the conquest of the Picts to the northern borders of the Frith of Forth, called, from being their boundary, the Scottish Sea. The provinces thus conquered and melted down into the kingdom called Albania, and afterwards Scotland, were territories which the English had never possessed, or claimed right to, and lay beyond the more northern wall, where the Southern Britons never set foot, but as flying from the sword of the Romans. This change of territory in North Britain took place so early as 538. At this period, there is not only no proof of the King of England having interfered with the conquest of the Scots over Pictland, or to dispose of the lands of the vanquished; but it seems probable there was not a king of England to make the grant, or to receive the homage. The idea, therefore, that Scotland was held as a fief of England, seems totally groundless. At no moment, till the temporary usurpation of Edward I., had any king of England such possession of Scotland as to dispose of it as a fief, either to the Scottish king, or any other: nor was it in any respect by English cession, permission, or convenience, that Kenneth Macalpine and his successors swayed their sceptre."‡

The modern supporters of the English supremacy over Scotland, unable to resist the force of these

* It is a remarkable fact, that within the period of a century, William the Lion, and his posterity, had made no fewer than ten marriages, and yet there was not now a descendant of that king in existence. Of these ten marriages, so many as six produced no issue; the remaining four produced only four males and five females, and all these nine persons were now dead. See *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 707.

† *Palgrave's Documents and Records*, illustrating the History of Scotland. Fordun, Barbour, and Wintown represent Bruce as having had the first offer of the Scottish crown, and that it was only on his refusal to hold it as the vassal of the English king that Baliol was preferred. The documents referred to, show, that these statements are completely devoid of truth.

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 60.

† *Ibid.* p. 70; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 82.

‡ *Quarterly Review*, vol. xli. p. 342.

arguments, have endeavoured to show that the supremacy in question was "one of a peculiar nature—a special tenure arising out of the ancient dependence of the Scottish Regulus, upon the Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, Basileus, or Emperor, and not to be cramped by arguments to be drawn from a later jurisprudence." According to this theory, Scotland was not a feudal dependency of England, but "a member of the Anglo-Saxon empire," governed by "under-kings," and subjected to its "over-lord, the Basileus, or Emperor of Britain." To this assertion it may be answered, First, That there is no evidence that the dignity of Bretwalda ever had a legal or permanent existence among the Anglo-Saxons. "An imaginary being," it has been justly said, "is created to substantiate an imaginary right." Until the time of Egbert, (A.D. 825,) there was nothing like unity among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and the superiority he had acquired over the other petty Anglo-Saxon princes was soon lost by his successors. The whole of England was not united in one monarchy till the complete subjugation of the Danish invaders, and the coalition of the southern and northern states, after the death of Edwy (A.D. 958). In these circumstances, it is preposterous to talk of the dependence of the Scottish "under-king," on the Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, or "over-lord," when there was no Bretwalda in existence to enforce or to receive the acknowledgment of supremacy. Secondly, Edward claimed the right to settle the succession to the Scottish throne, not as Bretwalda, or Basileus, but as the feudal Superior and Lord Paramount of Scotland. As such, he was acknowledged by the competitors for the crown, and by the Scottish guardians and nobles. After the convention at Norham, he styles himself, in addition to his former titles, the Superior or Sovereign Lord of Scotland. It was, therefore, the feudal superiority of that kingdom which he claimed and attempted to exercise, and not any vague, undefined supremacy, as the Emperor of Britain. Thirdly, Circular writs were addressed by Edward "to the cathedrals and principal monasteries throughout England, commanding them to search their chronicles and archives for all matters relating to Scotland, and to transmit them to the king under their common seals;" but no instance, nor even pretended instance, was adduced (excepting the temporary submission of William the Lion), in which homage had been rendered for the kingdom of Scotland, or feudal services performed which could be regarded as an acknowledgment of superiority. If any such instance could have been adduced, we may rest assured that it would have been brought forward.

The only homage which the Scottish kings paid to the English crown before the Norman Conquest was not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for the possessions which, having formerly been part and portion of England, were ceded to the Scots by the monarchs of that country. These territories were: the lordship of Cumberland, ceded to the Scottish

crown in 945; and Lothian, including Berwickshire, ceded in 971. These latter districts, though they have long been integral parts of Scotland, were never subject to a Scottish king till they were ceded by Edgar to Kenneth, under the condition of homage and allegiance, and were held by the Scottish princes under this burthen, exactly in the same manner as the English monarchs held their own French possessions, under the burthen of homage and fealty to the King of France. It is, no doubt, true, as we have seen, that on various occasions the English sovereigns endeavoured to circumvent their Scottish neighbours, and to pervert the homage, which they admitted to be due for their possessions in England, into an unconditional homage for the kingdom of Scotland.* All such attempts, however, were steadily resisted and baffled, with the single exception of the case of William the Lion, from whom a general acknowledgment of fealty was wrung, as the price of his liberation from captivity. But his engagement to become the liegeman of the English king was cancelled by Richard I., on payment of a large sum of money; so that the relation between the countries returned to the original footing. The very treaty which Edward had entered into with the Scottish Estates, at Brigham, in 1290, was sufficient to prove how unfounded were his pretensions to supremacy over Scotland; for if that country had been a fief of the English crown, then the Maiden of Norway would, of necessity, have been a ward of the King of England, who would have had a right to dispose of her in marriage, without submitting to negotiate on the subject with those who, in that case, would have been his own vassals. Nevertheless Edward, availing himself of the favourable conjuncture of affairs, and of his own position as the umpire among the competitors for the Scottish throne, demanded, as a preliminary condition of his decision, "the hearty recognition of his title as Superior and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland."

Bruce and his adherents, who had instigated this demand, must of course have been prepared for this claim of superiority, but the rest of the assembly listened to it with astonishment and dismay. At length, a solitary voice was heard to utter these words: "No answer can be made while the throne is vacant."† "By Holy Edward," cried the King of England, "whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights or perish in the attempt." "And to make this speech good," says an old English chronicler, "he had issued writs for the convocation of his army, so that, in case of his demand being resisted, he might conquer all opposition, were it to the death."‡ "He was enraged because they suspected him, and at the same time showed that their suspi-

* It is worthy of notice, that in the account given in the English official records of the homage rendered by Alexander III., the original words of homage have been fraudulently erased, and others substituted in their place,—a clear proof that the terms in which it was expressed had not been satisfactory to the English monarch. The record is still extant, and the fraud visible.

† Walsingham, p. 56.

‡ Hemingford, p. 30.

cions were just." The Scottish Estates found themselves placed in very trying circumstances, and they requested time to consult with their absent members. Edward rejoined that they were all sufficiently informed by the tenor of his summons, and at first would give them only till next day. A further delay was then requested, and they were allowed a term of three weeks to return a definite answer. This delay the king knew might promote his views, and, at any rate, could not injure them, as by that time the barons he had summoned would be assembled in arms.

The power of Edward was no doubt formidable, but enemies still more dangerous were at work in their own councils. A number of the principal nobility had already been gained over to the English interest, and by their intrigues, and the liberal distribution of money, no less than ten competitors were induced to claim the Scottish crown, for the purpose of perplexing the question, as well as of removing the opposition which they might otherwise have offered to the designs of the English king.

All hoped that their time-serving submission to Edward's claim of superiority would meet with reward, while they clearly foresaw that the candidate who declined to acknowledge the title of Lord Paramount, claimed by the arbitrator, would forfeit any chance of success. Thus weakened by mutual jealousies, and disunited by conflicting interests, the Scottish barons yielded to the imperious demands of the English monarch, and basely sacrificed the independence of their country to promote their own selfish ends.

On the 2nd of June, 1291, the adjourned meeting of the clergy and nobility of Scotland took place on a green plain, called Hollywell Haugh, near Uppretlington, opposite to Norham Castle. There were present no fewer than eight persons who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, then Chancellor of England, opened the proceedings. He stated, that "by various evidences it sufficiently appeared that the English kings were Lords Paramount of Scotland, and, from the most distant ages, had either possessed or claimed that right; that Edward had required the Scots to produce their evidences or arguments to the contrary, and had declared himself ready to admit them if more cogent than his own, and upon the whole matter to pronounce righteous judgment; and that, as they had brought forward no answer to invalidate his right, it was the intention of the King of England, as Lord Paramount, to determine the question of the succession."* The chancellor then turned to Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and demanded, "Whether he was content to acknowledge Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and willing to receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record, of the proceedings, definitely, expressly, publicly, and openly declared his assent. The same question was then put to

the other seven competitors, all of whom returned the same answer. Next day, John Baliol and his brother-in-law, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, the two remaining competitors, appeared, and solemnly acknowledged the superiority of the English king. The selfish pusillanimity which the Scottish nobility thus exhibited, produced its usual result of increased arrogance. No sooner had this disgraceful scene terminated, than the chancellor protested, in the name of his master, that, although he consented to act now as Lord Paramount, he did not resign his right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, acclamable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient.* After this insulting declaration, the whole of the claimants affixed their signatures to two important instruments. The first declared that, "Forasmuch as the King of England has evidently shown to us that the sovereign seignory of Scotland, and the right of determining our respective pretensions, belong to him, we therefore agree to receive judgment from him as Lord Paramount, and we become bound to submit to his award."† By the second deed, possession of the whole land and castles of Scotland was delivered into the hands of Edward, under the pretence that "a judgment cannot be without execution, nor execution without possession of the subject of award,"‡ but on condition that Edward should find security for the faithful restitution of his charge, within two months after the date of his award. It was finally agreed, that a body of one hundred and four commissioners should be appointed, in order to prepare the point in dispute for an ultimate decision, and to report to the king,—forty being named by Baliol, for himself and the competitors who approved of his list,—forty by Bruce, and the competitors who agreed with his nomination, and the remainder by Edward himself, who, moreover, was empowered to add to the number if he thought fit.

On the 11th of June, 1291, the four regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of Edward, and the governors of its castles also gave up its fortresses to his disposal. The conduct of one of the Scottish nobles in this hour of trial is worthy of notice, presenting, as it did, a noble contrast to the base and selfish spirit which his brother barons displayed. Gilbert de Umfraville, the Earl of Angus, who commanded the important fortresses of Dundee and Forfar, declared, that, having received these in charge from the Scottish nation, he would not surrender them to the King of England, without an obligation to indemnify him, from Edward and all the competitors. To remove his objections, a letter of indemnity was drawn up, and signed by the claimants of the crown and the guardians of the realm; and in their name he was enjoined to deliver up the fortresses of which he held the keys. The scruples of Umfraville being thus removed, he yielded

* Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 551.

† Ibid. p. 553; Hailes, vol. i. p. 249.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 250.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 246; Rym. Foed. vol. ii. p. 545.

obedience to the injunction, and placed Dundee and Forfar in the hands of the English king.* The custody of the kingdom was immediately re-delivered to the regents by Edward, who was probably satisfied, in the meantime, by this acknowledgment of his claims and compliance with his demands; but he enjoined the regents to appoint Alan, Bishop of Caithness, an Englishman, to the important office of Chancellor; and he nominated Walter of Agmondesham, another agent of England, as his associate in office. A few days after, he appointed Bryan Fitzallan, an English baron, to be joined in commission with the Scottish regents, and by these steps secured an effectual influence over the government of the country. The great seal of Scotland was then delivered to the joint chancellors, the Bishop of Caithness and Walter Agmondesham. At the same time, Robert Bruce, and his son, John Baliol, the regents, and many of the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to the King of England. One ecclesiastic only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful ceremony. The peace of the king, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 3rd of August.† The interval was employed by Edward in making a progress through Scotland; in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Kinghorn, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Perth. All classes of persons,—bishops, earls, barons, and burgesses,—were required by him to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Whoever refused to take the oath of allegiance, was ordered to be punished by imprisonment.‡

When the commissioners assembled at Berwick,

The competitors on the 3rd of August, to receive the crown. the claims to the crown, twelve competitors presented themselves. These were—

- I. John de Baliol, who claimed the crown as the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William the Lion.
- II. Robert de Bruce, who was the son of Isabel, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.
- III. John de Hastings, who was the son of Ada, the third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.
- IV. John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, who claimed as the great-grandson of Donald Bane, formerly King of Scotland.
- V. Florence, Earl of Holland, descended from Ada, the sister of King William the Lion.
- VI. Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, descended from Ilda, or Ada, daughter of William the Lion.
- VII. William de Vesei, who claimed as grandson of Marjory, daughter of William the Lion.
- VIII. William de Ross, descended from Isabella, daughter of William the Lion.

IX. Robert de Pynkeney, descended from Marjory, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lion.

X. Nicolas de Soulis, descended from Marjory, a daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Allan Durward.

XI. Patrick Galythly claimed as the son of Henry Galythly, who, he contended, was the lawful son of William the Lion.

XII. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Africa, whom he affirmed to be a daughter of William the Lion.

To these twelve competitors a thirteenth was soon afterwards added, in the person of Eric, King of Norway, who claimed the crown as the heir of his daughter Margaret.*

The pretensions of nine of these claimants were obviously inadmissible, and they indeed voluntarily withdrew their claims before the final decision was pronounced. There is every reason to believe, that most of them had been induced to enter the lists by the secret intrigues of the English king, for the purpose of neutralizing their opposition to his schemes, and of rendering the election more complicated. And having served this end, their claims were at once put aside.

The final decision of the cause was postponed till the following year (1292), apparently to give the commissioners Course followed by the commissioners. full time to make the necessary investigations, but really with the view of accustoming the people of Scotland to regard the English monarch as their Lord Paramount. On the 2nd of June, the commissioners made a report to Edward, who commanded them to consider, in the first place, the claims of Bruce and Baliol,—thus virtually determining that the crown must be awarded to the descendants of David, Earl of Huntingdon. After some preliminary deliberations, which were nothing more than a premeditated piece of acting planned by the English king, the commissioners reported that there appeared to be a difference of opinion among the Scottish members of their body, by whose advice, if unanimous, it would have been the duty of the king to have regulated his conduct; and they therefore declined to give any advice, without having the better judgment of the prelates, nobility, and other wise men of England. On this, the further consideration of the question was appointed by Edward to take place in a parliament, to be held at Berwick, on the 15th of October. He declared that, in the meantime, he would consult the learned in foreign parts;‡ and recommended all persons present, of both kingdoms, to study the case and consider what ought to be done.

When the parliament met at Berwick on the day appointed, Edward requested the commissioners to

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 255—268; Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 576—578.

† Fordun avers, that long before this time Edward had consulted foreign lawyers. The case is imperfectly put, says Lord Hailes, and the opinions are irreconcilably different.—Annals, vol. i. p. 260.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 251.

† Ibid. p. 252.

‡ Rym. Feod. vol. ii. p. 573.

give an answer to the following questions:—"1st. By what laws and usages ought judgment to be given? 2nd. If there are either no laws by which the case may be determined, or if the laws of England and Scotland should be at variance, how ought judgment to be given? And 3rd. Ought the succession to the crown of Scotland to be regulated by the same principles which were applicable to earldoms and baronies?" The commissioners replied, that the decision must be given according to the laws and usages of the two kingdoms; but if none existed applicable to the present case, the king might and should make a new law; and that the succession to the crown of Scotland must be decided in the same manner as the succession to earldoms, baronies, and other indivisible inheritances.*

After these preliminaries, Bruce and Baliol were heard at great length in support of their respective claims. Bruce pleaded, that his right to the crown had been recognised by the States of the realm in the reign of Alexander the Second;† that Alexander, towards the close of his life, and without the prospect of having heirs of his own body, had summoned the bishops, earls and barons of the land, and demanded of them which of the issue of the daughters of his uncle David, Earl of Huntingdon, had the preferable claim to the succession; that they, being there assembled, decreed and adjudged according to their own laws, the imperial laws, and others, that the son of the second daughter should inherit prior to the daughter of the first born, and all the clergy, as well as laity, unanimately and cordially showed the same as a true judgment to the king; that Alexander, then taking the Lord of Annandale by the hand, presented him as his true and lawful heir, to all the nobles and magnates, clergy as well laity, as his lawful heir to the kingdom of Scotland; and that the whole of them, by the king's command and in his presence, took the oath of fealty to Bruce, upon the holy gospels; that Alexander the Third gave his friends to understand that, failing issue of his own body, Bruce was his right heir; and that an oath had been taken to maintain the succession of the nearest in blood to that monarch,—failing the Maid of Norway and her issue. Bruce further insisted, that the succession to a throne ought to be decided by the law of nature, rather than by the laws and usages in force between subject and subject, by which law he, as the nearest collateral in blood, had the strongest claim; that his title was supported by the custom of succession to the Scottish crown, by which the brother, as nearest in degree, was preferred to the son of

the deceased king; that a woman, being incapable of governing, ought not to reign; and, therefore, as Devorguil, the mother of Baliol, was alive at the death of Alexander the Third, and could not reign, the kingdom devolved upon him as the nearest male of the blood royal.

The reply of Baliol to the first and most powerful part of Bruce's pleading, was weak and evasive. He contented himself with merely affirming, that no conclusion could be drawn from the acknowledgment of Alexander the Second, as he left heirs of his own body; and he passed over, without notice, the statement respecting the declaration of Alexander the Third, and the oath taken by the Scottish people to maintain the succession of the next in blood to that monarch. To the other arguments adduced by Bruce in support of his claim, Baliol answered, that the claimants were in the court of their Lord Paramount, who must give judgment in this case, as in the case of other tenements held of the crown, according to the common law and usages of his kingdom;—that upon these principles the eldest female heir is preferred in the succession to all inheritance, indivisible as well as divisible. He argued, that the ancient rule of succession to the Scottish crown, referred to by Bruce, truly militated against himself, for the son was nearer in degree than the brother, yet the brother was preferred.* He maintained that Bruce's argument, that a woman ought not to reign, was inconsistent with his own claim, for if Isabella, the mother of Bruce, had no right to reign, he could derive from her no claim to the throne; and besides all this he urged, Bruce here denied what he had by his own deliberate act acknowledged, for he was one of the Scottish nobles who swore fealty to Margaret, the Maiden of Norway.

The competitors, Bruce and Baliol, having thus been fully heard in support of their respective claims, King Edward required of his great council and the commissioners, an answer to the following question—"By the laws and customs of both kingdoms, ought the issue of an elder sister, but more remote by one degree, to exclude the issue of the younger sister, although one degree nearer?" To this the whole council unanimately returned an answer in the affirmative, thus declaring, by implication, against the claims of Bruce. In another meeting, held three weeks later, on the 6th of November, in favour of Baliol, Edward formally pronounced his decision, "that Bruce should take nothing in the competition with Baliol." John de Hastings, the descendant of the third daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, now claimed one-third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisible inheritance. On this, Bruce again presenting himself, and adopting the argu-

* Lord Hailes remarks, that Baliol here attempts to answer Bruce's argument without understanding it. Bruce supposed an ancestor to be a common stock, and the degrees to be the persons descending from that stock. Hence, the king's brother was one degree nearer the common stock than the king's son.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 260.

† The documents connected with this important fact were first published by the Record Commission in 1837. The parliamentary settlement of the succession, it has been justly said, places the right of the family of Bruce to the crown on a firmer basis than that of conquest, and is an important, and it may be added, a novel feature in that important litigation. North British Review, vol. iii. p. 304; Palgrave's Documents and Records, illustrating the History of Scotland. p. 23.



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1 Great Seal of John Baliol

2 Silver Coin of David II

3 Coin of John Baliol

4 Silver Coin of Robert II

5 Coin of John Baliol

6 Great Seal of David II

ment of Hastings, also claimed a third part of Scotland, reserving to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, the name of king and the royal dignity. But these claims were unanimously rejected by the council.

The final decision was given on the 17th of the same month, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick. In the presence of the prelates and nobles of both countries, Edward solemnly decreed, "That John Baliol should have seisin of the kingdom of Scotland." But again, at the termination, as a year and a half before, at the commencement of these proceedings, the English monarch protested, "That the judgment he had thus given should not impair his claim, or that of his heirs, to the property of Scotland, when they should think fit to assert it." On the 19th, the five regents were ordered to give the new king seisin of his kingdom; and orders were sent to the governors of the castles throughout Scotland, to deliver them into his hands. The same day, the great seal, which had been used by the regency since the death of Alexander III., was publicly broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony to future ages of England's right of superiority over Scotland." Next day, Baliol swore fealty to Edward in the Castle of Northampton. On St. Andrew's Day—the 30th, he was solemnly crowned at Seone; and, on the 26th of the following month, he concluded this degrading scene by paying his homage to Edward at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

Thus far the designs of the English king had been crowned with success. But it was soon evident that the acknowledgment of his supremacy over Scotland was only a part of his scheme, and that he was determined, by a series

of galling indignities, to goad his unhappy vassal into rebellion, that he might thus be furnished with a plausible pretext, to annex the revolted fief to his own dominions. Scarcely had Baliol taken possession of his vassal kingdom, when he was made to feel the degradation of his position. A private citizen of Berwick, having appealed to the English king, from a judgment of the commissioners of justice, whom he had appointed in Scotland during the interregnum, Baliol remonstrated against the appeal being entertained, reminding Edward, that by the treaty of Brigham, no Scottish subject was to be compelled to answer in an English court for any act done in Scotland. Edward replied, with unblushing effrontery, that such a promise had been made to suit the convenience of the time, and that he did not intend to be bound by it. "This," said he, "is my firm determination with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary; I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified. I shall

exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the King of Scotland himself into my presence, within the kingdom of England." Baliol's spirit quailed before this unprincipled threat, and he consented to buy his peace with his imperious master by yielding up all the stipulations contained in the treaty of Brigham, concerning the freedom and immunities of Scotland, and which Edward had solemnly sworn, in the presence of the nobility of both countries, to maintain inviolable.

Baliol was soon made to feel that the declaration of the English king, respecting his intentions towards Scotland, was not to prove an empty threat. Every encouragement was held out to the Scottish people to appeal to the King of England for the redress of their grievances, and the harassed vassal king was summoned to answer in the English courts on the slightest occasion,

and made to feel, at every turn, the disgrace and mortification of his dependent position. He was held to be a party in every appeal from his courts, whether for injustice done, or for justice delayed, and it was resolved to subject him to the intolerable burden of making a personal appearance at the trial of every appeal. Such treatment could have had but one object; and at length, even the weak and pusillanimous Baliol was goaded to resistance by finding himself thus exposed to continued insult and injury, where he had expected amity and honour. The case in which his patience at length gave way, was an appeal respecting the earldom of Fife. Duncan, the Earl of Fife, was at that time a minor, and his grand-uncle, Macduff, had made a temporary seizure of some part of his estates. Macduff was summoned to answer for this offence before the Scottish Parliament at Seone, and being found guilty, suffered a short imprisonment. On his release from his confinement, he appealed to the King of England against the sentence of the Scottish States, and Edward immediately summoned Baliol to answer the allegations of Macduff, by appearing in person before him. In the first instance Baliol took no notice of the order, but on receiving a second summons, he made his appearance in the English Parliament, on the day named, 15th October, 1293. When the appeal came on, Baliol was asked what defence he had to offer. He said, "I am King of Scotland: to the complaint of Macduff, or to ought

else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people." "What means this?" cried Edward. "You are my liegeman, you have done homage to me, you are here in consequence of my summons." Baliol, however, steadily adhered to the answer which he had already given. He declined even to ask an adjournment of the case, for the purpose of advising with his people, as Edward insidiously recommended.

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 261—269; Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 582—591.

* Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 596, 597.

Under these circumstances, the Parliament of England declared that the King of Scotland had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that he was liable to Maeduff in damages; and that, as a punishment for his contumacy in refusing to plead before his Lord Paramount, the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns in which they are situated, should be taken into the custody of Edward until the King of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contumacy.*

These violent resolutions of the English Parliament, together with the offensive regulation requiring his personal attendance on the courts of his Lord Paramount, in England, seem at length to have exhausted the forbearance of Baliol, and to have convinced him that he was regarded as a mere tool, to be used for the most degrading purposes, and to be flung aside as soon as these purposes were served. He resolved to extricate himself from this miserable position, and the opportune breaking out of a war between France and England seemed to afford him a favourable occasion to throw off the English yoke. Edward, who, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, had shown himself as untractable and disobedient a vassal to Philip of France, as he was a severe and domineering superior to Baliol, had refused to obey the summons of the French king to appear in his court at Paris to answer, as his vassal, for the injuries which he had inflicted on the subjects of France. Philip had, in consequence, pronounced sentence on the English king as contumacious, and directed his estates in France to be seized, as forfeited to the crown. Edward highly resented these proceedings, renounced his allegiance as a vassal of Philip, and declared war against France, (A.D. 1294).

To assist him in carrying on this war, Edward summoned the King of Scots, and a number of the most powerful of his nobles, to attend him in person, with their vassals; and he also ordered Baliol to extend to Scotland the general embargo which he had laid on all vessels within his English dominions—the embargo to continue until Edward's further pleasure should be known. But the Scottish nobles were now thoroughly disgusted by the insolent and overbearing conduct of the English king. Instead of complying with his demands, they assembled a parliament at Scone, in the latter part of the year 1294. Under the pretence of lightening the public burdens, they dismissed all the Englishmen maintained at court—a prudent measure, says an old chronicler, as it removed the persons who might have been spies on their conduct.†

They then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, by whose advice Baliol was to act as the administrator of public affairs. And if we may credit the statements of some of the English

writers, a watchful eye was kept on Baliol himself, and he was detained in a kind of honourable captivity in a distant fortress.*

These proceedings naturally excited the suspicions of Edward, and he demanded that the fortress of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. The Scottish Parliament deemed it prudent to comply with this demand, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French king. This treaty, Treaty with France.

Hailes, "of many more equally honourable and ruinous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23rd of October, 1295. By it the niece of Philip was to be united to the eldest son of Baliol, and if Scotland should be invaded by the English, the French king engaged to assist the Scots with troops, kept at his own charge.† The Scottish guardians now drew up an instrument, in the name of their king, renouncing all fealty and allegiance to Edward, on account of the many and grievous injuries which he had inflicted upon the kingdom of Scotland; and assembling an army, under the command of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, they invaded Cumberland, War with England.

towards the end of March, 1296, and laid waste the country. They were disgracefully repulsed, however, in an assault which they made upon Carlisle, and returned without having accomplished anything of importance. Another inroad which they made, a few days after, into Northumberland, was equally unsuccessful.‡

Meanwhile, Edward, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, consisting of thirty thousand infantry and four thousand horse, was on his march to the Scottish border. He was joined by Anthony Beek, the military bishop of Durham, with a thousand foot and five hundred horse, and with this combined force he crossed the Tweed, and prepared to lay siege to the town of Berwick. This important fortress had either not been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Carlisle, or it had again fallen into their hands. It was now defended by a strong garrison, composed of the men of Fife, who refused to surrender on the terms which Edward offered. Berwick was, at that time, celebrated for its populousness and wealth, and the extent of its commerce, which, in the opinion of a contemporary chronicler, entitled it to the name of a second Alexandria.§ Edward was determined, at whatever cost, to make himself master of it. Siege and sack of Berwick.

He commenced the attack at once by sea and land. But the garrison fiercely assaulted his ships, burnt three of them, and compelled the rest to retire. Exasperated at this discomfiture, Edward led on the land attack in person, and, mounted on his horse, Bayard, was the first to

* Hailes, vol. i. pp. 274—281.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 75.

* M. Westminster, p. 425. + Rymer, vol. ii. p. 695.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 87; Hailes, vol. i. p. 285

§ Chron. of Lanercost, p. 165.

leap the dike that defended the town. The impetuous onset of the English soldiers, animated by the example of their king, carried all before it. The inhabitants were butchered without distinction of sex or age, and, for two days, the streets of the city ran with blood. The numbers that perished in this indiscriminate massacre are variously stated, but they undoubtedly amounted to many thousands.*

The churches, to which many of the miserable inhabitants had fled for refuge, were defiled with blood, spoiled of their ornaments, and turned into stables for the English cavalry.† A party of thirty Flemings had posted themselves in their factory, a strong building, called the Red Hall, which the resident merchants of that nation, by their charter, were bound to defend at all times against the English. True to their engagements, these brave men held out the place till evening against the whole English army. The assailants, irritated by this obstinate defence, set the building on fire, and its faithful defendants perished, every man of them, in the flames.‡ The massacre of Berwick took place on Good Friday, and, on the same day, Sir William Douglas, who commanded the castle, capitulated; and the garrison, consisting of two hundred men, after taking an oath not to bear arms against England, were allowed to march out with military honours.

On the 5th of April, while Edward remained at Berwick, Henry, Abbot of Arbroath, appeared at his court, and delivered to him Baliol's solemn renunciation of his allegiance. "You have," was the language of the instrument, "wantonly summoned me to your courts; you have committed grievous outrages and robberies upon my subjects, both by sea and land; you have seized my castles and estates in England; killed and imprisoned my subjects and the merchants of my realm; and when I demanded a redress of these injuries, you have invaded my dominions at the head of a vast army, with the purpose of depriving me of my crown, and have cruelly ravaged the land: wherefore I renounce that fealty and homage which have been extracted from me, and do resolve openly to oppose myself in defence of my kingdom against Edward of England." "The foolish traitor," said Edward, when he received this letter; "of

what folly is he guilty! but since he will not come to us we will go to him."*

The Scottish army, enraged at the cruelties which Edward had inflicted on the inhabitants of Berwick, made an inroad into England, and advancing into Redesdale and Tynedale, laid waste the country, and committed great excesses. But Edward did not allow this hasty incursion to interfere with the prosecution of his plans. The Castle of Dunbar, the key of the eastern marches, was delivered into the hands of the Scottish leaders by the Countess of March, while the earl, her husband, served in the army of Edward. To recover this important fortress, the Earl of Surrey was despatched with ten thousand foot and a thousand heavy-armed horse. The garrison being hard pressed, agreed to surrender, unless relieved within three days; and the Scottish army, consisting, it is said, of upwards of forty thousand men, advanced to their relief, and took up a strong position on the heights above Dunbar. Surrey advanced to attack them (April 28th); but as the line of march led through a valley, the Scots at Dunbar, which rendered his ranks somewhat irregular, the Scots, imagining that their enemies were thrown into confusion, precipitately abandoned their strong position, and rushed down to the encounter. The English, emerging from the valley before the lines could meet, received the disorderly charge of their assailants with firmness, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Ten thousand men are said to have fallen in the field or in the pursuit, among whom was Sir Patrick Graham, an ancestor of the Duke of Montrose, who was lamented even by the English, as one of the wisest and noblest of the Scottish barons.† An immense number, including the principal of the Scottish nobility, were taken prisoners. Next day the Castle of Dunbar surrendered at discretion, not without strong suspicions of treachery on the part of the governor, Richard Siward.‡ The Earls of Athol, Ross, Monteith, and the leaders of the garrison, together with a considerable number of barons and knights, who had taken refuge in the fortress in their flight from the fatal field of Dunbar, submitted to the mercy of Edward. All the prisoners of rank were for the present committed to close confinement in different English and Welsh castles, and were afterwards compelled to attend their conqueror in his French wars.

It is reported that Edward, previous to his invasion of Scotland, had secured the support of Bruce, the son of the competitor for the crown, by expressing his determination to place him on the throne, of which Baliol had shown himself so unworthy. Trusting to this promise, Bruce and

* Langtoft states that 4000 perished in the storming of the town; Fordun and Wyntown give us the number of 7500; Hemingford of 8000; and Knighton says, that 17,000 were put to the sword. The shocking incident which made Edward at length put a stop to this butchery is thus related by Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 83:—

"Thus they slayand ware sa fast,
All the day, till at the last,
This kyng Edward saw in that tyde
A woman slain, and of her syde
A bairn he saw fall out sprewland,
Besyde that woman slayne lyand;
'Lasses, Lasses,' then cried he,
'Leve off, leve off; that word suld be."

† Fordun, book xi. chap. liiv. lv.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 237.

* "Ha! ce fol selon, tel folie fait! s'il ne vult venir à nous, nous viendrons à lui." Fordun, book xi. chap. xviii.; Foed. vol. ii. p. 707.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 98. It is worthy of notice, that Cromwell defeated the army of the Scottish Covenanters, (3rd Sept., 1650,) on the same ground, and in very similar circumstances.

‡ See Langtoft's Chron. vol. ii. p. 274.

his powerful friends had renewed their oaths of homage to Edward, and had joined the English army. After the battle of Dunbar, Bruce hinted to the English king his expectation of being raised to the throne which Baliol had forfeited. "Have I no other business," was the haughty reply, "but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce silently retired, and appears to have interfered no further with public affairs.* The battle of Dunbar for the present decided the fate of Scotland. All resistance to the power of Edward was at an end. On the 18th of May, the strong castle of Roxburgh was given up by James the Steward of Scotland, who, at the same time, swore fealty to the English monarch, and abjured the French alliance. The fortresses of Dunbarton and Jedburgh were soon after surrendered. The castle of Edinburgh capitulated after a siege of eight days, and Stirling was abandoned without resistance. The spirit of the nation was sunk in despair, and the conquest of the country appeared to be complete. Edward continued his progress without opposition to Perth;

where he received a message from Baliol's submission, and abdication of the crown.

Edward, in reply, directed him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the terms on which mercy would be extended to him. He was required to abdicate his throne in favour of Edward, with the most degrading ceremonial. Divested of his royal robes, and crown, and sceptre, he was compelled to stand as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the barons of England. He confessed that, misled by evil and false counsel, as he averred, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord. He recapitulated his various transgressions—his league with France, and his hostilities against England. He acknowledged the justice of the English invasion and conquest; and three days after this, in the castle of Brechin, he resigned his kingdom of Scotland, its people, and their homage, into the hands of his liege lord Edward.† After this humiliating ceremony, Baliol and his eldest son were sent to London, where they remained for three years in confinement in the Tower. Thus terminated the brief and disastrous reign of John Baliol. In more auspicious circumstances he might have been a useful and popular monarch. But opposed to a powerful and unscrupulous adversary, and surrounded by a base and treacherous nobility, who were actuated by private and selfish ambition, rather than by the love of their country, or a regard for the public welfare, he proved utterly destitute of those talents which

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 291. Fordun, book xi. chap. xxv.

† Different accounts have been given respecting the exact date and place of this surrender. It appears from Prynne, that the scroll of resignation was prepared at Kincardine, on the 2nd July; the penance took place in the churchyard of Strathkathro, on the 7th; and the final surrender of the crown was made on the 10th July, at the castle of Brechin, in the presence of Edward himself. See Tytler, vol. i. note F.

the emergency demanded. His reign was therefore miserable and inglorious, and his fall unpitied.

Scotland now lay prostrate at the feet of her invader, who continued an un- Edward's progress through Scotland.
sisted march through the kingdom as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, placing garrisons in the deserted fortresses, and receiving the submission of the Scottish barons and prelates, who hastened to make their peace by taking the oath of allegiance, and renouncing the French alliance. On his return south, in passing Scone, he mutilated the cartulary of that ancient abbey, for the purpose of destroying whatever historical notices might be found at variance with his pretensions. He also carried off some of its charters, and tore the seals from others; Carries the Scotch regalia to Westminster.
and, that nothing might remain which could remind the Scots of their original independence, he caused the famous stone on which the kings of Scotland, from the earliest ages of their monarchy, had been crowned, along with the Scottish crown and sceptre, to be conveyed to Westminster, where it was deposited in the cathedral, as an offering to Edward the Confessor, and a memorial of what he deemed his absolute conquest of Scotland.*

On the 28th of August, Edward held a parliament at Berwick for the purpose of receiving the submission of the clergy and laity of the conquered kingdom; and there, either from hope of his favour

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 294; Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 37, 100. This was the celebrated *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny, which, according to fabulous chronicles, Gathelus, the Spanish king, a contemporary of Romulus, sent with his son, when he invaded Ireland. It is believed to have served for many ages as the coronation throne of the kings of Ireland. It was removed to Scotland, and deposited at Iona, for the coronation of Fergus, the son of Ere, who led the Dalriadic Scots to the shores of Argyshire. From thence it was conveyed to the abbey of Scone, in 842, by Kenneth II., when the kings of the Scottish race had extended their sway over the ancient kingdom of the Picts. Walsingham says that the use Edward put it to was, to serve as a chair for the officiating priests at Westminster. In the wardrobe account of the king, for 1299, there is the entry of a payment to "Walton the painter, for a step to the foot of the New Chair, in which the Stone of Scotland was placed, near the altar of Edward in Westminster Abbey." The connection which this stone is supposed to have with the destinies of the Scots, is commemorated in the celebrated leonine verse—

"Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,
Invenit lapidem regnare teneant ibidem."

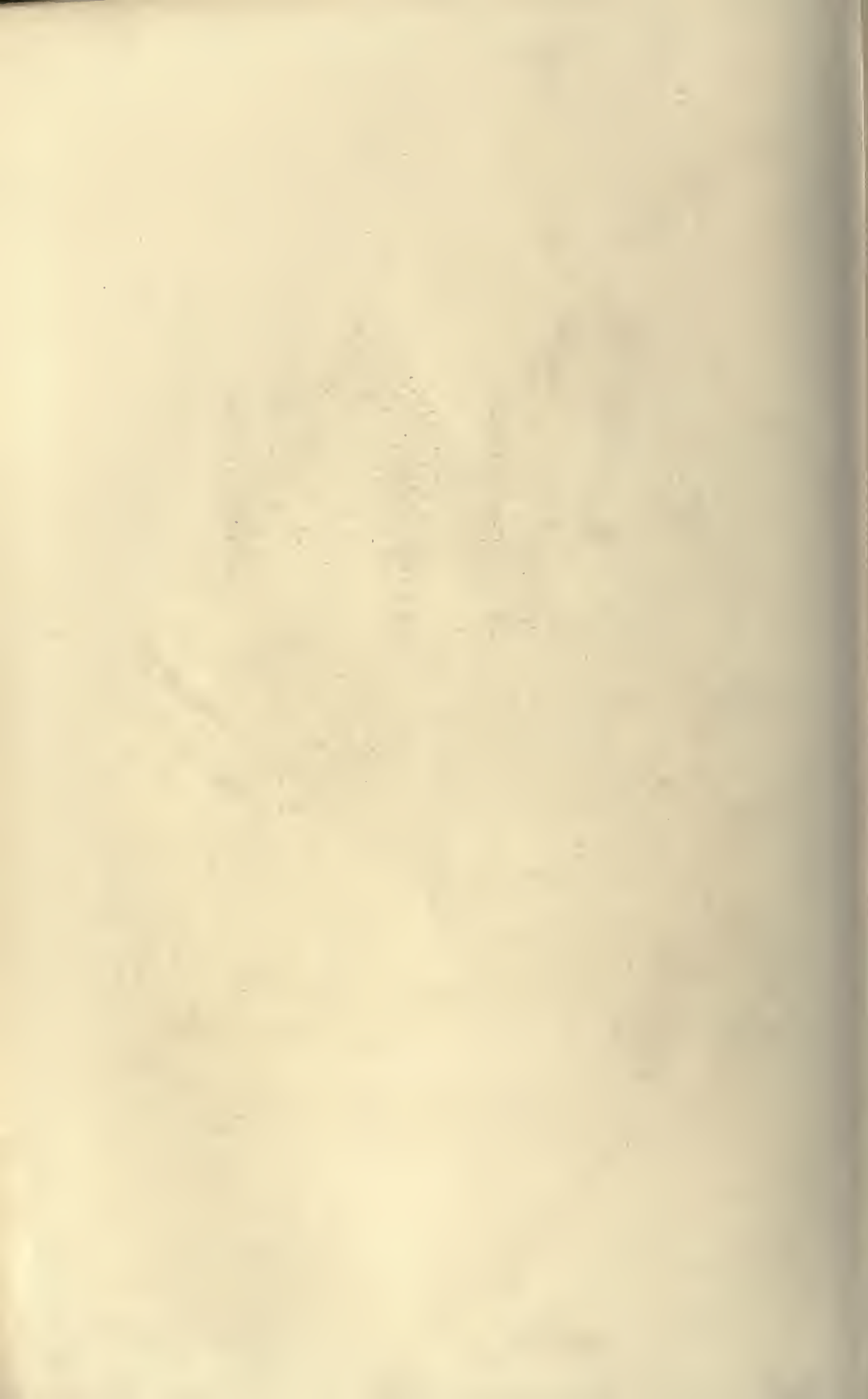
Which has been rendered thus—

"Unless the fates are faithless grown,
And prophet's voice be vain,
Where'er is found this sacred stone,
The Scottish race shall reign."

So deep-rooted has been the belief of the Scots in this augury, that many hailed the accession of James VI. to the crown of England as the accomplishment of this prophecy. This venerable stone is still preserved, and forms the support of the coronation chair of the British sovereign in Westminster Abbey. It was, in all probability, originally the Tanist stone, where the new chief, or king, was elected and sworn to protect and lead the people. This custom is, undoubtedly, of eastern origin, and traceable to a very remote era. Thus when Abimelech was made king, it was by the pillar which was in Shechem, (Judges ix. 6); and when Joash was anointed king by Jehoida, the king stood by the pillar as the manner was, (2 Kings xi. 14). See Wilson's Archaeology, p. 98.



REPRODUCTION OF THE SEAT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTUARY



or fear of his vengeance, the Scottish barons and knights presented themselves in such numbers, to take the oaths of fealty, that their names fill thirty-five skins of parchment, which are still preserved amongst the English archives. The measures which he adopted for the settlement of his new dominions were characterized by great prudence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even made

provision for the wives of many of his prisoners. The various jurisdictions of the country were left in the hands of their ancient possessors, and few of those who held office under Baliol were dispossessed. But with all this assumed moderation, every precaution was taken to render his conquest secure. John Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was appointed Guardian of Scotland. Hugh Cressingham, an ambitious churchman, was made Treasurer, and William Ormsby Justiciary. The fortresses of the country were committed to English captains, and a royal exchequer was instituted at Berwick, on the model of that at Westminster. Having thus achieved an easy, and apparently a permanent conquest, Edward returned to England, "with the glory," says Lord Hailes, "due to the conqueror of a free people."

The rapid and apparently complete prostration of the Scottish people beneath the victorious arms of Edward, may be accounted for, to a great extent, by the selfish and vacillating conduct of the nobles, their natural leaders. At this period, owing to the systematic policy pursued by Malcolm Canmore and his successors, the Scottish nobility consisted almost entirely of foreigners—Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Saxons—who felt no patriotic attachment to the country in which they had settled, and were not bound to it by those strong ties that connect a people with a land which has been for ages the abode of their fathers. Many of these barons, too, held extensive estates in England as well as in Scotland, and were, therefore, to a certain extent, the subjects of both kingdoms. As they had no peculiar affection for either, their allegiance was made to depend almost entirely upon personal considerations. They had far more of the spirit of the mercenary, who serves for pay, than of the patriot, fighting in defence of his native land—the place of his fathers' sepulchres.* Hence the lukewarmness

* It appears from the Rotuli Scotie, that Edward had bestowed many rich grants of estates and salaries upon the principal nobility and prelates, with the view of securing them to his interest. He gave

	ANNUAL VALUE.
To the Bishop of Glasgow, lands of...	£100
To James the Steward	100
To Patrick, Earl of Dunbar	100
To John de Soulis	100 Marks.
To William Sinclair	100 "
To Patrick de Graham	100 "

All these persons were to have lands of the subjoined value, on condition that the kingdom of Scotland should continue in the possession of the English king and his heirs. Edward afterwards changed his plan, and gave these barons

which they manifested throughout this great struggle in the defence of their country, and the frequency and shamelessness with which they changed sides, according as their private interest dictated, without the slightest regard to the public welfare. They were ever strong upon the stronger side. It was very different, however, with the Scottish nation at large. The middle and lower class of proprietors especially, who were sprung of the native race of Scotland, felt keenly their national degradation, and the loss of the independence of their country. Animated by an ardent spirit of patriotism and a determined hatred against their oppressors, they burned with impatience to throw off the English yoke. The administration of the governor whom Edward had appointed over the conquered kingdom became every day more oppressive and hated. Numerous bands of armed peasants rose against the usurpers throughout the whole country, besieged and stormed the castles which they had garrisoned, and took signal vengeance for the injuries which they had inflicted upon the defenceless inhabitants. At this critical juncture the Almighty raised up a champion in the cause of suffering freedom, who first awoke the Scottish nation to a consciousness of its strength, and aroused a spirit of resistance to oppression, which all the power of the usurper was never able wholly to subdue.

"When we read the story of William Wallace," says an eloquent writer, "imagination wanders back to the times of heroic antiquity, and enthusiasm can scarce keep pace with reason in forming an estimate of his services to his country. He gave birth to the land of his nativity, and interested the sympathies of the world in behalf of her gallant struggle for existence. Personal wrong, and the grinding oppression practised on his friends, first stung him to revolt; but his passion soon hardened into principle, like the burning lava converted into stone. Against the victorious might of England he threw himself, and carved his way to honour without the shouts of a thousand vassals to proclaim his feudal greatness, or a coronet on his brow to tell the nobility of his blood. Fortune did not look askance upon his sacrifice. The discipline of English chivalry quailed before him; castles changed masters; ridicule gave way to reflection, and reflection to alarm; the oppressed dared to remonstrate; the oppressor deigned to assign reasons for his oppression; insult and injury were followed by retaliation and revenge; and the haughty Plantagenet found himself no longer the invincible; his army dissipated,—his vassals faithless,—his nobles butchered,—and the conquest, gained by so many intrigues,

and prelates gratifications in money, or other value. But to John Comyn he gave the large sum of £1563 14s. 6d. He took care, however, to reimburse himself by keeping the wards, marriages, and other items of revenue, which had fallen to the Scottish crown during the interregnum. See Tytler, vol. i. p. 86, and note.

Hatred of the Scottish people against the English.

Rise of William Wallace.

so much artful policy, and such elaborate chicane, vanished like a dream."*

Sir William Wallace sprung from an ancient family of Anglo-Norman descent, but neither rich nor noble. He was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, near Paisley. The precise date of his birth is unknown. His father and elder brother are said to have been slain in some of the skirmishes of the times, and when the patriot himself was very young. His early years were passed under the superintendence of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, by whom his mind was carefully stored with the choicest passages of the Latin classics, particularly those in which the love of liberty is most powerfully recommended. The patriotic priest, it is said, "deplored the calamities of his country, and was never weary of extolling the sweets of liberty, and lamenting the miseries of dependence."† The enthusiastic affection with which the memory of the Scottish patriot has been cherished, has given a tone of exaggeration bordering on the fabulous to the traditionary descriptions of his character and exploits; but making every allowance for the romantic hues which the passionate admiration of his countrymen has thrown around him, the sober verdict of history must determine, that Wallace was every way worthy of his fame. His uncommon stature and personal strength, combined with daring courage and great military genius; his stainless character and superiority to all base and selfish objects; his stirring though rude eloquence, which gave him a wonderful power over the hearts of his followers; his pure and enthusiastic patriotism, and unextinguishable hatred of oppression, marked out this renowned hero as pre-eminently fitted to be the leader of a high-spirited people in their struggle to maintain their freedom and independence.

At a very early period of his life, Wallace manifested a strong dislike to the English, who now insolently lorded it over Scotland; and tradition has recorded numerous instances in which he took signal vengeance upon them for personal or public injuries. But the incident which His first exploits. occasioned his finally rising in arms, is believed to have happened in the town of

* North British Review, vol. iii. p. 365.

† Barbour has expressed, with equal spirit and feeling, the misery and oppression of Scotland under Edward, and concludes with a passionate exclamation, which will find an echo in every Scotsman's bosom:—

"A! fredome is a noble thing!
 Fredome mayss man to haill liking;
 Fredome all solace to man giffis;
 He levyis at eess that freely levyis!
 A noble hart may haill nane eess,
 Na allys nocht that may him pless,
 Gyff fredome fail: for fro liking
 Is yharrit our all othir thing.
 Na he that ay has levyt fro
 May nocht know well the propriete,
 The anger, na the wreycht dome
 That is couplyt to foule thryrdome.
 Bot gyff he had assayit it,
 Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
 And suld think fredome mair to prys
 Than all the gold in world that is."

Lanark, A.D. 1297. Wallace was at this time residing with his wife in that place. It happened that one day some English officers insulted him on account of his gay dress and rich dagger, and taunted him with the contrast between his garb and the depressed condition of his country. A quarrel ensued, which led to bloodshed, and Wallace, overpowered by numbers, fled to his own house, and by the assistance of his wife, escaped through a back entrance, and fled to a rugged and rocky glen, near Lanark, called the Cartland Crag, where he was safe from immediate pursuit. Hislop, or Hazelrigg, the English sheriff, enraged at the escape of Wallace, in a spirit of cruel and unmanly revenge, attacked and burned the house, and put his wife and servants to death. On receiving notice of this atrocity, Wallace immediately collected a small body of his friends, returned to Lanark that same night, and avenged the death of his wife by the slaughter of her murderers.* From this period he devoted himself to the work of redressing his country's wrongs and inflicting vengeance on her oppressors. He speedily succeeded in gathering around him a body of men whom he imbued with his own fierce and determined spirit. Unable, as yet, to cope with the English invaders in the open field, he began a species of *guerilla* warfare, to which the district around his place of refuge was admirably suited. Issuing suddenly from the Cartland Crag, he attacked detachments of the English soldiery, intercepted provisions for their garrisons, and stormed and took many of their strongholds. His retreat was as rapid as his advance; and amid the wild passes and dangerous defiles to which he and his followers betook themselves, it was impossible for an enemy to pursue them with safety.

The fame of Wallace began now to attract the notice of his countrymen, and His rapid success. awoke the dormant spirit of some of the nobles. Sir William Douglas, called "the Hardy," a brave and powerful baron, who had sworn fealty to Edward after the siege of Berwick, disregarding his oath, joined the patriots at the head of a large body of retainers. The castles of Disdeir and Sanquhar were taken by Douglas; and Wallace, by a rapid march on Seone, surprised Ormesby, the English Justiciary, killed many of his followers, and acquired a rich booty. With their united forces, they broke in upon the west of Scotland, where almost every stronghold was speedily wrested from the enemy. These successes were followed by the Is joined by a number of the barons. lesion of some men of note to the cause of the patriots, in addition to those who had

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 92—95. Blind Harry says that Wallace was outlawed, when a mere youth, for killing an Englishman, the son of the governor of Dundee, who had grossly insulted him. This story, however, is not supported by any trustworthy evidence, and Bower, the continuator of Fordun, an excellent authority, asserts, that the hostility of Wallace to the English arose from his despair at beholding the oppression of his relations and countrymen, and the servitude and misery to which they were subjected.—Fordun, vol. ii. p. 169.

already joined it. Among these were the Steward of Scotland, and his brother, Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander Lindsay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell.* The most remarkable adherent, however, was the younger Bruce, Earl of Carrick. His extensive estates in the south and west of Scotland, gave him immense influence in the kingdom, and rendered his support of the utmost value to any cause he might espouse. He had incurred, it would seem, the suspicion of the Warden of the Western Marches, who summoned him to attend at Carlisle, on pretence of business relating to the safety of the kingdom. Bruce complied, and took an oath on the sword of Thomas à Becket, that he would remain a faithful vassal of the King of England. To remove any lingering suspicion of his loyalty, he even ravaged the estates of Douglas, who had already joined the small band of patriots. Yet with an inconsistency which contrasts strangely with the fearless integrity for which he was afterwards so honourably distinguished, he returned to Scotland to arm his father's vassals against Edward, and having failed in this attempt, he now joined Wallace with a number of his own tenantry.†

The insurrection of the patriots, at first despised as the troublesome but petty movements of a band of robbers, soon grew to a head, which alarmed Edward for the security of his newly-acquired dominions. Instructions were therefore transmitted to Surrey to move upon Scotland with a force sufficient to crush the insurrection. Henry Percy,

the nephew of Surrey, and Robert de Clifford, accordingly passed the borders, with a force of forty thousand foot, and three hundred cavalry. At Lochmaben they were attacked during the night by the Scots, and were saved from total rout only by the inferiority of the Scottish force, which the light of their burning tents enabled them to discover. Percy and Clifford reached the neighbourhood of Irvine, where Wallace and the insurgents had taken up a strong position, with a force which, though deficient in cavalry, was sufficiently numerous to have given battle to the enemy. But dissensions among the leaders weakened, and ultimately dissolved, their confederacy. "All the leaders were independent," says Lord Hailes, "all untractable. They would neither fight, retire, nor treat by common consent." The pride of these feudal barons would not submit to be commanded by the only man among them who had talents to meet the emergency; and at length, to preserve their estates, they made their

convention at Irvine, signed a deed acknowledging their error in having violated the peace of their Lord Paramount, and promising to give hostages for their future good conduct. This document, drawn up by Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow (9th July, 1297), has, among other names, those of Bruce, the Steward of Scotland, and Sir William Douglas,

attached to it. Wallace, who had resolutely opposed this disgraceful transaction, put himself at the head of his own tried followers, and, accompanied by Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the only baron who adhered to him, retired indignantly to the north.*

The English commanders, who seem to have calculated that by the secession of the barons, the power of the patriot would be utterly broken, were speedily undeceived. Unsubdued in spirit, though deeply incensed at the pusillanimity and vacillation of his titled associates, and their desertion of their country, Wallace kept the field, at the head of a considerable army, consisting partly of his personal adherents, partly of the tenants of the crown and church lands, and partly of the vassals even of the barons who had made their peace with Edward. The old English historian, Knighton, informs us, "that the whole followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and that, although the persons of their lords were with the King of England, their heart was with Wallace, who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots, that the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and prince."† While the English leaders remained in a state of in-

activity, after the capitulation at Irvine, Wallace carried on hostilities in the northern counties, with characteristic vigour and success. The castle of Dunottar was surprised and garrisoned,‡ Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, were either taken or deserted by their garrisons at his approach. Aberdeen, after having been set on fire and relinquished by the English, fell into his hands. The castle of Dundee was next surrounded and assailed, with every prospect of success, when tidings that a large force, under the Earl of Surrey and Cressingham, the English Treasurer, was on its march to Stirling, compelled him to desist. The townsmen of Dundee, however, were ordered, on pain of his

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 301; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 122.

† Page 2516.

‡ The description which Blind Harry gives of the burning of the church of Dunottar is not without poetical merit:—

"Wallace on fire gard" set all hastily,
Burnt up the court and all that was therein,
Atoor' the rock the lave' ran with great din,
Some hung on crags right dolefully to die,
Some leapt, some fell, some fluttered in the sea;
No southron in life was left without that hold,
And them within they burned to ashes cold,
When this was done, fele' fell on kenna' son,
At the bishop asked absolution.
Wallace said laughing, 'I forgive ye all,
Are ye war-men, repent ye for so small?
They ruel not us, in the town of Ayr,
Our brave barons when that they heard there—
Wallace, hist. vol.

This, and other kindred exploits of Wallace, are probably exaggerated; but there is every reason to believe, that he was merciless in his treatment of the invaders of his country. The English historians affirm, that he inflicted great cruelties on the English ecclesiastics who held livings in Scotland, and who had not obeyed the edict of the Scottish States, in 1296, banishing them from the country.

* Hailes, vol. i. p. 300.

† Ibid. p. 301; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 120.

* Caused. † Around. ‡ The rest. § Many.

vengeance, to prosecute the siege with unabated vigour.

Wallace then hurried to Stirling, in order to guard the passage of the Forth, by which alone the English force could penetrate into the northern parts of the country. He encamped at Cambuskenneth, and took up a strong position on a rising ground, which commanded the bridge of Stirling, a long and narrow erection of wood, situated about a mile above the present bridge. On the opposite side of the river lay the English forces, composed of fifty thousand infantry, and one thousand men at arms. The experience of Surrey warned him of the almost certain destruction which awaited his troops should they defile across the narrow bridge, and attack the Scots in their present position. To add to his difficulties, a portion of his forces consisted of the Scottish barons and their retainers, whose fidelity, in the event of a battle, could scarcely be relied on. He sought, therefore, to temporise, and despatched two friars to propose terms to Wallace. The reply of the patriot was brief and stern:—"Return to your friends," said he, "and tell them that we came here with no peaceful intent, but ready for battle, and determined to avenge our own wrongs, and set our country free. Let your masters come and attack us; we are ready to meet them beard to beard." Enraged at this defiance, the English soldiers clamoured to be led on. Sir Richard

Battle of Stirling, Lundin, a Scottish knight, who had gone over to the enemy at 11th September, 1297—

Irvine, pointed out the danger of defiling along a narrow bridge with a powerful and vigilant enemy in front, and offered to guide the English to a ford at no great distance, where sixty men could cross at a time. "Give me," said he, "but five hundred horse, and a small body of foot, I shall turn the enemy's flank, while you, lord earl, and the rest of the army, may pass over in security." This judicious proposal was rejected, on the ground that the army would be thereby divided. Surrey still hesitated, but Cressingham, the Treasurer, passionately exclaimed, "Why do we thus protract the war, and waste the king's treasures? Let us fight, as is our bounden duty." Surrey, contrary to his own better judgment, yielded, and gave orders for an immediate attack. Cressingham, along with Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a valiant and experienced soldier, led the van. When about one-half of the English force had passed the bridge without opposition, Sir Marmaduke impetuously charged up hill with a body of heavy-armed cavalry, for the purpose of dislodging the Scots from their strong position. The consequence of this rash attack was fatal to the assailants, as the Scots, from their vantage-ground, drove them headlong before them with their long spears. In the meantime, a masterly movement was executed by a part of the Scottish army, who, making a rapid detour to the left, suddenly assailed the English in the rear, and interposed between them and the bridge. Wallace, as soon as he perceived

the retreat of the enemy thus cut off, rushed down from the high ground, and fiercely assailing the scarcely formed battalions of the English on the north bank of the river, threw them into inextricable confusion. Many thousands of the heavy-armed horse were slain or drowned in their flight. Surrey, who witnessed this scene from the opposite bank of the river, sought to retrieve the fortunes of the day by sending across, at a moment when the bridge was left open, a strong reinforcement, along with the royal standard of England, and his own banner. Unable to form, and assailed on every side by the Scottish spearmen, they only added to the confusion and slaughter.* A party of Scots, crossing the river by a —and defeat of ford at a little distance, assailed the English. Surrey in the rear, and committed great havoc, assisted by the Scottish barons and their retainers, who, throwing off the mask, assisted their victorious countrymen in slaying and plundering the flying enemy. No quarter was given. The country, for miles around, was covered with the bodies of the English soldiers. Twenty thousand men are believed to have fallen in the battle and the flight. Among these was Cressingham, a man so detested by the Scots, that they mangled his dead body, and are said to have torn the skin from the limbs.† Sir Marmaduke Twenge gallantly cut his way through the thickest of the enemy and escaped. The loss of the Scots was trifling. The only man of note among them that fell was Sir Andrew Moray. Surrey fled on the spur to Berwick, conveying to Edward the first news of this terrible defeat. Such was the brilliant and decisive battle of Stirling Bridge, which redeemed the disgraces of Dunbar and Berwick, while it afforded to Scotland the prospect of the speedy restoration of her national independence.

The battle of Stirling was followed by the surrender of Dundee, and the chief strongholds in the kingdom. The joy, however, which these brilliant successes excited in every part of the country, was for a time checked by the appearance of a new and terrible foe. Amid the ever-shifting scenes of warfare, a large portion of the arable land had been allowed to lie uncultivated, and now a grievous famine began to be felt by the peasantry, many of whom perished. This was followed by a pestilence, produced by the exhalations from the putrid carcases that lay rotting on the ground, and aggravated by the deficient or unhealthy food of the people.‡

* The Scottish historians assert that the bridge broke down either by means of a stratagem of Wallace or from the weight of the English horse, foot, and machinery. But an English chronicler states that it was broken down by the orders of Surrey, to prevent pursuit. See Wallace Papers, p. 35.

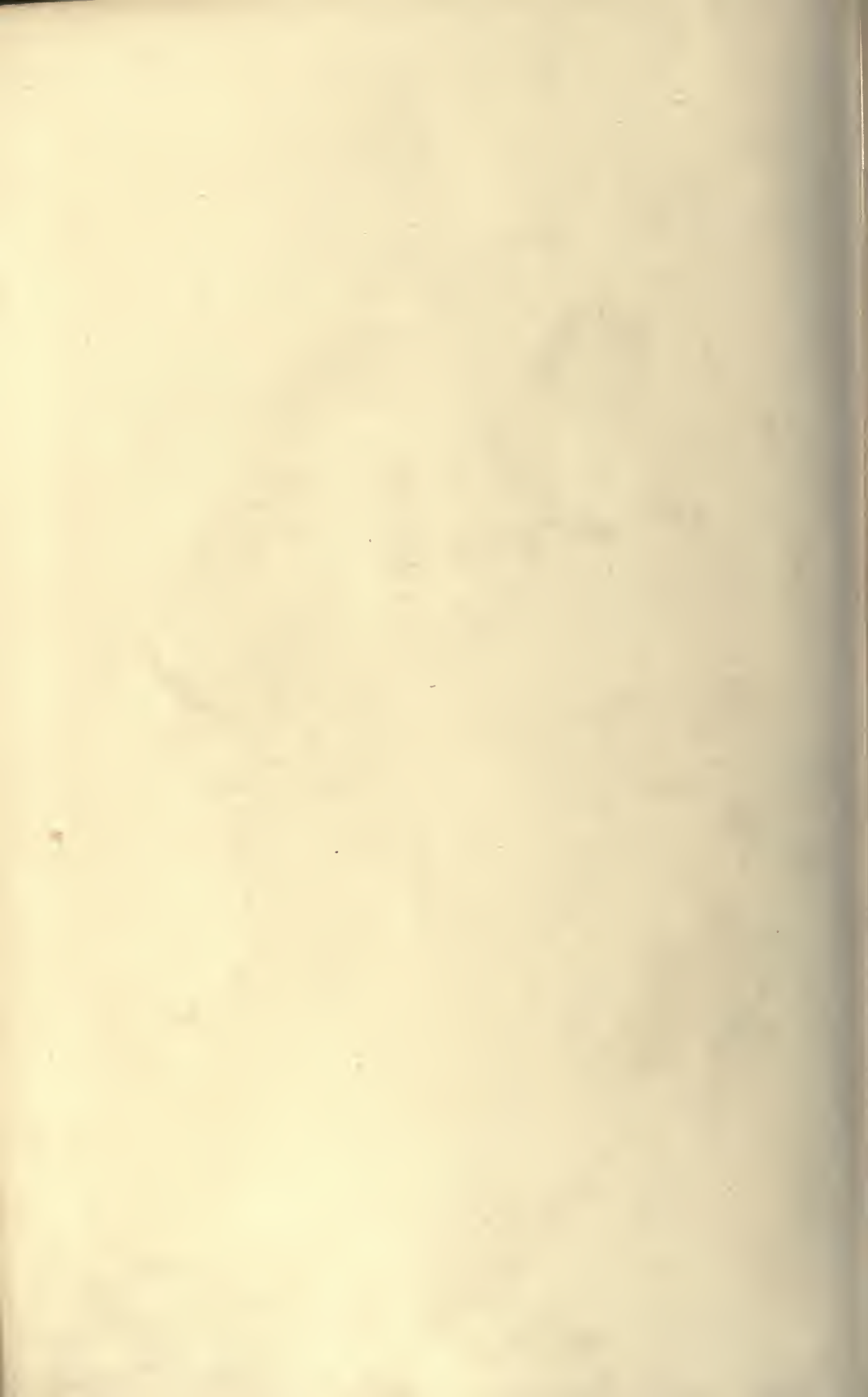
† This is the account given by Hemingford, p. 130. The chronicle of Lanercost, p. 190, says, that Wallace ordered only as much of the skin to be taken off as would make a sword belt. This is probably the origin of the story told by Abercromby and others, that the Scots made girths of Cressingham's skin.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. pp. 304—306; Fordun, book xi. chap. xxix.; Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 126—130.

SCENE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF SWITZERLAND

View from the summit of Mt. Titlis





Wallace, on whom the government of the country seemed tacitly to devolve—for as yet he had not been appointed guardian—sought, by a series of wise regulations, to mitigate the evils he could not prevent.

The standing crops were carefully husbanded, and their use placed under wholesome restrictions, to meet the demands of the coming winter. His ready and comprehensive mind also suggested

Wallace invades England. the plan of invading the northern counties of England; and, by the plunder obtained, to make reprisals on the enemy, while he fed his famished countrymen at home. Accordingly, early in the month of October, a certain proportion of those capable of bearing arms, in every county, barony, town, and village, were summoned to meet on the moor of Roslin. The army which assembled, though comparatively small in number, in consequence of the opposition of the nobles unfriendly to the patriot, was yet sufficiently strong to justify an immediate march; and, accordingly, elated by the prospects of plunder and revenge, the Scots proceeded southwards. Wallace divided the command with Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, a young soldier of great promise, the son of the faithful patriot who fell at the battle of Stirling Bridge. On the news of the approach of the Scottish force, the inhabitants of Northumberland fled from the open country, and, with their wives and children, cattle and goods, sought refuge in Newcastle. After a brief delay, of which Wallace availed himself, to punish the disaffected inhabitants of Aberdeen, the Scottish army entered England. The counties of Cumberland and Northumberland were wasted with fire and sword, and no preceding inroad of the Scots had been so extensive or disastrous in its results.* The English chroniclers of the time have left us many graphic and affecting pictures of the sad and desolate condition of the devoted districts. "At this time," says Hemingford, "the praise of God was unheard in any church and monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular, and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy, nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then a few English, who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safeholds and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes, and the Scots roved over the country from the Feast of St. Luke (Oct. 18) to St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed."†

Wallace having called in his plundering parties, led his army to Carlisle, at that time one of the wealthiest cities in the north of England. But the place was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and Wallace, after sending a summons to surrender,

which was disregarded by the English, passed on, and laid waste Cumberland and Allendale, as far as Derwentwater and Cocker-mouth. Winter was now approaching, and the frost set in with intense severity. The devastations of the Scots had rendered the whole district little better than a wilderness, and many of their own soldiers perished by cold and famine. An immediate return to their own country became therefore absolutely necessary.

An incident occurred on their way home, which, as it finely illustrates the piety and humanity of Wallace, and relieves somewhat the sad details of plunder and bloodshed, deserves here to be noticed. The monastery of Hexham had shared the fate of other religious houses, having been rifled and otherwise injured by the Scots in their advance. Only three monks had remained, and believing all danger to be past, were busied in repairing the damages which their house had sustained, when the Scots again appeared. The fierce soldiers entered, brandishing their weapons and demanding that the treasures of the monastery should be given up. The purport of the sad reply was, that all had been previously carried away. At this moment Wallace entered, and commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the monks to perform mass. This was done, and the leader, with the soldiers, listened reverently. Retiring for a moment, however, to lay aside some of his armour previous to the elevation of the host, the avarice and ferocity of the soldiers broke out. They rudely seized the sacred eup from the communion altar, tore away the ornaments and vestments, and even laid hold of the missal in which the service had been commenced. While the priests stood trembling and horror-struck at the sacrilege, Wallace returned; and after having given orders for the punishment of the wretches, soothed and reassured the trembling priests. "Remain with me," said he, "it is that alone which can secure you. My soldiers are evil-disposed; I cannot justify, and I dare not punish them." As some compensation also for the injuries they had sustained, he granted (Nov. 8, 1297,) an ample protection in the name of the King of Scotland to the prior and convent of Hexham, forbidding on pain of death and forfeiture of goods, to kill or injure any of them.*

Leaving Hexham the Scots advanced to Newcastle; but finding the garrison prepared for a strenuous resistance, they turned aside from the town, and having made a division of their plunder, and allotted their share to the Galwegians, who were with the army, they returned home.†

In revenge for this destructive inroad, Lord

* Hemingford, pp. 133—135. This instrument is granted by Andrew de Moray and William Wallace, leaders of the army of Scotland, in the name of the illustrious prince John, by the grace of God king of Scotland, and with consent of the estates of the kingdom. This protection was to continue in force for a year.

† Ibid. p. 130.

* Fordun, book xi. chap. xxix.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 132.

Robert Clifford invaded Scotland with an army of twenty thousand foot and a hundred horse. But after plundering Annandale they returned home about Christmas, having burned a number of cottages and hamlets, taken a few prisoners, and killed three hundred and eight Scots.*

Soon after his return from his successful expedition into England, Wallace, in an assembly of the principal nobility, held at the Forest-kirk, in Selkirkshire, was chosen Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland, in the name of King John, and with consent of the community of Scotland. Thus armed with the authority to which he was so justly entitled, he proceeded to adopt and enforce those public measures which he considered most conducive to the security and welfare of the country. Even before his investiture with the office of Guardian, Wallace had turned his attention to the revival of the foreign trade of the kingdom, and accredited persons had been despatched with letters to the free towns of Hamburg and Lubeck, intimating that their merchants would now have safe access to all the ports of the kingdom of Scotland with their merchandise, as the country, "thanks to God, has, during the war, been recovered from the power of the English."† He now directed all his energies to rectify the abuses and disorders which had arisen from the disorganized state of the country. In order to secure a sufficient number of recruits, whenever the exigency of the state required it, he divided the kingdom into districts, and caused a muster-roll to be made out, containing

—his vigorous measures. of bearing arms between the age of sixteen and sixty. For the purpose of introducing discipline among his new levies, he divided and subdivided them in a peculiar manner. He appointed an officer over every four men, another of higher power over every nine, another of still higher authority over every nineteen men, and thus continued the gradation of rank till it reached the chiliarch or commander of a thousand. The lesser barons and gentry flocked to his standard in great numbers, while the higher ranks of the nobility, though they were secretly disaffected, and envious of his authority, were yet deterred by the fear of imprisonment from offering any opposition to his measures.‡ In an assembly of the barons, held at Torphichen, on the 29th of March, 1298, Wallace bestowed rewards on several of his friends and fellow-soldiers for their patriotic exertions in the cause of Scottish independence. Among these he conferred the office of Constable of Dundee upon

Alexander Skirmishur, or Seryngeour, and his heirs, "for his faithful services in bearing the royal banner of Scotland." This grant is said to have been made "with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility."* About midsummer of this year a considerable body of English, commanded by Aymer de Vallance, Earl of Pembroke, landed in the north of Fife, and began to lay waste the country. Their destructive ravages, however, were soon interrupted by the Guardian, who attacked them (12th June) in the forest of Blackironside, and after an obstinate conflict defeated them with the loss of one thousand five hundred men. The only person of note among the Scots who fell in this encounter, was Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife. In the mean time the English monarch was detained in Flanders, by the war in which he had engaged with the King of France for the recovery of Guienne, when intelligence reached him that his new conquest had been completely wrested from him by Wallace. In his absence a parliament was summoned by the English regency, to meet at London on the 10th of Oct. 1297; but the English barons refused to grant any aids or levies to carry on the war against the Scots, unless Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests were first ratified. Edward, though most reluctant to comply with these demands, clearly perceived that in no other way could he secure the support of his nobles in carrying out his ambitious schemes; he therefore, after three days' deliberation, consented to confirm the charters, which had been sent over to him, and having thus removed the disaffection of his nobility, he sent letters to the earls and barons of England, entreating them, as they valued his honour, and that of the whole kingdom, to meet at York on the 20th of January, and thence, under the command of his lieutenant, the Earl of Surrey, to march into Scotland to repress and punish the audacious rebellion of that nation. At the same time he sent letters to the Scottish magnates, reminding them of their oaths of fidelity to him, and commanding them to attend the muster at York, on pain of being held as public enemies if they refused.†

On the day appointed there was a great assembly of the earls and barons of England; but the Scottish nobles, Surrey advanced to the borders. did not venture to obey the orders. Eight days later a general muster of the English forces was held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, when there assem-

* This celebrated instrument, which is dated at Torphichen, 29th March, 1298, is granted by William Wallace, Knight, Guardian of the kingdom of Scotland and leader of its armies, in the name of the excellent Prince Lord John, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Scotland, and the seal of Baliol is attached to the deed. Abercromby states, that Wallace held a commission of Regency under the seal of Baliol, which was privately executed during the captivity of the latter in the Tower of London; but the accuracy of this statement cannot be implicitly relied on.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 138.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 130.

† This interesting document, which still exists among the archives of the Hanseatic city of Lubeck, was brought to light a few years ago by the researches of Dr. Lappenberg, of Hamburg. It is dated at Badington, (probably a mistake of the transcriber for Haddington,) 11th Oct. 1297.

‡ Carrick's Life of Sir William Wallace, vol. ii. Appendix A, and the Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club, where a facsimile of the document is given.

‡ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 170.

bled an army of a hundred thousand foot, two thousand heavy cavalry, and two thousand light horse. With this formidable array the Earl of Surrey marched across the border and relieved the important fortress of Roxburgh, which had endured a long siege by the Scots, and was reduced to great extremity. The English then returned along the border to Berwick, which the Scots abandoned at their approach, to the great joy of the garrison, which had stoutly held out the castle after the town had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Edward in the mean time had hastily concluded a truce with the King of France, and in his anger against the Scots, and eagerness to punish them for their revolt, returned with all speed to England, where he was welcomed with joyful acclamations. Surrey had previously received letters from the king, ordering him not to march into Scotland until he should join the army in person; on which the English general had sent home the greater part of the troops, retaining only a body of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. But as soon as Edward returned to England, about the middle of March, 1298, he instantly summoned the barons and other military tenants to reassemble with their powers at York on the Feast of Pentecost, and he also commanded the Scottish nobles to meet at the same place on the day appointed, otherwise condign punishment would be inflicted on them as vassals who had renounced their allegiance. But to this summons they paid no regard.*

Edward lost no time in proceeding to the border, and on reaching Roxburgh, he found himself at the head of seven thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry—the most powerful army that had ever entered Scotland; and it was soon after strengthened by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement from Gascony. But so little confidence had the English barons in the honour and integrity of their monarch, that they refused to advance farther until the king in person should ratify the confirmation of Magna Charta, and the Charter of the Forests, as they were apprehensive that he would attempt to elude the fulfilment of his former promise, on the plea that it had been given when he was in foreign parts, and was, therefore, not binding within his own dominions. Unwilling to comply with this demand, and yet unable wholly to evade it, he had recourse to the cunning device of inducing the Bishop of Durham and the Earls of Surrey, Norfolk, and Lincoln, to take a solemn oath on the soul of their lord the king, that on his return, if he obtained the victory, he would perform his promise. The barons were obliged to rest satisfied with this equivocal assurance, and to proceed on their march against the Scots.†

Meanwhile, Wallace was making vigorous preparations to resist the invaders; but all his efforts were weakened by the mean and selfish jealousy of the Scottish barons, who were envious of his well-

earned military renown and high command. According to Fordun, it was the language of many of the nobility—"We will not have this man to reign over us."* This mean and factious spirit sowed dissension and perplexity in the councils of the nation, at the critical moment when nothing but an honest love of freedom, and a cordial unanimity in resisting oppression, could have preserved the independence of the country. A few, however, of the greater barons, the principal of whom were John Comyn, of Badenoch; the younger Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill; Sir John Graham, of Abercorn; and Macduff, the grand-uncle of the Earl of Fife, repaired to the national standard, and assented to act with the only man whose talents were equal to the emergency.

Wallace, having collected his forces in the interior of the country, acted with great sagacity. His plan for the defence of the kingdom, which often, in subsequent times, proved successful in Scottish warfare, was to avoid a general engagement with the far superior forces of the enemy; to hang upon their line of march, driving off all supplies, and wasting the country through which the English were to advance; to wait till the scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and then to attack them when their army should be exhausted by privation. The wisdom of this plan was very apparent, and, for some time, it was completely successful. Edward advanced through Berwickshire to Lauder, and thence to Templeliston, now Kirkliston, a village between Edinburgh and Inlithgow, without receiving any intelligence of the invisible foe, who carried off the cattle and provisions, and wasted the country as he advanced. At the same time the Scottish light horse kept so strict a watch over the movements of the invaders, that the English scouts were unable to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the position or strength of their opponents. While Edward lay at Templeliston, waiting the arrival of his fleet, which he had ordered to sail round from Berwick to the Frith of Forth, with supplies for his army, he learned that the Scottish garrisons, which had been left in the strong castle of Dirleton and in two other neighbouring forts, had made frequent sorties, and cut off several of his foraging parties. Upon this he despatched Anthony Bek, the warlike Bishop of Durham, to lay siege to these fortresses. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. In an assault upon Dirleton, he was driven back with loss, and as the troops under his command were in want of a sufficient battering train, and were suffering from the want of provisions, the bishop sent Sir John Marmaduke to ask the king's pleasure. "Return," said Edward, "and tell the late, that he ought to show himself compassionate when he is acting the bishop, but that in his present business he must not practise deeds of clemency. And, as for you," he said, addressing

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 158.

† Ibid. p. 159.

• Fordun, book xi. chap. xxxi.

Marmaduke, "you are a relentless soldier, and I have often had to reprove you for too much cruelty in your exultation over the death of your enemies. But now return whence you came, and act as cruelly as you please. You will have my thanks, not my censure; and take heed that you do not see my face again till these three castles are burnt to the ground."*

In the mean time, the pressing wants of the besiegers were relieved by the arrival of three of the transports laden with provisions; and the bishop, on receiving this seasonable supply, ordered a fresh and more vigorous assault, which was successful; the garrison having surrendered after the lapse of two days, on condition that their lives should be spared. The other two forts were abandoned, and set on fire by their defenders.† Meanwhile, the English army began to suffer severely

from the want of provisions, as the critical state of the English fleet which was expected from the army. Berwick was detained by contrary winds. At length a few vessels appeared, bringing a small supply, and a donation of wine was distributed among the Welsh troops, who were reduced to great extremities. An alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, and the Welsh, inflamed by the wine, and irritated by the privations they had already suffered, attacked the English quarters in the night, murdered eighteen priests, and wounded many more. Upon this, the English cavalry rode in upon the mutineers, and slew eighty of their number. In the morning, the Welsh, of whom there were forty thousand in the army, enraged at the slaughter of their comrades, threatened to withdraw from the army and join the Scots. "I care not," said Edward, when their intention was reported to him; "let my enemies go and join my enemies. I trust that in one day I shall chastise them both." The English army was now placed in most critical circumstances. The ships were still detained by contrary winds, and the scarcity of provisions became so distressing, that Edward found it impossible to subsist any longer in his present quarters. No information could be obtained respecting the position of the Scottish army, which, according to the plan of its sagacious leader, wasted the country as the enemy advanced, but declined to risk an engagement. Edward was at length compelled to issue orders for a retreat to Edinburgh; and the prudent arrangements of Wallace were, to all appearance, about to be crowned with success, when the invaders were rescued from their perilous position by the treachery of two

Treachery of the apostate Scottish nobles, "whose names shall rot,"—Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and Angus.

of Dunbar, and the Earl of Angus. These traitors came privately at daybreak to the quarters of the Bishop of Durham, and informed him that the Scottish army was encamped not far off, in the forest of Falkirk, and that it was the intention of Wallace to surprise the English by a night attack, and to hang upon their rear and

harass them in their retreat. Edward, on receiving this welcome intelligence, exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, who hitherto hath extricated me from every danger! They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them."* The orders for a retreat were instantly countermanded, and the soldiers were directed to arm and to hold themselves in readiness to march.

Though the utmost diligence was used by Edward and his officers, it was three o'clock before the immense concourse of soldiers and camp-followers could be set in motion, and it was late before they reached a heath to the east of Linlithgow, where they resolved to pass the night in their armour. In the picturesque words of the old chronicler, whose narrative we have followed, "Each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for a pillow, and his arms for a couch; each horse stood beside its master, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron."† In the middle of the night, the king, who slept on the heath, received a kick from his war-horse, which stood piqueted beside him, and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident, a cry arose that there was treason in the camp, and that the enemy was upon them. Edward, although two of his ribs were broken by the blow which he had received, immediately mounted his horse, and appeased the tumult by showing himself to the soldiers; and as it was now dawn, he gave orders to continue the march. The army passed through Linlithgow about sunrise, and soon after desiered the advanced guard of the Scots on the ridge of an eminence, at some distance in their front; but when the English squadrons marched up the hill they found that the enemy had disappeared. Edward ordered a tent to be raised, and mass to be said, as it was the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd July, 1298). While this service was performing, the day became brighter, and the English soldiers could distinctly perceive the Scots in the distance, taking up their positions on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.

The Scottish army amounted to thirty thousand men,—not a third part of the number opposed to them; and Wallace, Battle of Falkirk. who was well aware of this disparity of force, was extremely reluctant to risk the safety of the country on the issue of a single battle, fought in such disadvantageous circumstances, and at first resolved to retreat. But the near approach of the English rendered this step extremely hazardous, and he therefore proceeded to draw up his men in the position best fitted to resist the assaults of the enemy. The infantry, which constituted the chief strength of his army, were divided into four compact bodies called *schiltrons*, with lances lowered obliquely over each other,—the front rank kneeling, those behind them stooping with their weapons gradually sloping till they came to a level, while those in the centre held their spears erect, the whole closely wedged together, and seeming, says

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 160.

† Ibid. p. 161.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 165.

† Ibid.

an old English historian, like a castle walled with steel.* The archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart, were placed in the spaces between the divisions, and the cavalry, consisting of only a thousand men-at-arms, were drawn up at some distance, in the rear. Having arranged his troops in this order, Wallace addressed to them this brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring, dance as you best can."†

Edward, on learning the dispositions which the Scots had made, hesitated to give orders for the attack, and proposed that the tents should be pitched, in order that the soldiers and the horses might obtain refreshment. This was opposed by his officers as unsafe—a small rivulet only separating the two armies. "What then would you advise?" said the king. "An immediate advance," was the reply; "the field and the victory will be ours." "In God's name then let it be so," said Edward, and immediately, Bigod, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, led the first line straight upon the enemy. Their progress, however, was retarded by an extensive morass, which covered the front of the Scottish position, and obliged them to make a circuit to the left. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Durham, who led the second line, perceiving the nature of the ground, inclined to the right and turned the morass, but, knowing the danger of a precipitate attack, he ordered his division to halt till the third line, under the king, should come up to their support. "Stick to thy mass, bishop," exclaimed Ralph Basset of Drayton, "and teach us not what to do in the face of an enemy." "On, then," replied the bishop; "set on in your own way. We are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty." They instantly rushed on and attacked the first division of the Scots, which was almost simultaneously assailed on the opposite quarter by the first line, which had now extricated itself from the morass.

The moment the lines met, the Scottish cavalry, either dismayed at the immense superiority of the enemy, or, as has been alleged, from treachery on

the part of their leaders,* fled without striking a blow. A few only of their number remained beside the spearmen, who stood their ground firmly, and repulsed the repeated charges of the English horse. But Sir John Stewart, while marshalling the ranks of the archers, from the forest of Selkirk, was accidentally thrown from his horse and slain, in spite of the efforts of his faithful vassals, who fell in great numbers around him. Their bodies were afterwards distinguished among the slain, as being the tallest and handsomest men of the army.† The infantry, however, still maintained their ground in spite of the furious charges of the English cavalry—their oblique lances, says Henningford, pointing every way, like a thick impenetrable wood. At length, Edward suspended the attacks of his horsemen, and ordered up his archers and slingers, who showered their arrows upon the close columns of the spearmen, with volleys of the large round stones which covered the field of battle. Thus exposed, without the means of defence or retaliation, to the galling storm of missiles which assailed them in all directions, the Scots at last became unsteady, the front line was broken, and the English cavalry charging them while they were in disorder, overthrew and put to flight these formidable masses. Wallace, with the remnant of his army, succeeded in gaining the shelter of the neighbouring wood, leaving nearly fifteen thousand men dead on the field; among whom were Macdaff, grand-uncle to the Earl of Fife, and Sir John Graham, of Dundaff, "the hardy wight and wise," still fondly remembered as the bosom friend of the Scottish patriot.‡ Sir Bryan de Jaye, Master of

* Fordun a Hearn, p. 981; Wyntown, book viii. chap. xv. l. 47.

† See Appendix, Note I.

‡ Sir John Graham was buried in the churchyard of Falkirk. The following is the inscription on his tomb—

"Mente manique potens et Vallae filius Achani,
Conditur hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis."
xxii. Julii Anno 1298.

"Heir eyes Sir John the Grame, bairn wight and wis,
Ane of the Cheefs who rescawit Scotland thise,
Ane better Knight not to the world was lent,
Nor was duke Grame, of truth and hardiment."

His Grace the Duke of Montrose, the chief of the Grahams, who is also proprietor of Dundaff, where Sir John Graham's castle is seen in ruins, possesses an antique wall, on which the following lines are inscribed:—

"Sir Ione ye Grame, very vicht and wyse,
One of ye chiefes relievit Scotland thise,
Fought with ys sword, and ner thout schame,
Commandit mane to beir it bot his name."

The accounts which the Scottish historians give of the battle of Falkirk, differ widely from the narrative of the English chroniclers. According to the former, the sons of the nobles towards Wallace, and the divisions among the Scottish leaders, were the chief, if not the sole, causes of the defeat. They state, that the Scottish army consisted of three divisions, of ten thousand men each, under Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn, who quarrelled about the chief command of the army; that Comyn had nearly withdrawn, with ten thousand men; that Wallace, from jealousy, followed his example; and that Stewart and his division, thus abandoned by their countrymen, were overwhelmed by numbers and cut to pieces. They also allege, that Wallace made good his retreat, and after gaining the northern bank of the Carron, had an interview with Robert Bruce, whom he sternly reproved for bearing arms against his country. All these fictions have been exploded by Lord Hailes; who,

* Langtoft thus describes the conduct and appearance of the Scottish infantry:—

"Ther foremost couray ther bakkis togidere sette,
Ther speres poynt over poynt, so sare and so thikke
And fast togidere joynt to se it was warlike.
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wend no man of blode throgh them suld have gone,
Ther folk was so mykelle, so stalwart and so clene.
Ther foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild thei wene,
That of alle Englande, fra Berwik vnto Kent,
The folk therein men fond had been thider sent,
Strength suld non haf had to part them throgh oute,
So were thei set sad with poyntes rounde aboute."

Langtoft's Chron. book ii. l. 304, 305.

† In the Cottonian MSS. the words used by Wallace are thus given:—"Hij haue pult on into a gamen, hoppet yif ye kunnet."—See Wallace Papers, p. 10. According to Walsingham, the words were—"I haif brocht you to the ring, hop gif you cun." The meaning of this characteristic speech has been very generally misunderstood. Lord Hailes has shown, that "hop gif you cun" signifies, not "hope if you can hope," as has been commonly supposed, but "dance according to your skill." The verb "cun" is obsolete, but the noun and the adjective are still in use. "Let my right hand forget its cunning." "A cunning artificer." Annals, vol. i. p. 315 (note).

the Scottish Templars, and a companion of the same order, of high rank, were the only men of note who fell on the English side.

Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling,* whither he was followed by the English; but when they arrived, on the fourth day after the battle, they found the town deserted and reduced to ashes. Edward took up his quarters in the convent of the Dominicans, which had escaped the flames, and here he remained for fifteen days, to recover from the wound inflicted on him by his horse. Meanwhile, his victorious army carried fire

and sword through the country in all directions. Clackmannanshire and Menteith were ravaged and plundered, and the whole of the rich and populous district of Fife was laid waste and given up to military execution in revenge for the gallant resistance made by Macduff and his vassals at Falkirk. St. Andrew's, which was found deserted by its inhabitants, was delivered to the flames. Perth was burnt by the inhabitants themselves, on the approach of the English. But the invaders were now suffering from the scarcity of provisions, as their long-expected ships with supplies from Berwick were still detained; and, unable longer to maintain themselves

in a country which had been laid waste both by friend and foe, they began their march southward, by Glasgow and Bothwell to Lanark, and thence to Ayr. Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, who at that time held this place, set fire to the castle and fled on the approach of the English; and Edward, from the want of provisions, unable to follow him into Carrick, turned aside into Annandale, and took Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, and then returned to England about the middle of September. Thus the English monarch, in spite of his vast preparations for this campaign, and his victory at Falkirk, was compelled by famine and distress to retreat, leaving the whole of the country to the north of the Forth still unsubdued. It is evident that if he had not been enabled, by the treachery of the Earls of Dunbar and Angus, to bring the Scottish army to action, he must have retreated with discredit and loss, and the sagacious plan which Wallace had formed for

however, carries his scepticism regarding the statements of the Scottish historians too far, when he denies that the dissensions of the Scots had any influence on their conduct in the day of battle. That there was treachery among the Scottish nobles, is proved by Hemingford; and the flight of the men-at-arms at the commencement of the battle, without striking a blow, in all probability was caused by the ill-will of their leaders towards Wallace, as well as by their conscious inferiority to the English cavalry. Hemingford's narrative of this campaign, which we have closely followed, is strikingly circumstantial and interesting, and, as Lord Hailes remarks, he enters into so minute a detail, that there can be no doubt of his having received it from some eye-witness.—See Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 162—165; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

* A large oak-tree in the Torwood forest, was long shown as marking the spot where Wallace slept before the battle; or, as others said, in which he hid himself after the defeat. It was regarded with great veneration, and was carefully preserved as a memorial of the Scottish champion; till it gradually withered away under the influence of time, and vanished about the commencement of the present century.

the defence of Scotland would have been crowned with complete success.

When the English army reached Carlisle, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford returned home, in consequence of their indignation at the king on account of his breach of faith, in bestowing the Island of Arran on a Scottish adventurer, named Thomas Bisset,* in spite of his solemn promise that he would adopt no new measures without the advice of his council. In a parliament held at Carlisle, he assigned to his earls and barons extensive grants out of the estates of the Scottish nobles, although he was as yet master of but a very small part of Scotland. These estates, however, as Hemingford remarks, were grants given in hope, not in possession, and it very soon became apparent by how frail a tenure they were held.

After the fatal battle of Falkirk, Wallace voluntarily resigned the office of Guardian of Scotland, finding himself unable to discharge its duties amidst the calumnies with which the jealousies and factious spirit of the nobles aggravated the difficulties of his position. In his room, the Scottish barons appointed John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, John de Soulis, Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, to be Guardians of the kingdom. It has hitherto been supposed that, after his return to the station of a private knight, no further efforts were made by Wallace to free his country from the yoke of the oppressor till after the lapse of seven years, and within a very short period before he fell a victim to the unrelenting vengeance of the English monarch. Important documents recently brought to light,† however, have proved that, during the interval between his resignation of his office and his execution, Wallace did not retire from the contest in disgust at the treachery and factious spirit of the Scottish barons, or seek, like too many of them, to earn the favour of the conqueror by timely submission, but exerted himself to the utmost in defence of the fallen and betrayed liberties of his country. Seeing no further prospect of success at home, amid the dissensions and jealousies of the Scottish nobility, and unable to cope single-handed with the power of Edward, he hastened to plead the cause of Scotland at the throne of France. Romance attended him from first to last. The documents referred to give us the history of that fine incident, which has hitherto been regarded as a fiction, because resting on the authority of Blind Harry,—his capture of the piratical rover, Sir Thomas de Longueville. This celebrated chief was a Frenchman by birth, but, imitating the example of the ancient Norse Sea-kings, he attacked and plundered vessels of all nations. He was known by the name of the Red Rover, from the blood-red flag which he usually displayed, and his courage,

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

† Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club.

strength of body, and successful piracies, rendered him, at that time, the terror of the seas. The Scottish champion was on his voyage to France, and the small vessel in which he sailed was steering for the port of Dieppe, when De Longueville's ship appeared in the distance, and instantly gave chase. Wallace, on learning from the terror-stricken mariners the character of their pursuer, ordered them all below excepting such as were absolutely necessary to manage the ship, and then calling together his own veteran followers, he commanded them to arm themselves and lie flat upon the deck, so as to be out of sight. In a brief space the piratical vessel ran on board that of Wallace, and the Red Rover, casting out grappling irons to make sure of his prize, jumped on the deck in complete armour, followed by his men, who already felt assured of victory. But the armed Scots started up at once and made a sudden onset upon the pirates, and a furious personal encounter took place between the Scottish champion and the Red Rover, in which the latter was vanquished and surrendered at discretion. Wallace carried his prisoner with him to the court of France, and succeeded in obtaining his pardon from the king, who even conferred the honour of knighthood on De Longueville, and offered to take him into his service. But the Rover had contracted such an affection for his generous victor, that he insisted on returning with him to Scotland, and fought by his side in many a bloody contest. After the death of his heroic patron, Sir Thomas de Longueville joined Robert Bruce, and aided him in his efforts to vindicate the independence of Scotland. Bruce rewarded his bravery by bestowing upon him the estate of Kinfauns, in the neighbourhood of Perth, which long remained in the possession of his descendants, who bore the surname of Charteris, which is said to have been the family name of the valiant Rover.*

When Wallace landed in France, he lost no time Fails in his mission. in proceeding to Amiens, where the French king then held his court, and urged him to assist his Scottish allies against their common enemy. But Philip had by this time concluded a treaty of peace with the English monarch, and was about to cement their alliance by the marriage of Edward, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and of Isabella, his daughter, with the Prince of Wales. Philip at first insisted that the Scots and their king, John Baliol, should be comprehended in the treaty; but as Edward would on no account consent to this proposal, the point in dispute was settled by mutual concessions,—Edward agreeing to give up his ally, the Earl of Flanders, who had

rebelled against Philip, upon condition that the French king should on his part abandon the cause of his Scottish allies. In this state matters stood when Wallace reached Amiens, and Philip is said to have thrown him into prison, and to have despatched a letter to Edward offering to place at his disposal the person of the late Governor of Scotland—an offer which was joyfully accepted by the English monarch.* Be this as it may, it appears that Philip not only did not deliver Wallace up to Edward, but that he released him from prison and furnished him with credentials to his agents resident at the court of His alleged visit to Rome. Rome.† We have no means of as-
certaining whether Wallace ever reached Rome, but this much is certain, that at this time Boniface the Eighth, who then filled the papal chair, issued a bull, in which he laid claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, and affirmed that the English monarch had no right to the Scottish crown, and that the people of Scotland owed him no feudal subjection. Edward, in his answer to the bull, informs the Pope that he had been deceived by certain “enemies of peace and sons of rebellion,” then resident at his court, whose false suggestions he requested might be for the future disregarded. There is no direct evidence that the claim of the Pope to the lordship of Scotland was instigated by Wallace; but, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, there is the strongest probability that he was one of those “enemies of peace” to whom Edward alluded.

The unfortunate Baliol, whom the Scots still acknowledged as their rightful king, John Baliol had remained a prisoner since is delivered up to the Pope. 1296. The King of France had in vain attempted to procure his liberation in 1297; but now, at the earnest request of Boniface, Edward consented to release the fallen monarch, and to place him in the hands of the Bishop of Vicenza, the papal legate. “I will send him to the Pope,” he is alleged to have said, “as a perjured man, and a seducer of the people.”‡ Accordingly, the governor of Dover conveyed the unfortunate prince to Whitsand, near Calais, delivered him to the papal nuncio, in the presence of a notary and witnesses (18th July, 1299), and gravely took a receipt for his person. Walsingham states, that when Baliol's trunks were searched at Dover, a crown of gold, and the Great Seal of Scotland, and many vessels of gold and silver, with a considerable sum of money, were found in them.§ He was permitted to retain the money, but the Great Seal was seized by Edward, and the crown was hung up in the shrieve of St. Thomas the Martyr. The dethroned King of Scotland was conveyed to his ancestral estate of Baillieu, in Normandy, where he lived in quiet obscurity till his death, in 1314.

* According to another account, De Longueville married the heiress of the ancient family of Charteris, and obtained, along with her, the baronial castle of Kinfauns, and the domains annexed to it. The estate is now the property of Lord Gray. The Rover's large two-handed sword is still preserved among the family muniments. It is believed, that the ancient Barons of Kinfauns are now represented, in the male line, by a once-powerful branch of the name,—the Charterises, of Amisfield, in Dumfriesshire.

* This statement rests on the authority of the *Canadian Manuscript*. Wallace Papers, p. 11.

† Wallace Papers, p. 163. The original document, addressed by Philip to his agents at the court of Rome, was recently discovered, by Mr. Joseph Stevenson, in the Record Office in the Tower of London.

‡ Walsingham, p. 76.

§ *Ibid.* p. 77.

Meanwhile, the Scottish Guardians had laid siege to the castle of Stirling, the only stronghold in the interior of the kingdom which remained in the hands of the English. Edward, who was well aware of its great importance, made vigorous preparations for its relief. Early in November, 1299, he assembled an army at Berwick, and prepared to march into Scotland, for the purpose of raising the siege of Stirling, and reducing the country beyond the Frith of Forth. But, to his great mortification, his barons peremptorily refused to advance farther than Berwick; alleging that the severity of the winter, the impassable nature of the country through which they would require to march, and the scarcity of forage and provisions, rendered an expedition into Scotland, at that season, wholly impracticable.* The main cause of their refusal, however, was the king's violation of his promise to confirm certain charters; and, disregarding his remonstrances, they withdrew to their estates. Edward, in high dudgeon, marched forward with the force that adhered to him; but, on becoming acquainted with the formidable position occupied by the Scottish army, he was constrained to retrace his steps. Meanwhile, the

garrison of Stirling was reduced to great extremities; and the king, finding it impossible to raise the siege, ordered the castle to be surrendered.† It was accordingly given up to Sir John de Soulis, one of the regents, who placed it under the charge of Sir William Olifant.

In the summer of the following year (1300), Edward invaded Scotland by the western marches. "On the day appointed," (1st July,) says an eye-witness,‡ "the whole host was ready, and the good king, with his household, then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers, and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed. There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins, many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance, and many a banner displayed. And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses; mountains and valleys were everywhere covered with sumpter horses and waggons, with provisions

* Henningford, vol. i. p. 170.

† Matthew of Westminster, p. 445.

‡ Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan Friar, who accompanied the expedition and has given a curious and interesting rhythmical narrative of the siege of Caerlaverock, written in old Norman French. The work has recently been translated and published, with valuable historical and heraldic notes and sketches, by the late Sir Harris Nicolas. "It contains," says the editor, "the accurate blazon of about one hundred knights and baronets of the reign of Edward the First, among whom were the King, the Prince of Wales, and the greater part of the peers of the realm. At the same time that this production may be considered the earliest blazon of arms which is known, it affords evidence of the perfect state of the science of heraldry at that early period, and from which it is manifest, that it was reduced to a science when it is generally considered to have been in its infancy." Caerlaverock belonged, at this time, to Herbert Maxwell, the chief of the border clan of that name.

and sacks of tents and pavilions. And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons." The first squadron was led by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. The second by John Warrene, Earl of Surrey. The king commanded the third squadron in person, and "brought up the rear so closely and ably, that none of the others were left behind. In his banner were three leopards courant, of fine gold set on red,—fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed to signify, that the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies; for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger: not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power." The fourth squadron was led by "Prince Edward, a youth of seventeen years, and bearing arms for the first time. He was a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent, and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore, with a blue label, the arms of the good king his father."

Eighty-seven of the most illustrious barons of England, with their retainers, were in this host; including knights of Bretagne and Lorraine, and apostate Scottish nobles. This formidable and splendid army marched into Annandale, and besieged and took Lochmaben, the fortress of Robert Bruce, and then sat down before the castle of Caerlaverock, strongly situated on the Solway Frith, about nine miles from Dumfries. "Caerlaverock was so strong a castle," says the contemporary chronicler

laverock. already quoted, "that it did not fear a siege; therefore the king came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defence, whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield,—for it had only three sides all round,—with a tower in each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate, with a draw-bridge, well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defences. It had good wells and good ditches, filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle so beautifully situated, for at once could be seen the Irish Sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no creature born could approach it on two sides, without putting himself in danger of the sea. Towards the south it was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood, and marshes and ditches, where the sea is on each side of it, and where the river reaches it; and therefore it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east, where the hill slopes."*

The chronicler proceeds to give a minute account of all the operations of the siege, which shows, that the science of reducing fortified places must at that time have been but in its infancy. The besieged

* Translation by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 61.

were at length compelled to surrender, when it was found that the garrison, which had thus defied the whole English army, including all ranks, amounted to only sixty men, "who were beheld with much astonishment." "They were all kept and guarded till the king commanded that life and limb should be given them, and ordered to each of them a new garment."* But this account of the treatment of the prisoners differs entirely from that in the Chronicle of Lanercost, where, in closer conformity with the character of the victor, it is stated that many of them were hanged.†

After the surrender of Caerlaverock, Edward marched into Galloway, where he plundered and laid waste the country— a great measure, confined to the south of Scotland; but he sent out detachments of his army, in various directions, to plunder and lay waste the country, and several conflicts took place between them and the Scots, who hung upon their march, watching a favourable opportunity to cut off the stragglers. The king himself advanced as far as Irvine, a sea-port town on the coast of Ayrshire, where he encountered the Scottish army under the regents. But, after a brief skirmish, they rapidly retreated to the fastnesses of their mountains, whither the heavy-armed English cavalry found it impossible to follow them. According to Rymer, "the Welsh in the English service would not act, and the cavalry could not." Another division of the English army laid waste Clydesdale, and committed the most revolting excesses. At Lesmahago, they set fire to the Abbey

church, in which a considerable number of the inhabitants had taken refuge, and many of them perished miserably in the flames.

Meanwhile, Edward, who had established his head-quarters at Dumfries, was engaged in repairing and strengthening the different fortresses throughout Galloway, which had surrendered to his arms; but he was at last compelled, by the approach of winter, to delay further operations till another season. At an earlier period in the campaign, he had given a contemptuous refusal to the demand of the Scottish regents, that John Baliol, their lawful king, should be permitted peaceably to reign over them; but affecting now, when it suited his purpose, to listen to the remonstrances of the French king, he (October 30th) concluded a treaty with the Scots, which was to last till Whit-Sunday in the following year, 1301.

While the English king was encamped with his army near Caerlaverock, Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope in their behalf. arrived with an admonitory Bull from Pope Boniface VIII., asserting that Scotland belonged of ancient times, and did still of right belong, to the Holy See, and commanding Edward to desist from all hostilities against the Scots.* In this singular document, the pretensions which the English monarch had set up to the feudal superiority of Scotland are refuted by cogent arguments, which, there can be little doubt, were suggested by the commissioners whom Soulis the regent, had a short time previous sent on a mission to Rome, to complain of the injuries which the English king had inflicted upon Scotland.† He reminds Edward, that his father, Henry, King of England, when, in the wars between him and Simon de Montfort, he requested the assistance of Alexander the King of Scotland, did, by his letters patent, acknowledge that he received such assistance, not as due to him, but as a special favour;—that when Edward himself requested the presence of the same King Alexander at the solemnity of his coronation, he, in like manner, by his letters patent, entreated it as a matter of favour, and not of right;—that when the King of Scotland did homage to Edward for his lands in Tynedale and Penrith, he publicly protested that his homage was paid, not for his kingdom of Scotland, but for his lands in England; that, as King of Scotland, he was independent and owed no fealty; which homage, so restricted, was accordingly received by Edward;—that when Alexander III. died, leaving as heir-ess to the crown a grand-daughter, in her minority, the wardship of this infant was not conferred upon Edward, which it would have been, had he been

* Translation by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 87.
 † Chron. Jan. p. 194. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I., for the year 1300, contains a statement of the expenses incurred in the siege of Caerlaverock, and in hiring vessels to convey engines to be used in the siege, and in furnishing provisions for the army. An account is also given of the wages paid to the workmen employed in repairing the fortresses which fell into the hands of the English. It appears that, during the expedition, the average wages per day were—

	s.	d.
Admiral of the Fleet	2	0
Captains	1	0
Chaplain of the Fleet	0	6
Master	0	6
Seamen	0	3
Horsemen	1	0
Bowmen	0	2
Masons	0	4
Carpenters	0	4
Smiths	0	4
Plasterers	0	3
Miners	0	3
Labourers	0	2
Boys, or Apprentices	0	2

There are several entries of payments made to "women helping to clean the ditches," at 1½d. per day. The hostility of the common people in Scotland to the invaders is evident from the fact, that Edward was compelled to bring labourers, at a considerable expense, from the northern counties of England. From the same documents we learn, that the price of Oats per quarter—

	s.	d.
January, 1300, was, at Holderness	2	2
July, " Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2	6
Price of Wheat per quarter, at Cavode, near York	4	0

In Scotland, the price of Oats was 4d., and of Bear, or Barley, 8d. and 10d. per boll; of Wheat, 16d. and 20d.

* Prynne Hist. Edw. I. p. 882. The Archbishop's letter to the Pope gives an interesting picture of the state of the country at that time, and of the danger to which he was exposed from the hands of Scottish robbers who roamed about thirsting for the blood of the English.

† These commissioners were Wm. Frier, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Paris, Haldred Disset, and Wm. Eaglesham. Fordun, book xi. chap. xxiv.

Lord Superior, but was given to certain noblemen of the kingdom, chosen for that office—and that the mere circumstance of his having negotiated with the Scots for the marriage of his son, the Prince of Wales, with Margaret, the heiress of Scotland, must prove fatal to any plea he might advance in favour of his being the feudal lord of that kingdom, as he would find no one weak enough to believe that he would have submitted to negotiate when he had a right to command. After these conclusive arguments in favour of the independence of Scotland, the Pope proceeds to exhort the king, in the name of God, to set at liberty all bishops, clerks, and other ecclesiastical persons whom he had imprisoned, and to remove all officers whom he had appointed to places of trust in the kingdom, contrary to the wishes of the people. "But," added Boniface, "should you have any pretensions to the whole or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months. I will hear and determine according to justice. I take the cause under my peculiar cognizance." To these Papal mandates the Archbishop added his own admonitions on the duty of obedience to so sacred an authority, warning the king, that if he resisted or demurred, Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens and to cherish, like Mount Zion, those who trusted in the Lord. At the conclusion of this address, which was made in the presence of Prince Edward and the assembled nobles, the king swore a great oath, and exclaimed in a fury, "I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Zion or Jerusalem, but as long as there is breath in my nostrils I will defend what all the world knows to be my right."* But aware of the danger of quarrelling with the Roman Pontiff, especially in the circumstances in which he was then placed, he moderated his tone, and after consultation with the nobility, informed the archbishop that he would, as speedily as possible, hold a council with the prelates and barons of England, and, by their joint advice and determination, return an answer to the Papal admonition.†

Edward accordingly disbanded his army and summoned a Parliament to meet at Lincoln, in February, 1301. There the Papal Bull was submitted to the assembled earls and barons of England, who directed a spirited letter to the Pope, repudiating the claims of the Romish

Answer of the English Parliament to the Papal Bull.

see to the kingdom of Scotland. "All England knows," said they, "that ever since the first establishment of this kingdom, our kings have been the liege lords of Scotland. At no time has the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the church. In temporals the kings of England are not amenable to the See of Rome. We have with one voice resolved, that, as to temporals, the King of England is independent of the Papal authority; that he shall not suffer his independence to be questioned; and, therefore, that he shall not send commissioners to Rome. Such is, and such, we trust in God, will

* Walsingham, p. 78.

† Prynne, Edw. I. p. 883.

ever be our opinion. We do not, we cannot, we must not permit our king to follow measures subversive of that government which we have sworn to maintain, and which we will maintain."* This instrument had appended to it the seals of a hundred and four barons, and was subscribed at Lincoln, 12th February, 1301.

About two months after this meeting of Parliament, Edward addressed a private Edward's letter to the Pope, solely intended, to the Pope. as he declared, to quiet the conscience of the Pontiff, in which he entered into an elaborate examination of the question, and attempts to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus, the Trojan, who, he alleged, founded the British monarchy, in the age of Eli and Samuel. The Pope had laid claim to the kingdom of Scotland, on the ground that it had been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew. Edward opposes this argument by another miracle. "Athelstone, king of England," said he, "overcame the rebellious Scots in battle, through the intercession of St. John of Beverley. He prayed through the same intercession for a visible sign, whereby all men of that age and of the ages to come, might know that the Scots were of right subject to England. Having thus spoken, he drew his sword, struck a flinty rock in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and made a gash in it of about an ell in length. The evidence of this miracle is twofold. First, the mark appears on the rock at this day. Second, the legend of the miracle is weekly recited in the church of Beverley to the praise and glory of St. John.† The conscience of the Pope must have been very easily quieted, if such arguments as these were regarded as a sufficient vindication of the violent invasion of the rights and liberties of Scotland.

Meanwhile, the truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again Campaign of 1301. marched into Scotland at the head of a powerful army; but the campaign was wholly ineffective. An early and severe winter set in, and many of the horses of the English men-at-arms perished from the severity of the weather and the scarcity of forage.‡ Edward, however, determined to pass the winter at Linlithgow, in order that his presence might operate as a check upon the Scots. Here accordingly he built a castle, and kept his Christmas; and here, on the 26th of January, 1302, he was induced, by the mediation of France, to conclude another treaty Truce with the Scots. with the Scots, which was to continue till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's day).§ He then proceeded to Roxburgh, and from this, by Morpeth and Durham, returned to London. It is worthy of notice, that on this occasion the Scottish commissioners still professed to act in the name of Baliol, but Edward refused to recognize

* Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 875.

† Ibid. p. 883; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 327—329.

‡ Fordun, book xii. chap. i.

§ Rymer Foed. vol. ii. pp. 892—896.

the dethroned monarch as king of Scotland, or the Scots as the allies of the king of France.

As soon as the truce had expired, Edward prepared to renew the war, and sent into Scotland Sir John de Segrave, whom he had lately appointed governor of the country, at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly consisting of cavalry. Segrave marched from Berwick towards Edinburgh, and having reached the neighbourhood of Roslin, for the purpose of more easily procuring forage, he divided his troops into three divisions, so far separated that they had no communication with each other. In the meantime, John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser, hearing of the approach of the English, had collected a small but chosen army of eight thousand men, and making a forced march in the night from Biggar to Roslin, attacked the first division of the enemy in their encampment at break of day, and entirely routed them. Segrave himself was wounded and made prisoner, along with his brother and son, who were seized in bed, and sixteen knights and thirty esquires. While the Scots were engaged in collecting the spoil, the second division of the English army came in sight. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the Scots were again victorious, and a rich booty and many prisoners, including Ralph the Cofferer, the paymaster of the army, fell into their hands. This second struggle had scarcely concluded when the third division of the English appeared, led by Robert Neville. The Scottish army, worn out by their night's march and their two successive encounters, thought of an immediate retreat, but the near approach of the enemy rendered this impracticable. Their leaders flew from rank to rank encouraging their men, and having equipped the camp followers in the arms of their slain enemies, they made a furious charge on the English, and, after an obstinate conflict, routed them with great slaughter. Fordun states that the Scots, before the second and third of these encounters, had recourse to the cruel policy of putting their prisoners to death. According to Langtoft, when the order to slay the prisoners was given, Ralph the Cofferer, the treasurer of Edward, interceded with Sir Simon Fraser for his life, and promised a large ransom. "This coat-of-mail is no priestly habit," replied Fraser; "Where is thine alb or thy hood? Often have you robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm; it is now our time to sum up the account, and exact its payment." Saying this he struck off the hands of the unhappy priest as being polluted with the wages of iniquity, and then with one blow severed his head from his body.*

* Fordun, book xii. chap. ii; Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 319; Wyntown, vol. ii. book viii. chap. 16. Some of the English historians attempt to conceal or extenuate the defeat of their countrymen on this occasion. They report that Sir Robert Neville and his men staid behind to hear mass; that when they came up they repulsed the Scots in a great measure and recovered many of the prisoners, and add, that of all those who staid behind to hear mass no one was

The victory of Roslin once more cleared the country of its invaders; but the period seemed at length to have come, when neither undaunted courage nor the most strenuous efforts could longer maintain the independence of the Scottish people. They were now deserted by their faithless allies, on whose assistance they had relied in their hour of need. Their patron, Pope Boniface, having quarrelled with Philip, found it expedient to court the friendship of the English monarch, and forgetting his former declaration in favour of the Scots, had the extreme effrontery to write to Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow (13th August, 1302), commanding him to desist from all opposition to Edward. "I have heard with astonishment," said he, "that you as a rook of offence, and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes which prevail between the Scottish nation and Edward, King of England, my dearly beloved son in Christ, to the displeasing of the divine Majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you have rendered yourself odious to God and men. It befits you to repent, and, by your most earnest endeavours after peace, to strive to obtain forgiveness." At the same time the Pope addressed a Bull to all the Scottish bishops, commanding them to be at peace with Edward, and threatening that, in case of disobedience, he would be constrained to administer another and severer remedy.*

The desertion of Boniface was soon followed by that of the French king, who concluded a treaty of peace with Edward, from which the Scots were entirely excluded, Edward, on his part, agreeing to give up his ally the Earl of Flanders. During the progress of the negotiations between England and France, the Earl of Buchan, James, the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis, one of the regents, and Ingelram de Umfraville, were sent, as commissioners, to watch over the interests of Scotland at the French court. But Philip cunningly persuaded them, that after the settlement of his own affairs with Edward, he would be able to negotiate a peace for his allies with more facility and on better terms, and he had the baseness to entreat the deputies, among whom were some of the most influential of the Scottish nobles, to remain with him at the French court, under the pretext that he wished them to carry back to their countrymen the intelligence of his having concluded the negotiation on their behalf, but in reality that he might detain them in France until Edward should have completed his preparations for the invasion of their country. They were thoroughly

either killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. Unfortunately for the credit of this monkish legend, Neville himself was slain. The English chronicler Langtoft has given a minute account of the battle, and candidly admits that the English were entirely defeated.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 905.

The Scots are deserted by the Pope and the French King.

Treaty of Paris, 20th May, 1303, and treaty of Philip.

duped by the artifices of their treacherous ally, and consented to remain. In the meantime they notified to the Guardian and nobility of Scotland the conclusion of the treaty between France and England, and exhorted them to persevere in the independence of their country. "Be not alarmed," said they, "that the Scots are not mentioned in the treaty. The King of France will immediately send ambassadors to divert Edward from war, and to procure a truce for us, until the two kings can have a personal conference in France. At that conference peace will be concluded beneficial to our nation. Of this, the King of France himself has given us the most positive assurance. You would greatly rejoice if you knew what reputation you have acquired all over the world by your late conflict with the English. Wherefore, we beseech you earnestly that you continue to be of good courage. And if the King of England consents to a truce, as we firmly expect he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the King of France shall propose by one of our number, who will be sent to you. But if the King of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of God, that you quit yourselves like men, so that by the assistance of God and your own courage you may gain the victory."*

But the termination of the war with France enabled Edward to bring all his resources against the Scots, and to attack them with a force which rendered resistance hopeless. The recent defeat of his troops at Roslin, had inflamed to the utmost his rancorous hostility against the people who had so resolutely opposed his authority, and he swore that he would either complete the subjugation of the country, or turn it into a wilderness fit only for the beasts of the field to dwell in. To accomplish this project all the vassals of the crown, both in England and France, were summoned to his standard; extensive levies of men and horses were made, and the din of preparation was heard from one extremity of the land to the other. About the middle of May, Edward put his army in motion, and reached Roxburgh on the 21st of that month, while his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, at the head of another division, entered Scotland by the western marshes. On the 4th of June they reached Edinburgh, their progress having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. The people, heart-broken by the dreadful sufferings they had undergone, offered no resistance. John Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace, who had recently returned from France, alone continued the unequal contest, and issuing suddenly from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge, at the head of a small band of veteran followers, they made frequent and harassing attacks upon the invading army, cut off the stragglers from the main body,

and intercepted their convoys. Their efforts, however, were utterly unavailing to retard the progress of the enemy. From Edinburgh, Edward pursued his destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence by Dundee, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Banff, to Kinloss in Moray. He established his quarters for some time at Lochendorb, a strong fortress built on an islet, in a lake in the wilds of Morayshire, and here he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. Leaving this remote spot, he penetrated into Aberdeenshire, and reached the strong castle of Kildrummie on the 8th of October, from whence he retraced his steps to Dundee, which he reached on the 20th of the same month. Thence he marched to Cambuskenneth and Stirling, and finally proceeded by Kinross to Dunfermline, where he took up his winter quarters. In this progress through the country, the castle of Brechin was the only fortress which shut its gates against him. It was commanded by Sir Thomas Maule, a soldier of distinguished valour, who held out the place for twenty days against the assaults of the

Brave resistance of Sir Thomas Maule.

English forces, and was so confident of the strength of the walls that he stood on the ramparts and contemptuously wiped off with a towel the dust and rubbish raised by the stones thrown from the English battering engines. This brave knight, however, was at last mortally wounded by a missile, but even while he lay expiring on the ground, he inveighed against the men as cowards when they asked him if they might now surrender the castle. The garrison, however, capitulated next day.*

Early in the month of December, Edward was joined by the queen, at Dunfermline. Here the English soldiers, by his orders, levelled with the ground the magnificent abbey of the Benedictines, a building so capacious, says an English chronicler, that three kings, with all their retinue, might have been lodged conveniently within its walls; but "the Scots," he adds, by way of apology, "had converted the house of the Lord into a den of thieves, by holding their rebellious Parliaments there."† This was a sufficient crime in the eyes of the English king to justify this act of savage barbarity. The church of the monastery and the cells of the monks alone were spared. A show of resistance was still kept up by Comyn, the Governor, Sir Simon Fraser, and a few other barons. The Castle of Stirling also still held out, and with the view of protecting this last place of refuge, Comyn collected all the forces he could muster, and took up a position on the north bank of the Forth, on the ground where Wallace had gained the signal victory of Stirling. Edward, on hearing of this movement, immediately advanced against the Scots at the head of his cavalry. In his eagerness to assail his enemies, he intended to have followed the example of the impetuous Cressingham, and to have crossed the river by the bridge;

* Rymer Foed. vol. i. p. 955.

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 446. † Ibid.

but on coming forward he found that it had been rashly broken down and burnt by order of Comyn.

Dispersion of the Scottish army—
He, therefore, sought out a ford at some distance, and passing the river in person with his cavalry, he attacked and dispersed the little army of the Scots.

Shortly after this last effort to maintain the independence of their country, the—and submission of the Scottish leaders. courage of the Scottish leaders altogether gave way, and on the 9th of February, 1304, the regent Comyn and his followers made their submission to the commissioners of the English king, at Strathorde, in Fifeshire.* It was stipulated, that their lives should be spared, and that they should retain their liberty and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might think proper to impose. From this capitulation the following persons were specially excepted, as having, by their obstinate resistance to the pretensions of the English king, deserved a more severe punishment:—Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace. To all these persons, except Wallace, the preservation of their lives and liberties was offered on terms more or less rigorous. But, "as for William Wallace," says the deed, "it is covenanted that he shall render himself up at the will and mercy of our sovereign lord the king, if it shall seem good to him;" terms which left him entirely at the mercy of Edward, and were almost equivalent to a declaration that he would be sent to execution the moment he was taken.

Not long after, about the middle of Lent, a Parliament was assembled at St. Andrews, when Wallace, Sir Simon Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling were summoned to appear, and on their failing to do so, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.† At length, Fraser, in despair, agreed to accept of the amnesty which Edward offered, on the hard conditions of fine and banishment from the country. But no mercy remained for Wallace. The rhyming chronicler, Langtoft, relates, that the hero, finding himself standing alone against the power of the English monarch, from his hiding-place in the forest of Dunfermline, sent some of his friends to Edward, with a proposal to surrender himself, on a written and sealed assurance of safety in life, limbs, and estate. But "full grim" was Edward, it is added, when this was reported to him, and breaking out into an ungovernable rage,

A price set on the head of Wallace.
he cursed Wallace by the fiend, for a traitor, and set a price of three hundred marks upon his head. On hearing this, Wallace, flying again to the moors and marshes, betook himself once more, for subsistence, to plunder.‡

* This place must have been on the Orewater, but the exact locality is not now known.

† Trivet, p. 338.

‡ Hailes, vol. i. p. 336; Ryley, pp. 369—370; Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 324. Dr. Lingard, the prejudiced, and not always

The strong castle of Stirling still held out, though defended by a slender garrison. The charge of this important fortress had been committed by John Soulis, one of the regents, who was still in France, to Sir William Oliphant, a knight of singular bravery and fidelity. He refused to capitulate, not from any hope of being able to offer an effectual resistance to the arms of Edward, but from a point of honour. He had never, he alleged, sworn fealty to the English monarch; but he had sworn to defend the castle entrusted to his charge, and must, therefore, wait the orders of his master, Sir John Soulis. He proposed, however, if a short truce were granted, that he would instantly repair to France and ascertain from his master whether he should at once give up the fortress, or hold it out as long as he was able. But Edward, who was deeply enraged at the obstinate resistance of the Scots, declared that he would listen to no such terms. "If he will not surrender the castle," said he, "let him keep it against us at his peril."

On receiving this reply, Oliphant and his brave companions resolved to defend Siege of Stirling Castle. their charge to the last extremity.

The siege commenced on the 22nd of April, and continued till the 20th of July. Thirteen warlike engines were brought to bear upon the fortress, several of which hurled stones of the weight of two and even three hundred pounds, and others threw javelins and leaden balls of great size. The leaden roof of the cathedral of St. Andrews was torn away to furnish materials for these missiles. The garrison, however, made a most desperate resistance, and by their frequent sallies and the skilful manner in which their engines were served and directed, they destroyed great numbers of the besiegers during these operations. Edward exposed himself with all the gallantry, and even rashness, of a youthful warrior, and on more occasions than one had nearly fallen a victim to his temerity. While riding near the walls, a javelin struck him on the breast, and lodged between the plates of his armour. The point of the weapon, however, had not pierced the skin, and pulling it out with his own hand, he shook it in defiance, and called out aloud that he would hang the villain who had hit him. On another occasion, a stone of great size and weight, projected from one of the engines on the ramparts, struck the ground before him with such violence, that his horse backed and fell under him; upon which his soldiers ran for-

ingenuous apologist of Edward, states, that "when the rest of his countrymen made their peace with England, the interests of Wallace were not forgotten," and endeavours to convey the impression that to Wallace the same, or nearly the same, terms were offered as to the rest of the Scottish leaders. But, as Mr. Tyler justly remarks, if he had read the authorities which he quotes, he would scarcely have ventured to make such statements. To Comyn and the rest of the nobles it was expressly guaranteed that "their life and limbs should be safe, that they should not suffer imprisonment or lose their estates," but to Wallace the only terms offered were an unconditional surrender of himself to the will and mercy of the king. So much for the assertion that "if Wallace's interests were not forgotten."

ward and hurried him down the hill towards the camp, chiding him for his rashness in thus exposing himself needlessly to danger. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of London, York, and Lincoln, were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrells, and other warlike weapons that could be collected within their districts, and to send them instantly to Stirling; and the governor of the Tower was also required to send down the engines which were under his charge. All communication between the garrison and the surrounding country was cut off, to prevent them from obtaining a supply of provisions. Orders were given for the employment of the Greek fire, a new and most destructive combustible, which set fire to the roofs and walls of the buildings; and in addition to all this, two immense machines were constructed, which overtopped the walls, and overwhelmed the besieged with stones, and lead balls of enormous weight. By means of one of these, called the war-wolf, a breach was at length, made in the two inner walls of the castle. The brave little garrison, worn out by their long-continued exertions, their numbers reduced by famine and siege, their provisions exhausted, their walls torn in pieces, were forced to surrender at discretion.*

Shameful indignities heaped upon the garrison. Every indignity was heaped upon them, which a mean and ungenerous mind, exasperated by opposition, could inflict. Sir William Oliphant, the governor, and twenty-five knights and gentlemen, his gallant associates in the siege, were compelled to go in procession to the tent of Edward, stript to their shirts and drawers, their heads and feet bare, and on their knees to acknowledge their guilt, and to give themselves up to his mercy. Upon this the king consented to spare their lives; but the governor was sent to expiate his offence in the Tower of London, and the rest were consigned to other English prisons. The garrison, which had so long defied the whole power of the English army, was found to have consisted of no more than a hundred and forty soldiers, besides Sir William Oliphant and the other knights and gentlemen, a preaching friar, a monk, and thirteen ladies, the wives and sisters of the knights, who had shared along with them the dangers and privations of their obstinate defence.†

Scotland was now at length completely prostrate at the feet of the invader; but the last hope of Scottish independence was not extinguished so long as Wallace lived and was at large. Edward, therefore, set himself with characteristic perseverance and inveterate enmity to hunt down, by every means in his power, the only Scotsman who had never submitted to his authority. The English

captains and governors in Scotland were commanded diligently to search out his retreats, and large rewards were offered for securing his person, dead or alive. Tempted by the great promises held out to him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling and carried into England, basely undertook to betray the patriot into the hands of his enemies, and for this purpose was sent back into Scotland in charge of Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight, who was also employed in the same nefarious transaction. What were the precise measures adopted by Mowbray and Haliburton cannot now be ascertained, nor is it even clear that it was by their exertions that Wallace was actually taken. All that is certainly known is, that soon after this, the patriot was betrayed and taken by Sir John Meateith, a Scottish baron, who ^{Capture of Wallace—} then held the castle of Dunbarton, under a commission from the English king.* Langtoft states, that Meateith succeeded in discovering Wallace's retreat through the treacherous information of *Jack Short his servant*, and that he came under cover of night and seized him in bed.† According to tradition, he was captured at Robroyston, a place about three miles north-west of Glasgow, and instantly conveyed to Dunbarton Castle, and thence with all speed to London, "with great numbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him."‡

His fate was soon decided, and the London rabble, who had so often trembled at his name, had the satisfaction of beholding the refined cruelty and tortures which attended his execution, and have stamped the character of Edward with indelible infamy. The day after his arrival, he was conducted on horseback from the house in Fenchurch-street, where he had spent the night, to Westminster Hall, accompanied by John de Segrave, acting as grand marshal of England, and the recorder, mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city. On reaching the hall a crown of laurel was placed upon his head, in mean and cruel mockery, because it had been reported that he had formerly said that he deserved to wear a crown in that place. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's chief justice, then impeached him as a —his trial— traitor to the king of England, as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and slain and battered the liege subjects of his master the king. To the charge of treason Wallace pleaded not guilty: as he had never been the subject of the king of England, he owed him no allegiance, and consequently could be no traitor. As to the other articles of accusation, he admitted that, in the discharge of his duty to his country, he had done all that was stated. He was, as a matter of course,

* It is reported, however, both by Fordun and Wyntown, that a written agreement was signed by Edward, that the garrison should be quit of all harm, and that this agreement was perfidiously broken by the English king.

† Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 205, 206; Rymer, vol. ii. p. 651. See Appendix, Note ii.

* See Appendix, Note iii. In the account of the capture and execution of Wallace, preserved in the Arundel MS., 220, and printed in the "Illustrations of Scottish History," by the Maitland Club, it is stated, that he was captured in the house of one Rawe Raa (Ralph Raa or Ray) in Glasgow.

† Laugtoft, Chron. p. 329.

‡ Stow, Chron. p. 209.

immediately condemned to death. The sentence which was pronounced upon him, contains an interesting outline of the hero's exploits. It recites, that John Baliol having forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, Edward conquered it, and publicly received the homage and fealty of its "prelates, earls, barons, and others"—that he proclaimed his peace through the realm—that he arranged a system of government for it, "according to the laws and customs of that land"—that the foresaid William Wallace, forgetting his fealty and allegiance, had raised an immense body of followers, had attacked the English officers, had slain William de Heselrigg, sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he afterwards cut in pieces—that, gaining strength and influence, he stormed the English garrisons, caused his writs to run through all Scotland, as if he were superior lord of that realm—that he summoned parliaments—that he attempted to league himself with the king of France—that he ravaged Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland—that he opposed the king in a pitched battle—and that, when defeated, he refused to avail himself of the terms of peace then held out to his acceptance. He was, therefore, and barbarous fore, condemned to death, with execution. all the barbarous and inhuman tortures which the malignant ingenuity of his enemies could devise. The sentence was executed on the twenty-third of August, 1305. Heavily ironed, he was placed on a hurdle and dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the usual place of execution—the Elms in Smithfield. He was then hanged on a high gallows, after which he was cut down while yet breathing, and his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge, and the limbs were sent to be exposed to public view in Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen.*

So perished Scotland's great national hero,—“hewed as a carcase fit for hounds,”—a man who, in any age, would have been illustrious, but who towers as much above the men of his own time in true nobility of soul, as in bodily stature and strength. Amid the general defection of the selfish and time-serving nobility, who then and afterwards were the pensioners of England, he alone adhered with unswerving constancy to his country's cause. He was ever

“faithful found;

Among the faithless, faithful only he;

Among innumerable false, unmoved,

Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,

His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;

Nor number nor example with him wrought,

To swerve from truth or change his constant mind,

Though single.”

* Wallace Papers, Introd. p. xxvii. and No. xx.,—a transcript from one of the Cotton MSS., embodying an interesting narrative of the legal proceedings (if they may be so styled) against Wallace. Henry the Minstrel states, that on reaching the place of execution Wallace requested that a

His memory is imperishably embalmed in the grateful hearts of his countrymen, and his exploits are still commemorated, with an enthusiasm which the lapse of five centuries has not been able to impair.*

The great champion of Scottish independence having been at length removed, Edward proceeded to frame a ^{New form of} government for ^{Scotland.} the conquered country, which, as he fondly hoped, was now indissolubly united with the English crown. Ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth, and invested with full parliamentary powers, assembled in London,† and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, framed regulations for the government of Scotland and the administration of justice to the people. Sheriffs and justices were appointed in the different districts of the country, subject to the control of the king's lieutenant, chancellor, and chamberlain. The feudal law, which, since the time of Malcolm Canmore, had been gradually making its way into Scotland, was now enforced to the exclusion of all others, while the remains of the ancient customs of “the Scots and Brets,” as they are termed (the Scots, Irish, and British races) were finally abrogated. For the further settlement of the laws of the kingdom, it was ordained that the king's lieutenant should, on his arrival in Scotland, assemble the estates, before whom the laws made by king David, with the amendments and additions of succeeding kings, should be read, and that the lieutenant, with his council of English and Scots, should amend the laws and usages that were evidently against God and reason, so far as they were able in so short a time, and without the king's advice. A report in writing was to be made to Edward of the proceedings and opinions of this assembly, with regard to the important subject of the reformation of the Scottish laws; and they were also directed to choose representatives to meet with commissioners appointed by the king, with full powers to frame such regulations as should tend to the better government of the country for the future.‡ In this revision of the laws and statutes of Scotland, great respect was professed for the ancient usages of the Scottish

Psalter which had been taken from his person might be returned. This desire being complied with, he asked a priest to hold it open before him, and continued to gaze on it till consciousness failed.—See Appendix, Note iv.

* An ingenious writer in the “*Scottish Journal*” suggests that Wallace was, as his name implies, of Celtic origin—that he personified the principle of Scottish nationality as opposed to Saxon or Norman supremacy—and that this was the secret of his intense hatred to the English, of his popularity with the lower classes in Scotland, and of the hostility shown him by the nobility, who were of Norman or Saxon origin;—and, finally, that the armies of Wallace were the patriarchal clans of Scotland arrayed against the English invader.—*Scottish Journal*, vol. i. p. 262.

† The Earl of March, who was elected, refused to serve, and by Edward's orders Sir John Menteith was substituted in his room.

‡ Ryley, pp. 503—506; Hailes, vol. i. pp. 345—350.

people, and for the opinions of the nobles; but, as was to be expected, especial care was taken to secure the dependence of the kingdom upon the English crown, and a controlling power over all offices and appointments was left in the hands of the king.

But while Edward was thus taking steps to secure his conquest, and flattering himself that he was at length about to reap the fruit of fifteen

years' incessant labours, the prize was suddenly snatched from his grasp; and within six months of the execution of Wallace, the system which craft and violence had reared, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, was entirely overthrown.*

* It appears from the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward, that the disbursements for the Scottish war for the year 1300 amounted to more than one fifth of the national revenue.

CHAPTER VII.

ROBERT BRUCE.

A.D. 1306—1329.

ROBERT BRUCE, to whom belongs the honour of restoring the independence of his country, was descended, like Wallace, from a family of Norman origin. Among the barons who followed the standard of William, Duke of Normandy, in his conquest of England, was Robert de Brus, or Brwyse, whom the Conqueror, for his valour and public services, rewarded with extensive estates in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. To his son, Robert de Brus, David I., King of Scotland, on his accession to the throne, in consideration of their early friendship, made a grant of the Lordship of Annandale.* The younger son of this second Robert, on whom the estates and title subsequently devolved, was the proper founder of the race of Scottish Bruces. The fifth in descent from him, and the grandfather of our hero, was Robert de Bruce, the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne. His son, also named Robert, married the Countess of Carrick, and thus added largely to the estates and feudal influence of the family. The circumstances connected with his marriage were so singular and romantic, and had so momentous an influence on the fortunes of Scotland, that they deserve a passing notice. The young Countess of Carrick, while engaged in the chase, and accompanied by a large retinue, suddenly encountered Robert de Bruce, passing on horseback through the domains of Turnberry. The tall and graceful figure of Bruce impressed the lady so favourably, that she invited him to join her train and share the hospitalities of her castle. The young nobleman, however, dreading the consequences of an unsanctioned intimacy with an heiress under the wardship of the crown, courteously declined the invitation; but the countess, seizing the bridle of his horse, conducted him, as a captive knight, to Turnberry Castle. Here, after fifteen days' residence, they were married, without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and without the requisite consent of the Scottish king. The estates and castle of the countess were immediately seized by royal authority, but escaped the doom of forfeiture on the payment of a heavy fine. Of this union, so strangely formed, Robert Bruce, the restorer of Scottish liberty, was the first-fruit. He was born on the 21st of March, 1274, and seems to have spent his early years in Carrick, to the earldom of which he succeeded, at the age of sixteen, on the death of his mother. His conduct amid the struggles of his country, prior to the year 1305, when he assumed the character of an open and decided patriot, contrasts most unfavourably with

* See ante, p. 62.

his after deeds, and can scarcely be explained on any other principle than a cold and cautious selfishness. Equal to Wallace in bravery and capacity, he lacked his lofty principle and pure patriotism. Supple, dexterous, and accommodating, his inconsistencies excite our wonder and regret; now in arms for his country, and then leagued with her oppressors,—now braving the wrath of the English king, and then again swearing fealty to him,—eager for the independence of Scotland, and yet looking coldly on the efforts of the only man whose dauntless heroism promised success to her struggles for freedom,—it required the energy, perseverance, and consummate valour of after years, to redeem his character from the charge of culpable weakness. By the stern though wholesome lessons of adversity, his spirit gradually acquired purity and strength, and shone out at last in acts of noble endurance, princely generosity, and justice tempered by benevolence. The conduct of Bruce, it is true, may be explained, and in part vindicated, by the peculiarity of his circumstances, which necessitated a course different from what he would have chosen. His grandfather, after vainly endeavouring to establish his pretensions to the throne of Scotland, had quietly acquiesced in the elevation of Baliol. His father, the Earl of Carrick, had submitted uniformly and implicitly to the superior ascendancy of the English monarch. Bruce, therefore, though convinced of his right to the Scottish throne, and determined to assert it, could not in the meantime, with decency or hope of success, urge his claims. A more serious difficulty also interposed, which time and prudence alone could remove. In his pretensions to the crown, he had to contend with a rival who was at that time one of the most powerful men in the kingdom. Baliol had tamely submitted to renounce for ever all claim to the Scottish throne, and his son was in captivity; but the claims and hopes of his family centred in John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, who was the son of his sister Marjory. Comyn was Regent of the kingdom, allied to many of the noblest families in Scotland and England, and, by the decision of Edward, possessed, in succession, a clear right to the Scottish crown. Between the families of Bruce and Comyn there thus sprung up all the jealousy and hatred which rival and irreconcilable interests could create. Accordingly, the movements of both families, during the contests which occurred between the abdication of Baliol and the death of Wallace, seem to have been decided rather by a regard to family interests than the good of their country. They were uniformly ranged on opposite sides, with the exception of the brief period when Bruce and Comyn were associated in the regency of the kingdom. This coalition, however, seems to have been mainly produced by a desire to crush Wallace, whose single-minded patriotism and influence endangered their common pretensions; and, that end once gained, they re-

turned to their former course of factious opposition and strife.

The seeming inconsistencies, therefore, which mark the early life of Bruce, may have been but the movements of a cautious and far-seeing policy, which sought, by balancing parties and humbling his enemies, to pave the way for the establishment of his own claims and the restoration of his country's freedom. At the period when our history resumes, Bruce stood in high favour with the English king, who sought his counsel in the settlement of the kingdom of Scotland; while the conduct of his rival Comyn, who seems to have wholly lost the confidence of Edward, was watched with a jealous eye, and his estates were subjected to a heavy fine.

After the reduction and submission of Scotland, while Bruce was actually employed, League between Bruce and the Bishop of St. Andrews, along with Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, in framing regulations for the future government of the kingdom, he secretly entered into a bond of alliance with William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews.* By the terms of this agreement, they bound themselves to resist the enemies of their country; to consult together and give mutual assistance to each other, by themselves and their people; to engage in no important undertaking without mutual consent; and to apprise each other of impending danger, and use the utmost endeavours to prevent it. This league, so important in its consequences, was concluded on the 11th of June, 1305. Bruce now took measures to rouse the nobles to resistance, and even sought to secure the services of Comyn, his rival, in achieving the independence of Scotland. According to

Wyntown,† while Bruce and Comyn were riding in company from Stirling, their conversation turned on the miseries to which their country was subjected by the English rule. With the view of adjusting their differences and combining their strength, Bruce is said to have proposed, that Comyn should support his title to the vacant throne; offering, in return, to make over all his estates to Comyn; or, as an alternative, promising to support the claims of Comyn to the crown, on receiving, as the reward of his aid, the extensive possessions of his rival. Comyn agreed, on the terms proposed, to withdraw his claims in favour of Bruce: and the covenant thus made was secretly and solemnly ratified. On the part of Comyn, however,

this paction was insincere; for, desirous of ruining Bruce, he transmitted to the English king a statement of the matter, but carefully concealing such parts of the agreement as militated against his own loyalty. Bruce, unsuspecting of danger, was residing at the English court. Edward, either anxious for clearer proofs of the treason of Bruce, or desirous, as has been affirmed, to get into his power other members

of his family, and to crush at one blow their pretensions, betrayed no suspicions of the Earl of Carrick's fidelity. Bruce, however, was warned of his danger by the Earl of Gloucester, and, accompanied by a few friends, immediately fled from Winchester to Scotland. On the way he met a person who proved to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging the death or immediate imprisonment of his rival. He was instantly slain and his letters seized; and, with these documents in his possession, Bruce hastily continued his journey, and reached his castle of Lochmaben on the fifth day after his flight.* It was now the month of February, 1305-6, and the English justiciaries, appointed by Edward for the administration of justice in the district of Galloway, were holding their sittings at Dumfries, attended by a large concourse of barons and freeholders.† John Comyn was present, giving suit and attendance on the king's court. Learning this on his arrival in Scotland, Bruce, who, as a freeholder of Annandale, was also bound to attend on the justiciaries, repaired to Dumfries for that purpose. During the proceedings of the court, Bruce requested a private interview with Comyn, and they accordingly retired to the cloisters of the Minorites, or Greyfriars. What ensued is not certainly known. The Scottish historians say, that —his murder, Bruce reproached Comyn, in bitter 10th Feb. 1305-6.

terms, for his treachery,—that a warm altercation took place, in the course of which Comyn gave Bruce the lie, and that Bruce in reply stabbed his rival with his dagger.‡ Appalled at his own deed and its consequences, Bruce hurried out of the sanctuary, calling loudly for his horse. He was met by Kirkpatrick and Lindsay, two of his followers, who, seeing him pale and agitated, demanded the cause. "I doubt," said Bruce, "that I have slain the Red Comyn." "Do you doubt?" said Kirkpatrick, "I will make siccar" (sure); and, rushing into the church, he despatched the wounded man.§ Sir Robert Comyn, an uncle of the murdered nobleman, with several adherents and attendants, were slain while endeavouring to protect their chief. On hearing the tumult, the English justiciaries, believing their own lives to be in imminent danger, gave orders to barricade the doors of the courtroom. Bruce compelled them to surrender by threatening to fire the building: they were permitted, however, to depart in safety to England.

The death of Comyn, though the effect of hasty passion rather than of premeditated Bruce revenge, placed Bruce in circum- resolves to claim stances which demanded instant the crown— decision. He had offended the English king beyond the hope of forgiveness; had directed against himself the enmity of the numerous and powerful family of the murdered noble; and had committed a crime which, as it involved him in the guilt of sacrilege, was viewed with horror by the people.

* Hales, vol. i. p. 342.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 122; Fordun, book xii. chap. v.; Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 18, Jamieson's edit.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 127. + Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220.

‡ Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 23.

§ See Appendix, Note V.

He had to choose, therefore, between the open avowal of his claims to the Scottish crown, or their entire renunciation: between the life of a fugitive and an outlaw, and the immediate vindication of his country's liberty. His decision was speedily taken. Returning to Lochmaben, after a brief consultation with his brother Edward, it was determined to hazard all consequences by claiming the vacant throne. Messengers were accordingly despatched to collect his friends and adherents, and to warn those nobles who were known to be favourable to the cause of Scottish independence.*

Only a few of the nobility, however, responded to —his this appeal.† In addition to his own supporters— brothers—Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander—the chief supporters of Bruce were William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; David Moray, Bishop of Moray; the Abbot of Scone; Thomas Randolph, nephew of Bruce, and afterwards Earl of Moray; Chrystal Seton, brother-in-law to Bruce; Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; John de Strathbogie, Earl of Athle; Sir James Douglas, who joined him on his way to Scone, and became his most gallant adherent and warmest friend;‡ Gilbert de la Haye, Earl of Errol; Hugh de la Haye, his brother; David Barclay, of Cairns; Alexander Frazer, ancestor of the Earl of Lovat; Walter de Somerville, ancestor of Lord Somerville; David of Inchmarten, ancestor of the Earl of Airlie; Robert Boyd, ancestor of the Earl of Kilmarnock; and Robert Fleming, ancestor of the Earl of Wigton. To these may be added, Alan, Earl of Monteth; Nigel Campbell, of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Argyll; and Simon Frazer, of Oliver Castle.§ Against this small band,—the forlorn hope of Scottish liberty,—stood arrayed the chivalry of England, the partisans of Comyn, and the great body of the nobles and inferior barons, who, disheartened by their late fruitless and ruinous attempts to cast off the English yoke, had submitted in despair, and dreaded a renewal of hostilities. Undismayed by these difficulties, and determined either to free his country or perish in the attempt, Bruce hastened with his adherents to Scone, where, on the 27th of March,

1306, and but forty-five days after —his coronation at the unhappy slaughter of Comyn at Scone. Dumfries, he was solemnly crowned, with as much state as the situation of affairs would permit. Edward, as we have seen, had carried off the regalia of the kingdom, and the celebrated Stone of Destiny, on which the Scottish kings, according to immemorial custom, were seated at their coronation. A small circlet of gold was therefore substituted for the royal crown;|| and, clothed in robes which Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow,¶ supplied from his own wardrobe, Bruce

took the necessary oaths. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered to him by the same prelate, and beneath it the new king received the homage of his subjects. Ever since the accession of Malcolm Canmore, the Earls of Fife, descendants from the celebrated Macduff, had enjoyed the honorary distinction of placing the Scottish kings on the throne at their coronation.* Duncan, Earl of Fife, was in the English interest; but his sister Isabella, the wife of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, withdrew secretly from her husband, and hastening to Scone, which she reached on the second day after the coronation of the king, insisted upon enjoying the privileges and performing the duties of her family. Bruce, anxious to invest his crown with every possible circumstance of legitimacy and sacredness, complied; and on the 29th of March he was a second time placed on the throne by the countess,† who was afterwards cruelly punished by Edward for her devotion to her country's cause. Thus solemnly crowned, Bruce proceeded to strengthen his interests by visiting different parts of his dominions,—seizing upon the castles of his enemies, and imprisoning the sheriffs and officers of the English king.

When the news of the death of Comyn, and the daring attempt of Bruce to assert the independence of Scotland, reached Edward, he was residing at Winchester, during the season of Lent. Though worn out by incessant exertions and the infirmities of age, his mental energy was still unimpaired, and he lost no time in meeting the dangers which threatened his northern conquests. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was immediately appointed to the office of Guardian of Scotland, and letters were despatched with all haste to the military tenants of York and Northumberland, enjoining them to follow his orders in proceeding against Bruce and his adherents.‡ Nor was Edward less careful to secure the aid of the spiritual power

Steps taken by Edward on hearing of the revolt.

sides, and the ease with which he took oaths and violated them, give a strange insight into the morality of the times. At the competition for the throne between Bruce and Baliol, the bishop took the oath of fealty to Edward, but was the first to break it by instigating Baliol to ravage the English territories. The fate of Baliol being sealed, he hastened to swear homage to the English king; but scarcely had Edward reached the Continent, than the restless ambition stimulated Wallace and Bruce to arms, and joined them in steel at the head of his retainers. Again fortune frowned on his country, and again he took the oath of fealty, only to break it ere a month had passed, by instigating a new rebellion. A fourth time he solemnly submitted, but only to march against the Prince of Wales, at that time acting in Galloway against Wallace and Bruce. Again he vowed and repeated his oath at St. Andrews, in presence of the assembled barons of both realms. But, on the rise of Bruce, he hastened to give him plenary absolution for the murder of Comyn, robed him at his coronation, and preached a holy crusade against the oppressors of his country. The very timber which Edward had given him to build the temple at Glasgow he converted into engines with which he stormed the Castle of Cupar. He shared in all the subsequent changes of his country, and spent his last years in furnishing Fordun with materials for his Chronicle of the times.

* See ante, p. 38.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 2, and note; Trivet, p. 342.

‡ Rymer Foed. vol. i. p. 988.

* Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 24.

† Fordun, book xii. chap. 9. ‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 27.

§ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 3. || Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 1048.

¶ This warlike prelate, in whom the natural and professional character were so much opposed, affords a singular example of inextinguishable patriotism under the tyranny of circumstances, while the rapidity with which he changed

against Bruce and his followers. To Pope Clement V., lately one of his subjects, he transmitted an account of the sacrilegious murder of Comyn, with a request that his vassal be immediately placed under the ban of the Holy See. Clement hastened to comply, and a bull was issued enjoining the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents.* The spiritual sentence, which otherwise might have proved, in that superstitious age, fatal to the cause of the new-made king, altogether failed in its design. The wise policy of Bruce had made Lambertton and many of the chief Scottish ecclesiastics his fast friends, and the inferior clergy, influenced by their superiors, and jealous of their own independence, paid no respect to the mandates of the Pontiff.

The next step of Edward was an appeal to the chivalrous spirit of the age. On arriving in London, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his son, the Prince of Wales, and on three hundred young men belonging to the noblest families in England. The occasion was signalled by a splendid entertainment and a singular ceremony. Two swans, covered with golden ornaments, were brought before the king, who made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would punish Bruce for his sacrilege, and thereafter devote himself to the pious work of redeeming the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.† The young Prince of Wales also took oath, that he would not remain two nights in the same place until he reached Scotland.

Pembroke proceeded rapidly to the north, to check the progress of the revolt, while the aged king followed more leisurely in his carriage, preceded a day's march by his son and the band of newly made knights. On his arrival in Scotland, Pembroke took possession of the important town of Perth, which was, at that time, walled and strongly fortified. Bruce arrived before the town with an army greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English commander. Nevertheless, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, he challenged the Earl to come out and fight in the open field. Pembroke having promised to meet him on the morrow, Bruce drew off his men, and encamped in the wood of Methven, about six miles distant from the town. Relying on the promise of the English leader, and unsuspecting of danger, the soldiers proceeded to throw off their armour and to cook their evening meal, while parties were sent in different directions to procure forage for the troops. But the crafty Guardian led out his soldiers towards nightfall, and surprised the Scottish forces, which, though taken unawares and unarmed, made a desperate resistance. Bruce was thrice unhorsed, and at one moment in imminent danger of being taken

prisoner, but was rescued by the valour of Sir Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law. The rout of the Scots was complete; and, in addition to the number of the slain, Bruce had to deplore the captivity of Hugh de la Haye, Sir David Inchmarton, Sir John de Somerville, Thomas Randolph, and others of his bravest adherents.* Edward, on receiving intelligence of the victory, commanded the prisoners to be instantly led to execution. But Pembroke ventured to disobey the sanguinary edict. Randolph was pardoned; a few were ransomed; but the majority were hanged and quartered, in the spirit of a merciless revenge.

In the meantime, Bruce and his friends, with about five hundred men, who had kept together, retired into the wild fastnesses of Athole. Driven from Athole by the necessities of —straits to which his starving soldiers, he descended — he is reduced. into the low country of Aberdeenshire; but had quickly to withdraw to the mountains of Breadalbane, on the approach of a superior force of the enemy. Amid these wilds they preserved, for some time, a miserable existence, by wild berries and the scanty and precarious produce of fishing and the chase. The presence of the queen and many other ladies, who had joined the fugitive band at Aberdeen, determined to share the dangers of their husbands and fathers, though it secured to them the solace of female society, aggravated the sufferings and anxieties of their situation. Barbour makes mention of the efforts of the knights, and especially of the "good Sir James Douglas," to provide for the wants and to promote the comforts of the ladies,—

"For whiles he venesoun them brocht,
And with his hands whiles he wrocht
Gynnys, to tak geddis (pikes) and salmonys,
Troutis, elys, and als menonys" (minnows);

and the king himself was often comforted by his wit and cheerfulness.‡

They had now reached the head of the Tay, and were approaching the shire of Argyle, the country of the Macdougals, of Lorn, whose chief had married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, and was eager to revenge the death of his kinsman. On receiving intelligence that Bruce and his adherents were lurking on the borders of his territories, this powerful chieftain — Bruce is attacked and defeated by the Lord of Lorn— collected a thousand men and attacked the fugitive band of patriots, who were now only three hundred strong.‡ The encounter took place in Strathfillan, near Teyndrum, at a spot which still bears the name of Dalry, or the King's Field. After a severe engagement, the adherents of Bruce, overwhelmed by numbers, were compelled to give way. Sir James Douglas and Sir Gilbert de la Haye were wounded, and many of the horses were slain by the long pole-axes with which the Highlanders were armed. At length the king, dreading the total destruction of his little band, commanded

* Rimer Foed. vol. i. p. 997; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 4.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 6; M. Westm. p. 45.

* Trivet, p. 343; Barbour, pp. 33, 36; M. Westm. p. 455.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 40.

‡ Ibid. pp. 41, 42.

them to retreat through a narrow pass, he himself bringing up the rear, and repeatedly turning and driving back the assailants who attempted to press upon them. Lorn, observing the skill and valour displayed by Bruce in protecting the retreat of his followers, said to one of his retainers, "Methinks, Murthokson, he resembles Gol Mak-morn, protecting his men." * Two brothers, whom Barbour calls Mackyn Dorser (interpreted the sons of Durward or Porter), and a third person, whose name is not mentioned, the strongest and bravest among Lorn's followers, had made a vow that they would either

—his narrow slay the king or perish in the at-
escape. tempt. Watching a favourable

opportunity, they simultaneously assailed him in a narrow pass, between Loch-an-Our and the edge of a steep precipice; one seized his horse's rein, but received a wound which hewed off his arm; a second had, in the meantime, grasped Bruce by the leg, and was attempting to dismount him, but the king, putting spurs to his horse, made the animal suddenly spring forward, so that the Highlander was thrown down, still holding by the stirrup. The third, taking advantage of an acclivity, sprang up behind him on his horse. Bruce, however, by his great personal strength, forced him forward on the horse's neck and slew him, after which he killed with his sword the other assailant whom he dragged at his stirrup. There is a tradition in the family of the Macdougals, of Lorn, which, in all probability, refers to the same perilous conflict, though it does not entirely coincide with the narrative of Barbour, either in the names or number of the vassals by whom Bruce was assailed. According to this tradition, Macdougal himself engaged in a personal encounter with Bruce, during his retreat, and was struck down by the king, and would have been slain on the spot, had not two of Lorn's retainers, named McKeoch, rescued him by seizing the mantle of the monarch, and dragging him from above his adversary. Bruce rid himself of these foes by two blows of his redoubted battle-axe, but was so closely pressed by the other followers of Lorn, that he was forced to abandon the mantle and brooch which fastened it, elapsing in the dying grasp of the McKeochs. A studded brooch, said to have been that which King Robert lost upon this occasion, is still preserved in the family of Macdougal as a memorial of this memorable incident.† The signal bravery displayed by Bruce in this encounter, extorted the applause even of his enemies. Barbour mentions that Mac-Naughton, a baron of Cowal, expressed to the Lord of Lorn, in the strongest terms, his admiration of the deeds of valour which Bruce performed in this perilous retreat. "It seems to give thee pleasure," said Lorn, "that he makes

such havoc among our friends." "Not so, by my faith," replied Mac-Naughton; "but, be ho friend or foe who achieves high deeds of chivalry, men should bear faithful witness to his valour; and never have I heard of one who by his knightly feats has extricated himself from such dangers as have this day surrounded Bruce." The Macdougals, appalled by an arm that carried with it certain death, or unwilling to press so brave a foe, discontinued the pursuit, and retired to their own country. In after times, and under happier circumstances, Bruce took ample vengeance on this powerful family.

The winter was now approaching, when it was no longer possible to subsist amid these barren wilds. It became necessary to provide for the safety of the ladies, to whom the rigours of the coming season, and the hardships of a wandering life, would have proved fatal. The queen and her attendants were therefore sent away to the Castle of Kildrummie, under the escort of the cavalry, commanded by Nigel Bruce, the king's brother, and the Earl of Athole. With two hundred infantry, the remains of his force, Bruce resolved to seek refuge in the district of Cantire, or among some of the adjacent islands. Sir Neil Campbell, who possessed great influence in that district of the country, was accordingly sent forward to provide vessels and provisions for the voyage. The heroism of Bruce, which shone so brightly in the battle-field, displayed itself now in circumstances even more trying. Wandering from place to place, hungry, weary, and footsore, he sustained the spirits of his followers by relating

"Auld stories of men that wer
Set in tyll hard assayis ser" (sore)—

tales of romance and chivalry, in which indomitable courage and perseverance had triumphed over the greatest obstacles.* In Rome, rendered almost defenceless by the battle of Cannæ, and insulted by Hannibal, who marched up to her very gates, but after years of patient endurance, triumphing at last over all her foes, he saw foreshadowed the present fortunes and ultimate glory of his own kingdom.

The king and his friends, in their retreat before the Lord of Lorn, had been driven considerably to the southward of Dalry, and their progress was now interrupted by Loch Lomond, to cross which they had no boats, while to go round it would expose them to the attacks of their enemies in Argyle. After long search, a leaky boat, capable of carrying only three persons, was discovered by Douglas, in which the king and he were first ferried over. They then despatched it in return for the rest of the party, so

* "Tharfor," he said, 'atour all thing,
Keep you from disparing.
And think that thouch we now harmys feel,
That God may yet releve us weil.
We rede off many men that war
Far harder sted than we yet ar,
And syne our Lord sic grace them lent,
That they came weil till their entent."

Barbour, vol. i. p. 47.

* This curious passage has been often quoted in the Ossianic controversy. There can be no doubt that it refers to an ancient Celtic tradition, but the incident alluded to is not to be found in the poems published by Macpherson.

† See Lord of the Isles, Canto ii., St. xi., and Appendix, note F. An engraving of the brooch is in preparation for this work.

that the whole band, partly, says Barbour, by swimming, partly by rowing, reached in safety the other side. The passage of the lake occupied a considerable period, and the king, in the meantime, entertained those who had passed over by relating to them the romance of Ferabras (more probably Fierabras), and an account of the siege of the "Duke Peris," in the tower of Egrymor, by King Lawyn.* They were now reduced to great extremities from the want of provisions, and while traversing the hills and woods in search of food, they met with the Earl of Lennox, who had recognized the peculiar sound of the king's bugle. Lennox, who, since the fatal encounter at Methven, had heard nothing of the fate of his royal master, fell upon his neck, and, the king embracing him, they wept together.† The earl supplied his friends with provisions, and, by his guidance and assistance, they succeeded in reaching the province of —and crosses to Cantire, where they were rejoined Cantire. by Sir Neil Campbell. Cantire was at this time subject to Angus, Lord of the Isles, the descendant of the renowned Somerled, and the chief of the powerful clan of the Macdonalds, who received Bruce and his adherents with kindness and hospitality, assigned to them the castle of Dunnaverty for their residence, and, according to Barbour, swore fealty to the king, and engaged to render him every assistance in his power. Bruce, however, did not deem himself secure, even in this remote district, from the pursuit of his enemies, and therefore resolved to pass over to the little island of Raehrin, on the coast of Ireland, a dreary and half desolate spot, inhabited by the vassals of the Lord of the Isles. Amid these rude, but friendly islanders, Bruce and his followers continued to lurk in concealment during the winter of 1306.

It was at this period that an incident is said to have happened, which, though it rests only on tradition, carries with it an air of verisimilitude, and is in itself extremely probable. The king was lying one morning upon a handful of straw, and deliberating whether he ought not to abandon all further attempts to make good his right to the Scottish crown, and transporting himself to the Holy Land, spend the remainder of his life fighting against the Saracens. It happened, that while he was thus pondering, he looked upward to the roof of the hut in which he lay, and his eye was attracted by the exertions of a spider, who, in order to fix its web, was endeavouring to swing itself from one beam to another above his head. Involuntarily he became interested in the pertinacity with which the insect renewed his exertions. At length, after it had tried to carry its point six times, but without success, it occurred to him that he had himself

fought just six battles against the enemies of his country, and he resolved that he would decide his own course, according to the success or failure of the spider. At the seventh effort, the insect gained its object, and Bruce in like manner persevered, and never afterwards met with any decisive check or defeat in his efforts to vindicate his own rights, and the freedom of Scotland. Hence it has been held unlucky or ungrateful, or both, in one of the names of Bruce to kill a spider.

In the meantime ruin fell upon the greater part of the friends and adherents, whom Bruce had left behind. Exasperated beyond measure at the repeated revolts of the Scots, Edward issued an ordinance, commanding the Guardian of Scotland to proclaim that the people of the country should search for and pursue all who had been in arms against the English government, and under the penalty of imprisonment and loss of their estates and castles, to apprehend every such offender, dead or alive. All who harboured these rebels were to be punished at the discretion of the Guardian. Those who were present at the murder of John Comyn, or were abettors of that deed, or knowingly received the guilty persons, or their accomplices, were sentenced to be drawn and hanged. It was added, that all who were at any time in arms against the king, as well as all, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, who had willingly espoused the party of Bruce, or who had exhorted the people of Scotland to rise in rebellion, were, on conviction, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. With regard to the common people who might have been constrained by their lords to take up arms, a discretionary power was committed to the Guardian to fine or ransom them, according to their offences.*

These orders were rigorously executed in the treatment of the patriots who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of their enemies. Bruce's queen, and his daughter Marjory, who, on the approach of an English army, had fled from the castle of Kildrummie, and had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, were meanly and treacherously delivered up to the English by the Earl of Ross, who violated the sanctuary, and made them and their escort prisoners. The ladies were committed to different prisons in England,† while the knights and squires who attended them were immediately put to death. The heroic Countess of Buchan, who had placed the king upon the coronation chair, was immured in a cage, constructed in one of the centre turrets of the castle of Berwick, strongly latticed and cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron. She was not permitted to converse with any person, except the women who brought her food; and it was expressly stipulated that these should "be English and liable to no suspicion."‡ Mary and Christina Bruce, both sisters to the king, were also

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 54. Pinkerton says, that for "Duke Peris" we should read "Dukes of Paris," but Dr. Jamieson is of opinion that these personages are unquestionably the same with Wyntown's *Douchaperis*, Fr. *les deux pers*, or the twelve peers of France.

† Barbour, vol. i. p. 60.

* Ryley, p. 510; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 11.

† Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 60.

‡ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 1014.

taken prisoners; the latter was shut up in a convent, but Mary was confined in a cage, similar to that of the Countess of Buchan, constructed in one of the turrets of Roxburgh Castle;* Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; and the Abbot of Scone, were taken in arms, and conveyed in fetters to England.† Edward wrote to the Pope, requesting that, in consequence of their opposition to his authority, these prelates should be deprived of their benefices, and that William Comyn, brother to the Earl of Buchan, should be appointed to the see of St. Andrews, and Geoffrey de Mowbray to that of Glasgow; but this request does not appear to have been granted.

The Castle of Kildrummie, in which Nigel Bruce had shut himself up, was besieged by an English army, under the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The garrison made a gallant defence, till a traitor, named Osburn, having set fire to the magazine of corn and destroyed their supplies, they were compelled to surrender at discretion.‡ Nigel Bruce, a beautiful and accomplished youth, whose fate excited commiseration even among the English,§ was sent in irons to Berwick, and there executed as a traitor, along with divers other knights and soldiers.||

Christopher Seton, who had married Christian, the sister of Bruce, and so gallantly rescued him at the battle of Methven, shared the same fate. According to Barbour, he was betrayed to the English by one McNab, "a disciple of Judas," in whom the unfortunate knight reposed entire confidence.¶ He was immediately taken to Dumfries, where he was tried, condemned, and executed. It appears that he was present at the murder of Comyn, and was therefore regarded as an accomplice in that deed. John de Seton, his brother, was about the same time put to death at Newcastle.

The Earl of Athole, in attempting to escape out

of the kingdom, was driven back by a tempest, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He was taken to London, and executed with circumstances of shocking barbarity,—being first half strangled, then let down from the gallows while yet alive, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face; and finally his head was cut off and placed amongst those of the other Scottish patriots, upon London Bridge. Athole was related to the royal family of England, and when this circumstance was pleaded in his favour, Edward swore that his only distinction should be a higher gallows than his fellow traitors. Matthew of Westminster mentions, that the king, then grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with more patience, after hearing of the capture of his relative.*

The veteran Sir Simon Frazer, the last friend and companion of Wallace, was still in arms; but soon after this he was defeated at a place called Kirkencliffe, near Stirling, and taken prisoner, along with many other knights and squires. He was carried to London in chains, and as he rode through the city, with his legs fettered under his horse's belly, a garland of periwinkle was, in mockery, placed upon his head. He was then condemned and executed, with all the studied and revolting cruelty of the English law of treason, and his head was fixed beside that of his murdered compatriot Wallace, upon London Bridge. Sir Herbert de Morham and his squire, Thomas Boys, Sir David Iachmarten, Sir John de Somerville, Sir Walter Logan, and many others of inferior rank, were put to death at the same time. Superstition mingled its horrors with those of a ferocious state policy, and the citizens of London were taught to believe, that demons with iron hooks were seen ramping on the gibbets, among the dismembered limbs of these unfortunate men, and "horribly tormenting their bodies."†

To complete the ruin of the patriotic cause, the extensive estates of Bruce were bestowed on different English nobles, and he and his adherents were solemnly excommunicated at Carlisle, by Cardinal St. Sabinus, the legate of the pope in England, with all the terrific pomp with which such a sentence is usually fulminated against the objects of papal displeasure.‡

While his family and friends were thus assigned to the dungeon and the gibbet by their ruthless captor, Bruce passed the winter in the small island of Raehrin, ignorant of their miserable fate and beyond the reach of the papal thunder. His own situation was apparently unknown both to friends and foes: and Fordun states, that at this period he was proclaimed, in derision, through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed.§ On the approach of spring, Sir James Douglas, impatient of inactivity, obtained permission from the king to make a descent, along with Sir Robert

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 1014.

+ M. Westm. p. 455.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 67.

§ M. Westm. p. 455.

¶ There is a passage in Barbour singularly expressive of the vindictive spirit of Edward. The news of the surrender of Kildrummie arrived when he was in his mortal sickness at Burgh-upon-sand.

"And when he to the death was near,
The folk that at Kildromy were
Come with prisoners that they had tane,
And syne to the king are gane.
And for to comfort him they tauld
How they the castell to them yauld,
And how they till his will were brought,
To do off that whatever he thought;
And ask'd what men should off them do.
Then look'd he angrily them to,
He said grinning 'HANGS AND DRAWS,'
That was wonder of sic saws,
That he that to the death was near,
Should answer upon sic manner;
For outen moaning and mercy,
How might he trust on him to cry,
That sooth-fastly dooms all thing
To have mercy for his crying,
Off him that throw his felony,
Into sic point had no mercy?"—p. 74.

‡ Barbour, p. 65.

* M. Westm. p. 456; Scala Chron. vol. ii. p. 543; Hales, vol. ii. p. 18, and Note.

+ See Appendix, Note VI.

‡ Hemingford, p. 236.

§ Fordun, book xii. chap. xi.

Boyd, upon the island of Arran. Passing over, with a small band of followers, in an open boat, he arrived there during the night, and placed his men in ambush near the castle of Brathwick, or Brodick, which was then held by a strong garrison, under Sir John Hastings, an English knight. Early next morning, Douglas had the good fortune to surprise the under-warden of the castle with a valuable cargo of provisions, arms, and clothing for the garrison, and, after killing forty of the escort, he made himself master of the stores which they carried. The governor, hearing the noise of the conflict, sent out a body of soldiers to the assistance of his men; but they were repulsed by the Scots, and forced to seek refuge within the walls of the fortress.* Finding the castle too strongly fortified to be assailed with any hope of success, Douglas drew off his men to a fortification of the ancient inhabitants, situated in a woody dell. Here they were joined by the king, who soon after arrived from Rachrin, with a company of about three hundred men, embarked in thirty-three galleys, which, according to Fordun, he had been enabled to procure by the aid of a chieftainess called Christiana of the Isles.†

Before passing over to the Scottish mainland, †
 —and pass Bruce despatched one of his follow-
 over to the main- ers named Cuthbert, into his an-
 land— cestral territory of Carriek, to learn
 how his vassals in that district stood affected, and with instructions, if he found appearances favourable, to make a signal, on an appointed day, by lighting a fire on an eminence near the castle of Turnberry.‡ When the day arrived, Bruce anxiously watched for the expected signal, from the dawn of the morning. At length, about noon, he perceived a fire on the appointed place, and instantly embarked with his men, steering their course, as darkness came on, by the friendly light. On reaching the shore about midnight, they found the messenger waiting for them, with the evil tidings that Lord Percy, with a strong garrison, occupied Turnberry Castle, and many of his men were stationed in the town; that the people were utterly dispirited; and that there was no hope of receiving from them any assistance. "Traitor!" said Bruce, "why, then, did you kindle the fire?" "Alas! sir," replied Cuthbert, "the fire was not made by me; but, as soon as I saw it burning, I knew that you and your men would come over, and therefore I came to meet you here, and to warn you of your danger."§ In this perplexing position, Bruce hesitated what to do; but his brother Edward boldly declared that he would pursue the enterprise at all hazards. Bruce, also, after some deliberation, determined to remain and take such adventure and fortune as Heaven should send him. They immediately proceeded

to attack the English troops, cantoned in careless security in the village of Turnberry, at some little distance from the castle, and succeeded in putting most of them to the sword. Percy heard the uproar, but, ignorant of the numbers of the enemy, he did not dare to sally out to the relief of his men. After this exploit, Bruce remained three days in the neighbourhood of the castle, and then withdrew to the mountainous parts of the surrounding country.*

While Bruce remained in the vicinity of Turnberry, a lady, nearly related to him, but whose name has not been preserved, brought him a supply of money and provisions, and a reinforcement of forty men. From her, too, he received the first intelligence of the melancholy fate of his friends who had taken refuge in the castle of Kildrummie towards the close of the preceding year. He was deeply affected by the recital, and vowed that their deaths should not go unrevenged. In the meantime, Percy kept close within the castle. Percy evacuates Turnberry Castle. beyond its walls, until the arrival of a powerful reinforcement, under Sir Roger St. John, enabled him to evacuate the fortress in safety, and to retreat with all haste into England.

Meanwhile, Bruce retired into the mountainous parts of Carriek, expecting to be joined by his brothers Thomas and Alexander, whom he had despatched to Ireland, for the purpose of collecting reinforcements in that country and the adjacent islands. On their return,—having landed in Loch Ryan, in Galloway, with a force of seven hundred men, —they were instantly attacked and routed (9th Feb. 1306-7,) by Duncan Mc Dowall, a powerful chieftain of that country, in the English interest. The brothers of Bruce, along with Sir Reginald Crawford, who were all grievously wounded, fell into the hand of the victor, who carried them to the English king, at Carlisle. Edward ordered them to be instantly executed.†

This grievous disaster was somewhat counter-balanced by a successful enterprise The Douglas undertaken by Sir James Douglas.‡ Larder. Having obtained the king's permission, that adventurous knight, taking with him only two yeomen, repaired secretly into Douglasdale, which Edward had bestowed on Lord Clifford, by whom the castle of Douglas was held with a strong garrison. Here Sir James discovered himself to Thomas Dickson, who had been the faithful friend of his father, and had showed great kindness to himself in his early youth. This trusty vassal concealed Douglas in his house, and brought to him secretly the principal adherents of the family, who eagerly welcomed the son of their old lord, and pledged themselves to assist him, to the utmost of their power, in the recovery of his patrimonial

—they
 attack and defeat
 a body
 of the enemy.

Defeat
 and execution
 of
 Bruce's brothers.

* Barbour's Bruce, vol. i. p. 77. † Book xii. chap. xi.
 ‡ See Appendix, Note VII.
 § Barbour, vol. i. p. 82. ¶ See Appendix, Note VIII.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 89—92.
 † M. Westm. p. 458. Langtoft states that Alexander Bruce had been educated at Cambridge, where he made extraordinary proficiency in learning, and adds, that he was Dean of Glasgow.—Vol. ii. p. 336.
 ‡ Barbour, vol. i. pp. 90—101.

inheritance. Having obtained from these friends accurate information respecting the state of the country, he concerted with them a plan for surprising the English garrison on Palm Sunday, during their attendance on divine service, in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. On the day appointed, the garrison, consisting of thirty men, marched in procession to the church, leaving only the cook and porter in the castle. A number of Douglas's adherents, with arms concealed under their clothes, entered the sacred edifice along with them, and suddenly raising the cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" made a fierce onset upon the English, and after a stout resistance killed or took prisoners the whole party, with the loss, however, of the faithful Dickson. Douglas then took possession of the castle, and after plundering it of all the arms and valuables which could be carried off, he heaped together, on the floor of the store-room or magazine, all the wheat, flour, meal, and malt which he found in the stores, and staved the casks of wine and other liquors; after which he put his prisoners to death, flung their dead bodies on the pile, and then set fire to the castle. This atrocious deed, which was long commemorated in the tradition of the country by the name of the Douglas Larder, took place March 19th, 1306-7.

Deprived of the succours which he expected from Ireland, the situation of Bruce was Critical situ-
ation of Bruce— now very critical. He was frequently in great danger as he skulked from one hiding-place to another among his native mountains, and was indebted for safety to his superior knowledge of the woods and morasses of that wild district. His enemies hunted him like a beast of prey, and even had the baseness to lay plots for his assassination. One of his own relatives, in whom he placed great confidence, was gained over by Sir Ingram de Umphraville, the English commander at Ayr, who prevailed upon him, by the promise of an ample reward, to attempt to slay Bruce. It appears that the king was in the habit of rising early in the morning, and retiring to some sequestered spot for private meditation; and this villain, with his two sons, lay in wait for him near his usual place of retirement. Bruce, unconscious of his danger, went out one morning, attended only by a page, who carried a bow and arrows, and

—is attacked
by three traitors,
whom he slays. proceeded towards the covert where the traitors had concealed themselves. They advanced to meet him, the father having a sword in his hand, one of the sons a sword and a spear, and the other a sword and a battle-axe. Bruce, however, had received some hints respecting their intended villainy, and stood upon his guard. He had no weapons excepting his sword, and the bow and arrows, which he took from the page, commanding him to stand at a distance; for, said he, "If I overcome these traitors, thou shalt have enough of weapons, but if I am slain, you may make your escape." In the meantime, the traitors drew near, with the evident intention of making a simultaneous attack

upon the king. Bruce commanded them to come no nearer, as he was aware of their treachery. The father, however, answered with professions of zeal for his person and service, and still continued to approach, when Bruce let fly an arrow, which hit him in the eye, and penetrating into his brain, killed him on the spot. One of the sons rushed forward and fetched a blow at Bruce with a battle-axe, but missing his stroke, he stumbled and fell, so that the king cleft his skull with one blow, before he could recover his feet. The remaining traitor ran on Bruce with his spear, but the king, with a sweep of his sword, cut off the steel head of the weapon, and then killed him, before he had time to draw his sword. Wiping his bloody weapon and looking upon the dead bodies, Bruce remarked to the page, who ran joyfully forward to congratulate him upon his victory, "These would have been three gallant men if they had resisted the temptation of covetousness." •

After this perilous exploit, Bruce continued to wander among the fastnesses of Carrick, often with a very slender train, both for the sake of secrecy and from the difficulty of finding support for his men. The Galwegians, having Adventure with
a body of
Galwegians. learned that he was in their country with only sixty followers, resolved to attack him by surprise, and for this purpose collected a body of two hundred men, and provided bloodhounds to track his steps through the forests and morasses. About night-fall, however, he received notice of their approach from his scouts, and instantly withdrew his little troop into the shelter of a morass, about two bow-shots from a deep and rapid mountain stream, of which the banks were steep and rocky. Having drawn up his men in this secure position, he left them under charge of Sir Gilbert de la Haye, commanding them to lie down and rest, while he himself, with two attendants, went forward to reconnoitre. After a careful survey of the ground, he found that the river could be crossed only by a deep ford, and that the path which led up from the water's edge to the summit of the bank, was so steep and narrow, that two men could not advance a-breast. Here he stood for a considerable time, till at length the baying of a hound was heard at a distance; but from his reluctance to disturb his followers on what might, after all, prove a false alarm, he remained at the ford, till the trampling of horses and the voices of men made him aware of the near approach of his enemies, and, by the light of the moon, he could see them preparing to cross the river. Unwilling to lose the advantage of his strong position, he sent back his two attendants to rouse and bring up his men, while he remained alone to defend the pass. The fierce Galwegians seeing only a solitary opponent guarding the ford, plunged at once into the river and made for the opposite bank. But as they crossed one by one, Bruce, who stood high above the landing-place, transfixed the foremost man with his long spear, and with a second thrust

• Barbour, vol. i. pp. 103—108.

stabbed his horse, which blocked up the narrow path in such a way that the next assailant must charge over its body. Five or six of the enemy were thus slain in succession, and the rest, dismayed by the fate of their companions, drew back for a little; but ashamed that so many should be held at bay by one man, they returned to the attack, encouraging each other with loud cries to press on. The dreadful sword of the king, however, swept round on all sides, and slew a man at every stroke, till the pass was completely blocked up by the dead bodies of men and horses. At length, on the approach of his followers, the Galwegians turned and fled, having lost fourteen of their number by the single arm of Bruce. When De la Haye and the soldiers came up, they found the king wearied, but unwounded, sitting alone on the bank of the river, where he had cast off his helmet to cool himself in the night air. Barbour describes them as gazing upon him with affectionate admiration when they heard the recital of his exploit, and saw the dead bodies of those whom he had slain with his own hand. Those of his followers who had been dispersed over the district, hearing of this adventure, hastened to rejoin his standard, in case of any further attack.*

Meanwhile Sir James Douglas was still lurking. Exploit of Sir among the fastnesses of Douglas—James Douglas. dale. "He loved better," he said, "to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak." Clifford had rebuilt the castle of Douglas, and restored its defences, and having placed a new garrison in it, under the command of a brave soldier, named Thirlwall, had himself returned to England. After his departure, Douglas determined again to expel the enemy from his patrimonial inheritance. For this purpose he had recourse to stratagem; and having concealed a part of his followers in a wood, he sent a detachment at an early hour in the morning, to drive off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the castle, towards the place where the ambush was laid. Provoked at this audacious act, Thirlwall hastily armed a considerable portion of his men, and pursued the marauders with the view of recovering the spoil. As soon as he had passed the place where Douglas was lying concealed, the Scots suddenly turned upon their pursuers, who, suspecting no danger, were following with all speed, and in great disorder. At the same moment those who were lying in ambush burst forth upon them with the war-cry of "Douglas, Douglas," and intercepted their retreat. Thirlwall, and the greater part of his followers, were slain, and only a very few regained the shelter of the castle. After this exploit, having heard that Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with a powerful force was marching against the king, Douglas collected his vassals and joined his sovereign, who was then at Cumnock, in Ayrshire.†

Having received this reinforcement, Bruce, with whom was now his brother Edward, awaited the advance of the enemy. Pembroke, who brought

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 109—118. † Ibid. pp. 121—123.

with him a large body of men-at-arms, had recently been joined by John of Lorn, with eight hundred Highlanders, whose active habits and training rendered them well fitted to follow an enemy among the moors and morasses in which Bruce had so often found shelter. Lorn is reported also to have had along with him a remarkably sagacious bloodhound, which had formerly belonged to Bruce himself, and having been fed with his own hands, had become so much attached to the king, that if once put upon his track, he would follow his footsteps anywhere. Bruce, whose force amounted to only four hundred men, had his attention fixed on the movements of the men-at-arms in the low country, while, unknown to him, Lorn, with his eight hundred Highlanders, made a circuit among the hills, and gained the rear of Bruce's little army. Perceiving the danger of his situation, and unable to make head against the superior forces which pressed upon him on both sides, the king divided his men into three bodies, and having appointed a place of rendezvous, commanded them to retreat by different routes. But when Lorn arrived at the spot where they had divided, he set loose the bloodhound, which instantly fell upon the well-known scent, and led the pursuers directly in the track which the king had taken. Finding his party closely followed by the whole force of the enemy, Bruce again subdivided his small body into three parts, but without effect, for the pursuers attached themselves exclusively to that which he led in person. He then ordered the remainder of his followers to disperse, and each one to provide for his own safety, and retained with himself only his foster-brother, or the son of his nurse. The bloodhound, however, neglecting the footsteps of the other fugitives, followed the traces of the two men. On this Lorn became convinced that one of the two must needs be the king, and despatched five of the swiftest of his men, with orders to follow hard after Bruce, and intercept his flight. They did so with such agility, that they soon came in sight of the king and his foster-brother. "What aid wilt thou make? for we shall speedily be attacked," said Bruce to his single attendant, when he saw the mountaineers rapidly gaining on him. "The best I can," replied his foster-brother. "You say well," rejoined the king; "then here I make my stand." The five pursuers soon approached with loud cries and menaces. Bruce took three to himself, leaving the other two to his foster-brother. The first who encountered him, he cleft through the skull with one stroke. The other two, starting back at the fall of their companion, allowed Bruce to observe that his foster-brother was hard pressed, on which he sprang to his assistance, and struck off the head of one of his assailants. Leaving him to deal with the survivor, he returned upon the other two, both of whom he slew before his foster-brother had despatched his single antagonist.* When this

* It has been supposed that this, and some other kindred exploits of Bruce, have been exaggerated by his metrical

The king narrowly escapes from the pursuit of John of Lorn—

perilous encounter was over, Bruce, with a courtesy, which strongly marked his character, thanked his foster-brother for his aid. "It likes you to say so," answered his follower, "but you yourself slew four of the five." "True," said the king, "but only because I had better opportunity than you. Your two assailants were not apprehensive of me when they saw me encounter three, so I had a moment's time to spring to your aid, and to return equally unexpectedly upon my own opponents."

In the meanwhile Lorn and his men approached rapidly, and the king and his foster-brother betook themselves with all haste to a neighbouring wood, through which ran a small river. Here they sat down, for Bruce was exhausted by fatigue, and declared that he could go no further. But the cry of the bloodhound intimated that their pursuers were close at hand, and his foster-brother entreated Bruce to provide for his safety by resuming his flight. "I have oftimes heard," answered the king, "that whosoever will wade the length of a bow-shot down a running stream shall make the 'slouth-hound' lose scent. Let us try if it will do so now, for were yon devilish hound away, I should care nothing for the rest."

Meantime Lorn reached the spot where lay the bodies of his slain vassals, over whom he made his moan, and threatened vengeance for their blood. He then followed the hound to the side of the brook, down which the king and his attendant had waded a great way. Here the hound was completely at fault; and Lorn, after a long and fruitless attempt to recover the trace, was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the pursuit.* In this encounter Bruce had the misfortune to lose his banner, which was taken by his nephew Randolph, who was then fighting in the ranks of the English.

"Others," says Barbour, "affirm that upon this occasion the king's life was saved by an excellent archer, who accompanied him, and who perceiving they would be finally taken by means of the bloodhound, hid himself in a thicket, and shot him with

biographer; but when we keep in mind that Bruce was possessed of great bodily strength, and skill in the use of his weapons, and was, moreover, clad in complete armour, there will appear to be nothing improbable in the account of his victories over half-naked and ill-armed caterans.

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 125—132. The account Barbour gives of the mode in which the English pursued Bruce and his followers, and the dexterity with which he evaded them, is corroborated by the English chronicler Harding, a great enemy to the Scottish nation:—

"The king Edward with hoost him sought full sore,
But aye he fled into woods and strait forest,
And slew his men at staytes and dangers thore;
And at narreys and mires was aye full prest,
Englismen to kill withoutyn any rest;
In the mouataynes and craggis he slew ay where,
And in the nyght his foes he frayed full sere.

"The king Edward with horns and hounds him sought,
With men on foot through marris, moss, and myre,
Through woods also, and mountens (where they fought),
And even the king Edward light men great hyre,
Him for to take and by might conquire;
But they might him not get by force ne by train,
He sat by the fire while they went in the rain."

Harding's Chronicle, pp. 303-4.

see Appendix to Lord of the Isles, note K.

an arrow. "In which way," adds the venerable Archdeacon, "his escape happened I am uncertain; but at that brook the king escaped from his pursuers."

After their escape from the pursuit of Lorn, Bruce and his trusty attendant ^{—is attacked} proceeded towards the appointed ^{by three free-} rendezvous. In the midst of the ^{booters—}

forest they met with three armed freebooters, one of whom carried the carcase of a sheep. These men pretended that they were in search of the king, whose party they intended to join. Bruce answered, that if they would go with him, they would find the Scottish king. To this they agreed; but something in their manner excited Bruce's suspicions, and caused him to be on his guard. "Until we are better acquainted," said he, "you must go before us, and we will follow near to you." "You have no occasion to suspect any harm from us," answered one of the strangers. "Neither do I," said Bruce; "but this is the way in which I choose to travel till we know each other better." The men did as he commanded, and thus they travelled till they came to a waste and ruinous house, where they made a fire, and dressed part of their provisions. The king, however, insisted that a separate fire should be kindled for himself and his foster-brother at the other end of the house. After a hearty meal, Bruce, who was overcome with fatigue, could not resist an inclination to sleep; but first he desired his foster-brother to watch while he slept, as he entertained strong suspicions of the three strangers. The king had not been long asleep, however, ere his foster-brother fell into a deep slumber also, and the three villains having discovered who Bruce actually was, plotted to slay him, doubtless with the expectation of obtaining the reward which the English had offered for his life. Fortunately he awoke as they were advancing for this purpose, with their weapons in their hands, and starting up he drew his sword and prepared to meet them; at the same moment treading heavily upon his foster-brother, to awake him. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the three ruffians were slain, but to the great grief of the king his faithful follower lost his life.* From this place Bruce travelled alone to the appointed rendezvous, where he was joined by his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, with a hundred and fifty men. No sooner did he find himself at the head of such a considerable body of followers, than forgetting hunger and weariness, he began to inquire where the enemy were quartered, feeling assured that they would, in all probability, be off their guard, under the impression that the Scots were entirely dispersed. Having received in ^{—surprises a body} formation from Sir James Douglas, ^{of the English—} that a party of about two hundred English had taken up their quarters for the night in a village, a mile or two from the camp of the main army, Bruce set out under cover of the night, and falling upon them at daybreak, he put the greater part of them to the sword.

• Barbour, vol. i. pp. 133—136.

In consequence of these successes, the number of Bruce's adherents increased daily; and the Earl of Pembroke, after repeated failures in his attacks upon the Scots, became disgusted with his ill success, and, abandoning the country, retreated to Carlisle.* Bruce immediately quitted his mountain fastnesses, and, descending into the lower districts of Ayrshire, expelled the English from the fortified places, and reduced the whole of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carriek to his obedience. About the same time, a detachment of the enemy, amounting to a thousand men, while marching from Bothwell into Kyle, under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, were attacked by Sir James Douglas, and completely routed. Mowbray himself with difficulty escaped to the castle of Innerkip, then held by an English garrison, while his men fled in great disorder to Bothwell.

Alarmed at these successes, Pembroke, in the beginning of May, advanced into Ayrshire, with a body of three thousand cavalry. Barbour relates, that in the chivalrous spirit of the times, the English commander challenged the king to give him battle, and intimated that he intended to march by Loudon Hill on the 10th of May. Bruce, who then lay with his little army at Galston, agreed to meet his old enemy on the appointed day, at the place mentioned. Profiting by the recollection of his discomfiture at Methven by Pembroke, he took due precautions to guard against an unforeseen attack, and to prevent his small army from being overwhelmed by the greatly superior forces of the enemy. The road at that part of Loudon Hill where Bruce resolved to wait the advance of the English, led through a piece of dry level ground, about five hundred yards in breadth, and bounded on both sides by extensive and deep morasses. Barbour says, that when Bruce rode out from Galston to survey the ground, the hay was lying on the "fayr-feild, even and dry," which he selected for the encounter. Considering this open space too large for his small army of six hundred spearmen, as it could be easily outflanked by the English cavalry, he drew three deep parallel trenches on either hand, from the morasses to the road, leaving only room for the movements of a force similar to his own. He thus secured both his flanks and rear, and at the same time provided two successive rallying places in case of need. His baggage was placed on a hill in the rear, under the charge of the camp followers. Early in the morning, the king, who was on the watch, perceived the enemy advancing in two lines, or divisions. Barbour describes, in glowing language, the splendid and imposing appearance of their godly array;—the sun gleaming upon their burnished helmets and shields—their glittering hanberks "that were white as flouris"—the steel harness of the horses—the coats of arms of various colours, and the pennons and banners waving above the wood of spears. The first line

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 140.

couched their lances, and at full gallop charged the Scottish spearmen, who were drawn up in a deep battalion. But they received the charge with such firmness that many of their assailants were unhorsed and slain; and after a short, but severe conflict, the English van was driven back in disorder upon the rear, which, in its turn, fell into confusion, and ultimately took to flight. The Scots followed up their advantage, and pressing forward on the disordered ranks of the enemy, gave them no time to rally, and drove the whole army off the field with considerable loss. Pembroke himself took refuge in the castle of Ayr.* Three days after the victory of Loudon Hill, Bruce defeated, with great slaughter, Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, and compelled him also to fly to Ayr. The Scots blockaded this fortress for some time; but, on the approach of succour from England, they were obliged to retire.

The moral effect of these victories was most beneficial to the patriotic cause. Emboldened by his success, the Scots now flocked in great numbers to the standard of their sovereign. His power and reputation daily increased, and "a general opinion, long suppressed by the former course of adverse events, began to be entertained throughout Scotland, that Heaven, in the hour of utmost need, had raised up, in the heir of the Scottish throne, a prince destined by Providence to deliver his country, and that no weapon forged against him should prosper."

The repeated reverses which his troops had met with, greatly incensed the English monarch. Although advanced in years, and enfeebled by illness, he resolved to march in person against the Scots, and to take signal vengeance upon them for their insubordination. He had been detained at Carlisle during the whole winter, by the wasting effects of a dysentery; but now, under the excitement caused by the tidings of Bruce's increasing success, he flattered himself that the virulence of his malady was abated. As an evidence of his recovery, he offered up, in the cathedral at Carlisle, the horselitter in which he had hitherto been carried, and, mounting on horseback, he proceeded towards Scotland, though he was so weak that he required to be supported in the saddle. But the effort was vain. In four days he advanced only six miles. On the 6th of July he reached the small village of Burgh-upon-Sands, on the shores of the Solway Frith, where he stopped once more for the night, and on the morning of the next day, as his attendants were raising him up to receive some food, he expired, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

The death-bed of this powerful, but ambitious and unprincipled monarch, is calculated to teach a memorable lesson. For more than twenty years the conquest of Scotland had occupied his almost undivided attention. To accomplish this darling

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 155—160.

object of his guilty ambition, he had employed the most unscrupulous devices,—had lavished the treasure of his subjects, and shed their blood like water,—had doomed to the axe and gibbet, men who owed him no allegiance, and were guilty of no crime, except an ardent love of their native land. He had transformed into inveterate enemies two nations who, for nearly a century, had lived in a state of friendly intercourse, and engendered between them a spirit of implacable animosity which it required many ages to soften and obliterate. And now, when worn out by age and disease, the prize, for which he had loaded his soul with guilt and his memory with infamy, was wrested from his grasp, and he was doomed to terminate his career within sight of that devoted country of which he had been so long the scourge, and which, after all his attempts to enslave it, lay yet before him free and unsubdued. In his last moments his thoughts were entirely occupied with the subjugation of Scotland, and his deadly hatred to the nation he had so grievously injured, was manifested by his dying injunctions to his son, that he should prosecute the war without truce or breathing space; and that his bones should be carried at the head of the invading army, and never be committed to the tomb till Scotland was entirely subdued. His heart he commanded to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought. Froissart, who probably had the authority of eye-witnesses for his statements, has given us the following account of this remarkable injunction:—“When King Edward saw that he should die, he called before him his eldest son, who was king after him, and there, before all the barons, he caused him to swear, that as soon as he were dead, that he should take his body and boil it in a cauldron, till the flesh departed clean from the bones, and then to bury the flesh and keep still the bones; and that, as often as the Scots should rebel against him he should assemble the people against them and carry with him the bones of his father; for he believed verily, that if he had his bones with them, that the Scots should never attain any victory against them. The which thing was not accomplished, for when the king died his son carried him to London.”

Edward was interred in Westminster Abbey, where his tomb is still to be seen, bearing the appropriate inscription:—

HERE LIES EDWARD THE FIRST, THE HAMMER
OF THE SCOTTISH NATION.*

Edward the Second, who succeeded to the throne Accession of of England in his twenty-fourth Edward II. year, was a weak prince, fond of idle amusements, and of worthless favourites and parasites, and showed as little inclination as ability, to carry out the schemes of his predecessor. After a delay of several weeks, he advanced into Scotland, as far as Cumnock, where he remained from the 6th to the 28th of August. He then re-

traced his steps, and, having appointed the Earl of Pembroke Guardian of Scotland, made his way back into England, without having performed a single act of importance. On reaching York, with his characteristic fickleness he removed Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and bestowed that office on John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond. Full power was conferred upon him over all ranks of persons; and the Sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were enjoined to raise the whole military strength of their respective counties, under his command. Information was soon afterwards received, that Edward Bruce had made an inroad into Galloway, and had laid waste, with fire and sword, those districts in which the inhabitants had refused to join his standard. The Guardian was therefore directed to protect the Galwegians from the ravages of Bruce. Special orders were at the same time issued to Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and several other Scottish barons, to accompany the English army in this expedition, while the sheriffs of London were enjoined to purchase and transport to Berwick, provisions and military stores for the troops, together with iron, hempen cord, crossbows and arrows, and certain larger weapons of the same kind, called balistæ de turno, employed in the attack and defence of fortified places.*

At the head of this army, the Earl of Richmond marched into Galloway. Bruce, unable to make head against the Expedition of the Earl of Richmond, and prudently avoided a general ac- treat of the king tion, and retreated to the north of to the north.

Scotland. Sir James Douglas, however, appears to have remained in the south, for the purpose of reducing the wooded and mountainous district of Etrick forest.† On his way to the north, the king was joined at the Mounth, on the borders of the Highlands, by Sir Alexander and Simon Fraser, sons of the gallant hero of Roslin, with all their power. From them he learned that John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, with Sir John Mowbray, and his own nephew, Sir David de Breechin, were assembling their vassals, and preparing to attack him. The time seemed favourable for their purpose, for Bruce was now attacked by a Bruce's illness.

wasting distemper, which deprived him of his appetite and strength, and threatened his life. Fordun attributes his illness to cold and hunger, and the hardships which he had been subjected to ever since his defeat at Methven.‡ Barbour says, that the king fell sick at Inverury, while on his march in search of the Earl of Buchan; and that Edward Bruce and the other knights who were along with him, considering their position in that place as too open and exposed, removed

* Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 320; Rym. Feod. vol. iii. p. 16.

† Barbour, p. 162. According to this author, Bruce's expedition into the north was undertaken for the reduction of that part of the country.

‡ Book xii. chap. xv.

* “Edwardus Primum Sotorum Malleus hic est.
Pactum Serva.”

the king in a horse-litter to Slenath, a strong post on the north coast of Aberdeenshire.

Buchan, having received intelligence of Bruce's situation, assembled his vassals, and marched towards Slenath; but finding the royalists strongly posted, he did not venture to

attack them. Several skirmishes, however, took place between the archers of both armies; and as provisions began to fail, and their enemies daily increased in numbers, the Scots deemed it prudent to retire into Strathbogie. Here they remained for some time, until the king had somewhat recovered from his illness, when they returned to Inverury, as a more convenient station for procuring provisions during the winter. Upon this, the Earl of Buchan, with a body of about a thousand men, advanced to Old Meldrum, and Sir David de Brechin pushed on to Inverury with a small party, and suddenly attacked and put to flight a few of Bruce's soldiers at the end of the town. Enraged at this military affront, the king instantly rose from his litter, and called for his horse. In answer to the remonstrances of his friends, he declared that the insults of the enemy had wrought his cure; and although so weak that he was obliged to be supported in his saddle, he led on his troops in person, and, marching to Old Meldrum, he made a furious attack upon the Earl of Buchan, and entirely defeated his army, pursuing them for many miles with great slaughter. If we may believe the poetical historian, Barbour, the king was restored to health by the excitement of the conflict, and the exultation consequent upon his victory.* He soon after marched into Buchan, the territory of his mortal enemies—the Comyns—wasting it with fire and sword; and took such signal vengeance for the injuries they had done him, that Barbour informs us, the "harrying of Buchan" was the subject of lamentation for fifty years after this severe military execution; and traces of the devastation may even yet be seen.†

After the victory over Comyn, his ally, Sir David de Brechin, who had been taken prisoner in his own castle of Brechin, was pardoned and taken into favour, and is said to have joined his uncle with his whole force. The citizens of Aberdeen also declared in Bruce's favour, and, assisted by some of his adherents, stormed and took the castle, expelled the English garrison, and levelled the fortifications with the ground. The castle of Forfar, which was strongly garrisoned by the English, was next taken by a soldier named Philip the Forcerer of Platane, who put all the English to the sword; and the fortifications were instantly

* Barbour, p. 172. He thus relates the expressions which the king used:—

"Yes," said the king, "withonten weer,
Their boast has maid me hail and fear;
For should no medicine so soon
Have cured me, as they have done."

† The oaks which at this day are turned up in the mosses of Buchan, bear upon their trunks the marks of being scathed with fire.

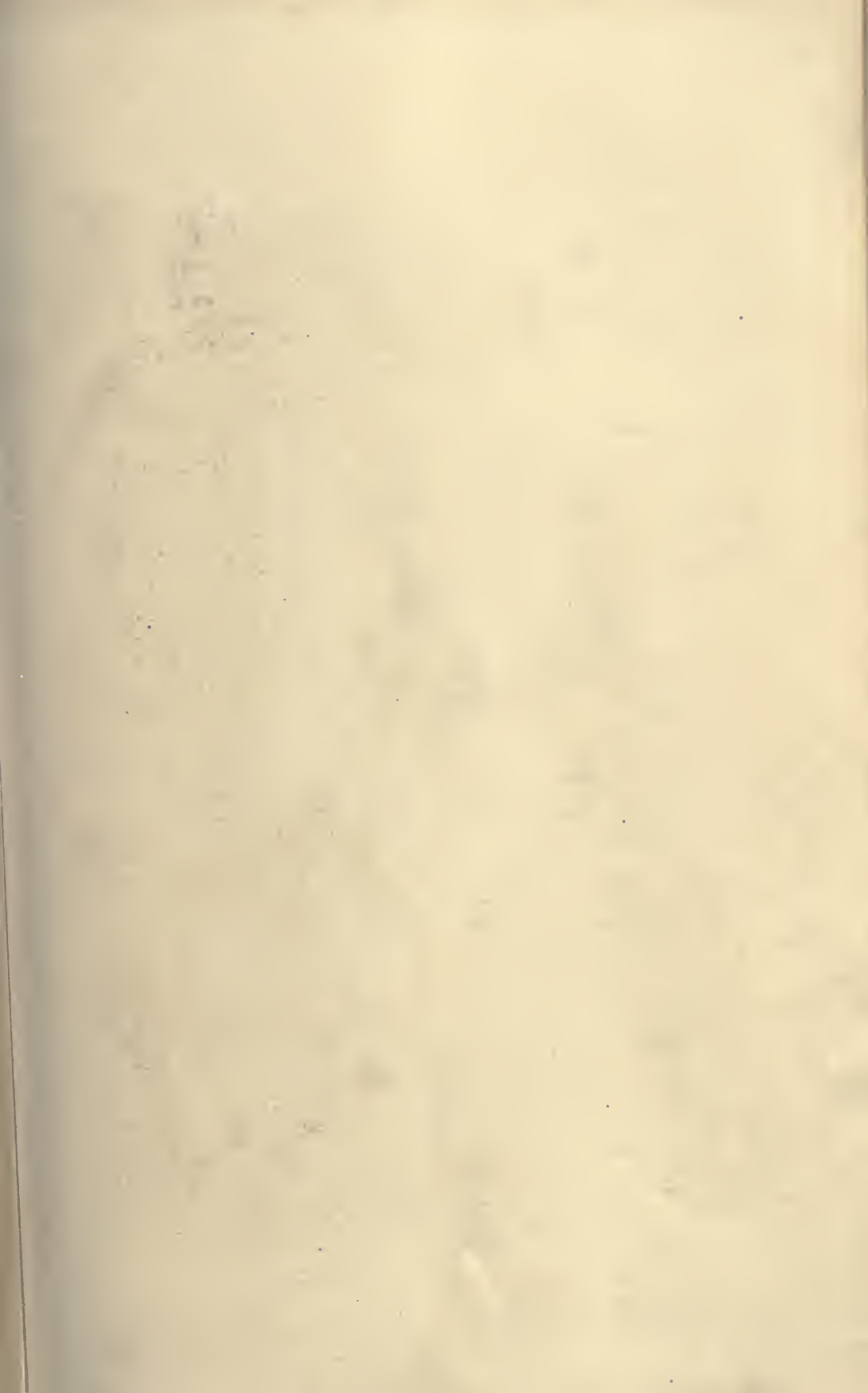
demolished by the command of the king,—a course of policy which he invariably followed, in order that the fortresses might not fall again into the hands of the enemy, and thus enable them to retain their hold upon the country.

Meanwhile, Edward Bruce overran and reduced the district of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had always been hostile to the family of Bruce, and had on various occasions reduced the king to great straits. With an inferior force he encountered, at the water of Cree, a body of twelve hundred English, under Sir Ingram de Umfraville and Sir John de St. John, assisted by a native chief called Donegal, or Dougal; and, after a fierce conflict, he routed and put them to flight, with the loss of two hundred men. Many of the fugitives fled for safety to the mountains, while their leaders with difficulty escaped to Butel, a castle on the sea-coast of Galloway.* After this victory, Bruce proceeded to reduce the country, and compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to his brother. While carrying on these operations, he received intelligence that John de St. John had levied a new army of fifteen hundred horsemen, and was advancing, by forced marches, with the intention of surprising the Scottish troops. Edward, however, resolved to anticipate the attack by a daring enterprise, which a soldier of more prudent valour would never have hazarded. He ordered his infantry to take up a position in a strait valley, strongly fortified by nature; and early in the morning, taking with him fifty horsemen, well armed and mounted, he made a retrograde movement, and, under cover of a thick mist, succeeded in gaining, unperceived, the rear of the English army. It appears to have been his intention to charge the enemy in the rear, as soon as they should have commenced their attack upon his infantry. But the mist suddenly cleared away, and exposed his little party to the view of the English, who were only a bow-shot distant. In this critical situation, Edward, deeming retreat very dangerous, if not impracticable, without hesitation or delay charged the enemy with so much fury, that they were thrown into confusion, and many of them were unhorsed and slain. Before they had time to recover from the panic produced by this sudden assault, he made a second, and, soon after, a third charge, which threw them into inextricable disorder, and put them entirely to the rout. Barbour states that the particulars of this daring and successful exploit—which he calls a right fair point of chivalry—were recounted to him by Sir Alan de Cathcart, a companion of Edward Bruce on this occasion, and a knight,

"Worthy and wicht, stalwart and stout,
Curtaiss and fayr, and off gude fame." †

* Barbour, pp. 181, 182; Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 345. Umfraville was a Scottish baron, who embraced the English interest in 1305. Barbour states, that he had acquired so great renown of knightly prowess, that he always had a red bonnet carried before him, on the point of a spear, as a token that he had attained the summit of chivalry.

† Barbour, pp. 183—185.





In a third engagement, on the banks of the Dee, (June 29th, 1308,) he defeated and took prisoner Donald of the Isles, who was assisted by Sir Roland of Galloway, and other chiefs of that turbulent district. By these successes he expelled the English entirely from Galloway, and brought the whole province under the dominion of his brother.*

Meanwhile Sir James Douglas was engaged in redueing to obedience, Douglasdale and the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh. Douglas Castle was at this time held under Clifford, by Sir John de Webeton, a brave young English knight, who, according to Barbour, had engaged, for the love of a beautiful lady, to keep the "adventurous castle," as it was called, for a year and a day. Douglas succeeded in decoying him into an ambuscade, by means of a stratagem which, in its contrivance and success, bore a close resemblance to that which proved fatal to the former governor. Sir John and the greater part of the garrison were slain, and the castle having shortly after surrendered, the fortifications were again levelled with the ground.†

While employed in the expulsion of the English from Ettrick, Forest, and scouring the mountainous country of Tweeddale, Douglas happened to hear some persons in a farm-house near the water of Lyne talking loudly, one of whom used the word, "devil," as an oath or adjuration.‡ Concluding, from this expression, that the house contained warlike guests, he immediately assailed it, and had the good fortune to take prisoners Thomas —and capture Randolph, the king's nephew, of Randolph. afterwards the famous Earl of Moray, and Alexander Stuart, of Bonkill, both of whom were still in the English interest, and had come into that country with the purpose of driving out Douglas and his adherents. They were well treated by their captor, who carried them to the king. "Nephew," said Bruce, "you have for a while renounced your allegiance, but you must now be reconciled." "You reproach me," answered Randolph; "but you are more deserving of reproach. Since you have chosen to defy the King of England, you ought to meet him in the open field, and not trust to cowardly ambuscades." "That may happen in due time," replied the king, "and perhaps ere long; meanwhile, since you are so rude of speech, it is fitting that your proud words should meet their due punishment, till you know my right and your own duty." Having thus spoken, he ordered his nephew into close confinement. The lesson was not without effect; for, after a short restraint, Randolph was reconciled to his uncle, whom he ever after served with unshaken fidelity.

* Fordun, book xii. chap. xvii.; Barbour, p. 186.

† Barbour, p. 153; Hume's History of the House of Douglas, pp. 29, 30. This story is the foundation of Sir Walter Scott's last romance—"Castle Dangerous."

‡ The Lyne falls into the Tweed a little above Peebles. Barbour, p. 187. It would appear from this anecdote, that the vice of profane swearing was at this time confined to military men, in Scotland at least.

Bruce, after these successes, was able to requite the Lord of Lorn for the injuries he had done him in the extremity of his distress, after the defeat at Methven. Accordingly, after the junction of Douglas and his forces, he marched into Argyleshire, and laid waste the country. John of Lorn, the son of the chieftain, had posted his men in ambush, in a narrow and formidable pass, between Dalmally and Bunawe, where the huge and precipitous mountain, called Ben Cruachan, sinks down upon the margin of Loch Awe. The road, which ran between steep rocks on the one hand, and a precipice overhanging the lake on the other, was in some places so strait that only one person could pass at a time. Bruce, however, had received accurate intelligence respecting the nature of the ground, and the position of the enemy; and having divided his army into two parts, he despatched one division, consisting of light-armed archers, under the command of Douglas, with orders to make a circuit round the mountain, and to take possession of the heights, which commanded the position of the Highlanders. The king himself, with the main body of the army, having entered the pass, were immediately assailed by the men of Lorn, who, with loud shouts, began to shoot arrows, and hurl down huge stones upon them. Meanwhile, Douglas and his men had gained the high ground, and letting fly a shower of arrows, made the Argyleshire men aware of their perilous situation; and then, rushing down sword in hand, attacked them in the rear. After a stout resistance, the Highlanders were thrown into confusion, and took to flight. The deep and rapid river Awe was then crossed by a bridge, which the fugitives attempted to demolish, in order to stop the pursuit. But the victors were too close upon their rear; and taking possession of the bridge, they pressed upon their retreating foes, and dispersed them with great slaughter. The Lord of Lorn had early betaken himself to his galley, from which he was compelled to witness the total defeat of his army, without being able to render them any assistance.*

After this decisive engagement, Bruce ravaged the territory of Lorn, and laid —and reduction of their chief— siege to the castle of Dunstaffnage, the principal stronghold of the Macdougals, to which their chief had fled for refuge. It was soon compelled to surrender; and the Lord of Lorn, now wearied with the contest, submitted to the victor; but his son John, "rebellious," says Barbour. "as

* In noticing this circumstance, Barbour expresses the following generous sentiments:—

"To John of Lorn it should dispense,
I trow when he his men might see,
Out of his schippis fra the sea,
Be slayne and cha-syt in the hill,
That he might set na help there till;
Hot it angers as gretunly (much)
To good hearts that are worthy,
To see their fayis (foes) fulfill their will,
As to themselves to thole (suffer) the ill."

he went to be," fled to England by sea, and continued in the service of the English king.*

While Bruce and his adherents were thus steadily wrestling their country from the domination of their enemies, the measures of the English Government were feeble, fluctuating, and capricious. In less than a year, commissions were granted to six different governors in Scotland, and recalled before those appointed had time to act upon them. It could scarcely be expected that such changes as these could bring any change of fortune to the English arms. The Scots continued steadily to gain ground, and many of the fortresses of the kingdom fell into their hands at different times, and, according to the prudent policy of Bruce, were immediately demolished. Meanwhile, the measures of Edward showed the remarkable decay of national spirit which had taken place under his feeble and vacillating rule. Lamberton, the able but versatile Bishop of St. Andrews, who had remained a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Methven, was liberated from his confinement and pensioned, on taking an oath of fidelity to the English king, and engaging to become his faithful liegeman. With the zeal, real or pretended, of a new convert, he engaged to publish the sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents (11th Aug., 1306), and was soon after permitted to return to Scotland, doubtless for the purpose of promoting his patron's interests.† At length, in the spring

A truce concluded. of 1309, a truce was concluded by the mediation of Philip, King of

France. Hostilities, however, were not long suspended. Edward charged the Scots with having violated the truce, and summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Newcastle, on the 29th of September, in order to march against the enemy. But all his proceedings continued to be characterized by weakness and uncertainty. The orders issued for the muster of the royal army, appear to have been obeyed or neglected by the English barons at their pleasure. Preparations were made to carry on the war vigorously, and in a short time were laid aside, and directions given to the English governors in Scotland to conclude, and if necessary, even to purchase a truce. On the other hand, all the public measures of the Scots exhibited the steadiness and vigour which were stamped upon them by the personal character of their sovereign. On the 24th of February, 1309, the estates of Scotland assembled at Dundee, and solemnly declared that Robert, Lord of Annandale, the competitor, ought, by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to have been preferred to Baliol, in the competition for the crown, and that for this reason they recognized Robert Bruce, now

The Scottish estates recognize Bruce's title to the throne.

* Barbour, p. 103. According to Fordun, book xii. chap. xvii. both Lorn and his son fled to England, where the former soon after died. But Barbour is an earlier authority, and he affirms, that Lorn "sent treyteris to the king, and became his man."

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 30; Foedera, vol. iii. pp. 82, 98.

reigning, as their lawful sovereign, and they engaged to defend his right, and the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents, declaring all contraveners of the same to be guilty of treason against the king, and to be held as traitors against the nation.* At the same time, the clergy of the kingdom issued a pastoral charge to their flocks, declaring "that the Scottish nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character."† At length the progress of Bruce became so alarming that Edward was roused into action, and prepared to take the field in person. Perth, which was at that time an important fortress, and had been strongly fortified by the English, was now threatened by the Scottish army. Edward made immediate preparations for its defence. He ordered a fleet to sail to the Tay; directed the Earl of Ulster to assume the command of a considerable body of Irish troops assembled at Dublin for the invasion of the west coast of Scotland, and commanded the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Berwick, on the 8th of September, 1310. In spite of the defection of many of the great barons, who were disgusted with the conduct of the king and his favourite Gaveston, a powerful army assembled at the place of rendezvous, and entered Scotland about the end of autumn. Bruce cautiously avoided a general engagement, and contented himself with harassing the invaders on their march, cutting off their provisions, driving the flocks and herds into remote fastnesses, and laying waste the country as the enemy advanced. A famine of unprecedented severity, by which Scotland was at this time visited, must have proved a powerful auxiliary to this wary policy. According to Fordun, "so great was the scarcity and dearth of provisions, that the people in many places were constrained to feed on the flesh of horses and other unclean animals."‡ The English king marched on from Roxburgh Castle to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew§ looking in vain for an enemy to encounter. The scarcity of forage and provisions soon compelled him to retrace his steps, and without having achieved any thing of importance, he returned to Berwick, where he spent eight months in a state of inactivity. He afterwards boasted, in a letter to the Pope, that Bruce and his adherents lay lurking in their coverts, after the manner of foxes, all the time he was in the country, not daring to oppose him in the open field.|| It is not improbable that the Scots had secret friends in the camp of the enemy, for it appears that they had received from England, supplies of provisions, arms, and horses. Edward, on his return to his own country, issued a proclamation prohibiting this practice, under the highest penalties of the law.

Edward invades Scotland, but without effect.

* Kerr's Life of Bruce, vol. i. p. 370; Instrument in the General Register-House, Edinburgh.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 40; Anderson Independ. App. No. 12.

‡ Fordun, book xii. chap. xviii.

§ Foedera, vol. iii. pp. 225-230.

|| Ibid. p. 233.

Upon the retreat of the English, the Scots quitted their fastnesses and descended into Lothian. Edward, on receiving intelligence of this movement, marched again into Scotland, but was speedily compelled to retreat. A third expedition, headed by his favourite Gaveston, and a fourth, conducted by the Earls of Gloucester and Surrey, were successively undertaken, but with the same unfortunate result.

Bruce had now established his authority throughout the greater part of Scotland, and he resolved to retaliate the many and grievous injuries which his subjects had suffered at the hands of the English. He accordingly collected an army, and marching into the bishopric of Durham, plundered and ravaged the country with merciless severity. Having gratified their thirst for vengeance by a week of unrestrained devastation, the Scots returned home laden with booty. Edward, in a letter to the Pope, complained bitterly of the excesses committed by the Scottish army during this invasion, and declared that they "perpetrated the most horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and murders in the border counties of our kingdom, but more especially in the bishopric of Durham, not sparing the innocent youth or the female sex, and paying no respect, alas! even to the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty."* We must recollect, however, that the cruel injuries which the English had inflicted upon the Scottish nation, provoked, if they did not justify, this retaliation, and "it was not strange," as Lord Hailes remarks, "that in a fierce age, one who had seen the ruin of his private fortunes, the captivity of his wife and only child, and the tortures and execution of his dearest relatives and tried friends, should have thus satisfied his revenge."† It must be added, that this cruel species of warfare was the universal practice of the age, and that most of Bruce's contemporaries would, without doubt, have coincided with Fordun, who, in giving an account of this inroad, says, "Thus, by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of Providence, the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, were in their turn subjected to punishment."‡ In a second expedition, undertaken a few weeks later, Bruce and his army burnt and plundered the districts of Redesdale and Tynedale, and inflicted such miseries upon the people, that after abiding fifteen days in England, the northern provinces found it necessary to purchase their retreat.

On his return from this invasion, the king laid siege to the city of Perth, one of the most important fortresses which the English still possessed. It was a place of great strength, and was fortified by a strong and high wall, protected at intervals by stone towers, and surrounded by a broad, deep moat, full of water. The garrison, under the command of William Olyphant, an Anglicised Scot,

with whom were associated the Earl of Strathern and a soldier named Moffat, made a brave resistance, and for six weeks defied all the efforts of the besiegers; but the town was at length captured by means of a skilful stratagem, planned by the king, and executed with great courage and dexterity. Having carefully marked the spot where the moat was shallowest, and the wall most accessible, he raised the siege, and marched to a considerable distance, as if he had abandoned the enterprise. After an absence of eight days, he suddenly returned during the night, at the head of a chosen party of his soldiers, furnished with scaling ladders, and reached the walls without being discovered by the garrison. The king in person led the way, in complete armour, and, bearing a scaling ladder in his hand, he waded through the moat, the water of which reached to his chin, and was the second man who mounted the wall.* A French knight, who happened at this time to be present in the Scottish army, at the sight of this gallant action, exclaimed, "What shall we say of our French lords who spend their days in feasting, wassail, and jollity, when so worthy a knight is here putting his life in hazard to win a miserable hamlet." So saying he threw himself into the water after the king, and was one of the first to surmount the wall. Animated by this heroic example, the Scots scaled the rampart, and surprised the garrison in their beds. The town was almost instantly taken, plundered, and burned, and the fortifications completely demolished. The lives of the English garrison were spared; but the Scots, who had espoused the cause of the invaders, were put to the sword. The Earl of Strathern was taken prisoner by his own son, who then fought under the banners of the king. Having renewed his allegiance, he was pardoned, and received into favour.

Edward now attempted, but without success, to negotiate another truce, and appointed five commissioners by whom the conduct of the treaty. But as the continual dissensions between the English king and his nobles, afforded a favourable opportunity for the complete expulsion of the enemy from Scotland, Bruce refused to accede to the proposal, and again invaded the north of England, plundering and laying waste the county of Northumberland, and the bishopric of Durham. In the course

* Barbour, pp. 175—179. Lord Hailes justly remarks that this little circumstance adds much to the credibility of Barbour's narrative. A writer of romance would have represented the king as the first. From the manner in which Barbour relates the story, it seems probable that the valiant Frenchman first entered the town.—See Hailes, vol. ii. p. 46, and note. If we may believe Anderson, ("Mount Threnodie,") the French knight whose gallantry is commemorated by Barbour, was the famous Sir Thomas de Longueville.—See ante, p. 102.

† Kinfauns, which famous Longueville
Sometime did hold: whose ancient sword of steel
Remains unto this day."—p. 158.

This sword is still preserved in Kinfauns Castle, and an engraving of it is given in "The Fair Maid of Perth" (Abbotsford edition).

* Foedera, vol. iii. p. 284.

+ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 43.

‡ Book xii. chap. xviii.

of this expedition, the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and a great part of the city of Durham, were reduced to ashes. The king established his head-quarters for some time at Chester-le-Street, while Sir James Douglas penetrated to Hartlepool, which he sacked, and, having laid waste the surrounding country, returned to the main army with much booty, and many prisoners of both sexes. Such was the terror which this invasion inspired, that the four northern counties purchased a truce by the payment of two thousand pounds each. On their way home the Scots assaulted Carlisle, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They also attempted to surprise Berwick by a forced march and a night attack; but when they were in the act of scaling the wall, the barking of a dog alarmed the garrison, and the assailants were compelled to beat a retreat.

Soon after his return to Scotland, Bruce succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfries, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton in Galloway; the former a seat of the Baliols, the latter of the Comyns. The castle of Dundee was also closely besieged by the Scots, and the garrison, under William de Montfichet, agreed to surrender, unless relieved within a stipulated time. The English king on receiving intelligence of this agreement, meanly and dishonourably commanded Montfichet, under the penalty of death to himself, and confiscation of his estates, to violate the truce and retain possession of the town; and supplies of ships, provisions, and soldiers, were ordered to be sent with all speed, from Newcastle and Berwick, for the reinforcement of the garrison.

About this time the strong castle of Linlithgow, erected by Edward I., was surprised by a brave husbandman, named William Binnock, or Binny—"A stout carle and a sture," says Barbour, "and of himself dour and hardy." Observing that the Scots were, on every hand, recovering from the English, the castles and fortresses which the invaders possessed within Scotland, this stout-hearted and patriotic peasant could not brook that the castle in his vicinity should remain unassailed. He therefore concerted a stratagem for its surprisal, which was equally remarkable for ingenuity and daring courage. He communicated his design to some of his neighbours, whom he persuaded to join him in the enterprise. Binny had been accustomed to supply the garrison with hay, and they had lately required from him a fresh supply. He assured them of the excellence of the forage, and undertook to send it to the fort, early in the morning. Having stationed a party of his friends in ambush near the gate, he concealed eight armed men in his wain, and covered them with hay; the team was driven by a servant, who bore a sharp axe under his gaberdiun, while Binny himself walked carelessly at his side. The porter, on the approach of the expected wain, lowered the draw-

bridge, and raised the portcullis. As soon as the waggon had reached the middle of the gateway, the driver, on a sign from his master, suddenly cut asunder with his axe the soam, or tackle, by which the oxen were attached to the waggon. Binny, at the same instant, shouted the signal-word, which was "Call all, call all," and, drawing the sword which he had under his country habit, killed the porter. The armed men then leapt up from under the hay, where they lay concealed, and attacked the astonished garrison. The waggon was so placed that the gate could not be shut, or the portcullis lowered, or the drawbridge raised, and the Scots, who were in ambush, hearing the signal agreed on, rushed in to the assistance of their companions, overpowered and slew the garrison, and took possession of the place. Bruce worthily rewarded Binny for his gallantry, and, faithful to his usual policy, ordered the castle to be demolished.*

The important fortress of Roxburgh, situated near the confluence of the Tweed —of Roxburgh,
7th March,
1312-13—
and the Teviot, had been committed by Edward to the charge of Gillem de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy, and its position, the strength of the fortifications, and the number of the garrison, rendered it apparently secure from any open assault on the part of the Scots. Douglas, who was then lurking in the forest of Jedburgh, concerted a plan for its surprisal, and having collected sixty chosen men, and provided them with rope-ladders for scaling the walls, he approached the castle on Fasten's Even, immediately before Lent, when the garrison were full of jollity, and indulging in drunken wassail. Favoured by the twilight, and having black frocks thrown over their armour, Douglas and his followers cautiously crept on their hands and feet through the park, which surrounded the castle. On drawing near to the moat, they were observed by one of the sentinels, who, mistaking them for a herd of cattle belonging to a neighbouring farmer, remarked to his comrade in their hearing, "The good man is making merry to-night, and has forgotten to bring in his oxen, unheeding that they may fall a prey to the Douglas." The Scots waited till the retiring sound of their voices satisfied them that the two English soldiers had left the rampart, and then hastened to the foot of the wall, and applied their scaling ladders. But the noise made by fixing the iron hook on the crib-stone, alarmed the nearest sentinel on the outer wall, who immediately ran to the spot, and attacked with his lance the foremost of the Scots, who, at that moment, had reached the top of the ladder.† But he parried the stroke, and, closing with his assailant, struck him a deadly blow with his dagger, and threw him over, before he had time to give the alarm. Another sentinel rushed forward and

* Barbour, pp. 193-196.

† Barbour says, the name of this soldier was Sime, or Simon, of the Lea house, "a crafty man and curious," and that it was he who constructed the rope ladders.—FP 200-202.

assailed the Scot, but he shared the fate of his comrade. The rest of the garrison were singing, dancing, and making merry in the great hall; and before the unsuspecting revellers had the slightest suspicion of their danger, the assailants broke into the midst of them, shouting the war-cry of "Douglas, Douglas." Many of the soldiers were slain, and more were taken prisoners. De Fiennes, the governor, with a few of his men, retreated to the keep, and gallantly defended himself till next day, when, being severely wounded in the face, and having no hope of succour, he surrendered on condition that he and his men should be allowed to retire to England. But this brave soldier died of his wounds soon after. The king immediately sent his brother, Edward, who levelled "baith town and castell and dungeon," and reduced the rest of Teviotdale, with the exception of Jedburgh, and that part of the border district closely adjoining to England.

When intelligence of this gallant action was conveyed to Randolph, who was now reconciled to his uncle, and had been created by him Earl of Moray,* he was stimulated to rival the exploit by the reduction of the yet stronger castle of Edinburgh, which he had already beleaguered for six weeks. For twenty years it had been in the possession of the English, and was now held by a strong garrison, under the command of Sir Piers Luband, a knight of Gascony; but suspecting his fidelity, they cast him into a dungeon, and elected a governor of their own nation to take the command of the fortress. Finding that the castle could not be taken by open force, Randolph anxiously inquired whether any of his men could devise some stratagem by which the walls might be scaled. A soldier, named William Francis, presented himself to the earl, and informed him that he could point out a place where the wall was only twelve feet high, and could be easily surmounted. This man in his youth had lived in the castle, and, having become enamoured of a girl in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of meeting her he had been in the habit of lowering himself from the wall during the night by means of a ladder of ropes, and gaining the foot of the rock by a secret and precipitous path. Custom had rendered this perilous passage so familiar to him, that he could accomplish it in the darkest night, and he now offered to guide the besiegers into the castle by the same way. Randolph, eagerly embraced the proposal, and placed himself, and thirty chosen men, under the guidance of Francis. Taking advantage of a dark night, they clambered up the precipitous rock, on which the castle stands, with great difficulty and danger, and when they had

ascended about halfway, found a projecting crag, on which they sat down to recover their breath, and to prepare for the farther part of their perilous expedition. While seated there, they heard the "check-watches," as Barbour calls them, pass, making their round and challenging the sentinels on the walls above them. At this critical moment a soldier on the ramparts, whether in mere wantonness and gaiety, or really perceiving something moving on the rock, threw down a stone, and called out—"Away! I see you well." The stone rolled down the precipice and passed over the heads of Randolph and his men, as they sat cowering under the rock from which it bounded. They had the presence of mind to remain perfectly silent, and the watch, hearing no movement, continued their rounds. The Scots then renewed their toilsome and dangerous ascent, and arrived in safety at the foot of the wall, where it was only twelve feet high, and fixed their scaling ladder. Francis, their guide, ascended first, then came Sir Andrew Gray, and Randolph himself was third. Before, however, all the party had mounted, the sentinels, who had heard whispering and the clank of arms, caught the alarm, raised the cry of "Treason," and attacked Randolph and his men. But they were speedily repulsed or slain, and the Scots having by this time gained the parapet, hastened towards the keep, or principal strength. The whole garrison was now alarmed, and ran to arms, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which Randolph was for some time in great personal danger, as the garrison greatly outnumbered their assailants. But the constable was at length slain, and his followers immediately surrendered at discretion. Sir Piers Luband, the former governor, on being released from his imprisonment by Randolph, entered the service of Bruce. Francis was rewarded by a grant of the lands of Sprouston, in Roxburghshire, and the castle itself was instantly demolished.

"A more desperate adventure was never achieved," says Barbour, "in the taking of any fortress in any age or country, saving only at the capture of Treile, when Alexander the Great leapt headlong from the top of the wall, alone among a crowd of foes, and courageously defended himself until rescued by Aristæus and his noble chivalry."

The capture of the strong fortresses of Roxburgh and Edinburgh, alarmed Edward for the safety of Berwick, and induced him to issue orders for the removal of the heroic Countess of Buchan from her cage there, to a safer place of confinement. An attempt was at this time made, through the mediation of the King of France, to renew the truce with the Scots, but without effect; and Bruce again invaded Cum-berland and laid waste the country. Soon after, he made a descent

upon the Isle of Man, to which his inveterate enemies, the Macdowalls, had retreated, after their expulsion from Galloway. The governor of Man, who appears to have been the same chief by whom

* Barbour, who probably had seen Randolph, thus describes his appearance and character: "He was of comely stature, broad visaged, and of a countenance fair and pleasant; the friend of brave men, loyal, just, and munificent, loving loyalty above everything, and hating falsehood and treason. He was jovial in company, and amorous, and altogether made up of virtue."—pp. 197, 198.

• Barbour, pp. 203—210.

Thomas and Alexander, the brothers of Bruce, were surprised and taken prisoners at Loch Ryan, was defeated in battle. The castle of Russin was taken by storm, and the whole island completely subdued.

While the king was absent on this expedition, Edward Bruce expelled the English from Galloway and Nithsdale, and demolished the fortresses in these districts. He next made himself master of the castles of Rutherglen and Dundee, and proceeded to lay

Truce with the
Governor of
Stirling.
A.D. 1313.

siege to the castle of Stirling, now almost the only considerable fortress in Scotland, which still remained in the hands of the English, and a

place of great importance, as the key to the whole northern part of the kingdom. The governor, Sir Philip de Mowbray, defended himself for a considerable time with great courage and success; but at length, becoming straitened for provisions, he offered to surrender the fortress, if not relieved before the Feast of St. John the Baptist (24th June), in the following year. To this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, consented. It is evident that his conduct in entering into such an agreement, all the advantages of which were on the side of the English, was most imprudent. It arrested the progress of the Scottish arms, afforded the King of England a whole year to assemble the entire military force of his dominions, and compelled the Scots either to abandon the siege of Stirling with dishonour, or to peril the fate of the kingdom upon a general engagement, in which the superior numbers and appointments of the English, gave them a great advantage. King Robert expressed the highest displeasure when the treaty was made known to him; but, disdaining to imitate the conduct of Edward, who, in a former year, had compelled the governor of Dundee to violate an agreement made in precisely similar circumstances, he determined to abide by the engagement, and to meet the English in a fair field, if they were disposed to risk a battle for the relief of the fortress.*

Meantime, Sir Philip de Mowbray was allowed

Great preparations made by Edward for the relief of the fortress.

to go in person to London, that he might state to the King of England and his council the terms of the agreement which he had entered into with the Scots. Edward and his barons had long been alienated from each other, but the urgency of affairs brought about a temporary reconciliation, and both parties felt that they could not, without dishonour, decline the enterprise to which they were called. Im-

* Barbour states, that when the king remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence in entering into this treaty on such terms, he received this characteristic reply: "Let Edward bring every man he has; we will fight them were they more." The king admired his courage, though it was mingled with rashness. "Since it is so, brother," he said, "we will manfully abide battle, and assemble all who love us, and val for the freedom of Scotland, to come, with all the men they have, and help us to oppose King Edward, should he come with his army to rescue Stirling."—*Barbour*, pp. 216, 217.

mense preparations were accordingly made for the relief of the beleaguered fortress. The English king summoned all the military power of the kingdom to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June. Ninety-three great tenants of the crown were commanded to repair thither with their entire feudal service of cavalry, while the different counties of England and Wales were enjoined to levy a body of twenty-seven thousand infantry. The English barons who held estates in Ireland were ordered to collect their vassals and join the army; and letters were directed to Eth O'Connor, Prince of Connaught, and twenty-five other native Irish chiefs, requesting the attendance of all the force they could muster. A powerful fleet was also assembled for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for the transportation of provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army. The supreme command of the fleet was intrusted to John Sturmy and Peter Bard; and John of Argyle, who received the title of High Admiral of the western fleet of England, was appointed to co-operate with the naval armament. Great care was taken that an abundant supply of provisions for the troops, and forage for the cavalry, should be collected, together with waggons and cars for the conveyance of the tents and baggage,* and that the army should be amply provided with smiths, armourers, carpenters, and other useful artisans. On the appointed day there was assembled at the place of rendezvous, perhaps the most magnificent army that England had ever yet sent forth. The powerful Earls of Lancaster, Surrey, Arundel, and Warwick, indeed, refused to attend in person, alleging that the king had failed to perform certain stipulations which he had promised, but they sent their vassals; and the rest of the barons mustered in great splendour, with all their military force. According to the best authorities, the accumulated array exceeded a hundred thousand men,† including fifty thousand archers, and a body of forty thousand cavalry, of whom three thousand were clad in complete armour, both horse and man. ‡

Meanwhile, King Robert had collected his forces in the forest called the Torwood, midway between Stirling and Falkirk. The number of fighting men

* The waggons which attended the English army were stored with every article of necessity, convenience, and luxury. Barbour makes particular mention of a hundred and sixty carts loaded with poultry; and William of Malmesbury states, that the multitude of carriages of all kinds was so great, that, if placed in one line, they would have extended sixty miles in length.

† Tytel, vol. iii. p. 260; Barbour, p. 218.

‡ "Men mycht see then that had bene by,
Mony a worthy man and wycht,
And mony ane armur gayly dycht,
And mony ane sturdy sterand steed,
Arrayit intill ryche wede;
Mony helms and hubergoons,
Shields, and spears, and pennons,
And sa mony a comely knyght,
That it seemed that in to fyght
They should vanquish the world all haild."

Ibid. p. 219.

The metrical historian also states, that the English army was reinforced by a considerable body of men-at-arms from Gascony, Poitou, Provence, and Languedoc.



ENCOUNTER BETWEEN BRUCE & DE BOHUN.

who assembled in obedience to his summons did not much exceed thirty thousand, besides nearly twenty thousand unarmed and undisciplined camp-followers and servants. The great deficiency of his army was in cavalry, which, both in numbers and accoutrements, were utterly unable to compete with the English men-at-arms. But Bruce was well aware, both from his own experience and that of Wallace, that a body of infantry, armed with long spears and judiciously posted, could offer an effective resistance to the charge of a superior body of horse, and he had heard of the recent discomfiture of the French men-at-arms by the Flemish pikemen at the battle of Courtray.* He resolved, therefore, to fight on foot, and to compensate by the skilful disposition of his forces, their inferiority in number and strength. Having reviewed his army, he was greatly delighted with the courageous appearance both of the leaders and common soldiers, and addressed them in a cheerful and encouraging manner, urging them to fight manfully, in the approaching battle, in defence of their lives, fortunes, and liberties, and of the honour of his crown. The place which he

selected for the field of action was a piece of ground near Stirling, to which Barbour gives the name of the New Park. It was partly open and partly encumbered with trees, and the approach to it on one side was protected by a morass, called the New-miln Bog, the passage of which would be difficult and dangerous to an enemy. Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined to arrange his men in four divisions, separated from each other, yet sufficiently near for the purposes of communication. Three of these formed a front line, facing the south-east, from which direction the enemy was approaching, and extending from the brook of Bannock to the village of St. Ninians, probably in the direction of the present road from Stirling to Kilsyth. The right wing was protected by the steep and rugged banks of the rivulet called Bannockburn, by the marshes of Milton and Herbert, and by rows of pits, dug in those places where the ground was firm. The left flank was exposed to a sally from the garrison of Stirling, but the terms of the treaty precluded them from rendering any assistance to their countrymen, and their numbers were too inconsiderable to excite apprehension. This, however, was the most vulnerable part of Bruce's position; and as the ground on this quarter was firm and level, and adapted for the manœuvres of cavalry, he fortified it against their assaults, by causing a number of pits to be dug in it, so close together, says Barbour, as to resemble the cells in a honey-comb. They were a foot in breadth, and between two and three feet deep, and were slightly covered with brushwood and green sods. According to Buchanan, sharp stakes were also fixed in the pits, and iron calthrops or spikes, contrived to lame

the horses, were scattered in different directions.† The military advantages of this position were very great; for while defences, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was, at the same time, so narrow and impeded, as in a great measure to deprive the enemy of the advantage of their immense superiority in numbers.‡

The Scottish army remained in their original camp at the Torwood until Saturday, the 22nd of June, when word was brought that the English had lain all night at Edinburgh. On receiving this intelligence, they marched to the New Park, and took up their appointed positions on the ground selected for the field of battle. The right wing was commanded by Edward Bruce; the vaward or centre was led by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; and the left wing by Douglas and the young Steward of Scotland. The king himself commanded the fourth division, which lay in reserve behind the centre, and was composed of the men of Argyle, Cantire, and the Isles, and of his own vassals of Carrick. Along with him was his faithful friend and ally, Angus, Lord of the Isles, with the men of Bute; and here also was stationed a select body of cavalry, under the immediate command of Sir Robert Keith, the Mareschal of Scotland, who were destined for the important service of charging and dispersing the English archers. The royal standard was pitched, according to tradition, in a stone, having a round hole for its reception, and hence termed the Bare Stone. It is still shown on the top of a small eminence, called Brock's-brae, to the south-west of St. Ninian's. The baggage of the army, and the camp-followers, from fifteen to twenty thousand in number, were stationed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and separated from the field of battle by an eminence, still called, from that circumstance, the Gillies' (i. e. the servants') Hill.‡

Early next morning (June 23rd) the whole army heard mass, and many of them, says Barbour, made their shrift "full devoutly," and with the solemnity of men who were resolved to die on the field, or to free their country; and as it was the vigil of St. John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water. Meanwhile, the king, after hearing mass, rode out to examine the pits which he had commanded to be made during the previous night. Having satisfied himself that his orders had been properly executed, he returned, and commanded his soldiers to arm, and array themselves under their different banners. He then caused

* Barbour makes no mention either of the stakes or the calthrops, but they are specially noticed in the *Life* of Baron of Carnelite. It does not appear, however, that the English cavalry attempted to charge near the pits on either flank.

† Some farther remarks on the position of the English army will be found in the Appendix, Note IX.

‡ According to Holinshed, Randolph and Douglas led each under his command seven thousand bowmen, and three thousand of the Irish Scots (i. e. Sons of Irish descent), otherwise called Kalerans, or Red Shankes; the latter no less fierce and forward, than the others proved to be and skilful.

proclamation to be made, that those who were not prepared to conquer, or to die with honour, were at liberty to depart; but he was answered by a great shout, and an expression of the determination of the troops with one accord to take the issue of victory or death, as God should send it.

Having arranged his men in their proper order, the king despatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre the English army, which had rested all night at Falkirk, and was then in full march towards Stirling. They soon desiered the tremendous approach of the vast host, which covered, according to Barbour, the whole country far and wide, forming a glorious spectacle of martial pomp and splendour. The sunshine, falling upon the burnished armour of the men-at-arms, made the land seem all in a glow. White banners, right fairly floating, and pennons waving in the wind, made so gallant a show, that the bravest and most numerous host in Christendom might have been alarmed to see such a hostile array moving against them. Having, on their return, reported to the king the vast number and formidable appearance of the enemy, he, dreading the effect of this intelligence upon the minds of his soldiers, directed them to give out to the army, that the English, though numerous, were badly disciplined and arranged.

On approaching Stirling, the English king detached Sir Robert Clifford with a chosen body of eight hundred horse, directing him to make a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St. Ninian's, and, turning the left flank of the Scottish army, to throw himself into the beleaguered fortress. Bruce was apprehensive that an attempt of this kind would be made, and had enjoined Randolph, who commanded the centre division, which was probably somewhat in advance of the two wings, to be vigilant in preventing the enemy from throwing succours into the castle of Stirling. The movement of Clifford, however, escaped the notice of Randolph; but the eagle eye of Bruce detected a line of dust, with the glancing of spears and the flashing of armour, northward in the direction of Stirling, and coming up hastily to his nephew, he exclaimed angrily, "See, Randolph! there is a rose fallen from your chaplet. The enemy have passed where you kept ward." On receiving this reproof, Randolph hastened with a body of five hundred spearmen to repair his fault, or to perish in the attempt. As he advanced into the plain, Clifford, interrupted in his purpose of gaining Stirling, wheeled his large body of cavalry, and charged the Scots at full speed. Randolph drew up his men in a close column to receive the onset, so as to present a front on all sides, with their spears extended directly outwards, like a wall of steel, and exhorted them to offer a steady resistance to the charge of the enemy.* At the first

* "Be not dismayed for their schor (threatening aspect),
But set your spears you befor,
And back to back for all your rout,
And all the spears their points out:
Swa gate (in this manner) us best defend may we,
Environed with them gif we be."

Barbour, p. 232.

onset, Sir William Daynecourt, an English commander of distinguished valour, was unhorsed and slain. The enemy, far superior in numbers, environed the little band of Scottish infantry, and assailed them on every side with the utmost violence. The combat appeared so unequal, that Douglas, considering Randolph in great jeopardy, requested permission from the king to go and succour him. "You shall not stir a foot to help him," said the king; "I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position. Let Randolph ex-triate himself as he best may." Still the danger seemed to increase, and the English horse appeared entirely to encompass the Scottish spearmen. "In truth," replied Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish, and therefore, with your leave, I must aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the assistance of his friend. On approaching the scene of conflict, however, he perceived that the English were falling into disorder, and that many of the horses were galloping off with empty saddles. He therefore ordered his followers to halt, saying, "These brave men have repulsed the enemy: let us not diminish their glory by claiming a share in it." "When it is remembered," says Sir Walter Scott, "that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of which blood and devastation are the predominant character." The assailants had by this time lost a great number of men in their fruitless attempts to break the serried ranks of the Scottish spearmen, and were beginning now to flag in their efforts. Randolph, observing this, ordered his men to make a sudden and violent charge in their turn, and put the enemy to flight with great slaughter. The remains of Clifford's party fled in disorder to the main body of the army, while Randolph and Douglas returned to their respective stations in the Scottish line of battle. The scene of this memorable skirmish was at the north end of the village of Newhouse, about a quarter of a mile from the town of Stirling.

While this affair was still undecided, the English army was slowly advancing in order of battle towards the Scottish position, when Edward gave orders for his men to halt, that he might consult with his principal barons whether to give battle that night or next day. By some mistake, however, the English vanguard, being unapprised of the order to halt, continued its march till it came within sight of the Scottish army. King Robert himself, mounted on a small palfrey, was at this period riding along the front of his line, marshalling the ranks of his host. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. In front of the English vanguard there was "a wycht knight and a hardy," called Sir Henry de Bohun, who, perceiving Bruce thus engaged, conceived that he saw an opportunity of acquiring distinction, and ending the war at a single blow. He therefore couched

his lance, and, spurring his charger, rode furiously against the king, with the expectation that he would easily bear him to the earth. The contest was most unequal, as the English knight was armed at all points, and mounted on a heavy war-horse; but Bruce, instead of declining the encounter, to the surprise of the spectators, rode forward to meet his assailant. Just as they were about to close, however, he suddenly turned his palfrey to one side, so that de Bohun missed him with the lance point; and, rising in his stirrups as the baffled warrior passed him in his rapid career, he struck him with his battle-axe so severe a blow that it dashed helmet and head to pieces, and laid him dead at his feet. The handle of the weapon was shivered by the violence of the blow.*

Animated by this exploit, his men advanced boldly upon the English vanguard, which began to withdraw in confusion to the main army. Upon this, the Scots raised a great shout, and, pressing vigorously on their retreating foes, slew a few of them; but Bruce, afraid of disorder getting into his ranks, recalled his soldiers from the pursuit. The Scottish leaders then gathered around the king, and remonstrated with him upon his temerity in thus exposing himself to danger. Conscious of his imprudence, and yet aware that he could not have declined the combat without damping the courage of his followers, Bruce looked at his broken weapon, and only replied, "I am sorry for the loss of my good battle-axe."

On the return of Randolph from his encounter with Clifford, the other Scottish commanders hastened to meet him and to congratulate him on his victory. The king, seeing them thus assembled, "blythe and glad," says Barbour, "that their foes were rebu'tyt in such a manner," addressed them in cheering strains, pointed out the favourable omen of next day's success which so fortunate a beginning afforded, and remarked that the same events which

- * "High in his stirrups stood the king,
And gave his battle-axe the swing
Right on De Boune; the whilles he pass'd
Fell that stern dint,—the first—the last!
Such strength upon the blow was put,
The helmet crash'd like hazel-nut;
The axe-shaft, with its brazen clasp,
Was shiver'd to the gauntlet's grasp:
Springs from the blow the startled horse,
Drops to the plain the lifeless corse:
First of that fatal field, how soon,
How sudden, fell the fierce De Boune!"

Lord of the Isles, c. vi. st. xv.

It may be interesting to the reader, to compare with these spirit-stirring lines the rude but graphic description which the ancient metrical biographer of Bruce gives of the same memorable incident:—

"Schyr Henry myssit the noble king;
And he that in his stirrups stude,
With the ax that was hard and gud,
With sa great mayne (force) raucht him a dynt,
That neither hat nor helm mycht stynt
The heavy dusche (clash) that he him gave,
That nar the heid till the harnys (brains) elave.
The hand-ax schaft fruschit (broke) in twa,
And he down to the earth gan ga:
All flatynys (flat) for him fallyt mycht.
This was the first stroke of the fycht."

Barbour, p. 230.

had animated the courage of their men must have proportionately depressed the spirits of the enemy.

"And fra the heart be discomfyt,
The body is not worth a mite;
Therefore I trow that good ending
Shall follow till our beginnynng."

He then requested their advice, whether it was now expedient to fight or to retreat, declaring his willingness to submit to their decision. In spite of the immense disparity of force, however, the Scottish leaders were now resolved, at all hazards, to abide the issue of the conflict, and with one voice they declared their determination to fight on the morrow. Delighted with their alacrity and courage, the king then directed them to have all their troops arrayed by sunrise next morning in their proper positions, each man under his own banner. He earnestly entreated them on no account to break their order, and so courageously to receive with levelled spears the charge of the English cavalry that even the hindmost ranks of the enemy might feel the shock. He reminded them that they possessed three great advantages in the impending struggle. First, theirs was the righteous cause—

"And for the right ay God will fight."

Secondly, the enemy had sought them in their own land, and had brought with them such a vast amount of wealth that, if the Scots gained the victory, the poorest soldier in the army would be enriched by the spoil. Thirdly, they fought for their lives, their wives and children, their freedom and their country, while the English fought only for conquest. He warned them that if they were beaten, they need expect no mercy at the hand of their enemies,* and exhorted them to think in the heat of the conflict, of the grievous injuries which "they and theirs" had inflicted on Scotland, and would yet do if they had the power. He pointed out that their honour, freedom, and happiness were entirely in their own hands, and that everything depended on their own discipline and valour. He gave strict injunctions that not a single soldier should quit the ranks to plunder or to make prisoners, until the field was completely won. He promised that the heirs of all who fell should enter into possession of their lands without the usual feudal fine; and, finally, he assured them that if they quitted themselves like men, and obeyed the orders he had now given, they might confidently expect the victory.†

At the close of this spirit-stirring address to his leaders, the soldiers were dismissed to their quarters. After making the necessary arrangements for the battle, they assembled again in the evening, and lay all night in arms upon the field. Meanwhile, the English troops were greatly discouraged by the unfortunate events of the day; and, thinking it not advisable to hazard an attack in these circumstances, the king and his nobles drew

Conduct of the
hostile armies
during the
night.

- * "For they should slay us I wot wryll,
Rycht as they did my brothyr Ned."
† Barbour, pp. 240—244.

off their men to the low grounds, to the right and rear of their original position, where, according to an old English chronicler, they passed the night in drunkenness and riot.* Barbour states that they laid bridges of communication over the ditches and water-courses, by which the low, swampy grounds were everywhere intersected, and that it was reported that the garrison of Stirling Castle brought doors and windows during the night to the camp, to assist in these operations.† At this time, it is said, a Scotsman named Alexander Seton, who served in the English army, deserted to Bruce, and informed him that he might obtain an easy victory if he would attack the enemy at an early hour in the morning. But the king refused to abandon the advantages of the position which he had so judiciously chosen.

The next morning, being Monday, the 24th of June, at break of day, the whole Scottish army heard mass. This solemn ceremony was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon an eminence in front of their line, where he could be seen by all the troops. They then took breakfast, and arranged themselves in their appointed divisions, under their different banners. Each of them was furnished, says an old chronicler, "with light armour that a sword could not easily penetrate. They had an axe at their side, and carried lances in their hands. Their forces moved also as thick as an hedge."‡ When the whole army was in array, and their banners displayed, the king proceeded, according to the custom of the age before a battle, to confer the honour of knighthood upon Walter, the young Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and many other gallant soldiers, in due order, and according to their rank.§

The vanguard of the English army, composed of archers and lancers, under the command of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, now drew near. The other nine divisions, which followed at a little distance, were compressed, by the narrowness of the ground, into a close column, and seemed to the eye of the Scots to form one dense mass of warriors, gleaming with their bright and furnished armour, and the number of banners which floated over them.¶ The English king in person brought up this vast and unwieldy body. A chosen band of five hundred horse attended him as his body-guard; and Sir Aymer de Valence, the veteran Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles de Argentine, one of the most accomplished knights of the age, rode at his bridle-

rein. When Edward observed the firm array of the Scottish army, he seemed greatly surprised, and turning to Sir Ingram de Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottish baron, who was in attendance upon his person, he exclaimed, "What! will you Scots fight?" Umfraville assured him that they certainly would; and he then advised the king, instead of an open attack, to order an apparent retreat behind his encampment, expressing his confidence that the Scots would then, in spite of their leaders, break their array, and disperse to plunder the camp, when the English army might easily return and overwhelm them. But Edward rejected this sagacious counsel, thinking it unworthy of him even to appear to retreat before an enemy so inferior in numbers. At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, bareheaded and barefooted, walked along the Scottish line, and, holding a crucifix aloft, in few and forcible words exhorted the soldiers to combat bravely for their rights and liberties.* As he passed, the whole army knelt down with one consent—

"And a short prayer there made they
To God, to help them in that fight."

"See!" cried Edward, "they are kneeling to ask mercy." "You say truly," replied Umfraville; "they do ask mercy, but it is from God, not from you. Trust me, you men will win or die." "Be it so, then," said the king, and immediately commanded the charge to be sounded.

The English van, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop on the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce; but some rivalry between these two leaders, as to precedence, induced Gloucester to hurry to the attack with a precipitancy which greatly diminished the effect of the charge. The Scottish spearmen stood firm in their array, presenting a serried front of steel, on which the impetuous assault of the enemy scarcely produced any impression. There was such a breaking of spears at the meeting of the lines, says Barbour, that the noise might be heard a great way off, and many good knights were thrown from their saddles and slain, and horses were stabbed and rendered furious by their wounds. When the Earl of Moray saw the right wing thus engaged, he brought up the centre division to meet the main body of the English, whom he encountered with great gallantry, and even gained ground upon them, although they outnumbered him by ten to one, so that his men, says Barbour, appeared to be lost amidst the multitude of the English, as if they had been plunged into the sea. The left wing was then brought up by Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward, preserving a small interval to the left of the centre, so that the whole Scottish line was now engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the enemy. The battle raged with the utmost fury. The English cavalry attempted, by repeated and desperate charges, to break through the phalanx of the Scottish spearmen; but they,—

* "Vidimus primâ nocte Anglos haud Anglico more vino mabentes, crapulam erucentes, H'assailie et drinkhaile plus colubis intonantes."—Thomas de la More. Cambden Brit. p. 594.

† Barbour, p. 246.

‡ M. Malmesb. p. 149.

§ Barbour, p. 248.

¶ Who had been by, might have seen there
That folk ourtak a meikle field
On breid: where mony a shining shield,
And mony a burnyng bright armour,
And mony a man of great valour,
Micht in that great schiltrum (a compact column)
be seen,
And mony a bright banner and sheen."

Barbour, p. 249.

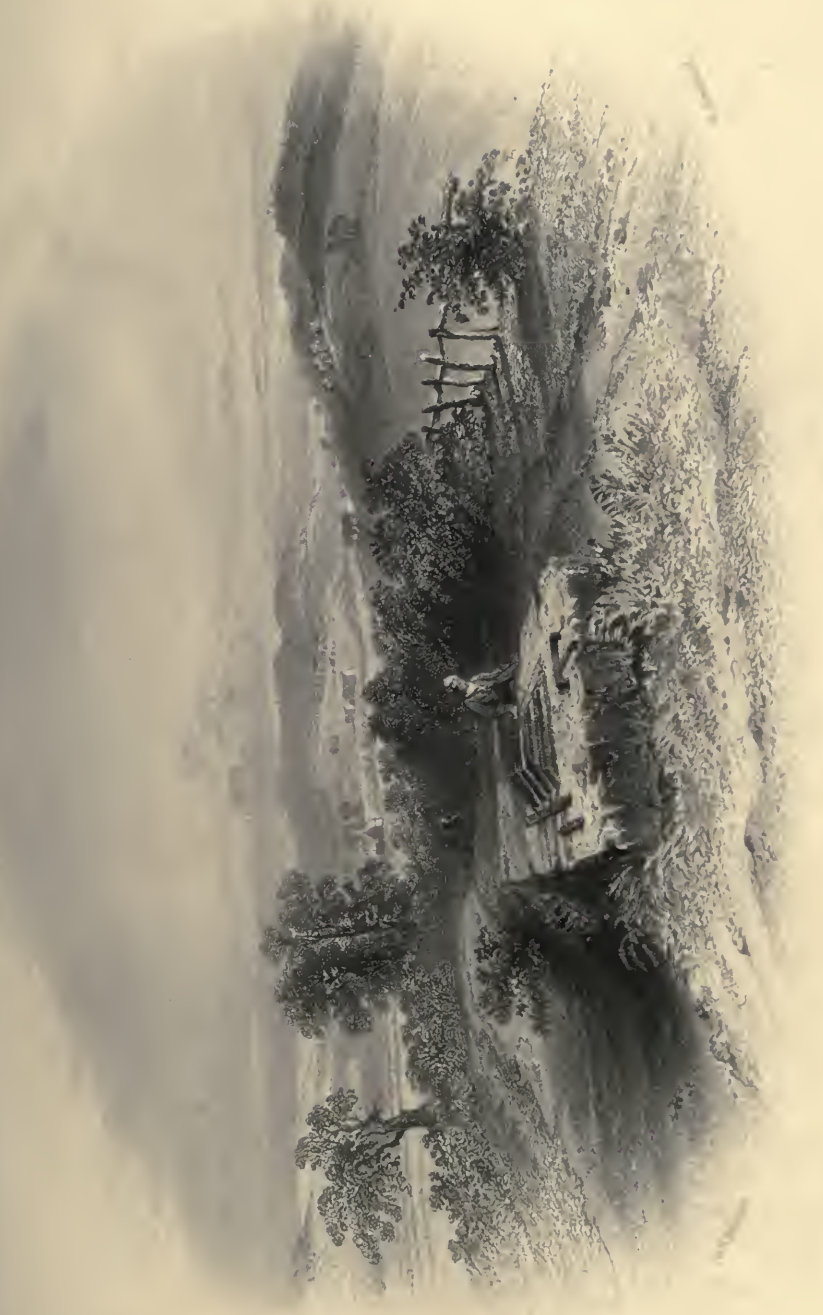
* Fordun, book xii. chap. xxi.

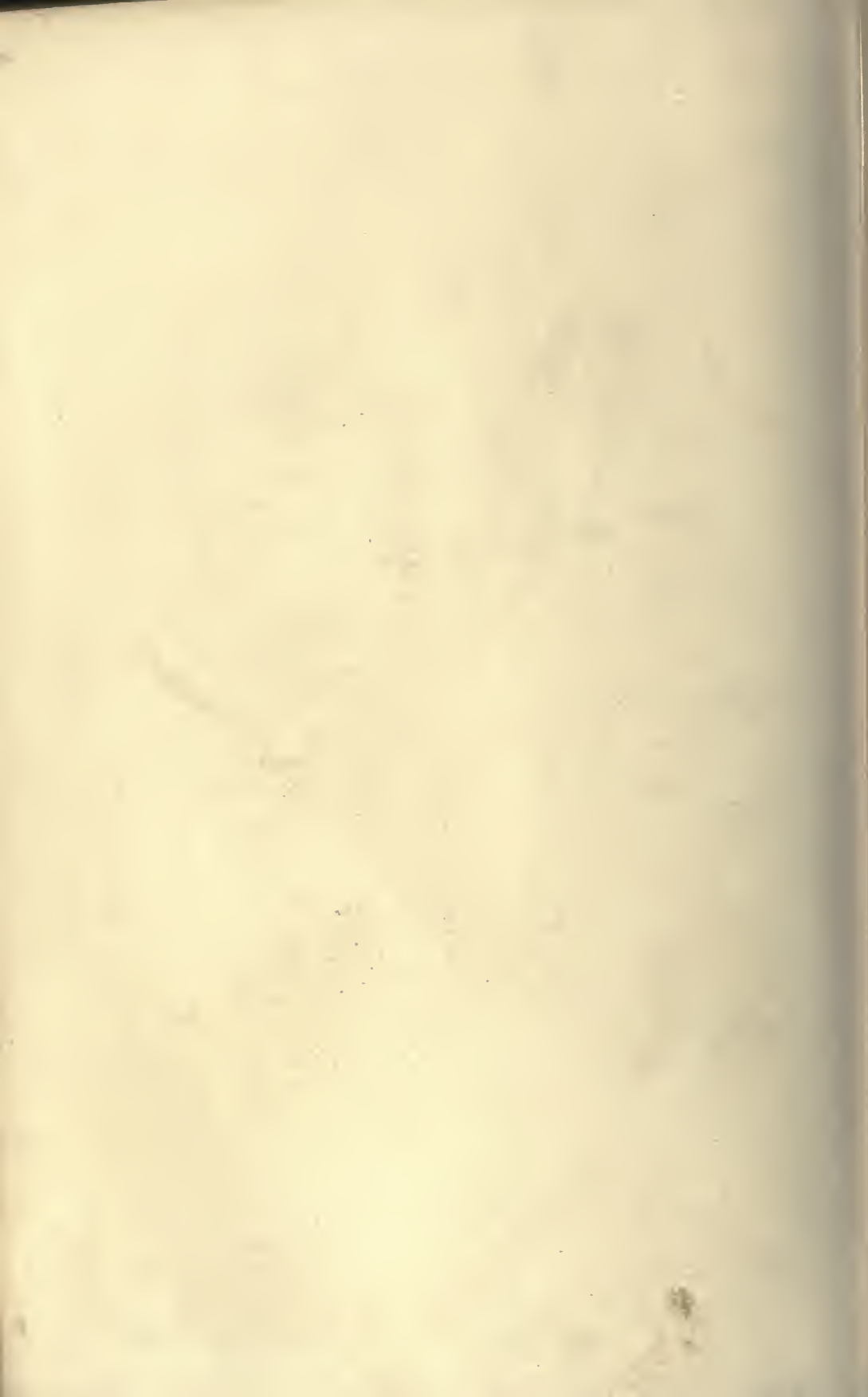
1847

THE FIELD OF BARRACLOUGH

Painted by J. M. W. Turner, Esq.

Painted by J. M. W. Turner, Esq.





exasperated by the remembrance of the grievous injuries inflicted upon them during many long years of oppression, and eager for revenge,—repelled every attack with steady and determined valour, and slew great numbers of their assailants. The English archers, however, by whom the charge of the cavalry was supported, began to do great execution on the close ranks of the Scottish spearmen; but Bruce had made provision against a force whose importance he had learned by fatal experience. He directed Sir Robert Keith, Marshal of Scotland, with five hundred men-at-arms whom he had kept in reserve for that purpose, to make a circuit round the morass called Miltown Bog, and to charge the left flank of the archers. This well-timed movement was promptly and successfully executed. The

Defeat of the English archers. bowmen, who had neither spears nor other long weapons, to defend themselves against cavalry, were instantly overthrown with great slaughter, and dispersed in all directions, spreading confusion throughout the whole English army. Part of them fled to the main body, who endeavoured to compel them to rally; but they were so thoroughly intimidated by the onset of the Scottish cavalry, that neither force nor persuasion could induce them to return to their post.* On the overthrow of their formidable opponents, the Scottish bowmen, who were greatly inferior in numbers, and probably also in skill, had now an opportunity of galling the English cavalry without opposition; and after their arrows were exhausted, they made great havoc among the enemy with their short battle-axes.

The battle continued to rage with great fury, but with evident disadvantage to the English. Bruce, perceiving symptoms of exhaustion in the ranks of his enemies, and seeing, too, how manfully his own soldiers had borne themselves in the conflict, and that they were still fighting with undiminished vigour, encouraged his leaders to continue their exertions, assuring them, that if they did so, the victory would soon be won. He then brought up the reserve to take part in the conflict, and all the four divisions of his army were now engaged in one line. The English, however, still stood their ground, and made repeated but unavailing efforts to break through the firm array of the Scottish spearmen, though at every successive charge they lost more men, and fell into greater confusion. "It was awful," says Barbour, "to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line,—the din of blows, the clang of arms, the shoutings of the war-cries; to see the flight of the arrows, horses running masterless, the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground streaming with blood, and covered with shreds of

* It is very remarkable that the Scottish generals do not appear to have profited by the lesson which the success of this manœuvre was fitted to teach them. Almost every subsequent battle against England which they lost, was decided by the archers, to whom the close and compact array of the Scottish phalanx afforded an exposed and unresisting mark.

armour, broken spears, pennons and rich scarfs torn and soiled with blood and clay, and to listen to the groans of the wounded and the dying." The Scots continued to gain ground, and pressed with renewed energy upon the confused and already wavering mass of the English, shouting, "On them! on them! They fail!" At this critical moment, when the fortune of the day still hung in the balance, the servants and attendants on the Scottish camp, prompted either by the en-

Important movement of the camp follows.

thusiasm of the moment, or the desire of plunder, suddenly appeared on the Gillies'-hill, in the rear of the Scottish line of battle, and having hastily assumed such arms as they found nearest, and fastened sheets and horsecloths upon tent poles for ensigns, they presented the appearance of a new army advancing to the assistance of the Scots. This unexpected sight spread instant dismay amid the ranks of the English, already wearied and disheartened by the obstinacy of the contest, and they began to give way all along the line, though at first slowly. King Robert, whose piercing eye perceived the effect of this movement, instantly put himself at the head of the reserve, and raising his war-cries, pressed with redoubled fury on the failing ranks of the enemy. This onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, decided the fate of the day. The English broke into disjointed squadrons, and began to quit the field, in spite of the most energetic exertions of their lead-

Total rout of the English.

ers to rally them and restore order. In one of these attempts to renew the fight, the young Earl of Gloucester rode headlong on the ranks of the Scottish spearmen, and was instantly unhorsed and slain.* The flight now became general. Edward, whose personal courage was undoubted, remained on the bloody field till all was lost, when the Earl of Pembroke seized his bridle-rein and constrained him to retire. Sir Giles de Argentine accompanied the king a short way in his flight, till he saw him safe from immediate danger. He then bade him farewell, saying, "It is not my custom to fly!" and turning back, he cried his war-cries, "Argentine!" galloped boldly against the division commanded by Edward Bruce, and was borne down and slain by the Scottish spears.† Sir Robert Clifford, a veteran soldier, renowned in the Scottish

* He was killed at a place called the Bloody Field, a short mile from the field of battle. The Scots would gladly have saved his life, but, neglecting to wear his armour with armorial bearings over his armour, he fell unhorsed, after his horse,—a beautiful and spirited animal, which had lately been presented to him by the king,—was snatched with spears.

† Barbour, p. 263; Scala Chron. vol. ii. p. 347. This gallant soldier was one of the most accomplished knights of the age. He had lately returned from the wars of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, with such high reputation, that he was, in popular estimation, the third best knight of his time. Those to whom fame assigned precedence over him, were Henry of Luxemburg himself, and Robert Bruce. Argentine had warred in Palestine, three encounters with the Saracens, and had slain two antagonists in each engagement,—an easy matter, he said, for one Christian

wars, and Sir Edmund Mauley, the Seneschal of England, shared the same fate. The slaughter was immense. Multitudes of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to escape across the river Forth. Others, who fled in the opposite direction, were hemmed in by the deep ravine of Bannockburn, and were there overtaken and slain in such numbers, that, according to Barbour, the brook was so choked and bridged over with the dead bodies of men and horses, that it might have been passed over dry-shod. The camp-followers, also, when they saw the enemy completely broken and dispersed, fell upon the disheartened fugitives (who had thrown away their arms to facilitate their escape), and put multitudes of them to death. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, amongst whom were twenty-seven barons, two hundred knights, and seven hundred esquires. The loss on the side of the Scots was very small, and Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of note among the slain.*

When Edward left the field he was accompanied by five hundred heavy armed horse. He appears to have been bewildered in the confusion of the route, for, instead of directing his course to the south, he fled northward to Stirling Castle, and demanded admittance. But Sir Philip de Mowbray, the governor, remonstrated against this imprudent step, reminding the king that the fortress would be again immediately besieged, and could not possibly hold out any time. Edward, therefore, made a circuit round the castle park, by the Round Table, and, avoiding the field of battle and the victorious army, fled towards Linlithgow, closely pursued by Douglas with about sixty horsemen. In passing the Torwood, Douglas met with Sir Laurence Abernethy, a Scottish knight, who, with a small body of cavalry, was hastening to join the English army. Sir Laurence, like the greater part of the Scottish barons of that day, appears to have held his political opinions very

knight to slay two pagan dogs. Baston the Carmelite mentions with some feeling the death of de Argentine:—

"Nobilis Argentin, pugil inclyte, duleis Egidi,
Vix scieram mentem eum te succumbere vidi."

"The first line," says Lord Hailes, "mentions the three chief requisites of a true knight,—noble birth, valour, and courteousness. Few Leonine couplets can be produced that have so much sentiment. I wish that I could have collected more ample memorials concerning a character altogether different from modern manners. Sir Giles de Argentine was a hero of romance in real life." Boece says, that Robert Bruce knew de Argentine well, and expressed great regret at his death.

* Barbour states, that Sir Walter Ross was so dearly beloved by Edward Bruce, that he said he would rather that the battle had remained unfought, than that Ross had died:—

"Out-taken him men has not seen,
Where he for any man made moaning."

In like manner, when, in a sally from Carrickfergus, Neil Fleming, and the guards whom he commanded, had fallen, after the protracted resistance which saved the rest of Edward Bruce's army, he made such lamentation as surprised his followers:—

"Sic moan he made, men had ferly (wonder);
For he was not customably
Wont for to moan men any thing,
Nor would not hear men make moaning."

loosely, and on learning from Douglas that the English were entirely defeated and dispersed, he was easily persuaded to desert the vanquished cause, and to join in the pursuit of that prince whose standard he was on his way to join. They came up with the fugitive monarch at Linlithgow, but were too few in number to attack the royal escort of five hundred men-at-arms. They continued the chase so closely, however, as not to give the enemy a moment's rest, killing or taking prisoners all who fell an instant behind. Edward's ignominious flight terminated at Dunbar, a distance of sixty miles from the field of battle, where the Earl of March received him hospitably, and furnished him with a fishing skiff, or small ship, in which he escaped to Berwick.

In the meantime, great numbers of the fugitives had taken refuge in the recesses of the rock on which Stirling Castle is built, but being soon assailed by a party of the Scots, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. A large body of Welshmen escaped from the field, under the command of Sir Maurice Berkeley, and having, according to the old Celtic custom, thrown off their upper garments previous to the battle, they presented a singular appearance in their flight through the country. The greater part of them were slain or taken prisoners by the peasantry before they reached England. A similar fate overtook many other stragglers who had thrown away their arms and accoutrements, in their flight from this disastrous field. The Earl of Hereford, the Constable of England, escaped with a considerable number of men, and took refuge in the castle of Bothwell, which was then held by the English, under the command of Sir Walter Gilbertson. But twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights, with an immense quantity of spoil, fell into the hands of the victors. According to an English historian, "the chariots, waggons, and wheeled carriages which were loaded with the baggage and military stores, would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for sixty leagues."* Barbour says that two hundred pairs of gilded spurs were taken from the field of battle. Among other prisoners, Roger de Northburge, keeper of the king's signet, or privy seal, with his two clerks, and the signet itself, fell into the hands of the Scots. King Robert restored it to Edward, on condition, however, that it should not be again used. Many of the prisoners paid large sums for their ransom, and the victorious army must have been greatly enriched by the plunder of the English camp, which contained great store of provisions, with vessels of gold and silver, splendid arms, rich apparel, and sumptuous horse and tent furniture, together with the military chest holding the money for the payment of the troops. Of the immense value of this booty, some idea may be formed from the lamentation of an old English chronicler over this disastrous battle. "O day of vengeance and misfortune!" says he; "odious and accursed day! unworthy to be included in the

* M. Malmesb. p. 147.

circle of the year, which tarnished the glory of England, and enriched the Scots with the plunder of the precious stuffs of our nation, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds (nearly three millions of our present money). How many illustrious nobles and valiant youths, what numbers of excellent horses and beautiful arms, how many precious vestments and golden vessels, were carried off in one cruel day!"* Another of the English historians states that "all the spoil collected after this great victory was munificently divided by Robert among his troops, who had so gloriously triumphed in defence of their country; and that he treated the nobles and others who were made prisoners with so much courtesy and humanity, that he wonderfully changed the hearts of many of the English from enmity to admiration and esteem."† The generous courtesy which the Scottish king displayed towards the prisoners, and the last remains of those who fell in this engagement, presents a noble and striking contrast to the mean and cruel treatment which his adherents received at the hands of the English. The body of the young Earl of Gloucester, for whose death the king was much grieved, was carried to a neighbouring church, where it was waked all night, and afterwards sent to England, along with the remains of the gallant Clifford, to be interred with the honours due to their rank. The other barons and knights were honourably buried in consecrated ground. The rest of the slain were interred upon the field. Sir Marmaduke Twenge contrived to conceal himself during the fury of the pursuit, and early next morning, when the king was surveying the field of battle, he came forth from his hiding-place, and approaching the king, kneeled down before him. "Welcome, Sir Marmaduke," said Bruce, to whom he was personally known; "whose prisoner are you?" "Yours, Sir," answered the knight. "I receive you," replied the king, and retained him in his company for a considerable time, treating him with the utmost courtesy, and ultimately dismissed him, not only without ransom, but loaded with gifts.‡ The other prisoners were all well treated. The generosity and clemency which Bruce displayed after this signal victory, extorted the admiration even of his enemies. An English contemporary chronicler relates, that through his humane and courteous attentions to his captives, he won their affections, and showed the English how they might have improved their victories.§

On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the governor of Stirling Castle, surrendered that fortress, according to the conditions of the truce, and entered into the service of the King of Scotland. The castle of Bothwell, in which the Earl of Hereford had taken refuge, capitulated, after a short siege, to Edward Bruce. This nobleman was exchanged for Bruce's queen and daughter, his sister

Christian, Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, now blind, and the young Earl of Mar. John de Segrave, one of the English barons taken prisoner in the battle, was exchanged for David de Lindsey, Andrew Moray, Thomas de Moraire, or Morham, Reginald de Lindsey, and Alexander his brother.

In the train which followed the English king to Scotland there was one Baston, a Carmelite friar, esteemed an excellent Latin poet, who was brought for the purpose of commemorating the expected triumph of the English arms. He was taken prisoner, and was compelled, as his appropriate ransom, to celebrate "the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn."*

Such was the memorable battle of Bannockburn; which, both in its immediate consequences, and its more remote effects, must be regarded as one of the most interesting and important events in the history of our country. It put a final termination to the schemes of conquest on which successive English monarchs had lavished so much blood and treasure, and raised Scotland from the condition of an oppressed and conquered province, to that of a free and independent state. It taught the Scottish people to continue their resistance to invaders to the last extremity, and never to regard their cause as desperate. They had seen their country, to all appearance, entirely crushed beneath the iron yoke of the oppressor, their cities sacked, their national monuments plundered or destroyed, their laws abrogated, their noblest patriots consigned to the dungeon, the axe, and the gibbet, and their sovereign hunted like a beast of prey among the mountains and forests of his native land; and now, by the Divine blessing on the sagacious and persevering efforts of that great man, whom Providence had raised up to vindicate the cause of his oppressed fellow-countrymen, they saw the most powerful army that their enemies had ever brought against them scattered like chaff before the wind, and the independence of their country established on a solid and permanent basis. "Dark times, indeed, succeeded these brilliant days; and none more gloomy than those during the reign of the conqueror's son. But though there might be fear or doubt, there could not be a thought of despair, when Scotsmen saw hanging, like hallowed reliques, above their domestic hearths the swords with which their fathers served the Bruce at the field of Bannockburn."† The effects of this victory have been felt through every period of Scottish history, down to our own day; and there cannot be a doubt that the proud position which Scotland now occupies, is, in no small degree, owing to the great deliverance achieved by the exertions of Bruce and his gallant compatriots.

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 67, and Note; Fordun, *book the xlvij* xxii.

† Sir Walter Scott. He mentions, that the proprietor of the small estate of Deuchar, in the county of Forfar, had a broadsword transmitted from father to son bearing this proud inscription:—

"At Bannockburn I served the Bruce,
Of whilk the Inglis had na russ" (boast).

* M. Malmesb. p. 152.

† Joh. de Trokelowe, p. 28.

‡ Barbour, p. 269.

§ Walsingham, p. 106.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROBERT BRUCE.

The great and decisive overthrow at Bannockburn produced such a discouraging effect on the minds of the English people, that they became, for a time, unable to defend their own frontiers from the incursions of the Scots. Taking advantage of the general panic which his recent victory had created among the English, the king, about the end of summer, sent his brother Edward and

Inroad of the Scots into England. Sir James Douglas into England, by the eastern marshes, with a large force, which laid waste Northumberland, and levied contributions from the principality of Durham. Having proceeded as far as Richmond in Yorkshire, leaving devastation behind them, they turned to the westward, and, after burning Appleby and other towns, re-entered Scotland loaded with spoil, and the large amount of ransom-money paid by the wealthy religious houses of the district. Their advance and return were alike unopposed; for such was the fear which had seized on the inhabitants, that the sight of three or four armed Scots was sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight;* while many of the wild troopers in the marshes, eager for plunder, joined the invaders in spoiling their countrymen.

In the meantime, Edward had summoned his Parliament, and endeavoured, but in vain, to raise a force sufficient to protect his kingdom, and punish the Scots. The Earl of Pembroke, however, was appointed Warden of England to the north of the Trent; his former services as Guardian of Scotland eminently qualifying him for the difficult duty of defending the frontier. Bruce, who was sincerely desirous to obtain for his kingdom a speedy and honourable peace, availed himself of

Negotiations for a truce. the crisis to make proposals to Edward for a cessation of hostilities, until the interests of their respective kingdoms should be satisfactorily adjusted by commissioners belonging to both nations. To this Edward agreed, granting a safe-conduct to the Scottish commissioners, and appointing persons to meet and arrange with them the terms of peace. Sir Nigel Campbell, Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, Sir Robert Keith, and Sir Gilbert Hay, accordingly crossed the border, and began negotiations with the English commissioners. The attempt, however, was speedily abandoned. England refused to renounce her offensive claims on Scotland as its feudal superior, and the Scottish nobles, determined to treat only as the representatives of an independent nation, proud of their recent success, and hopeful for the future, returned to Scotland. Another destructive invasion of the northern provinces

* Walsingham, p. 100.

followed this abortive attempt to establish peace between the two countries. According to the Chronicle of Lanercost, the Scots entered England by Redesdale and Tynedale, and for six months marched through Cumberland, driving away cattle, burning towns, oppressing the inhabitants, and compelling them to pay tribute, and swear allegiance to the Scottish king.* A sum equal to £60,000 is said to have been paid to the invaders by the people of Cumberland alone. Though the Parliament of England was sitting during this destructive inroad, it offered neither resistance to the Scots, nor protection to the miserable people;—the growing unpopularity of Edward, and the fierce factions existing amongst the nobles, preventing the combinations and energy which the crisis required. The Scots therefore returned home, unmolested, with their plunder. To the events of this year, so important to the Scottish king, must be added the death of John Baliol, the competitor with his grandfather for the crown. He died in France, at Baillieu, his patrimonial estate, where for many years he had resided, utterly forgotten by the people, to whom his weak and inglorious reign had been productive of such suffering; and leaving one son, Edward, who was destined, like himself, after a brief and shadowy sovereignty, to live and die in circumstances as obscure. In the spring of the following year (1315), the Scots advanced, for the third time, into England. They penetrated into the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the town of Hartlepool. In this expedition, however, their success was by no means equal to that of former inroads. They were repulsed from Carlisle, which they had besieged, and failed altogether in an attempt to surprise the town and castle of Berwick.†

The attention of Bruce and the Scottish nobles seems at this period to have been anxiously turned to the necessity of an Act of Settlement, regulating the succession of the crown; and accordingly, in a parliament held at Ayr on the 26th of April, a deed was passed, and solemnly ratified, of which the following were the leading provisions: That on the demise of the king the crown should devolve on his heirs male; that, with consent of Marjory, his daughter and heiress-presumptive, should Robert die without male issue, his brother Edward, and his male heir, should succeed to the throne; and that, failing these, Marjory and her heirs male should be next in succession: provided always, that she married with the consent of Parliament. It was also decreed, that, in the event of either Robert, or Edward, or Marjory, leaving an heir male who was a minor, the regency of the kingdom should devolve on Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; or should the royal family become extinct, the same nobleman was empowered to conduct the administration until the Scottish parliament should elect a suc-

* Apud Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 202.

† Chron. Lanercost, apud Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 204; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 70.

cessor to the vacant throne.* The wisdom of this deed is not more apparent than the disinterested patriotism of Bruce himself, in preferring to his daughter Marjory his brother Edward, in whose martial spirit and experience the independence of Scotland, on his own death, would have found a ready and resolute defender. This important arrangement was speedily followed by the marriage of Marjory with Walter, the Hereditary High Steward of Scotland, who received as the dowry of his bride extensive estates in the shires of Linlithgow and Roxburgh. From this union sprung a race of sovereigns, under whom Scotland and England were at length happily united, and whose descendant wears at this moment the British crown. In the midst of these wise measures for the safety of the kingdom, it was invaded by a new and terrible foe. A grievous famine, the result of ungenial seasons and destructive wars, spread over England and Scotland, reducing the miserable peasantry to the lowest depths of distress, and sweeping them away by thousands. The harvest of 1314 had been greatly injured by continued rains; much of the seed sown in the spring of the following year rotted in the ground from the same cause, so that the scanty yield of autumn proved utterly inadequate to the wants of the population, and, being speedily devoured, left them to hunger and death. In 1315, the quarter of wheat, beans, and peas, was sold for 20s., equal to £15 of our modern currency; in July, 1316, wheat rose to 30s., or £22 10s.; and in August reached to 40s., or £30, per quarter. The blockade of the Scottish ports by an English squadron, aggravated the pressure of famine, so that at one period the quarter of wheat rose to the enormous price of 100s., equal to £75 of our money. Though every expedient was employed to lessen the evil, and Scotland was less dependent, from its extensive pasture, on grain as an article of food than the sister kingdom, the mortality was yet so great, that the survivors are said to have been hardly sufficient to bury the dead.

Our history must now record the brief, though splendid success of the Scottish arms in Ireland. In that country the Anglo-Norman power had succeeded, so early as the reign of Henry II., in reducing the native population, and formally adding the island as an appendage to the English crown. Misgovernment and oppression had made the rule of England for a long time hateful to many of the native Irish chiefs, and rendered them eager to regain their independence. Instigated accordingly by the successes of the Scots, and encouraged by the weakness of Edward's administration, and the factions of the English and Anglo-Irish nobles, the chieftains of Ulster despatched messengers to Bruce, imploring his aid in the attempt to expel their oppressors, and offering, in return, to bestow the crown of Ireland on his brother Edward. Though the chances of success were both remote and doubtful, Robert, desirous to distract

* Fordun, book xii. chap. 24.

and enfeeble the English, as well as gratify the ambition of his brother, whose spirit was fired by the prospect of a crown, ultimately complied; and within a month after the passing of the Act regulating the succession to the crown, Edward Bruce, accompanied by six thousand soldiers, embarked for Ireland. The Scottish armament reached the opposite coast in safety, and the troops were disembarked at Clondowne, near Carrickfergus. Immediately thereafter the vessels returned to Scotland—a measure either rendered necessary by the great naval superiority of England, or adopted with the design of teaching the soldiers, that on their own discipline and valour their safety and success would now mainly depend. The Scots advanced on Carrickfergus in two divisions, the van commanded by Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the main body led by Edward Bruce in person. On their march they encountered a body of Anglo-Irish troops, consisting of about twenty thousand men, under Mandeville, Bisset, and Logan, military vassals of the Earl of Ulster. A brief engagement ensued, in which the Scots obtained a complete victory.* The town of Carrickfergus was subsequently taken; but an attempt to reduce the castle altogether failed, as the invaders were destitute of the engines usually employed in storming fortified places. The cause of Bruce was now strengthened by the accession of some of the principal native chieftains of Ulster, who swore fealty to him as their sovereign.† Two chieftains, however, in the English interest, with about two thousand spearmen, and the same number of archers, posted themselves at the strong pass of Inermallane, and by hemming in the Scots, and preventing the passage of provisions, endeavoured to starve the invaders into submission. With his characteristic impetuosity, Bruce led his men to the attack, and succeeded in clearing the pass, defeating his enemies with great slaughter, and capturing a large number of cattle, which afforded a seasonable supply to his hungry soldiers.‡ The Scots, now in conjunction with their Irish allies, marched into the interior of Ulster, and ravaged the possessions of the English settlers and their adherents with merciless fury. The towns of Dundalk and Atherlee, also, were stormed and burned.

In the meantime, Richard de Burgh, the powerful Earl of Ulster, assembled his vassals, and, assisted by some of the chiefs of Connaught, who remained faithful to England, prepared to repel and avenge the aggression of the Scots. Lord Edmund Butler, also, the Justiciary of Ireland, assembled the military force of Leinster, and marching northwards, offered to do Bruce his services in resisting the foe; but, confident in his own strength, and jealous of interference in his feudal domains, Ulster arrogantly declined his aid, and after increasing his force and ravaging the

* Barbour, p. 279.

† Ibid. p. 281.

‡ Ibid. p. 280.

Expedition of
Edward Bruce to
Ireland, May
20th, 1315.

Defeat of the
Anglo-Irish

districts supposed to be friendly to the Scots, advanced to meet the invaders. On the approach

Edward Bruce
defeats the Earl
of Ulster near
Conyers.

of De Burgh, Bruce retreated to the neighbourhood of Conyers, where he took up a strong position, while the English army encamped within

the shelter of a large forest, about twelve miles distant from the town. A series of brilliant skirmishes ensued, in which the Scots, led by the Earl of Moray, were uniformly successful, interrupting the convoys of provisions destined for the English army, and killing, with little loss to themselves, numbers of their enemies. Harassed by these constant attacks, De Burgh now took up a safer position, and, resolving to close the war by a decisive engagement, moved with his whole force on the encampment of the Scots. Bruce, on learning the advance of his enemy, had recourse to a stratagem suggested by Sir Philip Mowbray, which was attended with complete success. The banners and pennons of the Scottish army were left flying in their camp, as if the troops were drawn up behind the huts and baggage-cars, by which all the avenues to the camp itself were guarded and enumbered; while, in order to complete the deception, a portion of the Irish allies were ranged in the rear. The English force advanced in careless confidence, and speedily became entangled among the baggage-cars, while many of the soldiers left their ranks to plunder, under the impression that the Scots had fled. In the meantime, Bruce, with the best part of his force, had executed a skilful *détour*, and gaining unperceived the flank and rear of his foes, made a sudden and fierce attack. Surprised and dismayed, the soldiers of Ulster made scarcely any resistance. Thousands perished on the spot; and the rest, who fled to Conyers, were overtaken by the cavalry of Moray, and many of them slain in the streets.* This brilliant victory was followed by the flight of the Earl of Ulster to the south of Ireland, and the revolt of the Irish inhabitants of Connaught and Meath, who rose on the English settlers, burning their castles and destroying their possessions. The Earl of Moray was now despatched to Scotland to obtain reinforcements, as the troops had been greatly reduced by the hard service of the preceding three months; while Bruce in person prosecuted the siege of Carrickfergus. Compelled to abandon the siege, but strengthened by the return of Moray with five hundred men, the Scottish leader marched southwards through Meath into Kildare, his progress marked by a cruelty and devastation as ungenerous as it was impolitic, and the results of which he lived to deplore. Near Arscoll, in Kildare, the march of the Scots received a momentary check, from the presence of a new army, commanded by Lord Edmund Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland.

Overthrow of
the Justiciary
of Ireland.
the leaders had

The force of Butler greatly outnumbered that of Edward Bruce, but the factions existing among destroyed the unity, and relaxed

* Barbour, pp. 204—206.

the discipline, necessary to success; so that, after a feeble resistance to the fierce charge of the Scots, they fled in dismay, leaving their camp and military stores to be plundered by the conquerors (26th January, 1316). By the victory of Arscoll, Bruce was left undisputed master of the greater part of Ireland, and the coveted crown seemed already within his reach; but his late unsparing cruelty now recoiled upon himself, and rendered useless the advantage he had already gained. A grievous famine, the consequence chiefly of his destructive inroad, swept over the devoted districts; thousands of the native population, and many of his own soldiers, perished; so that, to escape inevitable ruin, he was compelled to retreat to Ulster, where provisions might be procured from Scotland by sea. Roger, Lord Mortimer, who possessed extensive estates in Meath, hastily collected an army of fifteen thousand men, and endeavoured to intercept the retreat of the Scots. The hostile armies encountered at Kenlis, in Meath; but the troops of Mortimer were defeated with so great slaughter, that eleven thousand of them are said to have been slain. Having reached Ulster, Edward Bruce, availing himself of a brief breathing-time, despatched Moray again to Scotland to procure reinforcements to his troops, greatly reduced by the hardships of war and the ravages of famine.

While Edward Bruce was prosecuting the Irish campaign, Scotland, under the rule of his wise and politic brother, was peaceful and flourishing, and rapidly recovering from the effects of her struggles for independence. The English government, directed by a feeble king, and distracted by the fierce dissensions of the nobles, could offer no efficient opposition to the Scots; while a rebellion in Wales, to quell which the whole military force of the country had been summoned, and the successes of the younger Bruce in Ireland, rendered a cessation of hostilities in the highest degree desirable.* In the western islands of Scotland alone, did there exist anything like opposition to the sovereignty of Bruce. John of Lorn, driven from his possessions on the mainland, after his defeat in 1308, had established himself in these remote islands, and continued for a long time to inflict grievous injury on the commerce of the kingdom. This horde of pirates, Bruce determined to destroy; and accordingly, accompanied by his son-in-law, he set sail with a powerful fleet. To conceal his intentions, and take his foe by surprise, instead of rounding the peninsula of Cantire, the fleet sailed up Lochfine, and east anchor at East Tarbet. A narrow isthmus, scarcely exceeding a mile in breadth, separates the Lochs of East and West Tarbet: across this low-lying neck of land the vessels were dragged upon a species of slide, composed of smooth planks of trees laid lengthwise, parallel to each other.† The disaffected

* Foed. vol. iii. pp. 546—580.

† Barbour (p. 302) states, that there was a superstitious

islanders, intimidated by the sudden appearance of their sovereign at the head of a powerful force, immediately submitted, while John of Lorn was captured, and committed first to Dumbarton Castle, and afterward to the castle of Lochleven, where he terminated his turbulent career.

About this time, to the great joy of the king and the nation, the Princess Marjory bore a son, Robert, who, fifty-five years afterwards, ascended the throne of Scotland, on the death of his uncle, David II. But this joyful event was soon changed to mourning, by the death of the young mother, almost immediately after child-birth.*

In the meantime, the Scottish expedition in Ireland was pursuing its course with varying fortune. Immediately after the victory of Kenlis, Edward Bruce resumed the siege of Carrickfergus; but from the want of military engines the castle resisted all his efforts to storm it, and the siege was converted into a blockade. Reduced to extremities, the garrison were about to capitulate, when they received a sudden accession of strength and spirit from the presence of Thomas, Lord Mandeville, who, with a large body of troops, passed the encampments of the besiegers, and entered the castle in safety. The discipline of the Scottish force must have become greatly relaxed, and they appear to have neglected even the ordinary precautions necessary to insure success. Mandeville resolved to take advantage of their carelessness, and accordingly, on the morning after his entrance into

the castle, he made a sudden and vigorous sally on the cantonments of the Scots. Neil Fleming, and a guard of sixty chosen men, were alone in readiness to repel the attack; and Fleming generously resolved to save the army, by the sacrifice of himself and his little band. Having despatched messengers to Bruce, warning him of the attack, he drew up his men to the best advantage, and, after a chivalrous appeal to their patriotism, met the shock of the advancing force. The contest was fierce, though unequal. Fleming and his companions were slain to a man, but not until many of their enemies had fallen, and time had been gained for their countrymen to arm, and form in order of battle. Mandeville, after sending round two detachments to prevent the escape of the Scots, proceeded rapidly along the main street of the town, to attack the head quarters of Edward Bruce. He was met, however, by Bruce himself, at the head of a large body of men hastily armed. In the conflict which followed, Mandeville, conspicuous from his armorial bearings, was struck down and slain by Edward Bruce. On the loss of their leader, the English retreated in dismay to the castle; but, alarmed lest the enemy might enter along with them, the garrison

believed current among the islanders that they should never be subdued till their invader sailed across the Isthmus of Tarbet, and that, considering this supposed prophecy to have been fulfilled by the passage of Bruce's vessels in the manner described, they immediately submitted to his authority.

* Fordun, xii. 26.

barricaded the gate, hoisted the drawbridge, and excluded their friends, who were all slain or taken captive by the Scots. After the conflict, Bruce—himself a man of generous feeling and chivalrous valour, though deficient in the prudence necessary to constitute a great commander—sought out the gallant Fleming, still alive, though in the agonies of death, with his brave band lying dead around him, and bewailed with tears the loss of his noble follower. The garrison of Carrickfergus now agreed to surrender, unless relieved before the close of the month of May; and on the 2nd of the same month Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned King of Ireland.*

During the next five months the historical records furnish little that is interesting respecting the proceedings of Bruce, if we except the surrender of Carrickfergus Castle, and the defeat of a party of Scots, under Allan Stewart, by an English force. In the month of November, however, the English government, alarmed at the success of the Scots, and dissatisfied with the conduct of the Anglo-Irish leaders, appointed Roger Mortimer Guardian and Lieutenant of Ireland, and besides giving orders that twenty vessels should be provided to convey the new governor, with a large force of cavalry and infantry, to Ireland, commanded all Englishmen, holding lands there, to be in readiness to join him at Haverford, on the 2nd of February, 1317.† In this emergency, Moray King Robert goes in person to the assistance of his brother—

was again despatched to Scotland by Edward Bruce, to obtain reinforcements; and the King of the Scots, impressed with the importance, to himself and his kingdom, of maintaining his brother's crown, determined to conduct in person a large body of troops to the scene of war. The government of Scotland was intrusted, during his absence, to his son-in-law, Walter Stewart, aided by the gallant Douglas; and the expedition having sailed from Loch Ryan, in Galloway, landed safely at Carrickfergus.‡ After a brief period of rest, the two brothers, at the head of their united force, amounting to twenty thousand men, hastened by forced marches, and having eluded a strong body of troops stationed to prevent their entrance into Leinster, passed through the county of Louth and advanced to Slane. During the march an engagement took place, which strikingly exhibits the cautious intrepidity of the Scottish king. The Earl of Ulster had assembled an army of forty thousand men to oppose the Scots, and lining, with this large force, an extensive wood through which his enemies must of necessity pass, proposed to attack their rear when the van had defiled through the forest. Edward Bruce, who led the first division, hurried on without any apprehension of danger, leaving the main body, under his brother, far behind. Scarcely had the rear entered the wood, when it was assailed by a galling discharge of arrows, and Robert, suspecting the neighbourhood of a superior force, commanded

* Barbour, pp. 297—300.

† Fordun, xii. 25.

‡ Foed. Angl. iii. 380—308.

his men to march in order of battle, and on no account to quit their ranks. His own nephew, Sir Colin Campbell, who, irritated by the discharges of two English archers, rushed to attack them, received a blow from the king's truncheon which almost beat him from his horse, accompanied with a stern rebuke for his insubordination. The Scots

—he defeats
a powerful army
under the
Earl of Ulster.

slowly but steadily advanced, and on reaching an opening in the wood the whole force of Ulster was discovered drawn up in order of battle. Robert hastened to attack them, and after a short but fierce conflict the sturdy valour of the Scots prevailed, and the tumultuary host of Ulster was either slain or driven from the field. Edward Bruce returned only to find the battle ended, and to encounter a severe but merited rebuke from his brother, for his having endangered the safety of the whole army by his inconsiderate rashness. The Scots advanced, by way of Drogheda, on Dublin, which they endeavoured to capture; but in this they were unsuccessful, as the citizens,—after burning the suburbs, which might have facilitated the entrance of the Scots, and strengthening the fortifications with the materials of a church which they demolished for that purpose,—offered a brave and determined resistance. Foiled in this attempt on Dublin, the king of the Scots, and his brother, took possession of the neighbouring castle of Cuco, and, after a short stay at Leixlip, marched to Naas, and thence to Cullen, in the county of Kildare. They penetrated, if we may credit the Irish annals, as far as Limerick, accompanied by bands of the savage native population, who ravaged the country without mercy, despoiling the religious houses, and even rifling the sepulchres in their search for spoil.

While the Scots were reaping the fruits of their previous successes, Mortimer landed in Ireland with a chosen body of troops, and having transmitted orders to Butler, his predecessor, to delay any further attack upon the Scots until he arrived at the camp, advanced rapidly to Kilkenny. On his arrival he found that the royal brothers, taking advantage of the inaction of the Anglo-Irish leaders, had skilfully extricated themselves from the difficulties of their position, and by forced marches had reached Kildare in safety, on their return to Ulster. Disbanding, therefore, the tumultuary army, which he found assembled at Kilkenny, Mortimer, with a smaller but better disciplined force, pursued the Scots, who, after various indecisive skirmishes with the English army, made good their retreat into Ulster. An incident which occurred on this march, deserves notice, as illustrating the humanity and courtesy by which King Robert was eminently characterized.

Bruce's
humanity—
Robert was eminently characterized.

When the Scottish army was about to commence its march from Limerick, the king heard the cries of a woman, and on inquiring what was the matter, he was informed that a poor woman, a laundress,

or washerwoman, had been seized with the pains of labour, and was making a great outcry at the prospect of being left behind in that helpless situation. Bruce immediately gave orders that the march should be stopped, that a tent should be pitched for her reception, and that the other women should attend upon her delivery; and he gave special directions respecting the manner in which she should be conveyed along with the army. "This was a full great courtesy," says Barbour, "that such a king, and so mighty, made his men dwell in this manner for a poor lavender."*

On the return of the Scots to Ulster, many of the Irish chieftains hastened to —his return to
acknowledge Edward Bruce as Scotland.
their king. Robert having thus accomplished the chief design of his expedition in consolidating the power of his brother, set sail for Scotland, accompanied by Randolph, but leaving behind him the flower of his army.

During his absence, various attempts were made to disturb the tranquillity of his Exploits of Sir
dominions, but with very limited James Douglas.
success. The English king, encouraged by the absence of his great rival in Ireland, summoned his military vassals to meet him at Newcastle, about the end of September, 1317, for the purpose of invading Scotland; but he was compelled to abandon the attempt in consequence of the opposition of the Lancasterian party. Hostilities between the kingdoms were therefore confined to occasional border frays, in which the Scots were almost uniformly successful, mainly through the activity and skill of Sir James Douglas and the Steward. At this time Douglas had erected a mansion for his own residence at Linthaullee, near Jedburgh, and had resolved to give a banquet to his military vassals on the completion of the building. The Earl of Arundel, the warden of the English marches, having received notice of this intention, crossed the borders with a force of ten thousand men, in the hope of surprising the Scots in the midst of their festivities. Douglas, however, received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, and resolved to attack them in an extensive wood, through which their line of march lay; and having thickly twisted together the young birch trees on either side, so as to form an abatis, impenetrable by cavalry, he posted a considerable body of archers in ambush at the narrowest part of the pass, where its breadth did not exceed twenty yards. The English advanced in careless security, and on reaching that part of the road where their ranks were so compressed by the narrowness of the

* Barbour, p. 320. The narrative of the metrical chronicle affords no authority for the statements which have been added to it in modern times, that when the incident occurred the English were pressing hard upon Bruce, who had given orders for a hasty retreat; that he countermanded the orders, and offered battle to the enemy, who, conceiving that he must have received a large reinforcement, were afraid to attack him, and thus afforded him an opportunity to send off the poor woman and her child, and then to retreat at his leisure without suffering any inconvenience from the halt.

glade, that it was impossible for their cavalry to act with effect, Douglas rushed upon them at the head of a small body of men-at-arms, shouting his war cry, while the archers at the same time suddenly poured in repeated volleys of arrows. The English thus assailed on every side, were thrown into inextricable confusion, and driven back with great slaughter; but, owing to their vast superiority of force, Douglas did not venture to pursue them into the open country. In the first onset Sir Thomas de Richeumont, one of the English leaders, was slain by the hand of Douglas, who took, as a trophy of victory, a furred hat which he wore above his helmet.*

Soon after this, a Gascon knight, named Edmund de Cailou, governor of Berwick, was attacked by Douglas, while returning through the Merse to that fortress, loaded with spoil from an inroad into Teviotdale. Cailou and most of his men were slain, and the booty of the plundered districts recovered. A similar fate befell Sir Robert Neville, who at that time resided in Berwick. On hearing from some of De Cailou's fugitive soldiers, a high eulogium on the prowess of Douglas, Neville boasted that he would encounter this puissant leader, if he would come and display his banner before Berwick. Douglas, on receiving information of this vaunt, marched into the neighbourhood of that town, and sent out a detachment to burn some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville immediately issued from Berwick at the head of a force more numerous than that of the invaders, and encamping upon an eminence, waited till the Scots should disperse in quest of forage. But Douglas called in his detachments and instantly marched against the enemy. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which Sir Robert was slain in a hand to hand encounter with Douglas, and his party was entirely routed with great slaughter. Sir Ralph Neville and many other persons of distinction were taken prisoners. Douglas, after ravaging the whole district, burning all the villages and hamlets, and driving away the cattle, returned to the forest of Jedburgh, leaving behind him a name of such terror, that, according to Barbour, all along the borders, the English mothers were accustomed to pacify their children by threatening that they "would make the Black Douglas take them."†

Foiled in his attacks upon Scotland by land, the English monarch resolved to attempt a landing attempt an invasion by sea. A party of English troops embarked in the Humber, and, sailing up the Frith of Forth, landed at Dunnybrisse, in Fife. The sheriff of the county hastily collected five hundred men, and attempted to oppose their landing; but, intimidated by the superior numbers of the invaders, the raw levies made a precipitate retreat. In their flight they encountered William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, who was hastening from his seat at Auchter-

tool, at the head of sixty of his servants. Having received notice of the flight of the sheriff and his men, this warlike prelate,—whom Barbour terms "rycht hardy, meikill, and stark,"—immediately put on his armour, and, casting a linen frock or rochet over it, threw himself on horseback and rode out to meet the fugitives. "Whither are you fleeing?" said he to their leaders; "you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Then, throwing aside his ecclesiastical garment and seizing a spear, he cried out, "Let all who love their country and their king turn again with me." With this he made a fierce attack upon the English, who were speedily defeated and driven back to their ships, with the loss of five hundred men, besides many who were drowned by the swamping of some of their boats. The survivors immediately set sail, and returned with all speed to their own country. On the return of the king from Ireland, he highly commended this gallant exploit, declaring that Sinclair should be his own bishop; and by the name of "The King's Bishop" was this courageous prelate long and honourably remembered by his countrymen.*

After the return of king Robert from his Irish expedition, Edward, smarting Interference of under his frequent defeats, and the Pope—alarmed for the safety of his kingdom, attempted to intimidate the Scottish king and his subjects, by the thunders of spiritual warfare. In Pope John XXII., a man alike servile and venal, he found a ready instrument for his purpose; and, by the liberal use of English gold, he induced him to issue a bull, commanding, under pain of excommunication, a cessation of hostilities for two years, "between the King of England and his beloved son the noble lord Robert Bruce, carrying himself as King of Scotland."† Two cardinals were despatched into England, as the papal legates, to enforce the observance of the truce; and, foreseeing that such an unjust and partial exercise of ecclesiastical authority would be resisted by the Scots, the legates were privately empowered to inflict upon the King of Scotland, or on any other persons whom they might think proper, the highest spiritual censures. The pontiff still further exhibited his thorough subserviency to Edward by intrusting the cardinals with a bull, to be made public if necessary, by which the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all the enemies of the English king, and the invaders of his dominions, and especially against Robert Bruce and his brother Edward. The pope also fulminated another bull against the Minorite Friars, for instigating the Irish to rise in rebellion

* Fordun, book xii. chap. xxv.; Barbour, pp. 323—332. According to Barbour, the English landed to the west of Inverkeithing, but Bower, the continuator of Fordun, affirms that they landed at Dunnybrisse. The former says that the Earl of Fife commanded the Scots, along with the sheriff of the county; but no mention is made of this by Bower, and it is on other grounds exceedingly improbable.

† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 594.

* Barbour, pp. 322—324.

† Barbour, p. 310. Fordun, book xii. chap. xxv.

against the English government and to join the Scottish invaders.

The conduct of Bruce, in this delicate and trying situation, evinced great calmness —firm and prudent conduct and prudence, combined with un- of Bruce in regard shaken courage. While showing to it— all due respect to the pope, as the head of the church, he firmly resisted all attempts to encroach upon the dignity of his crown and the independence of his kingdom. On their arrival in England, the cardinals despatched two nuncios,— the Bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery,—to convey the papal letters to the Scottish king.* On their way to the north, in company with Lewis de Beaumont, the bishop elect of Durham, the nuncios were intercepted, at a spot called Rushy Ford, near Darlington, by a band of freebooters, under Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby, who robbed them of their money, luggage, and horses, and then dismissed them to prosecute their journey.† They reached the Scottish court in a very disconsolate plight, and were courteously received by Bruce, who listened patiently to their statements. Having then consulted with his nobles who were present, upon the message delivered to him by the nuncios, he made answer, that he earnestly desired to procure a good and firm peace, either through the mediation of the pope, or by any other means; but that, so long as he was only addressed as Governor of Scotland, and the title of king was withheld from him, he could not, until he had advised with the whole council, and the other barons of his kingdom, admit the legates to an interview, nor was it possible for him to convene a council for this purpose before the Festival of St. Michael (29th Sept.) He allowed the open letters of the pope, recommending peace, to be read in his presence, and listened to them with all due respect; but he refused to receive the sealed letters addressed to Robert Bruce, Governor of Scotland. "Among my barons," said he, "there are many bearing the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of my kingdom; these letters may possibly be addressed to some one of them; but they are not addressed to me, who am King of Scotland."

The nuncios attempted to offer an apology for the omission of the title of king, by observing that it was not customary for their holy mother the church to say or to do anything, during the dependence of a controversy, which might prejudice the rights of either of the parties. "Since, then," replied Bruce, pointing to the papal letters, "my spiritual father and my holy mother are unwilling to prejudice the cause of my adversary by giving me the title of king, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause, during the dependence of the controversy, by withdrawing that title from me. I am in possession of the kingdom of Scotland. All my people call me king, and other princes address me by that title; but my spiritual parents assume an evident partiality among their sons.

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 661.

† Tyrril Hist. vol. iii. p. 269.

Had you presumed to present letters so addressed to other kings, you might perhaps have been answered in a different style; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see." The messengers then requested that the king would command a temporary cessation of hostilities. "To this," replied Bruce, "I can never consent without the advice of my parliament, the more especially while the English daily invade and spoil my people." "All this was spoken," says the letter of the nuncios to the pope, "in an affable manner and with a pleasant countenance, evincing all due reverence for your holiness and the church." It appears from the same interesting document, that another papal messenger, named Jacobinus, had been despatched some time before, with letters to the Scottish prelates, announcing the coronation of the pope, but had been refused admission into Scotland. The two nuncios carried Jacobinus along with them, and earnestly entreated the king to permit him to execute his commission. To this request Bruce gave no answer, but, "by a certain change of his countenance, silently intimated a refusal," and they were informed by the secretaries of the king, that this refusal was owing to the omission of his royal title; and the Scottish counsellors assured them, that if the letters had been addressed to the king of the Scots, negotiations for a good and lasting peace would have been readily entered into, but no attention would be paid to the injunctions of the pope, so long as the royal title was withheld.*

On receiving intelligence of the rejection of their proposals, the cardinals, who had —his refusal to remained all this time at Durham, receive the papal resolved, at all hazards, to pro- nuncio. claim the papal truce in Scotland. This perilous office was intrusted to Adam Newton, the Father Guardian of the Minorite Friars of Berwick, who was furnished with the requisite documents, and with letters to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the other Scottish prelates, requiring them to enforce the papal mandate. A most interesting account of this journey to Scotland has been given by Newton himself, in a letter addressed to the cardinals.† "In the first place," says he, "I arrived safe at Berwick, with God's assistance, but not without difficulty and tribulation. About a week ago I proceeded from Berwick to Old Cambus, a village about twelve miles distant from Berwick, near which place in a wood the Lord Robert lay concealed with his accomplices, labouring night and day in the construction of various machines. intended for the siege and destruction of Berwick.

"But I cautiously left all the bulls, letters, and other papers with which you had intrusted me in safety at Berwick, till I should receive a safe conduct from the said Lord Robert; which I received for myself and the papers from the Lord Alexander Seton, seneschal to the said Lord Robert, and Master John de Montonforth, his clerk.

"I then went back to Berwick for my paper

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 661, 662. † Ibid. p. 682.

and credentials, and returned again to Old Cambus, but was refused any personal intercourse with the said Lord Robert, and was desired to give all my letters to the foresaid seneschal and clerk, that they might be shown to the said Lord Robert. And because he was not named as King of Scotland, all the bulls and letters were contemptuously returned to me; and a message was delivered me from the said Lord Robert, declaring that he would not acquiesce in the bulls or in your processes, unless called King of Scotland, nor until he had acquired possession of Berwick. On this, seeing that I was environed with danger, I was greatly troubled how I might preserve the papers, and my own mortal life. Before the foresaid persons, and a multitude of others who were gathered around me, I expressly and publicly proclaimed, that a two years' truce was established and ordained between England and Scotland, by the authority of the supreme pontiff; but which proclamation they all despised.

"I next earnestly entreated the foresaid persons, in the name of the Lord, that in charity and compassion, and from reverence for the holy see, they would give me a safe conduct to pass further into Scotland to some of the prelates of that country, to carry your orders into execution, or at least for my safe return to Berwick.

"But they refused to grant me either, and dismissed me desolate on all sides, with express orders to get out of the country in all haste. I was, therefore, reluctantly constrained to measure back my steps towards Berwick. In my way thither I was encountered by four armed ruffians, who robbed and despoiled me of all my papers and of my garments, stripping me entirely naked. It is rumoured, that the Lord Robert and his accomplices, who instigated this outrage, now have the papers which were taken from me."

Throughout the whole of this negotiation it is evident that the pope acted as the servile tool of the English court; but the good sense and firmness of Bruce, aided by the patriotism of the Scottish clergy and the attachment of his subjects, enabled him to thwart the cunning policy of Edward and his ecclesiastical ally, and to maintain the dignity and independence of his kingdom.

The important town of Berwick, the key of the Capture of eastern marches, still remained in Berwick. the hands of the English; and Bruce, as we have seen, was found by the papal messenger busily engaged in the construction of engines for its capture. Fortunately for the Scots, a burgess named Spalding, having been harshly treated by the governor, Roger Horsely, determined, in revenge, to betray the town into the hands of the enemy. This purpose he communicated to a Scottish lord, called by Barbour the Marshall,* by whom the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Bruce himself. "You did well,"

* Barbour, pp. 333—339. Lord Hailes conjectures, on very plausible grounds, that the nobleman referred to by Barbour, was the Earl of March.—Annals, vol. ii. p. 97.

said the sagacious monarch, "in making me your confidant, for if you had told this to either Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust. Both of them, however, shall aid you in executing this enterprise." The king then commanded his informant to repair, with a strong body of troops, to Dunse Park, about fourteen miles from Berwick; and separate orders were given to Douglas and Randolph to meet him at the same place, each accompanied by a chosen band of retainers. At nightfall, the troops thus secretly assembled, quitted the place of rendezvous, and marched to Berwick; and having, by the assistance of Spalding, fixed their ladders near the Cowport, they scaled the walls undiscovered, and were speedily masters of the town. When the alarm was given, the citizens hastily assembled in groups, or ran wildly through the streets; but, panic-struck by the suddenness of the attack, they offered no effectual resistance. Not a few were slain or made prisoners; but many escaped over the walls or threw themselves into the castle. A portion of the assailants dispersed themselves through the streets to slay and plunder; but a select body were kept together by Randolph and Douglas, in readiness to repel any attempt on the part of the garrison to recover the town. This precaution saved the Scottish force from destruction; for next day, about noon, the governor of the castle, discovering the small number of the assailants, made a desperate sally, and had nearly succeeded in recapturing the city. After a fierce struggle, however, in which a young knight, called Sir William Keith of Galston, eminently distinguished himself, the English were driven back into the citadel with great slaughter. On learning that the town was taken, King Robert came up with the rest of his forces to secure the important conquest. Great numbers of Scotchmen also flocked into the town, from the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lothian, to assist in the reduction of the castle, which soon surrendered. The garrison were permitted to depart into England. Immense quantities of merchandize, provisions, and military stores were found in the city, and its plunder greatly enriched the Scottish army. Instead of demolishing the castle, as he had hitherto done with all the fortresses recovered from the English, Bruce resolved to strengthen the fortifications, and to commit the keeping of both town and castle to his gallant son-in-law. The Steward being well aware, from the importance of the town, that the English would soon make a vigorous effort to recover it, carried on his preparations with great energy. He reinforced the garrison, which consisted of a strong body of archers, spearmen, and cross-bowmen, with five hundred gentlemen, who quartered his arms, and were collected from his own hereditary possessions, and among the relations of his family. He laid in such ample stores of provisions that the town and castle were victualled for a year; and, assisted by John Crab, an experienced Flemish engineer, he constructed springalds, cranes, and every other kind of warlike

engine, then employed in the defence of fortified towns.* In the midst of these preparations, Bruce

Invasion of Northumberland, surprising the Castle of Mitford, and reducing the strongholds of Wark and Harbottle. He penetrated into Yorkshire, plundering and burning Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton; and compelled the inhabitants of Ripon to redeem themselves from military execution, by the payment of a large sum of money. He then led back his army into their own country, loaded with booty, and driving their prisoners before them, according to the chronicle of Lanercost, like flocks of sheep.† Edward, unable to protect his subjects from the destructive inroads of the Scots by force of arms, again sought and obtained the aid of the Pope; and the two cardinals, who still remained in England, were instructed by the

Papal bull of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents. pontiff to issue a bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce and all his adherents, on the ground that they had captured Berwick in violation of the terms of the papal truce, and maltreated the messengers of the holy see.‡ Meanwhile, Edward had summoned his parliament to meet at Lincoln, but was compelled to prorogue it on account of the invasion of the Scots; while an army hastily assembled at York was dismissed, as the enemy had already returned home. The English parliament met at London, about Michaelmas, and gave orders that the various towns throughout the kingdom should furnish each a certain number of soldiers, completely armed, who were required to serve for forty days, and to be maintained at the expense of the citizens.§ These levies, along with the military barons and their retainers, formed a large and efficient force; but when they came to the rendezvous at York, the animosity between the king and his nobility ran so high, that it was found necessary to disband the army, without making any effort to recapture Berwick, or to punish the aggressions of the Scots.

At this period tidings were conveyed to Scotland of the disastrous issue of the expedition to Ireland. Edward Bruce had maintained a precarious authority in Ulster by means of frequent reinforcements from his native country. He now rashly encountered at Fagher, near Dundalk, a greatly superior force, amounting to nearly twenty thousand men, under John de Bermingham, and was defeated and slain. The army of Edward Bruce is said to have numbered only two thousand men, exclusive of his Irish allies, a large, but irregular and ill-disciplined host. As the English were approaching, Bruce despatched three of his principal officers, Soulis, Stewart, and Mowbray, to observe the number and strength of the enemy. On their return they strongly urged the

propriety of declining an engagement with an army so vastly superior. To these judicious counsels Edward Bruce, with his characteristic impetuosity and contempt of danger, refused to listen; nor could his resolution be shaken by the intimation of his Irish allies, that they would decline taking part in so hopeless a contest. The engagement began by a vigorous charge of the English on the vanguard of the Scots, who were almost instantly overwhelmed. Edward Bruce was slain by John Maupas, who was himself found lying dead upon the body of his enemy. Sir John Soulis and Sir John Stewart were also slain, while Sir Philip Mowbray was mortally wounded. A small remnant of the Scots, under John Thomson, the leader of the men of Carriek, succeeded, with the assistance of their Irish allies, in making good their retreat to Carrickfergus, and from thence reached Scotland.* Notwithstanding the generous conduct of King Robert after the battle of Bannockburn, the victors treated the body of Edward Bruce with revolting indignity. It was quartered, and exposed in four different places in Ireland as a public spectacle. Bermingham carried over the head, as an acceptable present to the English king, and received, as the reward of his services, large grants of money and land, with the title of Earl of Lowth.† Thus terminated an expedition, which, if it had been as wisely prosecuted as it was auspiciously begun, might have changed the relations and history of the three kingdoms.

The death of Edward Bruce without lawful male issue, and that of Marjory, the king's daughter, who had left an infant son, rendered some new regulations necessary regarding the succession to the crown of Scotland. Accordingly, in a meeting of the Scottish parliament, held at Scone in the beginning of December, 1318, an Act of Settlement was passed, in which the prelates, earls, barons, and others of the community, after solemnly renewing their oath of allegiance to Bruce, ordained, that should the king die without a lawful male heir, Robert, the son of the Princess Marjory, should succeed to the throne: that, in the event of Robert Stewart, or any other heir of the king's body, being a minor at the period of the king's death, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and, failing him, Sir James Douglas, should be appointed tutor to the heir and guardian of the kingdom, until it appeared to the majority of the community that Robert Stewart, or the other heir of the king, was capable to administer the government in person. It was farther enacted, that as in times past certain doubts had arisen, though without sufficient cause, regarding the rule of succession, the male nearest to the king at his death, descending in the direct line; or, failing him, the nearest female in the same direct line; or, failing the whole direct line, the nearest male in the col-

* Barbour, pp. 339, 340.

† Chron. Lanercost, p. 236.

‡ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 707-711.

§ Walsingham, p. 111.

* Barbour, pp. 362-368.

† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 767.

lateral line, respect being always had to the right of blood by which the deceased king reigned—should succeed to the throne.

These enactments having been unanimously adopted, Randolph and Douglas declared their acceptance of the offices thus conditionally assigned to them, and, laying their hands on the holy gospels and the relics of the saints, took a solemn oath faithfully to discharge their duty, and to observe, and cause to be observed, the laws and customs of Scotland. After this, the bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy, and the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders, and the other members of the community, took the same solemn oath in the same manner, and affixed their seals to the instrument of succession.

Besides determining the succession to the crown, Laws enacted by this parliament passed various important ordinances regarding the civil, military, and ecclesiastical interests of the kingdom. All men were required to array themselves for war. Every layman possessed of land, who had ten pounds' worth of moveable property (equal to a hundred and fifty pounds' worth in modern times), was commanded to provide himself with an acon and a basnet—that is, a stuffed leathern jacket, and a steel helmet, together with gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those who were not provided with these pieces of defensive armour were ordered to have an iron-jack, or back and breast-plate of iron, a knapiskay, or iron head-piece, with gloves of plate; and every man possessing the value of a cow, was enjoined to be provided with a bow and a sheaf of twenty-four arrows, or with a spear. In case of disobedience, the recusant was to forfeit his moveable property—half to the king, and half to his overlord, or superior. All sheriffs and lords were enjoined to make inquest into the execution of this law. All persons while on the road to the royal army were required to subsist at their own charges, without in any way oppressing the country; those who came from places near the rendezvous were enjoined to bring carriages and provisions along with them; those who came from remote parts were to bring money, and if refused a supply of provisions after the offer of reasonable compensation, permission was given to take what was necessary, but under the eye of the bailie or magistrate of the district. To supply the enemy with weapons, or to give them any assistance whatever, was declared to be a capital offence. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to the papal court for the purchase of bulls, and all holders of fiefs in Scotland, but resident in England, were prohibited from drawing money out of the kingdom. Among the statutes of the same parliament is found one relating to theft-bute, or ransom of theft. Any person who paid this ransom was held as a convicted thief, and was liable to be banished accordingly, without farther proof, and the receiver of the composition was to be severely fined, or, if unable to discharge his fine, was to be imprisoned

during the king's pleasure. The statute concludes with a qualifying clause, "saving the liberties of those lords who had such conceded to them by the kings of Scotland, before our lord the king who now reigns." The persons thus excepted were, in all probability, the nobles residing on the borders, whose cattle were constantly exposed to the incursions of freebooters, and, when stolen, could only be regained by the payment of a ransom.*

While the Scottish parliament was issuing these wise and salutary ordinances, the Pope, at the instigation of the English king, continued to fulminate against Bruce and his adherents. Messengers were despatched from Scotland to obtain a reversal or mitigation of these severe measures, and the restoration of friendly relations between

Bruce makes a fruitless attempt to conciliate the papal see.

the Scottish nation and the holy see; but, by the influence of the English ambassadors, the attempts altogether failed.† In another quarter, the ungenerous efforts of the English monarch to injure Scotland, received a dignified check. The Scots had for a long period carried on an advantageous trade with Flanders, procuring, in return for the produce of their own country, arms, provisions, and military stores. This commercial intercourse Edward endeavoured to interrupt, by soliciting the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, and the magistrates of the different towns in the Netherlands, to prohibit the Scots from in future entering their ports and markets, representing them as excommunicated persons, with whom the faithful ought to have no friendly dealings. The reply of the Count of Flanders to this proposal was marked by a wisdom and liberality which entitle it to honourable mention. "His country," he said, "was common to all men of every region, and the right of entry to it was free to every person; and in permitting the Scots to enter his ports, and his own people to trade with Scotland, it was by no means his wish or intention to countenance or encourage that nation in error, but merely not to interfere with the free exercise of merchandize, on which the existence and prosperity of his own subjects so necessarily depended." With the exception of the Duke of Brabant and the city of Mechlin, the states and towns in the Netherlands returned similar replies.‡

Availing himself of an apparent reconciliation with the Lancastrian party, Edward resolved to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of Berwick.

Preparations by Edward for the siege of Berwick.

He summoned his military vassals to assemble at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 24th of July, 1319.§ A numerous levy of infantry was ordered to join the royal army, from the various counties of England and Wales; and, in addition to the land force, a powerful fleet was appointed to

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiii.; Kers Life of Bruce, vol. ii. chap. xx. Regiam Majestatem.

† Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 752.

‡ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 759, 770.

§ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 374.

occupy the mouth of the Tweed, to prevent the introduction of supplies or reinforcements to the garrison, to transport provisions, machines, and necessary stores, and to co-operate with the army in the varied operations of the siege. These extensive preparations were not completed till early in September, when Edward marched from Newcastle; and having crossed the Tweed without opposition, entirely surrounded Berwick from the river to the sea, securing his camp by strong lines of circumvallation, while his fleet occupied the estuary of the Tweed.* After landing the provisions, military stores, and machines, it was resolved, at a council of war, to attempt the capture of the town by storm; its low walls affording facilities to a sudden and well-conducted escalade.

On the morning of St. Mary's Eve, 7th September, the English army was drawn up in separate divisions, placed at regular distances, and provided with scaling ladders, scaffolds, and defences, with hoes and pick-axes for mining. Meanwhile, the Scots, under their gallant leader, Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, were preparing bravely to defend the town. Steward arranged his men in companies to meet the advancing parties of the English, and, attended by a considerable body of reserve composed chiefly of his own relations, he passed along the ramparts, encouraging the troops to behave manfully, and ready to bring assistance where it seemed most to be required. At the sound of the trumpet, the English marched to the assault; and, after filling the ditches and applying their ladders to the wall, strove bravely to reach the top, but were everywhere repulsed by the garrison, their ladders thrown down and many of them wounded and slain. In the afternoon, the English fleet, which had to wait the rise of the tide, sailed up to the walls on the river side. One vessel, filled with armed men, and constructed specially for the purpose of assault, was warped up by means of boats as near as possible to the rampart. To the bow of her boat, which was hoisted mast-high, was fitted a species of drawbridge, which was intended to be dropped upon the wall, and to afford a passage from the ship into the town. As this formidable vessel approached, the Scots from the battlements assailed her with close and deadly discharges from their springalds, crossbows, and other engines, so that the sailors were unable to bring her sufficiently near, and the drawbridge, when let down, fell short of the wall. At length she grounded on a bank, and a party of Scots sallied from the town at ebb-

—its failure. tide and set her on fire. On the failure of this double attempt, a retreat was sounded, and the assailants drew off to their camp.

During the five following days no assault took place, but both parties were actively engaged in preparations for

* Harboure, pp. 342—358. His account of the siege is remarkably minute and interesting. See also Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. pp. 109—112.

the coming strife. The English constructed a machine called a Sow, framed of large beams of timber, with a strong roof, sloping like the back of the animal from which it took its name, and capable of containing a considerable number of men, furnished with all the necessary implements for undermining the foundation of the wall. Moveable scaffolds were also built high enough to overtop the walls of the town, and to enable the assailants to fight the Scots upon equal terms. To aid the efforts of the land army, a number of ships were fitted up similar in construction to that vessel which had been destroyed by the Scots, but rendered more effective by filling the top castles with armed men and archers, intended to drive the defenders from the walls, while the assailants beneath, dragged the ship close to the walls and lowered the drawbridges. These formidable preparations had been anxiously watched by the gallant Steward. With the advice, and under the directions of Crab, the Flemish engineer, he constructed two powerful projectile engines of vast strength, called cranes, and intended to discharge stones of great weight, with immense force. Springalds were also provided, for projecting thick heavy darts winged with copper, together with strong iron chains with grappling hooks attached to them, and large bundles of highly combustible faggots, mixed with flax and tow saturated with pitch. As on the former occasion, the Steward divided his men into companies, assigning to each the defence of a portion of the wall, while, at the head of the reserve, he resolved to watch the various points of attack, and to supply reinforcements where these might be needed. On the morning of the 13th September, the English marched forward to the sound of trumpet, and soon succeeded in filling up the ditches, and fixing their ladders; but they were assailed by the garrison, not only with the ordinary hand weapons, but with discharges of large stones and other missiles, and were beaten back on every quarter. The conflict raged till noon, when, finding every effort unavailing to take the town by an escalade, Edward gave orders that the Sow should be brought forward for the purpose of undermining the walls. As this huge machine advanced, one of the cranes formerly mentioned, was wheeled up to that part of the wall directly opposite; its management being committed to the care of a skilful English engineer, captured in the late assault, and who was threatened with instant death if he did not use all his endeavours to destroy the Sow.

At the first discharge, a great stone launched against it flew beyond the mark, Destruction of on which the English endeavoured "the Sow." to hurry on the machine to the foot of the wall. The second discharge was attended with no better success, as the stone fell short. A third time the engineer bent the machine, straining it to its utmost effort, but now with an aim so true that the stone descended with overwhelming force on the top of the Sow, shivering the strong roof into pieces, and destroying many of the soldiers and

miners concealed within. The rest fled in terror from the shattered fabric, pursued by the derisive shouts of the Scots, who cried out from the walls, that the English Sow had farrowed her pigs. Crab immediately cast over his grappling-hooks and chains, and secured the machine, and, having thrown burning faggots on its broken timbers, speedily reduced it to ashes. Meanwhile, the naval squadron, at flood tide, moved up to attack the lower wall along the Tweed. As the vessels advanced, the engineer to whom the defence of that portion of the wall was entrusted, discharged against the foremost, a large stone, killing and wounding a great number of her men, upon which the remaining ships were so much intimidated that they withdrew from the assault. Undismayed by the destruction of the Sow, the English land-force continued to press their attacks with unabated vigour, in the hope of wearing out the strength of the besieged. But the Scots, animated by the presence of their brave leader,—who was everywhere present, assisting to remove the wounded, cheering on the men, and supplying reinforcements,—succeeded in beating them back at every point. The escort of Steward became at last so reduced that one man only remained with him, when an alarm was given that the English had broken down the barrier close to St. Mary's-gate, which they were endeavouring to fire. Steward hastened to the scene of danger, and having drawn a considerable reinforcement from the garrison of the castle, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and sallying out upon the enemy, repulsed them with great slaughter. The Scots retired into the town, after having extinguished the flames and secured the gate. The assault terminated only on the approach of night, when the English force, foiled in all their attempts, returned to their quarters, wearied and greatly disheartened. Both parties appear to have fought with emulous valour; and it is mentioned, as an evidence of the fierce determination displayed throughout the struggle, that the women and boys belonging to the garrison were continually employed, while the strife was raging, in gathering up, and conveying to their friends, the stones and other missiles discharged by the English.

While Edward was engaged before Berwick, Bruce anxiously endeavoured to raise the siege, and collected a large army for that purpose. The numbers of the enemy and the strength of their entrenchments induced him, however, prudently to decline an immediate encounter; but he resolved to make a powerful diversion in favour of the beleaguered town, by invading England, thus compelling Edward to abandon his enterprise in order to defend his own dominions. Randolph and Douglas accordingly crossed the borders with a well-appointed force of fifteen thousand men.* The Scots, it is said, had concerted a plan for obtaining possession of the person of the queen, who

was at that time residing near York, and thereby dictating the terms of an honourable and advantageous peace.* Foiled in this attempt by the escape of the queen, who learned their purpose from a Scottish prisoner who fell into the hands of the English, they wasted Yorkshire, destroying Ripon and carrying devastation as far as Mitton. To resist this terrible inroad, the Archbishop of York, in the absence of the regular army, hastily collected a large but ill-assorted and undisciplined force,—composed of archers, yeomen, priests, clerks, monks, and friars,—and advanced on the head quarters of the Scots, then established at Mitton.† On the approach of this motley host, the Scottish leaders called in their detachments, and while the English were defiling across a bridge over the river Swale, charged them furiously, under cover of the smoke of some stacks of hay which they had set on fire for the purpose. The tumultuary force of the arch-^{bishop} was broken and put to flight in an instant, and pursued for a considerable distance, with great slaughter. Four thousand men are said to have fallen, and among these were three hundred priests, distinguished by the white surplices which covered their armour. Many were drowned in attempting to re-cross the river Swale,‡ and those who escaped were saved only by the darkness of night. In allusion to the clerical leaders of the defeated army and the slaughter of the priests, this rout was named by the Scots, in the savage pleasantry of the times, “The Chapter of Mitton.”§

When the news of the Scottish invasion and the defeat of Mitton reached the camp before Berwick, the English barons whose estates lay in the north of England, headed by the Earl of Lancaster, withdrew from Berwick to defend their own domains, and Edward, thus deprived of nearly a third of his army, was compelled to raise the siege.|| The siege of Berwick raised. Determined, however, to punish the Scots, he marched southward, hoping to intercept them as they returned to their own country. But Randolph and Douglas having received accurate intelligence of the movements of the English army, prudently eluded an encounter, and returned safely into Scotland by the western marches, loaded with booty, and carrying with them many prisoners. It appears, from an authentic document, that no fewer than eighty-four towns and villages were burnt and pillaged by the Scots in this expedition.¶ On the departure of the English from Berwick, Bruce hastened to his gallant son-in-law, and the brave men who had so nobly defended this important fortress, and added to the military renown of the Scottish nation. After bestowing on them

* “Certe si capta fuisset tunc Regina, credo quod pacem emisset sibi Scotia.”—M. Malmesbury, p. 192.

† Barbour, p. 249.

‡ Walsingham, p. 112.

§ Barbour, p. 351.

|| Barbour, pp. 358, 359.

¶ Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 601, 602.

* Walsingham, pp. 111, 112.

the highest encomiums, he provided for the future safety of the town by increasing the height of the walls, and otherwise strengthening the fortifications, some of which had suffered during the late siege.

Foiled in his attempts to reduce Berwick, and unable to protect his subjects from the fierce incursions of the Scots, Edward and his parliament now became desirous of peace with Scotland. For this purpose commissioners were nominated by both parties; and a truce was ultimately agreed upon for two years, commencing with Christmas 1319; and in the mean time the commissioners were authorised to continue their negotiations for a lasting peace.

It appears somewhat strange that Edward's old ally the Pope should have selected this moment to renew the thunders of his excommunication against the Scottish king and his adherents; and, apparently enraged at the contempt with which his former censures had been treated, the holy father commanded the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of London and Carlisle, to repeat the ceremony on every Sabbath and festival day throughout the year.* This ill-timed and unfair exercise of authority on the part of his holiness seems to have excited great indignation among the people of Scotland, and in a parliament held at Aberbrothock, on the 6th of April, 1320, the barons and freeholders of the realm, with the consent of the king, and in the name of the whole community of Scotland, addressed a spirited memorial to the Pope in vindication of themselves and their sovereign from the misrepresentations of their enemies. After alluding to the fables then currently believed respecting the origin of the Scottish nation, their long line of a hundred and thirteen kings, their conversion to Christianity by the apostle Andrew, and the favour which former pontiffs had shown to their forefathers as the flock of the brother of St. Peter, they go on to denounce the unjust interference of Edward the First with the affairs of Scotland, and describe, in forcible terms, the calamities which the ambition of that unprincipled monarch had brought upon their country. "Under such free protection," say they, "did we live, until Edward, king of England, and father of the present monarch, covering his hostile designs under the specious disguise of friendship and alliance, made an invasion of our country at the moment when it was without a king, and attacked an honest and unsuspecting people, then but little experienced in war. The insults which this prince has heaped upon us, the slaughters and devastations which he has committed, his imprisonments of prelates, his burning of monasteries, his spoiliations and murder of priests, and the other enormities of which he has been guilty, can be rightly described, or even conceived, by none but an eye-witness. From these innumerable evils

have we been freed, under the help of that God who woundeth and who maketh whole, by our most valiant prince and king, Lord Robert, who, like a second Maccabæus, or Joshua, hath cheerfully endured all labour and weariness, and exposed himself to every species of danger and privation, that he might rescue from the hands of the enemy his ancient people and rightful inheritance; Him, Divine Providence, and the right of succession according to those laws and customs which we will maintain to the death, as well as the common consent of us all, have made our prince and king. To him are we bound, both by his own merit and by the law of the land, and to him, as the saviour of our people, and the guardian of our liberty, are we unanimously determined to adhere. But if he should desist from what he has begun, and should show an inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the king of England, or to his people, then we declare, that we will use our utmost effort to expel him from the throne, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and of our right, and we will choose another king to rule over us, who will be able to defend us; for as long as a hundred Scotsmen are left alive, we will never be subject to the dominion of England. It is not for glory, riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life.

"Wherefore, most reverend Father, we humbly pray, and from our hearts beseech your Holiness to consider, that you are the vicegerent of Him with whom there is no respect of persons, Jews or Greeks, Scots or English; and turning your paternal regard upon the tribulations brought upon us and the church of God by the English, to admonish the King of England that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven or more kings, and not to disturb our peace in this small country, lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth, and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own."

After declaring that they are willing to do everything for peace, which is consistent with the freedom of their constitution and government, and exhorting the Pope to procure the peace of Christendom, in order that the Holy Land might be recovered from the hands of the infidels, and expressing their readiness to undertake that holy expedition if Edward would permit them to depart in peace, they go on to say: "If your Holiness do not sincerely believe these things, giving too implicit faith to the tales of the English, and on this ground shall not cease to favour them in their designs for our destruction, be well assured that the Almighty will impute to you that loss of life, that destruction of human souls, and all those various calamities which our inextinguishable hatred against the English, and their warfare against us, must necessarily produce. Confident that we now are, and shall ever, as in duty bound, remain obedient sons to you, as God's vicegerent, we commit the defence of

* Rymer Foed. vol. iii. pp. 797, 810.

our cause to that God, as the great King and Judge, placing our confidence in Him, and in the firm hope that he will endow us with strength, and confound our enemies; and may the Almighty long preserve your Holiness in health."

To this memorable and interesting document were appended the names and seals of eight earls and thirty-one barons, among whom we find the High Steward and the other great officers of the crown.*

The attachment of the nation, thus strongly manifested, to the person and government of Bruce, did not exempt him from treasonable attempts to deprive him of his crown.

Detection of a conspiracy against King Robert.

David de Brechin, the king's nephew, with five other knights and three esquires, secretly combined to put the king to death, and elevate to the throne William de Soulis, hereditary Butler of Scotland, whose grandfather, Nicholas de Soulis, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Alan Durward.† The records of the Tower furnish evidence that both Soulis and Brechin had long been in the pay of the English monarch; and there is every reason to believe that his emissaries originated and fostered the conspiracy against the life of Bruce. The Countess of Strathern, who had been made privy to the plot, was induced, either by remorse or fear, to reveal it, and the conspirators were instantly arrested, and afterwards tried before the Scottish parliament (August, 1320). Sir David de Brechin, Sir William Malherbe, Sir John Logie, and an esquire named Richard Brown, suffered death, while Sir William de Soulis and the Countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Notwithstanding the popularity of Bruce, and the undoubted proofs of the guilt of De Brechin, the fate of the latter was generally regretted. His youth and high birth, and valiant exploits in the Holy Land, where he had served with signal distinction, seem to have blinded the people to the guilt of his treason against his uncle, and the liberties of his country. He had always been the secret or avowed partisan of England. In 1308, he assisted Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in his attacks upon the king while marching through Aberdeenshire: in 1312, we find him a pensioner of Edward, and Governor of Dundee, in the English interest: in 1315, he was a prisoner of war, but though generously pardoned by Bruce, he stood coldly aloof from the brilliant movements which followed; viewing with dislike the success of his relative, or secretly plotting his overthrow. His doom, therefore, was most deserved; but, either in consequence of his personal qualities, or from the leniency with which, in that age, conspiracies against the government and flagrant breaches of allegiance were generally regarded, his death excited public sympathy, and the parliament by

which he and his accomplices were condemned, was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the Black Parliament. Even among the nobles, the treason of De Brechin found its apologists. Sir Ingram de Umfraville was so much dissatisfied with the punishment inflicted on the conspirators, that he solicited and obtained leave from Bruce to dispose of his estates, and, retiring into England, transferred his services to Edward, declaring that "he could not remain in a land where so noble a knight was put to a pitiful and shameful death for such a slight cause."* "It is difficult to conceive," as Sir Walter Scott observes, "how far Sir Ingram de Umfraville imagined the immunities of a noble knight to extend. This was the fourth time he himself had changed sides. He had borne arms under Wallace, and under the subsequent Scottish regency; he had become English, and was one of the knights appointed to keep Edward's rein at the battle of Bannockburn. That victory re-converted Sir Ingram to the Scottish allegiance, which he finally renounced out of pity and tenderness for the fate of Sir David de Brechin, and, perhaps, some lurking anxiety concerning what might be ultimately reserved for himself, when traitors were receiving payment at the hands of the executioner." †

The bold manifesto of Aberbrothock, and the remonstrances of Sir Adam de Gordon and Sir Edward Mambuisson, whom Bruce shortly after sent as ambassadors to the papal court, induced the Roman pontiff to suspend, for some time, the publication of the sentence of excommunication and interdict, and to address an admonitory epistle to Edward, recommending the conclusion of a peace with Scotland. With this request the English monarch deemed it politic to affect compliance, and he accordingly granted authority to the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, and others, to treat with the commissioners of Bruce.‡ The meeting, which took place at Carlisle, was attended by two nuncios from the Pope, and by two envoys from the King of France, who requested to be allowed to act as a mediator on the occasion. These negotiations for peace, however, led to no satisfactory result. On the part of Edward they were evidently insincere; for on the same day on which he transmitted a safe conduct to the Scottish commissioners, he issued a commission to five persons, among whom was David, Earl of Athole, giving them authority to receive into his favour all Scotsmen, of every rank, who should be willing to reconcile themselves to the English government.§

From these attempts to excite treason among the subjects of Bruce, Edward was compelled for a time to desist, in consequence of the critical position of his own kingdom. His new favourite Hugh le Despenser, who, on the death of Gaveston,

* See Anderson's *Diplomata Scoticæ*, Plate LL, for a facsimile of this celebrated memorial.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. i.; Barbour, p. 380.

* Barbour, pp. 382, 383.

† Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Rymer *Foed.* vol. iii. p. 791.

§ *Ibid.* p. 865.

had succeeded to his place in Edward's confidence, abused, like his predecessor, the trust of the facile monarch, and, by his profligate, insolent, and rapacious conduct, had rendered himself the object of universal dislike. The dissensions between the English barons and Edward, which had continued for many years to disturb and enfeeble the king-

Rebellion of
the Earl of
Lancaster—

dom, grew at last to a head, and the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and their adherents, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Scots, and concerted an invasion of England, to be conducted by King Robert in person. Owing to various causes, however, the Scottish forces did not appear in time, and the secret of the treasonable alliance between the disaffected barons and the Scots having meanwhile transpired, Edward promptly took the field at the head of a powerful force, and totally disconcerted their projected union. The Earl of Lancaster, finding himself unable to maintain his ground against the royal army, retreated to the north, probably in the hope of receiving assistance from the Scots; but he was intercepted at Borongh-bridge by Sir Andrew Hartela, Warden of the Western Marches, and Sir Simon Ward, Sheriff of

—his defeat
and execution.

Yorkshire, and, after a fierce engagement, (16th March, 1321,) his army was totally routed. The Earl of Hereford, and many others of the disaffected barons, were slain. The Earl of Lancaster took refuge in a sanctuary; but surrendered himself next day, and was soon after executed for treason.*

Elated by the extinction of the Lancastrian faction, and the transient gleam of success with

Edward's pre-
parations for
the invasion of
Scotland.

which his arms had been favoured, Edward resolved to put an end to the war by the immediate invasion of Scotland, and, in a tone of pre-

mature triumph wrote to the Pope, requesting him "to give himself no farther trouble about a peace with the Scots, as he had determined to establish a peace by force of arms."†

In order to carry out this resolution, he proceeded to summon the attendance of his military vassals; and the parliament, which assembled at York about the beginning of April, issued orders for the muster of a great army; every village and hamlet in England was required to furnish one foot soldier, properly armed, and the larger towns and cities proportional numbers, to serve against the Scots for forty days, at the expense of the inhabitants; large subsidies were also granted by the nobles and the clergy, the cities, towns, and burghs, to defray the charge of the intended expedition; and a fleet was appointed to attend the army with a supply of provisions, while a considerable squadron, under Sir Robert Leyburn, was ordered to act against the west coast and islands of Scotland.‡

During these extensive preparations, which were

* *Bymer Ford.* vol. iii. pp. 983, 989.
† *Ibid.* p. 944.
‡ *Ibid.* pp. 962, 965, 962.

protracted through a period of four months, the Scots twice invaded the north-
ern provinces of England. The first expedition advanced through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire; and, after plundering and wasting the country at pleasure, returned home loaded with spoil. A second, and more formidable invasion, immediately followed. Bruce himself, at the head of a chosen body of troops, entered England by way of Cumberland, and marched into Lancashire, where he was joined by the second division of the army, under Randolph and Douglas, who had penetrated by the middle march. The united force ravaged Lancashire and the other northern counties without opposition, and succeeded in collecting an immense booty, consisting of gold and silver, ecclesiastical plate and ornaments, herds of sheep and oxen, and household furniture of all kinds, which they carried off in waggons at their pleasure, and, after destroying the growing crops, and everything that could not be removed, they returned to Scotland, having occupied twenty-four days in this destructive foray.*

Edward having at length completed his preparations, invaded Scotland at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. Bruce, politic as well as brave, and no longer bound to risk the safety of his kingdom on the fate of a battle with a greatly superior force, prudently resolved to avoid a general engagement, and adopted a course which speedily compelled his enemy to make an inglorious retreat. By his orders, all the cattle and provisions, and the valuable effects of every kind, throughout the districts of the Merse, Tiviotdale, and the Lothians, were removed to places of safety. The inhabitants concealed themselves in the fastnesses of the country, while Bruce himself encamped with his army at Culross, on the north side of the Frith of Forth, ready to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for annoying the enemy.† As the English advanced into Scotland, they found themselves traversing a silent desert. The instructions of Bruce, regarding the removal of the cattle, had been so fully obeyed, that a party of soldiers, sent out to procure provisions for the hungry troops, succeeded in bringing to the camp only one lame bull, which had been left by the Scots at Tranent. "Is this all that you have got?" asked the Earl of Warrene: "By my faith, I never saw so dear a beast!"‡ On reaching Edinburgh, Edward halted for three days, in expectation of the arrival of his fleet with the necessary supplies. But the vessels were detained by contrary winds, and before they could make their appearance many of his soldiers had perished from famine; and, in order to save his army from destruction, he found it necessary to return to England without having

Destructive
inroads of the
Scots.

Edward invades
Scotland,
August, 1322.

Prudent policy
of Bruce.

* *Fordun*, book xiii. chap. iv.
† *Barbour*, p. 370.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 371; *Fordun*, book xiii. chap. iv.

seen an enemy, or gained a single advantage which could lessen the disgrace of his retreat. On their march homewards, his soldiers plundered the Abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, and burned the Monastery of Dryburgh, rifling the sanctuaries of their most sacred furniture, killing the Prior of Melrose, and mortally wounding a number of the monks. On regaining their own country, they indulged so intemperately, after the privations they had endured, that sixteen thousand of them were cut off by a disease which an English historian calls a bursting of the bowels, while great numbers had their constitutions ruined for life.*

The retreat of the English army had been grievously harassed by Randolph and Douglas, who, at the head of a chosen body of men, hung on their rear, cutting off the stragglers; and, at Melrose, they put to the sword an advanced party of three hundred strong.† Bruce himself, on learning the success of his scheme, crossed the Frith of Forth with a large army, and pushed rapidly into England, determined to punish his enemy for the late aggression. The strong castle of Norham, to which he laid siege, resisted his utmost efforts; but, having received intelligence that Edward lay encamped with the remains of his army at Biland Abbey, near Malton, in Yorkshire, he resolved, by a forced march, to surprise him in his quarters.

The Scots found their enemies drawn up, in a position of great strength, on the summit of a rugged and steep hill, accessible only by one narrow pass. Douglas, with a chosen body of men, undertook to force this pass, and—accompanied by Randolph, who, with four squires, quitted his own division to serve under his friend as a volunteer—he charged boldly up the hill at the head of his troops. But they met with a desperate resistance from Sir Thomas Ughtred and Sir Ralph Cobham, while their rear and flanks suffered severely from the stones and other missiles which were hurled on them by the English, who covered the summits of the neighbouring rocks.

The military experience of Bruce suggested an expedient which speedily determined the victory in his favour. A party of men from Argyle and the Isles were ordered to climb the rocks, at some distance from the scene of action, and to attack the flank and rear of the enemy, posted on the summit. The Highlanders, accustomed to mountain warfare, quickly reached the ridge of the hill, and drove the English from the heights, with great slaughter;‡ while Douglas and Randolph forced the pass and made way for the main body of the Scottish army. The English fled in all directions, abandoning their camp-baggage and treasure to the enemy. Edward with difficulty escaped to York, closely pursued by the Steward of

Scotland, who chivalrously displayed his banner before the town for a whole day. The privy seal of England was again lost in the confusion of the flight, and several prisoners of note were taken, among whom were John of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, Grand Butler of France. Sully and other French knights were courteously received by Bruce, and dismissed without ransom, and enriched with presents;* but Richmond, in consequence, it is said, of the opprobrious terms in which he had spoken of Bruce,† was committed to prison, and only liberated, after long captivity, if we may credit the account of Barbour, on the payment of twenty thousand pounds,—a sum equivalent to three hundred thousand pounds of our modern money. The Scots, after tarrying for one night at Biland to divide the spoil, marched into Yorkshire, and carried their devastations to the banks of the Humber. In retaliation of the severities inflicted on Melrose and Dryburgh, they spoiled the religious houses of the district, or compelled them to purchase exemption, by the payment of large sums of money. About the middle of October the Scottish army at length returned to their own country with a large and valuable booty, and great numbers of captives, both of low and high degree, and driving before them immense herds of cattle, belonging to the plundered provinces.

The difficulties and anxieties of the English monarch were greatly aggravated by repeated acts of treachery on the part of his nobility. About the year 1322, the Earl of Carlisle, who had been created Earl of Carlisle, was at the head of this new and extensive confederacy. It appeared, on investigation, that Hartela had held a secret interview with King Robert, and had come under a solemn engagement to maintain him

* "The Frankys knychts men takyn had,
Were brought right there before the king,
And he made them fair welcoming;
And said, 'I wot right weill that ye
For your great worship and bounty,
Come for to see the fighting here,
For since ye in the country were,
Your strength, your worship, and your might,
Would nocht let you eschew the fight;
And since that cause led you therewith,
And neither wrath nor evil will,
As friends ye shall received be,
Where all time welcome here ye be.'
They kneeled and thankyt him greatly,
And he gart treat them courteously;
And lang while with him, them bad he,
And did them honour and bounty;
And when they yearned to their land,
To the king of France in presand,
He sent them quit, but ransom free,
And great gifts to them gave he."

Barbour, pp. 378, 379.

† Ibid. Edward gave him licence to sell part of his lands, and ordered his tenants to contribute toward the payment of "the large and intolerable ransom" which was demanded for his liberation. Foed. vol. iv. pp. 15, 16.

* Knighton, p. 2542. † Barbour, p. 372.

‡ Barbour, p. 376.

and his heirs in the right and possession of the entire kingdom of Scotland. On the discovery of the plot he was arrested and brought to trial, and, having been found guilty, he suffered the death of a traitor, after being degraded from his rank and honours, and having his gilt spurs hacked off his heels.*

The successive disasters which he had suffered,

A thirteen years' truce agreed to together with the divided state of his kingdom and the treachery of

many of his nobles, made the English monarch anxious for a cessation of hostilities; and soon after, a thirteen years' truce was concluded by the mediation of Henry de Sully, Grand Butler of France, who had been taken prisoner by the Scots at the battle of Biland Abbey.† But Edward's conduct was marked by dissimulation and bad faith, and he endeavoured, in various ways, both to excite disturbances in Scotland and to inflame the mind of the Pope against the Scottish king.‡ To coun-

teract these insidious designs, King Robert despatched to Rome his nephew, Randolph, who conducted this difficult negotiation with such address, that the pontiff was induced to address a bull to Bruce with the title of King. In a curious and characteristic narrative of this negotiation, which the Pope transmitted to Edward, he apologises for this step, by alleging, that Bruce's claims could not be strengthened, nor that of the King of England impaired by it; that he was earnestly desirous of reconciliation and peace; and that Edward well knew that the papal bull, issued for the attainment of these salutary ends, would never be received in Scotland if it were addressed to Bruce under any other appellation than that of King. "I therefore exhort you," he adds, "in your royal wisdom, that you would be pleased patiently to suffer me to address the said Robert under the title of royal dignity."§ Edward, however, was by no means satisfied with this apology, and he remonstrated against the concession which the Pope had made, as at once dishonourable to the church, and highly prejudicial to the claims of the English crown; complaining, with great show of reason, that the Scottish nation would naturally conclude that the Pope intended to acknowledge the right where he had given the title; and reminding his holiness, that it was an avowed maxim of papal policy, that no alteration in the condition of the parties, should be made during the continuance of the truce.||

Randolph, whose conduct in this delicate negotiation, as Lord Hailes remarks, presents him in the character of a consummate politician, previous to his return repaired to the court of France, and renewed the ancient alliance between that kingdom and Scotland.¶ Meanwhile, the commissioners

* Kerr's Hist. of Bruce, vol. ii. p. 280.

† Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 134; Rymer Foed. vol. iii. p. 103.

‡ Hailes' Annals, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137.

§ Ibid. pp. 136—142; Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 29.

|| Ibid. p. 46.

¶ Fordun, vol. ii. p. 270.

appointed to negotiate a lasting peace between England and Scotland, held frequent conferences, for the purpose of considering the terms proposed; but, after many tedious discussions, the treaty was ultimately broken off, because, as Edward alleged, the Scottish commissioners insisted upon conditions degrading to the English crown, and absolutely refused to submit the disputed articles to be argued in the presence and under the mediation of the Pope.*

While negotiations were pending with the papal court, a son was born to King Robert, at Dunfermline,† who afterwards succeeded his father under the title of David II. Another auspicious event occurred shortly after,—the marriage of Christian Bruce, the king's sister, and widow of the brave Sir Christopher Seton, to the famous Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the companion of Wallace, and afterwards regent of the kingdom.‡ Scotland was now enjoying the blessings of peace and good government, and its prosperity was steadily increasing, when the national happiness

was overclouded by the death of the king's son-in-law, the valiant Steward. Barbour, who has feelingly commemorated his many virtues and high promise of renown, states, that when his impending dissolution became evident, after devout confession and repentance, he received the sacraments of the church in due form, and expired like a good Christian. His gallant behaviour in the memorable battle of Bannockburn, when a mere youth, and his successful defence of Berwick against a powerful army of the English, led by their king in person, had gained him a high reputation among the Scottish warriors of that period. His untimely death caused deep and universal lamentation.§

About this period, Randolph, who had been sent ambassador to the court of France, concluded, at Corbeil, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, in which it was agreed to make common cause in all future wars between England and either of the contracting parties; but with this reservation, that King Robert should be free from the effects of this engagement so long as the truce with England lasted.||

In consequence of the recent changes in the royal family, a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth (July, 1326), in which oaths of fealty were taken to the infant Prince David, and failing him and

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 333.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. v.

‡ Ibid. chap. xii.

§ Then men might hear men greet (weep) and cry;

And many a knight and many a lady,

Making apart right evil cheer,

So did they all that ever they were:

All men him moaned commonly,

For of his eild (age) he was worthy.

When they long while their dule had made,

The corpse to Paisley have they had,

And there with great solemnity,

And with great dule erdyit (entombed) was he.

Barbour, p. 386

|| Kerr's Hist. of Bruce. vol. ii. p. 342.

his heirs, to Robert Stewart, son of the deceased Walter Stewart and Marjory, the daughter of the king by his first queen.* The same parliament granted to the king a tenth of all the rents of the lay-lands in the kingdom, to be levied according to the valuation which was followed during the reign of Alexander III. It is worthy of notice, that, on this occasion, the representatives of the royal burghs appear, for the first time, to have been recognized as forming a third estate in the national parliament;—a sure sign of the increasing importance of the cities and towns.†

In the year 1327 a revolution took place in the government of England, through the agency of the Queen Isabella and her minion Mortimer; the weak and unfortunate Edward II. was deposed, and soon after murdered, and his son, Edward III., then a youth of fourteen, was called to the throne. The council of regency, who carried on the government during the minority of the king, while professing the most pacific intentions, acted towards Bruce in an insidious and hostile manner; and he, provoked by their repeated instances of bad faith, resolved to take advantage of the favourable opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances of England, either to renew the war, or to obtain an advantageous and permanent peace. The English government was still determined not to recognize the independence of Scotland, or the title of Bruce

to the crown. The negotiations between the two kingdoms was therefore broken off, and preparations were made on both sides for the prosecution of the war. Edward III. issued a proclamation, declaring that he had received certain information that the King of the Scots had commanded a formidable army to assemble on the borders, before the 29th of May, and summoning the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Newcastle by that day, to repel the threatened invasion. A reinforcement was sent to the garrison of Carlisle, the key of the western borders; and a naval force was also ordered to be in readiness to be employed against the Scots. Soon after this, King Robert sent a formal defiance to the young English monarch, and the herald was commanded to declare the truce at an end, and to intimate that the Scots were about to lay England waste with fire and sword.‡

Bruce himself, though only fifty-three years of age, had now become very infirm, and about this time was attacked by an inveterate disease,—then termed the leprosy,—which prevented him from taking the field in person;§ but the command of the invading army was intrusted to the famous leaders, Randolph and Douglas, whose experience, and combined courage and

prudence, rendered them peculiarly fitted for such an enterprise. The Scottish forces, according to Froissart, consisted of three thousand men-at-arms, knights, and squires, well armed, and mounted upon good war-horses, and twenty thousand light-armed cavalry, mounted on ponies, or hardy little hackneys, which could subsist upon the coarsest food, and support every fatigue. This picturesque old chronicler has given a most graphic description of the Scottish equipments, and mode of warfare in this campaign. "These Scottish-men," says he, "are brave, and exceeding hardy, through their Scottish troops. constant wearing of arms and experience in war. When they invade England, they often march twenty, or even twenty-four miles, in a single day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are afoot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers, or war-horses, but the commons and country people have only small hackneys, or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army, and consequently carry no provision of bread and wine along with them. Such is their sobriety, that they content themselves for a long time with flesh, half sodden, without bread, and with water unmixed with wine. They have no occasion for pots or kettles, as they contrive to dress their victuals after a manner peculiar to themselves, knowing that they shall always find abundance of cattle, in their enemy's country. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides, with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hairy side outmost, and in these they boil part of the flesh in water, and they roast the remainder by means of wooden spits, hung upon wooden spit-racks, and disposed around the fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes, or brogues, of the same raw hides, with the hair still on them. Each person carries, between his saddle and the crupper, a flat plate of iron, and a little bag of oatmeal trussed behind him. When,—by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt,—they find their stomachs weakened and uncomfortable, they put this plate upon the fire, and, heating it, bake thereon their oatmeal cakes, wherewith to strengthen their stomachs. Faring in this hardy manner, it is not wonderful that the Scots should be able to make longer marches than any other troops, being altogether unincumbered with baggage and provisions."*

The rendezvous of the English army ultimately took place at York. It consisted of sixty-two thousand men, of whom eight thousand were knights and squires, excellently mounted, and armed, both man and horse, in steel; fifteen thousand were lighter armed cavalry. To these were added fifteen thousand infantry, and twenty-four thousand archers. In this magnificent host were included

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xii.

† Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 345.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvi.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 146.

§ Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 357; Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxiv.

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvii.

five hundred men-at-arms, who had been brought from Hainaut at a great expense.* But a furious quarrel, which took place at York, between these foreign auxiliaries and the English archers, caused a good deal of bloodshed, and appears to have produced considerable embarrassment during the whole expedition.† Before Edward could put his army

*Ravages
of the Scottish
forces.*

in motion, he received information that the Scots, under Randolph and Douglas, had broken into England by the western border, and were laying waste the whole country with fire and sword. Orders were instantly given that the troops should arrange themselves, under their respective banners, and set out for the purpose of chastising the invaders. They reached Durham on the fourth day, and, as they were then in the hourly expectation of falling in with the enemy, they marched in order of battle,—the infantry being divided into three columns, each having two wings of five hundred heavy-armed cavalry. They could learn no tidings of the Scots, however, until they entered Northumberland, where they perceived melancholy proofs of their presence, in the smoke and flames of the villages and hamlets, which the invaders had burned in their progress.‡ From morning, “even till the vesper hour,” the English army marched on in search of the Scots, tracing their progress by these “melancholy beacons,” without being able to obtain even a glimpse of their nimble foes, who appear to have withdrawn towards the west, among “the savage deserts and bad mountains and valleys”—as Froissart calls them—of Westmoreland and Cumberland. At length, after a fruitless and fatiguing pursuit of three days, through a country which had been rendered a blackened and smoking desert, the English, in despair of overtaking the fleet invaders, marched back to the Tyne, in the hope of being able to cut off the retreat of the Scots into their own country. The cavalry reached that river towards nightfall, and crossed it, with great difficulty, at a place called Haidon, above Hexham.§ They remained

*Privations
of the English
army.*

all night under arms, lying on the bare ground, each man beside his horse, with the reins in his hand, ready to mount at a moment's warning. They had neither forage for their horses nor food for themselves, except a single loaf, which each trooper had carried upon his horse crupper, and which the rain and the sweat from the horse had rendered almost uneatable. The rain descended in torrents, and swelled the river to such a height, that the infantry and light troops, who reached the bank on the following day, found it impossible to cross. The soldiers were reduced to extreme distress from the

scarcity of provisions and forage, and the total want of shelter, and they endeavoured to protect themselves from the weather by huts constructed of the boughs of trees, whilst the horses obtained a scanty subsistence by cropping the green leaves. After remaining on the bank of the Tyne for eight days, during which time they suffered such hardships and privations that symptoms of mutiny began to appear among the soldiers, they re-crossed the river and set out again in quest of the Scottish army. In this perplexing situation Edward issued a proclamation, offering knighthood and a grant of land of a hundred pounds yearly rental, to any person who should bring him certain information of the place where he might find the enemy.* Sixteen knights and squires immediately rode off, in different directions, in quest of the Scottish army, and on the 31st of July one of them, Thomas de Rokeby, came into the camp at Blanchland, on the river Derwent, and claimed the reward which the king had offered. He had been taken prisoner by the Scots, who were encamped only a few miles off, and had been brought before their leaders, who professed to be equally ignorant of the position of the English army,—though this may well be doubted,—and had dismissed him with orders to inform his countrymen where they were to be found. On reaching the place, however, which they did next day about mid- The position of the Scots.

day, they found the Scots strongly posted on the slope of a steep hill, at the foot of which ran the rapid river Wear, full of huge stones and swollen by the late rains.† As this position was considered to be impregnable, the English king sent a herald to the Scottish leaders, with the proposal that they should either draw back their forces and allow him to cross the river, and to draw up his army in order of battle on the other side, or, if they preferred it, that they should cross the river, and try their fortune with him on the plain, where he would afford them full opportunity to form their battle. But Randolph and Douglas only laughed at this bravado. “The king and barons of England,” said they, “know that we are in their kingdom, which we have burned and ravaged everywhere on our march. If displeased therewith, let them come and chastise us if they choose, for here we mean to remain as long as we please.”‡ The two armies continued facing each other for several days, the English vainly endeavouring to induce the Scots to leave their strong position. Every night the soldiers lay upon their arms on the bare ground, holding their horses by the reins, and destitute of forage or fuel; while, on the other hand, the Scots, after stationing their watches, retired to their huts, and, lighting up a prodigious number of fires, from dark till dawn kept “horning with their horns, and making such

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvi.; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 300, 301.

† Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 375.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. chap. xvii.

§ Froissart says, that they learned from the country-folk that their encampment was fourteen leagues from Newcastle, and eleven from Carlisle: Haidon is about twenty-five English miles from the former, and thirty from the latter.—See Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.

* Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 312.

† Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.

‡ Ibid. Barbour says, that in the course of this day two novelties were seen by the Scots,—crested helmets, which they greatly admired, and war-cracks (cannon), which they had never heard before.—p. 302.

a noise, as if all the great devils from hell had been there." During the day frequent skirmishes took place, in which a number on both sides were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The English had learnt, from some of their prisoners, that the Scottish army had neither bread nor wine, nor any provisions except cattle, and it was their intention, —according to Froissart,—“to hold the Scots there, in manner as besieged, thinking to have famished them.” For three days and nights the English army remained on the bank of the river, opposite the Scottish encampment, in the expectation that the scarcity of provisions would compel the invaders to quit their impregnable position. But on the fourth morning the camp of the Scots was found deserted and empty. They had secretly de-camped during the night, and had taken up a new position, on the Wear, even stronger than the former, and masked by a wood called Stanhope Park, which enabled them to conceal their operations. The English also moved their encampment, and took up a position on a hill opposite the Scots, so that the two armies continued to confront each other as before. On the second night after their

Daring exploit of arrival, a daring attack of Douglas Douglas. had nearly proved fatal to the young king.* About midnight, with a chosen body of four hundred horse, he passed the river by a ford at a considerable distance above the English position, and gained, unperceived, the rear of their camp, which appears to have been carelessly guarded. On approaching the outposts, he assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, and called out, “Ha, St. George! is there no watch here?” He was thus enabled, without detection, to penetrate into the camp,† and even to reach the royal quarters, when he and his men made a furious assault upon the enemy, shouting out, “A Douglas! A Douglas! English thieves, ye shall all die!” and, in a brief space, slew three hundred men. Douglas himself forced his way to the royal tent, cut the tent-ropes, and would have carried off the young king, but for the brave resistance of the chaplain, and others of the household, who fell in their master’s defence, and thus gave him time to escape.

Being thus disappointed in his attempt on the king’s person, Douglas cut his way through the gathering crowds of his enemies, and, with very

inconsiderable loss, returned in safety to the Scottish camp. On being asked by Randolph what speed they had made, he replied, “We have drawn blood.” “Had we all gone together,” said the earl, “we should have discomfited them every one.” “That might well have been,” replied Douglas, “but the risk would have been too great.” Randolph then recommended that they should hazard a battle in the open field; but Douglas insisted that it would be most imprudent for them to encounter an enemy so much superior in numbers, and daily increasing, well supplied with provisions, and fighting on their own soil. “We will deal with them,” said he, “as the fox did with the fisherman.” “How was that?” replied the earl. “A fisherman,” said Douglas, “had made a hut by the side of a river, that he might follow his occupation of fishing. One night he had gone out to look after his nets, leaving a small fire in his hut, and when he returned he saw by the light of the fire a fox devouring one of the salmon he had taken. ‘Robber!’ said the fisherman, drawing his sword, and placing himself in the doorway of the cabin, ‘you shall not escape.’ The fox in great perplexity looked for some hole to get out at, but saw none, whereupon he pulled down with his teeth a mantle which was lying on the bed, and dragged it across the fire. The fisherman ran to snatch his mantle from the fire, the fox flew out at the door, leaving the poor man lamenting the loss of his ‘gude salmaund,’ and the destruction of his mantle, while the fox got scathless away. We are the fox,” continued Douglas, “and yon host the fisherman that bars the way; but we shall disappoint them and make good our retreat in a manner they little expect.”*

He then proceeded to explain the plan which he had formed to cover the retreat of the Scottish army, which was approved of by Randolph. The English forces, which were three times the number of the Scots, guarded the passage of the river Wear in front, and rendered it impossible for them to move in that direction. In the rear of the Scottish camp, however, there was an extensive morass, impassable for heavy-armed cavalry, but capable of being crossed without much difficulty by the hardy little hackneys of the Scots; and through this they resolved to effect their retreat, having previously prepared a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs matted together, for the purpose of facilitating their passage over the softer places of the bog. On the evening which they had selected for their departure, they lighted up large fires throughout their encampment, and kept up a great noise of horns and shouting, as if they were feasting and carousing. But soon after nightfall they broke up their camp, and marched off, leaving their fires burning. On reaching the morass they dismounted, and throwing down the hurdles which they had prepared

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xix.; Barbour, p. 397.

† Barbour relates the following incident, which occurred as they made their way through the camp:—

“An Englishman that lay beekand
Him by the fire said to his feer,²
‘I wit not what may tide us here,
But right a great growing³ me takes,
I dread sae for the Black Douglas.
And he that heard him said, ‘Perfay⁴
You shall have cause, if that I may.’
With that, with all his company,
He rushed in on them hardily,
And the palzions⁵ down he bare.”

Barbour, p. 396.

¹ Basking. ² Comrade. ³ Shuddering. ⁴ By my faith.

⁵ Pavilions; tents.

* This conversation, which wears a striking air of verisimilitude, is minutely detailed by Barbour, pp. 399, 400.

for this purpose, they passed over the water runs and broken parts of the bog in safety, carefully removing these temporary bridges, so as to prevent the enemy from pursuing them.* They had advanced several miles on their way homewards before the English were aware that they had quitted their position. The day before this night-march, a Scottish knight had been taken prisoner by the English, and, being strictly interrogated, he informed them that the Scottish soldiers had received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march in the evening, under the banner of Douglas. Fully expecting from this information that another night attack was about to be made on their camp, the English army drew up on foot, in order of battle, and lay all night under arms. Early in the morning two Scottish trumpeters, who had fallen into the hands of the scouts, were brought into the camp, and reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced several miles on their way to Scotland. The English leaders, however, suspected some stratagem, and kept their men under arms till broad daylight, when some scouts, who had been sent across the river, returned with the information that the camp was entirely evacuated. On examining the deserted camp, there were found in it above five hundred slaughtered cattle, and more than three hundred caldrons or kettles, made of their skins, suspended on stakes, and full of meat and water ready for boiling, with about a thousand spit-racks with meat on them ready for roasting, and ten thousand pairs of old shoes, or brogues, made of raw hides, with the hair still upon them. There was no living thing found in the camp, except five English prisoners, stript naked and tied to trees,† whom the Scots had left, with an insulting message to the English king, that "if he were displeased with what they had done, he might come and revenge himself in Scotland." Edward was so deeply mortified at the disastrous termination of this campaign, that he burst into tears when he heard that his enemies had escaped. It was felt that any attempt to overtake the Scots would have been utterly hopeless. Unmolested by the enemy, they pursued their march with all expedition, and regained their own country in safety, laden with the plunder which they had collected during their successful inroad. The English army, on the other hand, suffered severely from the privations and fatigues to which they had been subjected during this brief but unfortunate campaign. The foreign cavalry, especially, were

reduced to a state of great wretchedness, and on reaching York the greater part of their horses died, or became unserviceable.* The remains of this splendid force soon after returned to their own country, and the rest of the English army was disbanded.

It had now become apparent to the English king and his advisers, that all attempts to obtain ascendancy over the Scottish people must prove abortive; and the disastrous issue of the recent expedition, the impoverishment of the public exchequer, by the long war with Scotland, and the desolated condition of their country, made them desirous of a lasting peace. It became evident, too, that nothing less than a definite and permanent treaty would put a stop to the devastating inroads of the Scots; for, only a few weeks after the return of Randolph and Douglas to their own country, King Robert in person invaded England

Renewed invasion of England by the Scots.

head of an army, which, according to Barbour, included every person in Scotland able to bear arms. One division of the army, under Bruce himself, sat down before Norham; a second, under Randolph and Douglas, laid siege to Alnwick Castle; while a third detachment was commanded to lay waste the open country of Northumberland.† But hostilities were speedily interrupted by the arrival in the Scottish camp of commissioners with powers "to treat of peace and concord with the magnates, nobles, and others of Scotland," and to make a proposal to the Scottish king of

The English make overtures for a peace.

a marriage between David, his only son, and Joanna, the sister of the King of England. These overtures were readily listened to by Robert, who on his part, labouring under "a heavy malady," and seeing that his only son was still an infant was equally anxious to terminate the war by an honourable peace; and, in the meantime, a truce was agreed upon during the continuance of the negotiations. Bruce required, as a preliminary basis of any treaty between the kingdoms, that the independence of Scotland should be recognized, and this important concession was finally made in a parliament held at York, on the 1st of March 1328, in which it was agreed, that the English monarch should renounce, fully and for ever, all claims of dominion and superiority over Scotland. It was declared by him, in the instrument of renunciation, that, "Whereas we,

Renunciation of all claims of superiority on the part of England.

and others of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms; we, therefore, considering the numerous

* Barbour, p. 402; Froissart, vol. I. chap. xix.
 † Froissart says, that three of these prisoners had "their legs all broken,"—*les jambes toutes rompues*. Kerr, in his *Life of Bruce* (vol. II. p. 425), contends, that the language of Froissart implies nothing more than that the legs of these unfortunate men were chafed and hurt by the ligatures; and he argues, that if their legs had been broken by the Scots, to prevent their escape, or from wanton cruelty, there was no need of tying them, in that disabled condition; and, in further confirmation of this view, Froissart adds, that the prisoners were untied, and allowed to go away.

* Fordun, vol. iv. p. 304.

+ Barbour says, that Bruce, quitting the portion of his army which blockaded Norham, joined the third division and amused himself by hunting from park to park, as if the country had been his own.—p. 405.

slaughters, sins, and bloodshed, the destruction of churches, and other evils brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars, and the many advantages which would accrue to the subjects of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs, have, by the assent of the prelates, barons, and commons of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, for us, and our heirs and successors whatsoever, that the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the magnificent Prince and Lord, Robert, by the grace of God the illustrious King of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free, entire, and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, of good memory, lately deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatsoever right we, or our ancestors in times past, have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents we renounce and declare void, for ourselves and our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity.

“And if there shall anywhere be found any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts, we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And, in order to the faithful observation thereof in all time coming, we have given full power and special authority to our faithful and well-beloved cousin, Henry de Percy, and to William le Zouche, of Ashby, to take oath upon our soul for the performance of the same.

“In testimony whereof, we have given these our letters patent, at York, on the 1st of March, and in the second year of our reign. By the king himself, and his council in parliament.”*

This important preliminary having been satisfactorily adjusted, negotiations for a permanent peace proceeded amicably and with great dis-

Terms of the patch. The treaty was finally concluded at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March, 1327, and verified on the part of the English Government, in a parliament held at Northampton, on the 4th of May, 1328. It was stipulated, that there should be a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; for the confirmation of which, it was agreed that a marriage should take place between David, eldest son and heir of the King of Scotland, and

* There is a copy of this important deed in Rymer, vol. p. 337; another in Fordun, book xiii. chap. xii.; and a third in a public instrument of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, copied by him 17th March, 1415.—See Hailes, vol. ii. p. 137.

Joanna, sister to the King of England. In the event of Joanna's death before marriage, the King of England engaged to provide a suitable match for David from his nearest in blood; and in the event of David's death previous to the marriage, the King of England, his heirs and successors, are to have the right to marry the next heir to the throne of Scotland, either to Joanna, if allowed by the laws of the church, or to some other princess of the blood-royal of England. The two kings, with their heirs and successors, pledged themselves to be good friends and faithful allies, and to assist each other. Saving to the King of the Scots the alliance between him and the King of France, and, in the event of a war in Ireland, against the King of England, or in Man, or the other Scottish islands, against the King of the Scots, the two monarchs mutually engaged not to assist the rebels. All writings, obligations, instruments, or other muniments relative to the subjection of the people or lands of Scotland to the King of England, and which are annulled by the letters patent of the King of England, as well as all other instruments and charters respecting the freedom of Scotland, as soon as they were found, were to be delivered up to the King of the Scots; and the King of England engaged faithfully to give his assistance in order that the processes of excommunication in the Court of Rome and elsewhere, against the King of the Scots, his kingdom and subjects, should be recalled and annulled.* It was agreed, moreover, on the part of the king, the prelates, and the nobles of Scotland, that the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling should be paid by them, within three years, at three separate terms; and that, in the event of failure, they should submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Papal Chamber. And, finally, it was stipulated, that the laws of the marches were to be faithfully observed on both sides. It appears, from a writ under the privy seal to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, that, though not mentioned in the treaty, it was also agreed that the famous Stone of Destiny, on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to sit at their coronation, should be restored to the Scots.† But when this trophy was about to be taken from Westminster Abbey, where it had been deposited by Edward I., the mob of London rose in a riotous manner and prevented its removal.‡

The treaty was indeed in the highest degree unpopular in England. The peace was termed by the English histo-

* That these negotiations for a complete reconciliation between Bruce and the papal see were ultimately successful, appears from the fact, that a bull was addressed by Pope John XXII. to Robert, King of Scots, authorizing the coronation and holy unction of him and his heirs and successors, Kings of Scotland, by the Bishop of St. Andrews for the time being. This deed is dated 13th June, 1329,—six days after the decease of King Robert. It is deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.—Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Hailes, vol. ii. p. 158; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 328 (Appendix). The original duplicate of the treaty is now preserved among the archives in the Register House, in Edinburgh.

‡ Chron. of Lanercost, p. 261.

rians ignominious, and the marriage a base alliance; and the national pride was deeply wounded by the renunciation of the claim of superiority over Scotland, after such a vast amount of blood and treasure had been lavished in the vain attempt to make it good. The treaty, however, was not merely just in itself, but was rendered necessary, by the circumstances in which the English nation was at that time placed,—the exhaustion of the public exchequer, and the divided and weakened state of the country, under the sway of a youth of sixteen. Motives of private interest may, indeed, have influenced the Queen Mother and Mortimer in concluding a peace; but though glorious to the Scottish king and people, the terms were in no degree derogatory to the honour of England. "It is fortunate for a nation," says Lord Hailes, "when the selfish views of its rulers chance to coincide with the public interest. They who censure pacific measures are generally those persons who are exempted by their condition from encountering the toils and dangers of war, or from contributing to the intolerable exactions which are necessarily occasioned by its expense. No peace is ever adequate to the sanguine expectations of the vulgar, and, through some strange fatality, their expectations are no less sanguine after a long series of disasters, than after the most signal and uninterrupted success."*

One of the leading articles of the treaty of Northampton was, that a marriage should take place between David, the heir to the Scottish throne, and the Princess Joanna, then only five years of age, and the Princess Joanna, then in her eleventh year. In spite of the tender age of the bride and bridegroom, this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect. The Queen Dowager, attended by a splendid retinue, carried her daughter to Berwick, where she was received by her young bridegroom, accompanied by Randolph and Douglas, whom the king, detained by illness, had sent as his representatives, and there the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, on the 22nd of July, 1328.† With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed "Joanna-make-peace," was delivered up, in terms of the treaty, the Ragman Roll, containing the names of all those Scotsmen who had paid homage to Edward I., as well as other important charters and muniments which that monarch had carried out of Scotland. Thus, after a sanguinary war of thirty-two years' duration, Scotland was raised from a state of almost hopeless prostration to peace and prosperity, and was at length recognized as a free and independent kingdom. This great consummation was not long survived by him to whom, under God, the result was chiefly due. The king, whose constitution had been broken by the fatigues and hardships of his early wars, began to droop soon after he saw the

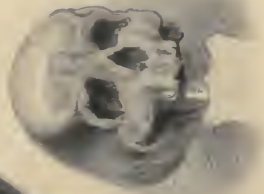
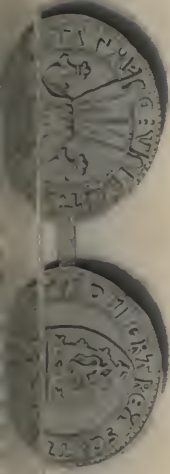
liberty of his country permanently established, and was attacked by "a heavy malady," which in these days was termed a leprosy. He spent the two last years of his life in peace and retirement at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Frith of Clyde, near Dunbarton. He devoted himself to ship-building, architecture, and gardening, improving and enlarging his rural palace, and planting fruit trees. He delighted in hawking, and especially in sailing on the beautiful estuary of the Clyde. It appears from the accounts of his chamberlain, that he kept a lion for his diversion, and also maintained a court-jester, or fool, and that he entertained his nobility with great hospitality, and was a liberal benefactor to the poor.* On the auspicious marriage of his son he ^{Death of King} quitted his seclusion to welcome Robert—his youthful daughter-in-law at Edinburgh; but finding his illness gaining ground, he immediately returned to Cardross to die. Shortly before his death, an interesting and affecting scene occurred, which has been minutely narrated both by Froissart and Barbour.

"It happened," says the former, "that King Robert of Scotland was right sore ^{—his request} aged, and feeble; for he was ^{on his death-} grievously oppressed with the ^{bed.} great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death; and when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he most trusted, and very affectionately entreated and commanded them, on their fealty, that they should faithfully keep his kingdom for David his son; and when this prince came of age, that they should obey him, and place the crown on his head. After which, he called to him the brave and gentle knight, Sir James Douglas, and said, before the rest of the courtiers—'Sir James, my dear friend, none knows better than you how great labour and suffering I have undergone in my day, for the maintenance of the rights of this kingdom; and when I was hardest beset I made a vow, which it now grieves me deeply that I have not accomplished. I vowed to God, that if I should live to see an end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person, and carry on war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour, to the best of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to this point; but our Lord has not consented thereto; for I have had my hands full in my days, and now, at the last, I am seized with this grievous sickness, so that, as you all see, I have nothing to do but to die. And since my body cannot go thither, and accomplish that which my heart hath so much desired, I have resolved to send my heart there in place of my body, to fulfil my vow; and now, since in all my realm I know not any knight more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly furnished with all knightly qualities for the accomplishment of the vow, in place of myself, therefore I entreat thee,

* Annals, vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

† Barbour, p. 407; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiv.; Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 469.

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. pp. 472, 473; Chamberlain's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 29, 33, 39, 40, 41, 46.



REAL COIN AND SKULL OF KING ROBERT BRUCE

my dear and tried friend, that for the love you bear to me, you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake, I am persuaded you will successfully accomplish; and thus I shall die in peace, provided that you do all that I shall tell you. I will, then, that as soon as I am dead, you take the heart out of my body, and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much out of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey, both for you and your companions; and that you carry my heart along with you, and deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, since this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command, that you do use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands or cities you may come, all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond seas the heart of King Robert of Scotland.*

"At these words, all who stood by began to weep; and when Sir James himself was able to reply, he said, 'Ah! most gentle and noble king, a thousand times do I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in making me the depository and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. Most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands; albeit, I would have you believe, that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so high an enterprise.' 'Ah! gentle knight,' said the king, 'I heartily thank you, provided you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight.' 'Assuredly, my liege, I do promise so,' replied Douglas, 'by the faith which I owe to God, and to the order of knighthood.' 'Now, praise be to God,' said the king, 'for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.' And not long after, this noble king departed this life.**

According to Barbour, the king summoned the lords and prelates of the realm into his presence, before whom he executed his testament, in which he bequeathed large sums of money to the members of various religious fraternities, that they might pray for the salvation of his soul. He then addressed the assembled nobles, expressing his thankfulness that God had given him space to repent † of his sins, and mentioning his vow to go upon an expedition for his soul's safety against the enemies of God. As he now found this impossible, through the near approach of death, he expressed his desire that his heart should be sent thither, and requested them to choose one of their own body, "honest, wise, and wight," who should carry his heart to

war against the foes of God. The lords sorrowfully withdrew to another room, and chose "the worthy lord of Douglas" to fulfil the king's wish. When this was made known to Robert, he expressed his cordial approbation of their choice, which had fallen, he said, on the person he most earnestly wished to undertake the intended pilgrimage.*

It was, probably, at the same interview, that the king delivered to his nobles what has been affectionately termed, "The Good King Robert's Testament," containing his last counsels to his people, respecting the best mode of resisting the aggressions of their powerful neighbours. He recommended the Scots always to fight on foot; to put their trust in the mountains, morasses, and woods of their country, instead of walls; to employ, for arms, the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe; to drive their cattle into the fastnesses and narrow glens; to lay waste the plain country by fire; to keep the enemy in a state of perpetual alarm, by loud noises through the night, so that through hunger, and weariness, and continual apprehension, they will retreat with as great affright as if they were defeated in battle. † These sagacious injunctions,—the concentrated wisdom and experience of "The Good King Robert,"—were admirably adapted to the state of the country and the condition of the people; and almost all the subsequent defeats of the Scots may be traced to their neglect of these counsels.

The venerable biographer of Bruce describes, in affecting language, the "great lamentation" which all classes of the Scottish people made over the untimely decease of their sovereign,—strong-bearded men weeping full sore, and wringing their hands, "regretting his worthy bounty, his wit, his strength, his bravery," and, above all, his kindness and courtesy; the dread in which, during his life, they were held by their neighbours, and the high renown they had obtained in foreign countries, through his valour and exploits. "And sekyrly," adds Barbour,—

"wonder was nane,
For better governour than he
Mycht in na countre fundyn be."

There are, indeed, few names in the page of history to compare with Bruce, either as a leader of partizan-war, or as a statesman and a king. His personal qualities peculiarly fitted him for the task to which he was appointed. He was nearly six feet high, broad-shouldered, open-chested, and well proportioned, and possessed of great bodily strength, combined with lightness and activity. He had thick curled hair, a low forehead, and strong and prominent cheek bones. The expression of his countenance was open and cheerful, and his manners, though dignified, were affable and engaging. He was singularly gentle, courteous, and unselfish in his behaviour towards his followers; and

* Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxiv.

† "I thank God that has me sent
Space in this life me to repent;
For through me and my warring
Of blude has been rycht great spilling,
Where many sackless men were slain."

Barbour, p. 410.

* Barbour, p. 411.

† Ridpath's Border History, p. 200; Fordun, book xii. chap. x.—See Appendix, Note X.

there are few scenes in history more beautiful than the picture which Barbour gives of his efforts to comfort his faithful adherents in their weary wanderings after the defeat at Methven, forgetting his own sufferings in the attempt to alleviate theirs.* His generous treatment of his English prisoners, in spite of the cruel injuries which he had received at the hands of their king and country, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity; and his manly spirit of chivalry caused him to respect the claims even of the humblest and weakest. Adversity tamed the natural impetuosity of his temper, and taught him the lessons of patient endurance, moderation, and perseverance. His personal prowess and military talents were of the highest order, and were always directed by an excellent judgment and strong good sense; he excelled in all the exercises of chivalry; and, even his enemies did not hesitate to admit, that he was one of the three best knights in Europe, during that martial age. He had the sagacity, not only to discover and to train the great abilities of Randolph and Douglas, and the rest of that noble band whose names and exploits are still familiar in the mouths of the Scottish people as household words, but also to turn to account, for the first time, the love of freedom and independence which pervaded the common people, and to form, out of the burghers of the towns, and the yeomen of the low country, that impenetrable phalanx of spearmen, which put to flight the mailed chivalry of England. The sagacity and popular feeling of Bruce were shown, not only in arming the commons, and thus assisting to break down the barriers between them and their old lords and superiors, but also in the encouragement and protection which he afforded to the free burghs. He was, as we have seen, the first sovereign who introduced their representatives into parliament, and thus contributed powerfully to raise into importance the middle class of the community, among whom the spirit of patriotism burned with intense ardour, and who, unlike the great barons and belted knights, were willing to peril the loss of all things, and to fight against all odds, in the high and holy cause of their country's freedom. The war-cry of independence united all classes, with the exception, at first, of the higher nobility, in stubborn opposition to that grinding tyranny by which all were afflicted. Peasant, burgher, and knight, priest and layman, were involved in one common ruin, and all, with one accord, buckled on their armour, and fought for their hearths and altars against the common foe. The various tribes inhabiting Scotland,—Scots, Picts, Saxons, and Strathclyde Britons, hitherto divided from each other by language and manners, were now, for the first time, furnished with a principle of union, round which they could rally, and felt the glow of one common feeling, which commanded

* See ante, p. 117:—

"He preachyt them on this manner,
And faind to make better cheer
Than he had matter to by far"

Barbour, p. 60.

universal sympathy. Their petty distinctions and domestic differences were all melted down by the fire of liberty, and the necessity of strenuous resistance to oppression; "and the state, which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom."* It is thus that Divine Providence has brought great and permanent good out of temporary evil. And to the miseries inflicted on Scotland, during the war of independence, may be distinctly traced that indomitable spirit of resistance to oppression which has marked the whole subsequent history of the Scottish people, and that enduring steadiness of purpose and intense love of their country, which are still their national characteristics.

King Robert died on the 7th of June, 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. By his first wife, Isabella, daughter of Donald, tenth Earl of Mar, he had one daughter, Marjory, who married Walter, the hereditary High Steward of Scotland. Their son, Robert Stewart, afterwards ascended the throne, under the title of Robert the Second. King Robert's second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster: she died 7th of November, 1327, during the negotiations for the treaty of Northampton. By her he had one son, David, who succeeded his father, and two daughters, Margaret and Matilda, the former of whom married William, Earl of Sutherland, the latter, a private gentleman, whom Fordun names Thomas Isaac.†

Immediately after the king's death, his heart was taken out and embalmed, and —his burial, and delivered to Sir James Douglas. discovery of his tomb. The body was then conveyed to Dunfermline, where it was buried, with great solemnity, in the choir of the Abbey Church, before the high altar; ‡ and over the spot was erected a richly-gilt marble tomb or cenotaph, which was fabricated at Paris. Centuries passed on—the church fell into ruins—the gilded marble tomb had entirely disappeared, and the spot where the ashes of the great restorer of Scottish independence reposed, was forgotten or unknown; when, on the

* Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 169.

† Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 164, 165.

‡ "And when they lang thus sorrowed had,
They have had him to Dunfermline,
And him solemnly yirded syne,
In a fair tomb into the Quire.
Bishops and prelates that were there,
Assozicid him when the service
Was done, as they best could devise.
And syne, upon the other day,
Sorry and wo they went their way;
And he debowelled was cleanly,
And also balm'd syne full richly;
And the worthy Lord of Douglas,
His heart, as it forespoken was,
Received as in great daynte,
With fair and great solemnitie."

Barbour, p. 413.

Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiv. See also, Notes to Jamieson's edition of Barbour, pp. 489—491.

17th of February, 1818, some workmen, clearing out the ground for the foundation of a new church, reached a low burial vault, within which they found the decayed fragments of a coffin, containing a skeleton wrapt in lead. This was unrolled; and around the head was found a circlet of lead, worked into the likeness of a crown, and even some fragments of a rich cloth of gold, which had formed the shroud. On a close examination of the skeleton, it was discovered that the breast-bone had been sawn asunder, for the purpose of taking out the heart.* These discoveries afforded conclusive evidence that this was the grave of Robert Bruce, and that there lay the hallowed relics, which, after the lapse of nearly five hundred years, accident had revealed to the veneration of his grateful and admiring countrymen. The precious remains were deposited in a new coffin, and re-interred, with much state and solemn ceremony, beneath the pulpit of the new church.

Soon after the death of King Robert, Sir James Expedition of Douglas prepared to execute the Douglas— last commands of his beloved master. According to Barbour, he had the heart of his sovereign inclosed in a silver case, curiously enamelled, which he constantly wore suspended from his neck by a silver chain; † and, having settled all his affairs and made his will, he set sail from Scotland, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, and anchored off Sluys, in Flanders, at this time the great emporium of the Netherlands. He expected to find there companions in his pilgrimage; and, while lying off this port, which he did for twelve days, he kept open table on board his ship, and entertained his visitors with almost royal magnificence. Froissart says, that he had in his train a knight bearing a banner, and seven other noble Scottish knights, and was served at table by twenty-six esquires, all “comely young men of good family; and he kept court in a royal manner, with the sound of trumpets and cymbals. All the vessels for his table were of gold and silver, and whatever persons of good estate went to pay their respects to him, were entertained with two sorts of wine and two kinds of spice.” While at Sluys, he learned that Alphonso, the young king of Leon and Castile, was carrying on war with Osmyn, the Moorish king of Granada. As this was reckoned a holy warfare, and it seemed, in some measure, to correspond with the purpose of his own expedition, Douglas resolved, before proceeding to Jerusalem, to visit Spain, and to avail himself of the opportunity to exert his prowess against the enemies of the Christian faith. Shortly after his arrival at Seville, a battle was fought near Theba, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Andalusia, in which the command of the vanguard was assigned to the Scottish hero. The

Moorish cavalry were overthrown and took to flight, and Douglas and his companions, pursuing the fugitives too eagerly, were separated from the main body of the Spanish army. The Moors, perceiving the small number of their pursuers, rallied and surrounded them. Douglas, who had only ten men with him, cut his way through the enemy, and might have made good his retreat, had he not turned again to rescue Sir William St. Clair, of Roslin, whom he saw surrounded by the Moors, and in great jeopardy. “Yon worthy knight will be slain,” he exclaimed, “unless he have instant help;” and, putting spurs to his horse, he galloped back to his assistance. But in attempting to save his friend, he was surrounded and overwhelmed by the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, who were twenty to one. When he found himself inextricably involved, he took from —his death.

his neck the casket which contained the heart of Bruce, and throwing it before him, he exclaimed, “Now pass thou onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die.” He then rushed forward to the place where it fell, and was there slain, along with Sir William Sinclair and Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan. On the following day, the body of the hero of seventy battles* was found on the field beside the casket, and by his few surviving friends sorrowfully conveyed to Scotland. The heart of King Robert was buried in Melrose Abbey by the Earl of Moray, and the remains of his brave companion in arms were interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the parish church of Douglas. †

The portrait of Douglas has been drawn by the friendly hand of Barbour, in very graphic and pleasing terms. He was pleasant and affable in his manners—his countenance had a modest and gentle expression in time of peace, but he had a very different aspect in the day of battle. His personal appearance, as described by eye-witnesses to Barbour, was prepossessing. He was tall, strong, and well made, though lean, broad-shouldered, and large-boned, and of a swarthy complexion, with black hair. He lisped a little in his speech; but, says the metrical historian, “that set him right wonder weel.” ‡ Notwithstanding the numerous engagements in which he had fought, his face had escaped without a wound. There was a knight of great renown at the court of King Alphonso, whose face was all over marked with the scars of wounds received in battle, and who, on meeting with Douglas, expressed his astonishment that a knight of such fame, and who had seen so much hard service, should have no marks of wounds on his countenance.§ “I thank God,” modestly replied Douglas, “that I had always hands to protect my face.” He was universally beloved by his contemporaries for his kindness and generous courtesies, as well as admired for his bravery and

* Notes to Jamieson's edition of Barbour, pp. 492, 493; Transactions of the Antiquarian Society, vol. ii. part ii. p. 485.

† Barbour, p. 414. “The Bloody Heart” has been the cognizance of the house of Douglas from the time of the Good Sir James.

* Fordun says, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty-seven times victorious.—Book xiii. chap. xxi.

† Barbour, pp. 414—419, 422.

‡ Ibid. p. 16.

§ Ibid. pp. 415, 416.

chivalrous exploits, and he is still affectionately remembered among his countrymen by the name of the "Good Sir James."*

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLIASTICAL HISTORY DURING THE SCOTO-SAXON PERIOD.

THE Saxon colonization of North Britain produced as great a change in the ecclesiastical as in the civil institutions of the country. The great aim of the Saxon queen of Malcolm Canmore, was to assimilate the Scottish church to that of England; and her three sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who in succession occupied the throne, though differing widely in many other respects, concurred in carrying out the ecclesiastical schemes of their pious mother. They preferred English priests to the bishoprics which they founded, erected monasteries and filled them with English monks, merged the Culdee fraternities into the new order of canons regular, and thus effected a total revolution in the ancient Scottish ecclesiastical system. The monarchs of the Scoto-Saxon line were all liberal patrons of the church; and the period which intervened between the marriage of the Princess Margaret, and the death of her youngest son David, witnessed the establishment or restoration of nearly all the Scottish sees, and the erection of the principal monasteries, with their chapels and other dependencies.† Queen Margaret

* A very ancient sword, in the possession of Lord Douglas, bears, among a great deal of flourishing, two hands pointing to a heart which is placed betwixt them, and the date 1329, being the year in which Bruce charged the Good Sir James Douglas to carry his heart to the Holy Land. The following lines (the first couplet of which is quoted by Godscroft as a popular saying in his time) are inscribed around the emblem:—

"So mony guid as of ye Douglas beinge,
Of ano surname was ne'er in Scotland seine.

"I will ye charge, efter yat I depart,
To holy grawe and thair bury my hart;
Let it remain ever, BOTH THE TIME AND HOWR,
To ye last day I sle my Saviour.

"I do protest, in tyme of all my ringe,
Ye like subject had never ony keing."

This curious and valuable relic was nearly lost during the civil war of 1745-6, being carried away from Douglas Castle by some of those in arms for Prince Charles. But, great interest having been made by the Duke of Douglas, among the chief partisans of the Stewarts, it was at length restored. It resembles a Highland claymore, of the usual size, is of an excellent temper, and admirably poised.—*Marmion*, Canto v. St. xv. (note.)

† The interesting little chapel of St. Margaret, in the Castle of Edinburgh, is supposed to have been erected about the same early period.—See Memorials of Edinburgh, by Dr. Wilson, vol. i. p. 128. Barbour (p. 211) states, that the queen caused a picture to be painted on the walls of this chapel, representing a castle, with a ladder applied to the wall and a man climbing up, with this inscription,—in French,—*Cardus coups de Franceis*. He adds, that this picture, which remained in the chapel to his time, was generally regarded as a prediction that the castle would be

herself founded the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, which she dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and enriched with many costly gifts. Her son Edgar, in honour of St. Cuthbert, established a priory of Benedictines at Coldingham, in the Merse. Alexander, his successor, was a most munificent benefactor to the church. He increased the revenues of the Abbey of Dunfermline, which the piety of his mother had endowed. He founded the monasteries of Scone and of Loeh Tay, and peopled them with canons regular from England. He made a liberal grant of lands to the Church of St. Andrews, and established there a priory in honour of the apostle of Scotland. And he erected on Incheolm,—one of the islets of the Frith of Forth,—a religious house, which he dedicated to St. Columba, in token of his gratitude for his deliverance from shipwreck* through the intercession of that saint. The munificence of David to the church, far surpassed that of any of his predecessors or successors, and was highly commended by his contemporaries. Believing that religion was the only agent which could humanize and improve the semi-barbarian races over whom he reigned, this pious and sagacious monarch endowed the church with new privileges, enriched it with extensive grants of land, founded various bishoprics, enlarged the revenues of others, which his predecessors had formed, and built and richly endowed many religious houses in all parts of the country, to serve as fountains of religion, learning, and civilization. The sees of Dunblane, Brechin, Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and the splendid abbeys of Holyrood, near Edinburgh; of Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso, in Roxburghshire; of Dryburgh, in Berwickshire;‡ of Newbottle, in Mid Lothian; of Cambuskenneth, in Stirlingshire;

taken by the French, but that he interpreted it as prophetic of the capture of the fortress through the agency of William Frank, or Francis.—See ante, p. 131.

* According to Fordun, "Alexander, about the year 1129, while crossing the Frith of Forth, at the Queen's Ferry, was overtaken by a terrible tempest, blowing from the south-west, which obliged the sailors to make for the island of Incheolm (then called *Æmona*), which they reached with the greatest difficulty. Here they found a poor hermit, who lived a religious life according to the rules of St. Columba, and performed service in a small chapel, supporting himself by the milk of one cow and the shell-fish he could pick up on the shore; nevertheless, on these small means he entertained the king and his retinue for three days, the time which they were confined here by the wind. During the storm, and whilst at sea and in the greatest danger, the king made a vow, that if St. Columba would bring him safe to that island, he would there found a monastery to his honour, which should be an asylum and relief to navigators." The monastery founded by Alexander, in virtue of this vow, was for canons regular of St. Augustine, and was richly endowed by its royal patron. The ancient name of the island is a Latinized form of a Gaelic word, signifying "the isle of the Druids," which shows that, like many other similar institutions, the monastery of Incheolm must have been planted on a place of heathen worship. Walter Bowmaker, abbot of this place, who died in 1449, was one of the continuators of Fordun's *Scoti-Chronicon*.

† The Chronicle of Melrose states, that Dryburgh was founded by Hugh de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, but David, in a charter making large grants to the monks, speaks of the church as founded by himself. Perhaps, as Lord Hailes suggests, David only laid the foundation stone.

of Kinloss; in Moray, and many other similar establishments owe their origin to David's liberality and zeal. Canons regular, Cistercian, Benedictine, and Præmonstratensian monks, all shared his bounty; and the powerful orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, were introduced by him into Scotland.*

A similar policy was followed by his grandson, Malcolm, who confirmed the right, and enforced the payment of tithes; conferred extensive possessions on the church, and established religious houses at Cupar Angus, Manuel, near Linlithgow, and various other places. The hospital at Soltra, which he founded, from its situation and revenues became one of the most considerable establishments of the kind in North Britain. The splendid abbey of Aberbrothock owes its origin to William the Lion,† who greatly augmented both the possessions and the privileges of the clergy. His successor, Alexander II., was a liberal patron of the Dominican friars, whom he introduced into Scotland about the year 1230, and for whom he erected no fewer than eight monasteries. During the reign of Alexander III., the revenue of the church appears to have reached its greatest height. Besides the extensive estates conferred on the various religious houses throughout the country, and the oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues, to which the paro-

* The canons regular were settled at Holyrood (A.D. 1128), Cambuskenneth, Jedburgh, and in the Isle of May; the Cistercian monks from Rievaulx, in England, were established at Melrose, A.D. 1136, at Newbottle in 1140, at Kinloss in 1150, and at Mauchline, in Ayrshire. In 1113, during the reign of his brother Alexander, David brought a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyrone, in France, and settled them at Selkirk; and in 1128 he translated them to Kelso. He also founded, in 1140, a monastery for the same monks, at Lesmahago. Dryburgh Abbey, for monks of the Præmonstratensian order, was founded in 1150. The principal residence of the Knights Templars was at Temple, in Mid Lothian; and of the Knights of St. John, at Torphichen, in West Lothian. Besides all these, David founded a convent of Cistercian nuns at Berwick, with two cells depending on it,—the one at Tre-fountain, in Lammermuir, the other at Gulane, in East Lothian.

† William bestowed on this abbey the church of Abernethy, an ancient seat of the Culdees, while Orme of Abernethy, who is also styled Abbot of Abernethy, grants the half of the tithes of the property of himself and his heirs, the other half of which belongs to the Culdees of Abernethy. In reference to this curious fact, that an abbot makes disposal for his heirs, the editor of the Cartulary of Aberbrothock says: "These charter evidences help out the obscure indications, in older chronicles, of a race of church nobles, hereditary heads of religious houses, and taking rank among the highest of lay magnates. When we read that the ancient dynasty of our kings (before the wars of the Succession) sprang from the marriage of Bethoc, a daughter of Malcolm II., with Crinan, Abbot of the Columbite family of Dunkeld,—that Ethelred, a son of Malcolm Canmore, Abbot of Dunkeld, was also Earl of Fife,—our best historians have evaded the embarrassment by questioning the authority of the chronicler; and it has not hitherto been suspected that there were proofs of another house of Culdees even surviving St. David's church-revolution, having its hereditary abbot, and styling himself, and acting as, Lord of the Abbey territory."

The Abbot of Aberbrothock possessed a peculiar privilege, the origin of which is in some measure associated with the Culdees,—the custody of the Brechenbach, or consecrated banner of St. Columba. The lands of Forglen,—the church of which was dedicated to Adomnan, the biographer of Columba,—were gifted for the maintenance of the banner.—See Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, by Billings and Burn.

chial clergy were entitled, tithes were exacted by them of almost everything which the land or water produced. The enumeration of the diversified revenues of the Monastery of Dunfermline may serve to show the immense wealth of the great monastic establishments at this period, and, at the same time, cast a curious light on the habits of the age. Among the gifts from the various sovereigns, and chiefly from David I., were "the tenths of all the huntings between Lammermuir and Tay,—of all David's wild moors of Fife and Fotheriff,—of all the salt and iron brought to Dunfermline for the king's use,—of all the money-rents of Stirling,—of all the gold that might come to him from Fife and Fotheriff,—of all the cane (a species of rent) payable to him, brought to Dunfermline from Fife, Fotheriff, and Clackmannan, in grain, cheese, malt, swine, cows, and even of eels, of his lordships, in corn, animals, fishery, and money, and also the cane of a ship whenever it may have plied in his kingdom."

The munificent example of their sovereigns was followed by the powerful barons of the kingdom, especially those of Saxon and Norman origin, who vied with each other in the establishment of religious houses of various kinds, on their extensive estates. The monasteries of Tongland, Withern, Sauseat, Dundrennan, and St. Mary's Isle, owed their origin, about the middle of the twelfth century, to the liberality of Fergus, the powerful lord of Galloway. Hugh Moreville, the Constable of Scotland, founded a monastery at Kilwinning, in 1140, for monks of Tyrone. A convent of Cistercian nuns was established by Cospatric, Earl of Dunbar, at Coldstream, on the Tweed. Turgot de Rosedal founded a house for canons regular, at Canonby, upon the Esk, in Dumfriesshire; and similar establishments were instituted at Restennot, in Forfarshire; at Pittenweem, in Fife; at Blantyre, in Clydesdale, and in many other parts of the country. During the reign of Malcolm IV., Walter, the son of Alan, Steward of Scotland, established a monastery of Cluniac monks at Paisley. A convent for nuns of the Cistercian order was founded at Eceles, in 1154, by Cospatric, Earl of Dunbar. And Uchtred, the son of Fergus, the lord of Galloway, instituted at Lincluden, a convent of black nuns, of the order of St. Benedict. In 1178, a convent of Cistercian nuns was established at Haddington, by Ada, the mother of William the Lion; and at St. Bothans, in Lammermuir, by the Countess of Dunbar. In the same year, David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William, founded a monastery at Lindores, in Fife, for Tyronensian monks; and, in the following year, a colony of the same monks was planted at Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire, by Fergus, Earl of Buchan. Roseland, the lord of Galloway, founded, in 1190, a monastery for Cistercian monks, at Glenluce; and a similar institution was established at Saddel, in Cantire. A monastery for canons regular was erected at Inchaffray, in 1200, by Gilbert, Earl of Strathern; and Gilchrist, Earl of Mar, built a

priory for monks of the same order, at Monymusk, where they supplanted an ancient house of the Culdees. Malcolm, Earl of Fife, established a convent of Cistercian nuns at North Berwick, in 1216; a monastery of Cistercian monks at Culross, in 1217; and of Dominican, or Black Friars, at Cupar, Fife. A colony of monks of the same order was planted at Deer, in 1218, by William Comyn, Earl of Buchan; and at Balmerinach, in Fife, in 1229, by Ermengarde, the widow of King William. Alexander II. introduced the monks of Vallis Caulium, and established them at Pluscarden, in Moray, in 1230; and, in the same year, the monastery of Beaulieu was founded for them by John Bissett. A convent of Red Friars was established at Dunbar, in 1218; at Houston, in Renfrewshire, in 1226; and at Scotland-well, near Lochleven, in 1233. In 1244, Duncan, Earl of Carrick, founded a monastery of Cluniac monks at Crossraguel, in Ayrshire. During the reign of Alexander II., a monastery of Premonstratensian monks was established at Fern, in Ross-shire, by Ferchard, Earl of Ross; colonies of Gilbertine monks, and of Benedictine nuns, were settled at Dalmulin, in Ayrshire; and convents of Franciscan friars were erected at Berwick, Roxburgh, and various other places. Alexander III. founded a monastery at Peebles, for the Red Friars, in 1257; and, during his reign, they were established also at Falefurd, in Ayrshire, and at Dornoch, in Sutherland. In 1262, the Carmelites were settled at Tulilun, near Perth, and, in the following year, at Dunbar.

New Abbey, in Kirkeudbrightshire, was erected, in 1275, for monks of the Cistercian order, by Devorguil, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and wife of John Baliol.* By the munificence of this pious lady, the Franciscan friars also were established at Dumfries and Dundee, and the Dominican friars, at Wigton, in 1267. The same order was planted in Glasgow, by the Bishop, in 1270; and at St. Andrews, by Bishop Wishart, in 1274. Altogether there were at this period, in various parts of the country, not less than twenty-eight monasteries belonging to the canons regular of St. Augustine; thirteen to the Cistercian or Bernardine monks; and fifteen to the Dominican or Black Friars. The Red Friars, an order originally instituted for the redemption of Christian slaves from the Turks, possessed nine monasteries; and besides these, there were, as we have seen, numerous and liberally-endowed religious houses, con-

* This abbey afterwards received the name of the Abbey of the *Douce Cour*, *Dulce Cor*, or Sweet Heart, from the following circumstance, mentioned by Wyntown:—When John Baliol died, his wife had his heart embalmed and placed in a casket of ivory, chased with silver, which always lay beside her during her meals. As death approached, she directed the relic, which had thus been her silent daily companion in life, to be laid on her bosom when she was buried in the abbey she had founded. It is from this pleasing incident that this beautiful and secluded foundation on the Nith—now in ruins—has retained, for nearly five hundred years, the name by which it is still designated. Devorguil was the granddaughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and transmitted her claim to the Scottish crown to her unfortunate son, John Baliol.

nected with almost all the other orders of regular and secular churchmen which then existed in Europe.*

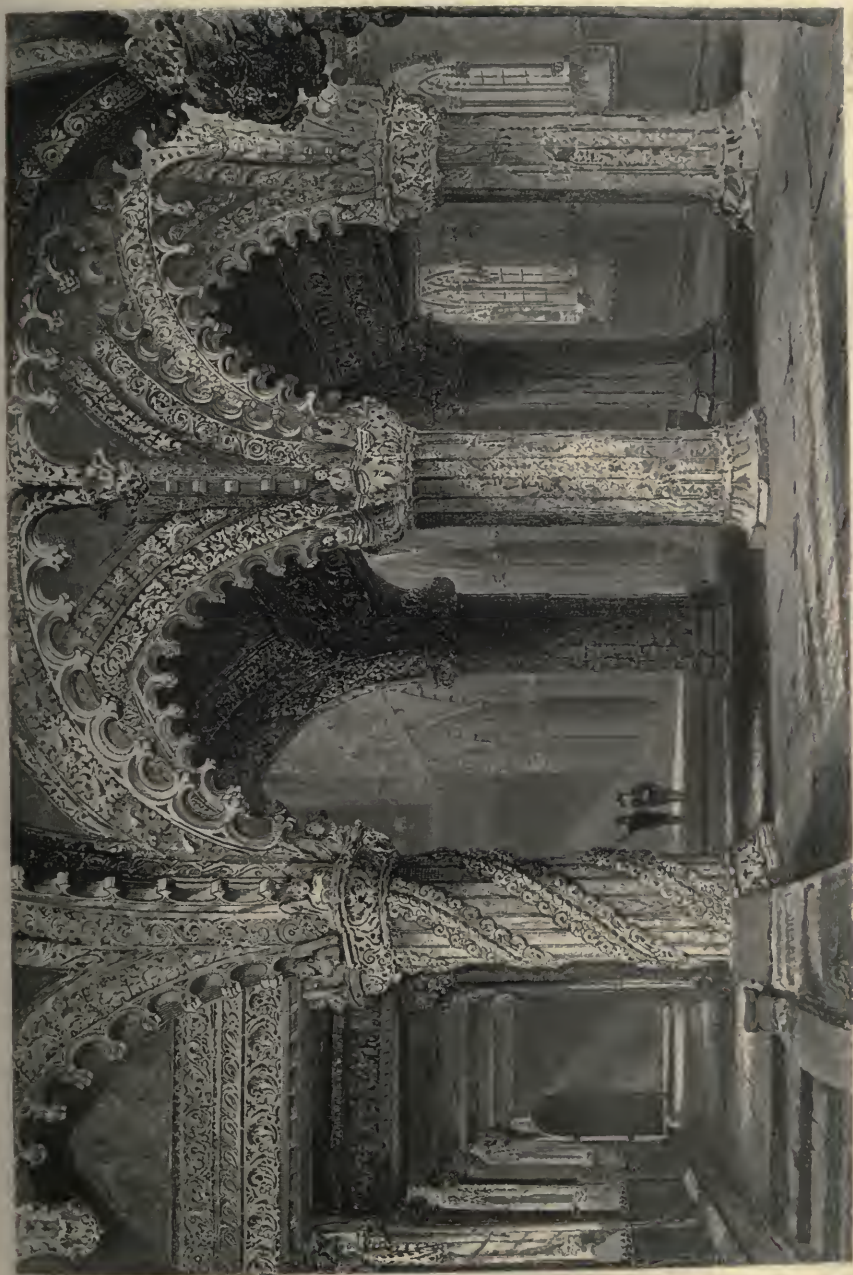
An interesting illustration of the manner in which the colonization and civilization of Scotland was promoted by the establishment of these religious houses throughout the country, is furnished by a charter preserved in the treasury at Durham, and belonging, at latest, to the commencement of the twelfth century. This charter was granted by a baron styled Thor the Long, who was probably of Norwegian blood, and established himself on the banks of the Tweed, by invitation of King Edgar. It relates to the foundation of the church of Edenham, or Ednam, on the north bank of the Tweed,—the birthplace, five centuries later, of the Poet of the Seasons, and may very happily serve to illustrate the process by which the waste places of the country were peopled, and the inhabitants humanized and improved. "To all the sons of holy Mother Church, Thor the Long, greeting in the Lord: Be it known, that Aedgar, my Lord King of Scots, gave to me Aednam, a desert: that with his help and my own money, I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert; which church, with a plough-gate of land, I have given to God, and to St. Cuthbert and his monks, to be possessed by them for ever." †

The influence of these endowments on the improvement of the country, and the condition of the people, must have been most beneficial. The clergy not merely held a monopoly of the learning of those times, but they were almost the sole proficients, both in the useful and in the ornamental arts. They were the great agricultural improvers of the age. They were the first to introduce the judicious practice of granting leases to their tenants. Their ample domains were, therefore, better cultivated and more fertile than the estates of the temporal barons. Their tenants, husbandmen, and vills, were more active and prosperous, and, from the pacific character of their landlords, were permitted to devote their attention more exclusively to their own proper occupations, than the vassals either of the crown or of the nobility.

It is important to notice also, that the clergy were at this period, for the most part, both the faithful auxiliaries of the crown, in opposing the lawless schemes of the nobility, and the strenuous defenders of the liberties of the nation, against foreign aggression. Throughout the war of independence, the clergy of all ranks were among the most active and zealous supporters of the patriotic cause. The Bishop of Moray is said by the English to have preached to the people of his diocese, "that it was no less meritorious to rise in arms to support the cause of Bruce than to engage in a crusade against the Saracens." And not a few of his brethren put on the cuirass with their

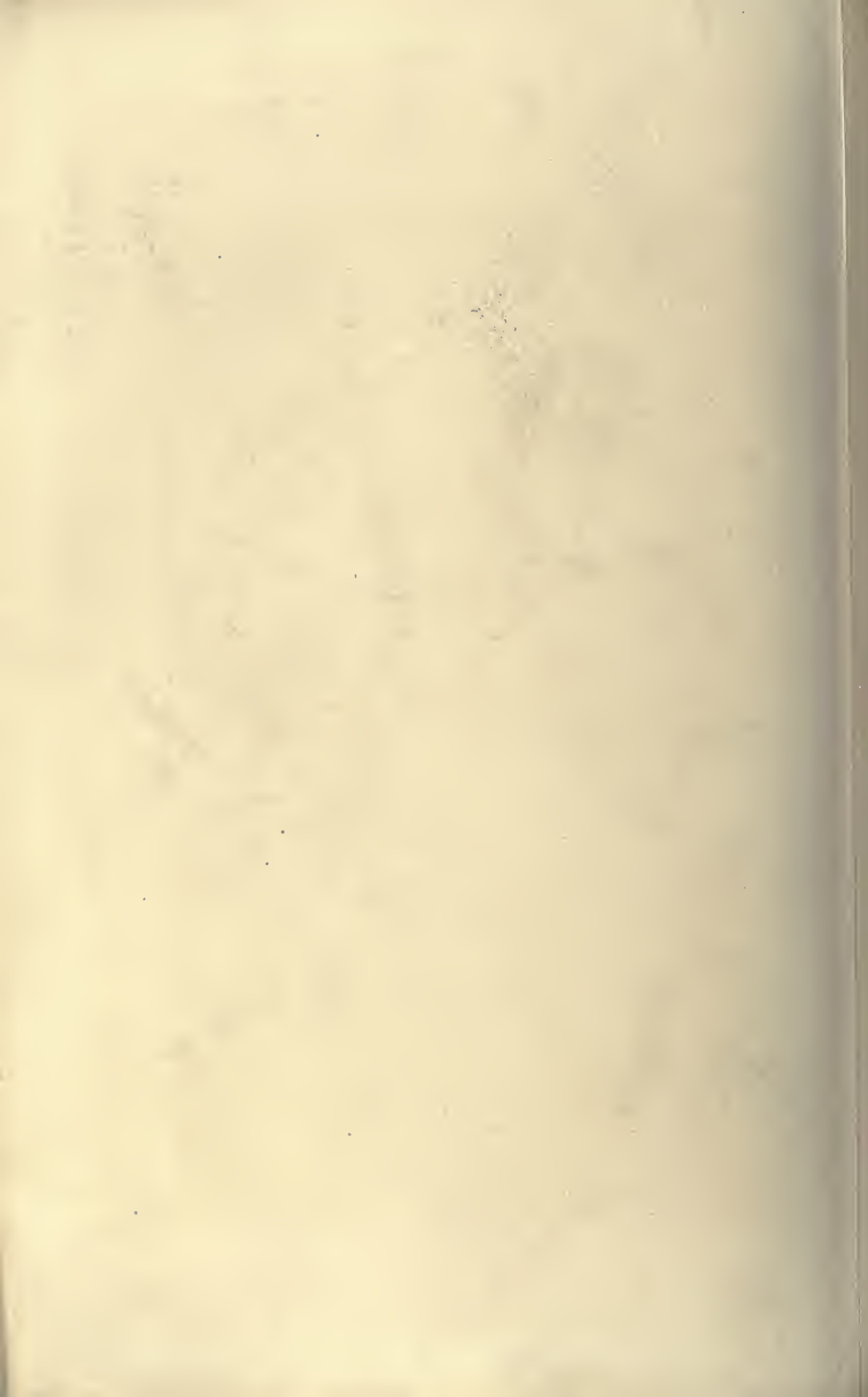
* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. book iv. chap. iii., and notes; Spottiswoode's History, book ii.

† Anderson's Diplom. Scotiæ, plate lxix.; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 798.



INTERIOR OF MOORISH PALACE

ALHAMBRA



cassocks, and manfully took the field against the enemies of their country.

At an early period the Scottish clergy were called to assert the independence of their national church against the claims of spiritual supremacy, put forth by the English metropolitan sees of York and Canterbury. These claims were pertinaciously urged during the reign of Alexander I., on the appointment of Turgot to the office of Bishop of St. Andrews (A.D. 1109). The two English archbishops insisted that the Scottish primate should receive consecration at their hands, but they carried on a fierce dispute respecting the right of performing the ceremony, while the king and the Scottish clergy disputed the jurisdiction of both. An immediate decision of the controversy was evaded by an agreement between the English and Scottish kings, that Turgot should be consecrated by the Archbishop of York, "saving the authority of either church."^{*}

On the death of Turgot, in 1115, the dispute was renewed. Alexander first of all wrote a confidential letter to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, soliciting his advice and assistance in the selection of a fit successor to Turgot, and deprecating the pretended rights claimed by the Archbishop of York. The English primate appears to have been too much occupied at that time with other disputes, to listen to the overtures of the Scottish monarch, and the see of St. Andrews was allowed to remain vacant for several years. At length, in 1120, Alexander wrote to Anselm, who had succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury, requesting him "to set at liberty" Eadmer, one of the monks of that church, that he might be appointed to the vacant diocese.† Eadmer accordingly received permission, both from the archbishop and the English king, to accept of the offered preferment, and on his arrival in Scotland was elected to the bishopric, as he has himself told us, by the clergy and people of the country, with the approbation of the king. On the following day, Alexander held a secret conference with the new bishop, and expressed the strongest aversion to his receiving consecration from the Archbishop of York. On Eadmer replying that the church of Canterbury had, by ancient right, a pre-eminence over all Britain, and that he intended to receive consecration from that metropolitan see, Alexander started up with much emotion, and left the room.

After the lapse of a month, during which the monk who had presided in the bishopric since the demise of Turgot, had by the royal command resumed his functions, Eadmer was again sent for. A compromise was ultimately agreed to. Eadmer consented to accept the ring from the king, to take the pastoral staff from the altar, as if receiving it from the lord, and to assume the charge of his diocese, in the meantime, without consecration. The new

bishop, however, finding his authority weakened, and the countenance of the monarch withdrawn from him, resolved to repair to Canterbury for advice. This Alexander violently opposed. "I received you altogether free from Canterbury," he said; "while I live I will not permit the Bishop of St. Andrews to be subject to that see." "For your whole kingdom," answered Eadmer, "I would not renounce the dignity of a monk of Canterbury." "Then," replied the king, passionately, "I have done nothing in seeking a bishop out of Canterbury." Eadmer, finding that after this interview the king still continued hostile to him, requested permission to visit Canterbury to obtain the counsel and blessing of the archbishop. But Alexander peremptorily refused to comply with his request.

In this critical conjuncture, the perplexed and harassed bishop received a curious letter of advice from an English friend, named Nicolas, who urged upon him with especial earnestness the duty of keeping a plentiful and hospitable table, as the best course he could take for softening the barbarity of the Scots, promoting sound doctrine, and establishing ecclesiastical discipline. As to the pretensions of the see of York, Nicolas treated them with great contempt. Scotland, he observed, had frequently furnished bishops to York, but York had never furnished bishops to Scotland before the days of Turgot. The Bishop of St. Andrews is the chief bishop of the Scots; he who is chief must be above other bishops, and therefore is in effect an archbishop himself. If the Archbishop of York had any pre-eminence over the chief bishop of the Scots, he would of consequence be not only metropolitan, but also primate of another kingdom; yet we nowhere read of such pretensions. "It is no concern of yours," he adds, "to find a sufficient number of suffragans for the Archbishop of York; let him find them himself wherever he can." Nicolas, who seems to have been a sort of agent or solicitor in ecclesiastical causes, then goes on to advise Eadmer to terminate the dispute by obtaining consecration from the Pope himself,—exhorted him boldly to execute the business of his church and nation, and never to permit the diminution of their freedom and dignity while he was their bishop; and, probably with a view to his own interests as much as to those of the bishop, he requests Eadmer to inform the king that he was himself willing to undertake the defence of the freedom and independence of the Scottish Church at the papal court. He concluded his letter with a singular request. "I entreat you," he says, "to let me have as many of the finest pearls as you can procure. In particular, I desire four of the largest sort. If you cannot procure them otherwise, ask them in a present from the king, who I know has a most abundant store."

Alexander ultimately carried his point. Eadmer, in order to obtain permission to leave the country, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and to engage not to reclaim it during the life of Alexander, unless by the advice of the Pope, the

^{*} Simeon of Durham, p. 207.

[†] A full account of this important transaction is given by Eadmer himself, which, Lord Hailes remarks, he has in a great measure authenticated by original documents.—See Annals, vol. i. pp. 57—70.

Convent of Canterbury, and the King of England. Soon after his return to England, however, Eadmer wrote a long letter to Alexander, requesting permission to return and resume his office. "I mean not," he said, "in any particular to derogate from the freedom and independence of the kingdom of Scotland. Should you continue in your former sentiments, I will desist from my opposition; for, with respect to the King of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the sacerdotal benediction, I had notions which, as I have since learned, were erroneous. They will not separate me from the service of God and your favour. In those things I will act according to your inclinations, if you will only permit me to enjoy the other rights belonging to the see of St. Andrews." The Archbishop of Canterbury also addressed Alexander, but in a more lofty style, demanding the recal of Eadmer, as being the bishop canonically elected, and assuring the king, that while Eadmer lived, the church of St. Andrews could have no other bishop. Alexander, however, remained inflexible, and refused to listen either to the petition of Eadmer, or to the peremptory demands of the archbishop. Robert, Prior of Scone, was elected to fill the vacant see in January, 1124. Thurstan, Archbishop of York, again insisted upon his right of consecration; "but the Scots," says Simeon of Durham, "with foolish prating asserted that his claim had no foundation, either as right or usage."*

After the lapse of four years, Robert was consecrated by Thurstan, without any profession of obedience, reserving the rights of both parties. The successors of Robert were either consecrated by the papal legate, or by the Scottish bishops, and the question was finally decided by Pope Alexander III. in favour of the Scottish metropolitan. The determined efforts of the king, and clergy of Scotland, to maintain the independence of their national church, were thus crowned with complete success. Even when King William and his nobles shamefully surrendered the independence of the kingdom, as the price of the king's release from captivity, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld had the firmness and address to procure the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which reserved the rights of the Scottish church. And at a council, held soon after at Northampton, in the presence of the papal legate, the Scottish bishops asserted their independence, and successfully resisted the demand made by King Henry that they should yield obedience to the English Church.

A much more serious contention soon after arose with the popedom itself. On the death of Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, in 1178, the chapter elected as his successor John, surnamed the Scot, a native of England, though, probably, of Scottish parentage. William had destined the vacant see for Hugh, his chaplain, and, indignant at this stretch of ecclesiastical authority, he exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter,—“By

the arm of St. James, while I live, John Scot shall never be Bishop of St. Andrews.” He immediately seized the revenues of the see, and, disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, caused Hugh to be consecrated, and put him in possession. The appeal of John, which he prosecuted in person, was favourably entertained by Pope Alexander III. He annulled the appointment of Hugh; and his legate Alexius, in an assembly of the Scottish clergy, pronounced judgment in favour of John, and consecrated him in the year 1180. William instantly banished the new bishop from the kingdom, and protected Hugh in the enjoyment of the revenues of the see.

The papal legate on this, had recourse to stronger measures, and laid the district of St. Andrews under an interdict. When this also proved ineffectual, the Pope himself took the case in hand, and commanded the Scottish clergy to instal John within eight days. “Should William,” he added, “from his own will, or by the suggestion of the wicked, adopt other counsels, it is your part to obey God and the Church of Rome, rather than men.” He also issued a mandate to the Scottish bishops, ordering them to excommunicate Hugh, the pretended Bishop of St. Andrews; and finally he granted legatine powers over Scotland, to the Archbishop of York, authorising that prelate and the Bishop of Durham to excommunicate the Scottish king, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the see. Still William remained inflexible. “He seems,” as Lord Hailes observes, “to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff, before whom his conqueror, Henry, had bowed.” The menaces of the Pope and his legates, the interdict laid on the see of St. Andrews, the excommunication of Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland, and others of William's counsellors, and finally, the mediation of Henry, all failed to move the resolution of the Scottish king. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishopric which should become vacant; but he would make no other concession, and the Pope would listen to no compromise. When the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham, called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John, under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At length the two prelates actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict.*

* The following description of the effects which followed the papal sentence of excommunication, may serve to show the courage which William displayed, in thus braving the thunders of the Vatican:—

“The execution of this sentence was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate, with irresistible force, on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was, of a sudden, deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground, and—as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact—the priests carefully covered them up, even from their

When matters were brought to this crisis, the pontiff, Alexander III., died, August, 1181, and William lost no time in despatching ambassadors to the new Pope, Lucius III., who readily agreed to reverse the sentence of excommunication, pronounced by his predecessor, and to recall the interdiction.

This memorable contest was ended by the Pope—its successful himself nominating Hugh to the termination. see of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld; and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes, “he made that his deed which was the king's will.”* As a mark of entire reconciliation, Lucius sent the golden rose to William—a rare and highly-prized distinction. The privileges of the Scottish Church were still further confirmed and enlarged by his successor, Clement III., who, in 1188, pronounced a solemn decree, by which he declared, that in consequence of William's devoted and zealous attachment to the papal see, the Church of Scotland was adopted as the daughter of Rome, by special grace, and was to be subject to no other intermediate power whatever—that to the Pope alone, or his legate de latere, should belong the power of pronouncing any sentence of interdiction and excommunication against Scotland—that no one but a Scottish subject, or a person specially deputed by the apostolic see out of the sacred college, should be capable of holding the office of legate—and that, in the event of any dispute arising regarding benefices, no appeal should be competent to any foreign tribunal except to the court of Rome.†

Emboldened by these important concessions, the Scottish clergy ventured to disregard even the papal sentence of excommunication, when pronounced without due cause. When Gualo, the Pope's legate, excommunicated the king and the people of Scotland, in consequence of the co-operation of Alexander II. with Prince Louis and the confederated barons against the weak and infamous John, so little was the sentence regarded by the Scottish king and his subjects, that the Roman court was fain to grant him absolution on very easy terms, presenting a striking contrast to

own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyards; and, that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of Divine vengeance and indignation.”—Hume's History of England, vol. i. chap. xi. p. 128 (Virtue's edition).

* Annals, vol. i. pp. 142—148; Fordun, book vi. chap. xxvii.; Hoveden, p. 598, 599.

† Hoveden, p. 651. Annals, vol. i. p. 154.

the treatment of Prince Louis, who was not relieved from the sentence of excommunication till after he had done penance by walking barefooted to the legate's tent, in presence of the French and English armies. The conduct of Gualo, the papal legate, who had made a dishonourable traffic of special absolutions, and had extorted large sums from the Scottish clergy, as the price of their restoration to the exercise of their spiritual functions, was condemned by the Pope (Honorius IV.), who not only redressed this grievance, which was brought before him by appeal, but confirmed the privileges of the Scottish Church, owing to the alleged “respect and obedience which Alexander had paid to the papal see.”*

A few years after this, in 1225, the Scottish clergy succeeded in obtaining a most important concession from the papal court. They represented to Honorius, that, from the want of a metropolitan, who might appoint a meeting, they could not hold a provincial council, and that many abuses had, in consequence, crept into the church; upon which he was induced to give them permission to assemble a general council on their own authority, without the mandate of a legate, or the summons of a metropolitan. There can be little doubt that this permission was meant to be only temporary; but, availing themselves of the ambiguity with which it was expressed, the clergy interpreted and treated it as of perpetual authority, and under its sanction continued to assemble frequent provincial councils for the correction of abuses and the maintenance of their rights and privileges, without any further application for the consent of the papal court. From this period, the general canon law issued from the Vatican, or by the general council of the Romish Church, had no authority in Scotland, until ratified by its own native councils—a circumstance, it has been justly said, whose importance cannot be exaggerated, since it affected the jurisprudence of the church in all subsequent ages. From this period, too, the visits of the papal legates, which had hitherto been impatiently submitted to, were steadily declined, their authority disclaimed, and their pecuniary exactions successfully resisted. Even the demand of the Pope himself, that the Scottish clergy should contribute a tenth of their benefices to the king of England, in aid of an intended crusade, was firmly refused. The papal legate, who had intimated his intention of visiting Scotland, in order to inquire into its ecclesiastical affairs, was not only peremptorily denied admittance into the country, and his summons to the Scottish clergy to attend his court at York, pertinaciously resisted, but they even disclaimed obedience to the canons which were enacted in the council which he held (A. D. 1268). Conscious of their own strength, they assembled a provincial council next year at Perth, presided over by one of their own bishops, in which they promulgated canons of their own, for the regulation of the eccle-

* Fordun, book ix. chap. xxxiii.; Foedera, vol. i. p. 217.

siastical affairs of the country. Among other enactments they appointed a council, to be annually held under the authority of the bull of Pope Honorius III., and declared that the office of Conservator Statutorum should be filled by each of the bishops in turn, whose duty it was, during the interval between the meetings of council, to enforce obedience to the canons, under pain of ecclesiastical censures. The canons enacted in this assembly continued in force till the era of the Reformation.*

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE constitution and government of Scotland, which under Malcolm Canmore had been essentially Celtic, before the elose of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty had become as decidedly feudal, and exhibited all the marks by which the feudal system has been characterized. The king, under this form of government, was the commander-in-chief State and revenue of the army, the great justiciary of the king. or administrator of justice, the lawgiver of his people, and the fountain of honour from whom all distinctions flowed. His authority, however, though great, was by no means absolute, and he required to consult his nobles and clergy in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom. Ample provision appears to have been made for the due maintenance of the royal dignity; and, making allowance for the circumstances of the country, the personal estate supported by the Scottish king was scarcely inferior to that kept up by the English sovereign. The royal revenue in these early times was drawn from a great variety of sources. The most important of these were the dues payable under the name of the *cant*† on the products of agriculture, hunting, and fishing, and on the profits of domestic manufacture, and on foreign trade and shipping; the fees and fines, which arose in every feudal country, from the administration of justice, from the wardship and marriage of heirs, and from the escheat of estates to the crown; the temporary aids which the tenants and vassals of every feudal sovereign were bound to pay on such occasions, as the ransom of the king from captivity, the making of his son a knight, or the marriage of his daughters; the rent and produce of the royal manors, mills, and salt-works throughout the country; and lastly, the customs on the exports of wool and hides, which were first granted by parliament to William the Lion, and afterwards to King Robert Bruce.‡ We learn incidentally, that in 1239, the annual revenue

of the king of Scotland from all these sources, amounted to twenty-one thousand marks,—some-what more than two hundred thousand pounds; and various pecuniary transactions of William the Lion and his two immediate successors, show that the Scottish kings of that period lived in great splendour, and must have had large sums of money at their command.

Like other feudal monarchs, the King of Scotland was surrounded by his justiciar, Great officers of chancellor, constable, marshal, and his court. other great officers of state, who were selected from the most powerful nobles, and, next to the sovereign, held the highest rank in the kingdom. The office of justiciar, or great justice, was of The king's Norman origin; and in England, justiciar. after the Norman Conquest, the supreme judge was the principal officer under the Crown. This office does not appear, however, to have existed in Scotland during the early period of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty; the king himself at that time held the office of supreme judge, and frequently administered justice to his people in person* During the reigns of Alexander I., David I., and Malcolm IV., the general administration of justice seems to have been intrusted to two great judges; the one exercising his authority on the north, the other on the south of the Forth. Under these supreme justices there were a number of inferior judges,—denominated from the districts in which they officiated, the judge of Gowry, the judge of Strathern, the judge of Perth,—and exercising a subordinate authority the exact nature and limits of which it is impossible now to ascertain.† A new arrangement was made by William the Lion, who substituted for the supreme justices two great judges named justiciars; the one embracing within his jurisdiction Lothian or the country south of the two Forths; the other, Scotland proper, or the country beyond the Forth. Reference is made, during the reign of Alexander III., to a justiciar of Galloway, and at a late period to a *justiciarius ex parte boreali aque de Forth*;‡ but nothing is known of their jurisdiction or authority. These arrangements were remodelled by Edward I., on the temporary subjection of Scotland after the execution of Wallace; and two justices were appointed in Lothian, two in the country lying between the Forth and the eastern end of the Grampian range called the Mounth, and two in the district extending from the Grampians to Caithness. On the expulsion of the English, the district of Lothian appears to have reverted to the jurisdiction of a single justiciar; but the institution of four supreme judges in the country beyond the Forth, as it had the sanction of ancient usage, was allowed to remain.§

Next in dignity to the justiciar was the chancellor of the kingdom; an officer The chancellor. who appears for the first time in Scottish history

* Hailes' Annals, vol. i. p. 218; Historical Memorials of the Scottish Councils, p. 16.

† From this word is derived our modern *kane*, signifying payments in kind.

‡ Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 747.

* See ante, p. 65.

† Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 703 and note (d).

‡ Ibid. p. 727 and notes.

§ Ibid.

during the reign of Alexander I. The earliest chancellor of Scotland was Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died A.D. 1164, and from this period down to the coronation of Bruce, this important office was held almost exclusively by eminent dignitaries of the church. The chief duties of the chancellor at this time were the custody of the king's seal and the examination of all writs which received the royal signature; he was also the confidential adviser of the king, his constant attendant both in peace and war, and the witness to his charters, letters, and proclamations.*

The office of constable, which was exclusively military, appears in Scotland as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. To this great officer belonged the duty of leading the military power of the kingdom. The office was held under David I. and Malcolm IV. by Hugh de Moreville, and became hereditary in his family, till it was forfeited by John Cumyn, during the contest for the crown. It was then conferred by King Robert Bruce on Gilbert de Hay, and is still enjoyed by his descendant the Earl of Errol. The office of marshal, which was also of a military character, existed in Scotland as early as the reign of David I., and soon became hereditary in the family of Keith. The exact distinction between the duties of the marshal and the constable, it is impossible now to determine. The office of seneschal or high

steward belonged to the personal estate of the sovereign, and conferred on the holder supreme authority in the management of the royal household. In France and England, this officer was at an early period the highest in rank after the king, executing all the chief offices of the kingdom as the king's representative; and to two of the most illustrious dynasties of Europe, the Carolingian and the Plantagenets, the high office of seneschal served as a stepping-stone to the throne. In Scotland this office was conferred for the first time by David I., on Walter, the son of Alan, whose descendants acquired the name of Steward from their office, and ascended successively the throne of Scotland in 1371, and of England in 1603. The chamber-

lain, whose office is as ancient as the reign of David I., discharged the duties of treasurer, and assumed the management of the royal revenue. The *hostiarius*, or keeper of the king's door, first appears among the officers of state during the reign of William the Lion. The office of royal butler was hereditary in the family of De Soulis; but on the forfeiture of Sir William de Soulis in 1320, the office was conferred on Sir Andrew Moray, under the title of *panctarius*, or master of the household. The office of *pinccerna*, or cup-bearer, first appears in the reign of Edgar, and was held under Malcolm IV. by William de Haya, the ancestor of the noble family of the Hays. The power of these

great officers of the crown was scarcely inferior to that of the monarch himself. Their vast estates, and numerous vassals, enabled them almost singly to compete with him, and a combination among these powerful and turbulent barons proved, in not a few cases, more than a match for the royal authority. They were, indeed, in almost every respect, kings in miniature. Each of these great nobles was encircled by his own seneschals, chamberlains, and other officers, and was on all occasions supported by a train of knights, squires, and inferior barons, who were ready to pay implicit obedience to his commands, even in opposition to those of the sovereign himself. Such a state of society, it is evident, must have been attended by many evils; and it is to the exorbitant power of these nobles, and to their selfish struggles for superiority, that the miseries which Scotland for many ages endured, are directly to be traced.

We have seen that throughout the Scottish period, Scotland proper was divided into ten districts, which were governed by hereditary chiefs termed *maormors*. Gradually, however, as the Saxon, Norman, and other immigrants gained upon the ancient races of inhabitants, the Gaelic term *maormor* became obsolete, and was replaced by the Latin *comes*, and the Saxon *earl*, and the districts over which these chiefs ruled were designated *earldoms*. It does not appear, however, that there was during this period the creation of any earl, or the erection of any earldom; for peerages by creation were unknown in Scotland till the twelfth century. The provinces which were governed by *maormors* in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, are the same districts whose chiefs are termed *comites* or *earls* under Alexander I. Only three new earls were added to these Gaelic *maormors* during the Saxon period—Cospatrik Earl of Dunbar, Duncan Earl of Carrick, and William Earl of Sutherland.*

During the interregnum which followed the untimely death of the Maiden of Norway, an appeal was made to Edward I. against the Guardians of Scotland, by certain persons styling themselves the "Seven Earls" of that kingdom, alleging that by the immemorial laws and usages of Scotland, it is their right, in conjunction with the community of the realm, when the throne is *de jure* and *de facto* vacant, to appoint a king, and place him in his royal seat, and invest him with the honours of royalty; and complaining that the Bishop of St. Andrews and John Comyn, the Guardians of Scotland, were about to appoint John Baliol king on their own authority, and without regard to the rights of the Seven Earls and community of Scotland. A learned author* who is a great authority

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. 1. pp. 701, 702.

† Documents and Records, illustrating the History of Scotland, &c. Edited by Sir Francis Palgrave. The same theory has been adopted by Mr. Skene, in his History of the Highlanders, and by an able writer in the North British Review, No. vi. p. 375.

on antiquarian and constitutional questions, contends for the truth and justness of this claim, and considers the Seven Earls to have been a constitutional body, distinct and severed from the rest of the estates of the kingdom—not possessing an electoral right to bestow the crown on any person whom they chose—but forming a judicial body which had authority when the throne was vacant to award it to the person who, by the usages and institutions of the monarchy, had the best right to it. In opposition to this novel and plausible theory, however, it has been shown that there is no other mention of such a constitutional body in any Scotch or English document of the eleventh or twelfth century, though the succession to the Scottish monarchy during a great part of that period was exceedingly irregular, and the deviations from the direct course of descent very numerous;—that on various occasions when the Scottish throne became vacant by the demise of a king, the formal recognition of his successor was made, not by the Seven Earls, but by the prelates and nobles, who, as in other Teutonic nations, were called upon to exercise that privilege;—that when William the Lion, despairing of issue male, attempted to alter the succession to the Scottish throne, and to settle the crown on his daughter Margaret, to the exclusion of David, Earl of Huntingdon, his brother, the proposal was resisted,—not by one of the privileged peers who it is alleged by immemorial custom had the adjudication of the Scottish crown, when it became vacant—but by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, a baron of recent establishment, a Saxon by descent, and totally unconnected with ancient Albania and its institutions;—that when the Maid of Norway was recognized as presumptive heiress of the throne in the lifetime of her grandfather Alexander III., the deed was attested by all the earls of Scotland, thirteen in number, and by twenty-five barons, and the obligation it contains was placed, not under the safeguard of seven earls, but of eleven bishops;—that, on the sudden and unexpected death of Alexander III., the custody of Scotland, which had been unprovided for, was not assumed by this supposed electoral body, but was committed by the states of the kingdom to two bishops, two earls, and two barons, and on the death of the two earls, it continued, till the decease of Margaret, in the hands of the two bishops and two barons, without a single earl having been added to their number;—that the community of Scotland having been informed that Edward had procured a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage of his son Edward with their young queen the Maid of Norway, expressed their approbation of the alliance, by a letter addressed to him, not in the name of the seven dominant earls, but in the names of the four Guardians of Scotland, and of ten bishops, twelve earls, (the Earl of Fife being a minor) twenty-three abbots, eleven friars, and forty-eight barons;—and that when Robert Bruce was recognized as presumptive heir of the crown in the life time of Alexander II., the recog-

niton was made, not by the seven earls alone (which would undoubtedly have been the case, if they had been a constitutional body invested with the privileges attributed to them), but by the bishops, nobles, and magnates of the kingdom. It has been further shown, that there is every reason to believe that the seven earls in whose name the appeal to the English monarch was preferred, were merely the Earl of Bruce's own party, who formed a majority of the Scottish earls, and against whose wishes and inclinations, two of the Guardians and their adherents were disposed to raise John Baliol to the throne. Looking to the subsequent proceedings in this competition for the Scottish crown, we find among the partisans of Bruce, five earls, viz.—the Earls of March, Mar, Menteith, Athol, and Lennox, and adding to them his own son, the Earl of Carrick, and the Earl of Fife (a child only five years old), who is expressly mentioned as one of the seven appellants—we have the mystic number completed, and the illusion of our modern theorists dispelled. Among the partisans of Baliol, we have four earls—the Earls of Angus, Buchan, Ross, and Strathern, none of whom can be supposed to have joined in the appeal against their own candidate. The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland appear to have taken no part in the competition. Now the six earls who espoused the cause of Bruce did not all possess the most ancient earldoms, to which, if to any, this immemorial right must have been attached; for among them were the Earls of March and Carrick, neither of whom derived his title from Scotland proper: while on the other hand, among the partisans of Baliol was the Earl of Strathern, and among the neutrals the Earl of Caithness, who held two of the most ancient earldoms in Scotland. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that in the words of the learned writer whose arguments we have stated,* no such constitutional body as the Seven Earls ever existed in Scotland; that in that kingdom, as in other Teutonic states, when the throne was vacant, it was filled up either peaceably by the ordinary course of succession, with consent of the states; or irregularly by force and violence, with more or less semblance of a legal confirmation from the same authority.

“The policy of sheriffdoms,” says Chalmers, “was introduced gradually into Scotland, as the Scoto-Saxon people gained upon the Gaelic inhabitants, and as the modern law prevailed over the ruder institutions of our Celtic forefathers.” The earliest appearance of the office of sheriff in Scottish history is during the reign of Alexander I.; but before the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, extending from 1097 to 1306, the whole of Scotland, with the exception of Galloway, Argyle, and the western coast, had been progressively divided into sheriffdoms, which were governed according to the rules of the Anglo-Norman law. The appointment to these offices was originally in the crown, but they had even then become hereditary in certain families, and

* See Edinburgh Review, No. cxxxiii. pp. 46—52.

the great nobles seem to have appointed their sheriffs in imitation of the regal state. It appears that the term *shire* was then used in its Anglo-Saxon meaning, as merely importing a division, and was frequently given to districts of much smaller extent than the sheriffdoms of modern times; for mention is made in ancient charters of the shires of Aberbrothock, Denechyn, Kingoldrum, Dunfermline, Dolor, Newburn, Musselburgh, and various others of a similar kind, over which there does not appear to have been any sheriff appointed.*

Courts of regality. About the middle of the twelfth century, the power of holding their own courts, and acting as supreme criminal judges among their own vassals, began to be enjoyed by the higher nobles and clergy of Scotland. The country was divided into "royalty" and "regality," the former being subjected to the jurisdiction of the king and his judges, while the regalities were placed under the jurisdiction of those ecclesiastics or nobles who had obtained such powers and privileges from the royal grant.† The clergy were the first who received from the crown, donations of lands with the rights of regality annexed to them, and as early as the reign of Alexander I. the bishops and abbots were empowered to hold their own courts, and were freed from the jurisdiction of all superior judges. The monks of the Abbey of Scone obtained from Alexander a charter, conferring upon them the right of holding their own court with plenary powers, and of giving judgment either by combat, by iron, or by water, together with all privileges pertaining to their court, including the right in all persons resident within their territory, of refusing to answer except in their own proper court.‡ The same privileges were granted by subsequent monarchs to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and to the Abbots of Holywood, Dunfermline, Kelso, and Aberbrothock, and in all probability to all the other religious houses in the kingdom.§ In the year 1299, the Abbot of Aberbrothock pledged one of his men from the court of the king's justiciar, which was held at Aberdeen, by John Earl of Buchan, upon pleading the privilege of the regality of Aberbrothock;|| and the higher barons soon began to covet, and to require the same powers of exclusive jurisdiction which had been conferred upon the clergy; and even their vassals appear to have enjoyed the same judicial rights and exemptions, so that in the course of time, not only every great noble, but even the petty baron, became the supreme criminal judge within his own estates, possessed the power of life and death over his own vassals, and could even, as we have seen, reclaim from the royal court any dependent or retainer who lived upon his lands.

Trial by an assize. The trials of important causes by an assize or inquest, can be traced to the reign of William the Lion. In the

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 715, 716, and notes.

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 750.

‡ Cartulary of Scone, p. 16, quoted in Caledonia, p. 751.

§ Ibid., note (r).

|| Cart. of Aberbrothock, p. 19; Ibid., note (t).

year 1184, a dispute regarding the pasturage of the king's forest, which had arisen between the monks of Melroso and the men of Wedale, was decided in the presence of the king, his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, and the prelates and nobles of the court, by an inquest consisting of Richard de Moreville, the constable, and twelve "good men." The learned Chalmers is of opinion, that even at this early age the jury did not require to be unanimous in their verdict, but that the opinion of the majority decided the case. The right of challenge seems to have been allowed very soon after the institution of trial by jury; for in the year 1309, when there was an inquest held before Robert de Keith, justiciary in the northern part of the country, for the purpose of settling a dispute between the Abbot of Lindores and the burgesses of Newburgh, one of the jury was objected to and set aside, because he was a servant of the abbot.*

It appears that ecclesiastical censures were frequently employed in aid of the Ecclesiastical law both in civil and criminal censures in aid of the law. affairs, and to protect the property of the church. Thus, in the year 1258, the preceptor of Scone, as deputy of the prior of Coldingham the supreme judge, issued a precept, directing the excommunication of Sir Patriek Edgar, for retaining possession of a caracote of land at Home, which belonged to the monks of Kelso. A few years later, Pope Nicholas IV. addressed a bull to the Bishop of Dunblane, directing him to recover by ecclesiastical censures the debts which were due to the monks of Balmerinach. During the reign of Robert Bruce, the Abbot of Kelso ordered the monks of Lesmahago to excommunicate David Wier, who, with his accomplices, had broken into the sanctuary of that cell, and had sacrilegiously stolen from the dormitory of brother Nicholas Lamb, not only a sum of gold and silver, but divers jewels.† Even the great barons trembled before the sentence of excommunication, and were fain to withdraw from a contest with the men who wielded such formidable weapons. Thus, the Lord of Dundas, on the south side of the Frith of Forth, having asserted a right in his own person to certain rocks along the shore convenient for the landing of boats, interfered with the servants and boats of the Abbot of Dunfermline when attempting to use them. The abbot maintained that the rocks were the exclusive property of his monastery, and launched a sentence of excommunication against his opponent, who finding himself compelled to yield, "humbly supplicated the abbot, sitting along with some of his council on these rocks as being in possession of them, that he would absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and he should abstain from molesting the men and boats in future." He was absolved accordingly.‡

* Cart. Lindores, p. 10. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 752.

† Cart. Kelso, pp. 294, 487. Cart. Balmerin. p. 67. Caledonia, p. 753, note (e).

‡ Historical and Descriptive Account of Dunfermline, by the Rev. P. Chalmers, p. 203. Concordantia cum I. & Dundas de Passagio, Registrum, p. 262.

It was fortunate indeed for the welfare of the country, that there was at this period some check upon the mastery of mere brute force, and that the superior information and influence of the clergy, served as a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the rude and turbulent nobility. The church was the

Character and condition of the clergy.

protector of the poor and oppressed, and the faithful auxiliary of the crown in the incessant struggles which the monarch was compelled to carry on against the ambitious and lawless schemes of the great feudal barons. In Scotland, as in other countries of Europe at this period, it was among the clergy alone that we find anything like proficiency

in literature and in the arts; and in the ordinary studies of the age, the Scottish ecclesiastics were not far behind their brethren on the continent. Several of them, indeed, obtained a very high reputation in scholastic theology, and in the study of the civil and the canon laws. John Dun Scotus, the renowned schoolman, whose genius reflects no inconsiderable lustre on the nation to which he belonged, and who maintained a reputation almost unrivalled till the scholastic theology and scholastic philosophy were finally exploded, was a Scotsman born in Berwickshire, about the close of the reign of Alexander III. Richard, a friar of St. Victor, at Paris, and Adam, a canon regular of the Order of Premonstratenses, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century, and were the authors of several voluminous theological treatises, were also natives of Scotland. Mathematics, astronomy, and the sister art of astrology, seem to have been cultivated by the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period with some success. John Holybush, better known by his scholastic appellation Joannes de Sacrobosco, whose celebrated treatise upon the Sphere was held in high honour by the learned so late as the sixteenth century, was in all probability a Scotsman.* The famous Michael Scott, the mathematician and astronomer, who was the astrologer of the Emperor Frederick the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century, and whose fame as a prophet and magician still lingers in the traditions of his native land, was Baron of Balwearie, in Fifc.†

As no colleges or great seminaries of learning as yet existed in Scotland, the great body of the Scottish clergy received their education

Schools.

in the universities of Oxford and Paris; and so great was the resort of students to the French metropolis, that in the year 1325 the Scots college was established in that city for their instruction by David, Bishop of Moray. There were schools, however, as early as the reign of David I., to be found in the principal towns of Scotland, and probably also in many of the monasteries, in which, under the superintendence of the clergy, the aspirants to the sacred office were instructed in gram-

* Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 280—292.

† See Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto ii. and Appendix Note O.

mar and logic. We find, for example, in the cartulary of Kelso, that all the churches and schools in Roxburgh were bestowed by David I. on the monastery of Kelso, and that in 1241 the rector of the schools of Roxburgh was a witness to a charter of William, son of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar. The churches and schools of Perth and Stirling were confirmed to the monks of Dunfermline, by Richard, the Bishop of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1173. Adam, master of the schools of Perth, appears as one of the commissaries of Innocent II., who were appointed to settle a dispute about the churches of Prestwick and Sanquhar. References are also made in the cartularies to the existence of schools in the towns of Ayr, South Berwick, and Aberdeen.* In St. Andrews there were schools under the charge of a rector so early as 1233, and there was also a lyceum attached to the cathedral church belonging to the monastery of that city. We learn from the cartulary of Kelso, that Matilda, the lady of Moll, in the year 1260 granted a certain rent to be paid to the abbot and monks of that monastery, on condition that they should board and educate her son with the best boys who were intrusted to their care; from which it is evident that a portion at least of the sons of the nobility were educated in the schools connected with the various religious houses throughout the country. Almost all the learning, however, that existed at that period, was possessed by the clergy. The great mass of the community were immersed in gross ignorance. The nobility seem to have considered the acquirement of Ignorance of knowledge as altogether un- the nobles. worthy of their rank, and there is good reason to believe that not a single Scottish baron of this age could sign his own name. In these circumstances we owe it to the clergy alone, that science and learning did not become altogether extinct. It is to the monastic annalists also, that we are indebted for the history of the events as well as for the most striking pictures of the manners of these times; and it should not be forgotten that Barbour, the metrical historian of Bruce, and the only writer of original genius which Scotland produced in this age, was an eminent ecclesiastic. The clergy not merely held a monopoly of the learning of those remote times, Cultivation of the arts by the clergy. but were almost the sole proficient both in the useful and in the ornamental arts. They probably taught and practised the art of healing; they were the painters, the sculptors, the mechanics, as well as the historians and poets of the age; and it is to them that we are especially indebted for those magnificent baronial and ecclesiastical buildings whose mouldering remains still attest the munificence and taste of their founders.

With regard to the condition of Condition of the lower classes of the community free farmers— at this period, the free farmers or tenants who

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 767, 768, and notes.

rented the lands of the Crown, and of the other great proprietors, enjoyed the right of settling in any part of the country, and seem to have been possessed of considerable wealth. It is supposed that it was this class who were liable to be called out on military service, and who constituted the great body of the Scottish infantry. A second class of cultivators of —and of the bonds- the soil were the bondsmen, or men. villagers, who were the absolute property of the lord of the soil, and were sold along with the land. This unhappy class, whose existence in Scotland can be traced to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was composed partly of the original Celtic inhabitants of the country, partly of prisoners taken in war, and partly of those who, in times of famine and distress, had sold themselves into slavery to escape starvation.* When the southern districts of Scotland were overrun by the Saxon and Norman settlers, the original natives were reduced to slavery. They were designated *nativi*, which came in time to be synonymous with serfs. It appears to have been customary too, in those times, to retain in bondage the prisoners who were not ransomed, and we have already seen what numbers of the inhabitants of the northern counties of England were carried away captive by Malcolm Canmore during his frequent incursions, and reduced to a state of servitude.† The condition of these bondsmen must have been very wretched. They were bought and sold like cattle; they had no property of their own, and were entirely under the arbitrary control of their master or purchaser; they could not remove from the estate without his permission; and when oppression drove them, as it often did, to seek safety in flight, their master could “take them by the nose” and reclaim them to their former servitude. He could punish them at pleasure, and was responsible to no court or authority for his treatment of them. It appears that he was even under no legal obligation to assist them in difficulty, or to support them in want or old age. This at least was the case with those bondsmen who had been allowed to wander beyond their masters’ estates. It is mentioned that on one occasion the slaves belonging to the Abbey of Dunfermline, demanded that if any of their race should be mulcted for manslaughter, the monastery should contribute twelve marks to the penalty; but the inquest to whom the inquiry was directed made answer that “they never heard of such a thing, in all the days of their life.”‡ The Cartularies of the period abound with references to these serfs, and to the wretched condition in which they were placed. Edgar granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert “Paxton, with the men, the lands and the natives.” King David I. bestowed upon the Abbey of Dunfermline, Ragewin, Gilepatrick, and Ulchill, his own serfs, for the glory of God and the use of that holy brotherhood; and the

officers of the law are enjoined to search for some ungrateful bondsmen who had fled from oppression.* King William the Lion, in the year 1178, made a donation to the same monks, of Gilleander McSuthen and his children for ever;† and he issued a mandate firmly to seize hold of Cumlach and Cumbas, two Dunfermline slaves, who had fled. We find that David I., in 1144, granted to the Abbot of Kelso the church of Lesmahago, along with the lands of the same name, and their men; and to the monks of Scone, Cambusmichel “with the men, the lands, and waters.”‡ Many similar donations were made by the great barons. Earl Waldave, who succeeded Coepatrick, in 1166, gave to the monks of Kelso, “Halden, and William his brother, and all their children and property;”§ and in the year 1258, Malice, Earl of Strathern, gave to the monks of Inchaffray, for the safety of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors, John surnamed Starnes, the son of Thomas and grandson of Thore, with his whole property and children which he had begotten or might beget for ever. He also bestowed upon the same monks another serf, Gilmory Gilleudes, with all his property.|| These donations were not confined to the monastic establishments, for we find among other grants of a similar kind, that David, Earl of Huntingdon bestowed upon Gartnach, Earl of Mar and his heirs, Gillechrist, the son of Gillehuygal, and two Gillechrights and Gillen and Gillemart, four sons of Het. And Richard de Moreville the constable of Scotland, granted to Henry de Sinclair and his heirs, Edmund the son of Bonde and Gille-michel, his brother, with their progeny, for three marks, on condition, however, that they should not be removed from Do Moreville’s estates.¶ The same authentic records show that these unhappy cultivators of the soil were sold along with the estate, and that if any of them ventured to quit it without the owner’s permission, he could reclaim them precisely like any animal which had strayed from his domain. In the charters granted by Alexander II., there are frequent injunctions against the detention of these “natives and fugitive men.” In the year 1222, the Prior and the Convent of St. Andrews, by an express charter, gave permission to a bondsman and his children to change his master and to carry his property along with him.** At a much later period (in 1340), we find from the Cartulary of Dunfermline, that an inquest was summoned for the purpose of determining the right of property to three bondsmen, Allan, the son of Constantine, with his two sons, who had removed

* Cart. of Dunf. p. 13.

† Ibid.

‡ Monast. Scotiae, p. 33; and Cart. Scone, quoted in Chalmer’s Caledonia, vol. i. p. 720, note (w).

§ Cart. of Kelso, p. 127, libd.

|| Cart. of Inchaffray, quoted in Hailes’ Ann. vol. i. p. 372. Lord Hailes subjoins the following note by a correspondent. Gilmory, a servant of the Virgin Mary, probably so called in honour of her, as the gift was made on the day of the annunciation. His former name was *Gil-andeas*, that is the *Southern lad*, probably an English prisoner.

¶ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 721.

** MS. original charters in Advocates’ Library, No. 27 quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 213.

* They are described in the Cartularies under the names of *nativi*, *servi*, *villani*, *captivi*, *homines fugitivi*, *cottarii*, *bondi*, *bondagii*, *husbandii*, &c.

† See ante, pp. 39, 42.

‡ Chalmer’s Hist. Account, p. 219. Registrum, p. 240.

from the lands of the Abbot of this monastery without his permission, and had refused to return—under pretence that they were the villagers of Duncan, Earl of Fife,—when it was found that they were the property of the Abbot.* And in 1364, Alexander, the Bishop of Moray, reclaimed two of his *nativi* before the sheriff of Banff.† Not the least curious feature in these interesting muniments, is the careful record which they contain of the genealogies of this degraded class of the community. Their parentage, marriage, families, residence, and sometimes even the place of their death and burial, are minutely specified, evidently for the purpose of supplying a connected record of ownership. It is worthy of notice, that while the free-born vassals and tenants commonly took their names from their lands, the designations of the bondsmen are almost exclusively Celtic, and are of the rudest and most uncouth description, as the examples we have already given may serve to show.‡ As is the case in other countries of Europe where a similar system of serfdom has prevailed, no change in the circumstances of this unfortunate class of men could have the effect of emancipating them from their degraded condition. It would appear from a convention which took place between Andrew, Bishop of Moray, from 1222 to 1242, and Walter Comyn, that a serf might even enter the church and become a clerk, and yet remain as completely at the disposal of his master as before. In this remarkable deed it was agreed that the bishop and his successors in the see should have all the clerks and two laymen, whose names were Gille-malvoock Macnakengello and Sythac Macmallon; these clerical and lay bondmen, the deed proceeds to say, are to belong to the bishop and his successors, with their cattle, possessions, and children, for ever, while the Lord Walter Comyn is to have all the remaining lay bondmen of the lands of Logykenny and Inverdrummyn.§

This state of slavery was abolished only by slow degrees; but it appears to have continued longer in England than in Scotland, as it was not till the year 1574, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the complete manumission of the bondmen and bondwomen on the royal estates took place. In Scotland, according to Chalmers, "neither any canon of the church, any assize of the king, nor any act of parliament

appears in favour of freedom. The national spirit put an end to the odious remains of slavery without any legislative declaration."* During the fourteenth century great numbers of bondmen were manumitted by the kings and the barons, and especially by the higher ecclesiastics and the religious houses; but it was not till the fifteenth century that the system of slavery was overthrown in Scotland. Some traces of the existence of serfdom, in a modified form, are to be found among the colliers in various parts of the country, down to a comparatively recent period.

At the period of which we have been writing, the aspect of Scotland was very different from that which it now presents. The face of the country was covered by immense forests, chiefly of oak, through which roamed not only the deer, but the bear, the wolf, the wild boar, and the bison. Tracts, which in modern times present only bleak moors, covered with barren heath or desolate swamps and peat mosses, unadorned by a single tree, were in those early ages clothed with woods of oak, ash, and beech, which furnished useful timber and excellent pasturage. Huge trunks of black oak, the remains of these primeval forests, are frequently dug up at the present day, in almost every moss and moor in Scotland. We have seen that the patriots were accustomed, during the war of independence, to seek shelter from the hostile incursions of the English in these vast and impervious woods, and in the extensive morasses, where no enemy could follow them, and hence the invaders on various occasions, endeavoured to clear the country by cutting down and burning the forests. Barbour informs us that when the Earl of Arundel made an inroad into Scotland during the absence of King Robert in Ireland, he caused his men to bring hatchets with them, for the purpose of cutting down and clearing the forest of Jedburgh.† And Knighton relates that the Duke of Lancaster, who undertook an expedition into Scotland in the reign of Richard the Second, employed so large a number of men in clearing the country, that the stroke of eighty thousand hatchets might be heard in the forests, while the fire was blazing and consuming them at the same moment.‡ The timber of these immense woods was a source of considerable wealth to the proprietors, and frequent mention is made in the Cartularies of grants of wood both for building and for fuel, as well as of the privilege of pasturage and pannage in the forests.

* *Ibid.* p. 723. According to the laws of the Burghs, however, every bondman, except the King's, who dwelt for a year and a day within a burgh, was entitled to his freedom.

† See ante, p. 144.

"He gathered folk about him then,
Till he had near ten thousand men,
And wood-axes gart with him take;
For he thought he his men would make
To hew Jedworth forest sa clene,
That na tree suld therein be sene."

Barbour, p. 823.

‡ Knighton apud Twysden, vol. ii. p. 267, &c., quoted in Tyler, vol. ii. p. 169.

* Cart. of Dunf. p. 592, Tyler, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Cart. of Moray, p. 240. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 722.

‡ Surnames began to be used in Scotland at the commencement of the twelfth century, and became general before the close of the thirteenth. The surnames adopted by the Celtic inhabitants, were either patronymics, as McDonald, McDougal, or descriptive, as Duff (black) Roy (red). The Saxon, Norman, and Flemish settlers for the most part assumed their surnames from their lands, though a few are descriptive, and some are patronymics. Riddel and Corbet, are the two oldest surnames which can be traced in the cartularies of Scotland, Gerrase Riddel and Robert Corbet, appear as witnesses in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, A.D. 1116. It was the universal practice at this period, for the married women to preserve their maiden names during their marriage, and even during their widowhood—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 771.

§ *Ibid.* p. 721 and note (b).

We find that Edward I., during the temporary subjugation of the country, was in the habit of compensating his adherents for the losses they had suffered, and of repaying the services of those who submitted to his authority, by grants of oaks from the royal forests. Thus John Despanyding, the canon of Elgin, who was the host of Edward on his visit to that town, was rewarded by a present of twenty oaks out of the forest of Longmorgan to repair his church of Duffus. The Earl of Buchan received a grant of fifty oaks out of the forests of Buchan and Kintore, as a compensation for the injuries done to his estates during the war. Raufe le Chene received two hundred oaks out of the forests of Tarnaway and Longmorgan. The Abbot of Jedburgh obtained a grant of twenty oaks out of the forest of Plater in Forfarshire, to repair the church of Restennet, which had been destroyed in the war; and fifty oaks were granted out of the forest of Selkirk to the Abbot of Melrose, for a similar purpose.*

At an earlier period the privilege of cutting Grants from the timber, and of pasturage in the royal forests. royal forests, occupies a conspicuous place in the Cartularies of the various religious houses throughout Scotland. We find that King David conferred upon the Abbot and convent of Dunfermline and their men, the right to cut his woods, either for building or burning. The same munificent patron of the church granted to the Abbot and convent of Holyrood, the right of taking from his forests in Stirling and Clackmannan, wood for building and other purposes, and also pannage for their swine. The monastery of Melrose obtained from him the free use both for wood and pasturage, of an extensive forest which then covered the district between the Leader and the Gala, and also of the forests of Selkirk and Traquair. The Abbey of Dryburgh received from him the lands of Cadysley, with free pasture, and the right of cutting wood in his forest. The same monarch conferred upon the monastery of Jedburgh, a similar privilege of pasturage and of woodbote, and on the monastery of Scone, the right of taking wood from all the royal forests throughout Scotland, and particularly from the forest between Scone and Cargil—a privilege which was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and by King Robert Bruce. The bishops of Moray and their men obtained from King William, the right of pasturage and of woodbote in the forests which then existed around the royal burghs of Elgin, Forres, and Inverness; and the same privileges were enjoyed by the burgesses in these burghs.† It would be easy to multiply examples of a similar kind; but these may suffice to show, to how great an extent the face of the country was at this period covered with wood. As might be expected in these circumstances, timber was largely employed for domestic purposes. Churches, towns, and bridges,

timber used for building and for fuel.

* See Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 469, 471, 472, 473, quoted in Caledonia, vol. i. p. 792, note (f).

† Cart. of Dunfermline, Melrose, Scone, and Moray, and Monast. Scotiæ, pp. 29, 105. Ibid. note (u).

and even castles and fortifications, were chiefly constructed of this material. It was also largely used as fuel, along with turf and peat, and perhaps, coal. But this mineral did not become a common article of fuel in Scotland till a much later period.*

In the various ways which we have indicated, many districts of the country had by this time been partially cleared of wood, and brought under cultivation, and the woodlands afforded excellent pasturage for the horses, cows, sheep, and swine, with which they were amply stocked. In the vicinity of the great baronial residences of the nobility, a space of ground was cleared from wood, sufficient for the maintenance of their numerous vassals and retainers; and the country around the monasteries and religious houses and adjoining to the great towns, appears, even at this early period, to have been in a state of considerable cultivation. The lawless habits of these times and the consequent Villages of the insecurity of the country, rendered husbandmen and it necessary for the cultivators of cottars.

the soil to live in clusters of cottages, on the estates belonging to the nobles or to the church, rather than in detached dwellings; and to each of these villages or hamlets, there was annexed a district of land called a *Territorium*, which was cultivated in various proportions by the husbandmen and cottars. The former cultivated the larger divisions, which were termed *carucates*, *bovates*, or *oxgates*, and were either in part or in whole their own property, which they held by lease, and for which they paid rent, while each of the cottars possessed a cottage with a small piece of ground, for which he paid a trifling rent. Each of the husbandmen and cottars had a right of pasturage for a certain number of animals, in the pasture-land and woodland which was attached to these villages, and belonged to the villagers in common. Thus, for example, in the village of Bolden or Bowden, in Roxburghshire, which was the property of the monks of Kelso, about the close of the reign of Alexander III., there were twenty-eight husbandmen, thirty-six cottagers, a miller, and four brewers. Each husbandman possessed husband-land with common pasture, for which he paid a rent of half a mark, or six shillings and eight pence, besides various services which were due to his superiors. Each of the cottagers held nearly half an acre of arable land, with a right of common pasture; and their united rent amounted to fifty-five shillings, besides certain services in labour. To the village, there was attached a mill, which was rented at eight marks; and four brew-houses, which let for ten shillings each, with an obligation on the part of the brewers to sell their ale to the abbot at the rate of a lagen and a half for a penny. In the adjoining village of Midlem, there were twenty-nine husbandmen

* A charter of James the Steward of Scotland, of date January, 1284, grants to William de Preston, the lands of Tranent, with certain *peateries* and *collieries*. And in the reign of William the Lion, Seyer de Quinci granted to the monks of Newbottle, a coal-pit and a quarry, between Whiteside and Pinkie, in Mid Lothian—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 793, note (a).

who possessed each a husband-land with common pasture, for which he paid a rent of six shillings and eight pence, besides various services and carriages; and eleven cottagers, each of whom rented a cottage with nearly an acre of arable land and common pasture, for seventeen pence. These villages, of course, varied greatly in size, according to the extent and fertility of the territory which was annexed to them. Some of them possessed a church, others a mill, or both; but all of them contained malt-kilns and brew-houses for the supply of their common beverage.*

At this period the kings were the greatest land-owners in the kingdom, and possessed extensive estates in almost every shire, which were cultivated by their own free tenants and their villsyns, under the superintendence of their own bailiffs; and as they consumed the produce of their manors, they were thus induced, as Chalmers remarks, frequently to shift their residence for that purpose. The immense quantities of agricultural produce drawn from the royal manors, may be estimated from the liberal grants which successive monarchs made to the various religious houses throughout the country. Thus, Alexander I. bestowed upon the monks of Scone, one half of the hides which belonged to his kitchen, one half of all the skins of sheep and of the fat, and one-tenth of the king's bread, on the north of Lammernuir; and to this grant his successor added the half of the skins and fat of all the beasts which were killed for the king's use on the north of the Tay. David I. granted to the church of St. John at Roxburgh, the tenth of the fat of the beasts slaughtered for him in Teviotdale; to the monastery of Holyrood, the half of the fat, tallow, and hides of his beasts killed in Edinburghshire, and all the skins of the sheep belonging to his castle of Linlithgow, which should die naturally; to the monastery of Dunfermline, the half of the hides and fat of all the beasts which should be killed for the feasts held in Stirling, and between the Forth and Tay; and to the monastery of Cambuskenneth, the half of the hides, tallow, and fat of all the king's beasts, which were killed at Stirling. Alexander II. bestowed the lands of Dollar on the monastery of Dunfermline, the lands of Blair on the monks of Scone, and a hundred shillings yearly from his farms of Roxburgh, on the monks of Kelso, in lieu of the agricultural produce which they were accustomed to receive from the royal kitchen.† Numerous other grants of a similar kind evince the liberality of the Scottish kings and the extent of the royal domains.

Next to the monarchs, the monks were the great farmers of these times; and in the extent of their possessions, and the number and variety of their rural establishments, were scarcely inferior to royalty itself. They were the principal agricul-

tural improvers of the age. Possessing both the greatest amount of skill and of capital, they brought the waste lands under cultivation, cleared the woodlands, drained and inclosed their fields, and facilitated the access to the markets and seaports by the construction of roads and bridges. Their estates were situated for the most part in the richest and most fertile parts of the country; and as they were better cultivated, they were much more productive than the lands of the nobility. Their tenants and villsyns were more numerous and prosperous; and, from the pacific character of their landlords, were permitted to devote their attention more exclusively to their own peculiar pursuits than the tenants either of the crown or of the barons. The wise practice of granting leases appears to have ^{Leases} been introduced by the religious ^{introduced.} houses. So early as the year 1170, Ingelram, the Bishop of Glasgow, leased to Richard Moreville the Constable, the whole territory of Gillemoriston for fifteen years, and received from him beforehand the sum of three hundred marks as a fine, or *grassum*. Leases appear to have been granted by the monks for much longer terms. Thus we find, for example, that the monks of Kelso granted to the men of Innerwick, in the year 1190, a thirty-three years' lease of certain woods and lands for the annual rent of twenty shillings, which was approved of by Alan, the son of Walter the Steward, to whom the men of Innerwick belonged. In 1326, Andrew de Strivelyn received from Simon, the Abbot of Scone, a lease for life of the lands of Girsmerland. The Abbot of Kelso granted to Henry Whitwell a lease for life of all the lands belonging to this monastery in the parish of Dumfries, for the yearly rent of twelve shillings; and to Adam de Culehart a lease of the tithes of the parish of Kilosbern, for the yearly rent of fifty-three marks;* and many other instances of a similar kind might be adduced. It appears also from the Cartularies, that the tenants of the great religious houses enjoyed exemptions from many oppressive services, which were exacted from the tenants and vassals of the barons, and that their farms remained in the same family, and were transmitted from husband to widow, and from father to son, for several generations.

Oats, which formed the bread of the lower classes, and the malt from which ^{Staple agricultural produce;} their ale was brewed, seems to ^{oats, wheat, and} have been the principal kind of ^{barley.} grain raised in Scotland at this

early period. Wheat and barley were also grown to a considerable extent, as were peas and beans. From the number of malt-kilns and breweries, not only in the towns but in the villages and hamlets throughout the country, it is evident that the consumption of oat malt must have been very great, and that ale must have been a favourite beverage among all classes of the people. It appears from the Wardrobe accounts

* Cart. of Kelso and of Scone, Caledonia, vol. i. p. 704, note (g.)

* Cartulary of Kelso, pp. 477, 478, 479, quoted in Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 703, note (i).

† See Cart. of Scone, Glasgow, Dunferm. Cambusken. and Kelso, quoted in Caledonia, vol. i. p. 789, note (k.)

of Edward I. in the years 1299 and 1300, that large quantities of oat malt were furnished to the different English garrisons in Scotland, at prices varying from twentypence to three shillings and sixpence per quarter. Barley malt cost four shillings and fourpence per quarter. In the same authentic record we find that William de Carlisle, one of the smaller landholders of Dumfries-shire, received from Edward I. twenty-four pounds for eighty acres of oats at Dornock, which were destroyed by the English cavalry on their return from Galloway, 31st August, 1300, and that a few days after, another body of cavalry destroyed an additional quantity of corn belonging to the same proprietor, and some belonging to his neighbour, the widow of Robert de la Fierde, in compensation for which the king allowed them two butts of wine.* It appears that the oats purchased in the south of Scotland for the English cavalry cost three shillings and sixpence a quarter.

Wheat was cultivated to a considerable extent, especially throughout the southern and eastern districts of the country, and wheaten bread was principally used at the tables of the upper and middle classes. The quantities of this grain which were ground in the mills show that the consumption must have been considerable. When Edward I. invaded Galloway, in the year 1300, he purchased large quantities of wheat, which he exported from Kirkcudbright to Whitehaven, and other ports in Cumberland. It was there ground, and the flour sent back to supply the English garrisons in Galloway and Ayr.† In these districts, at this period, wheat cost seven shillings, and flour from five and sixpence to eight shillings per quarter. In the Wardrobe account of Edward I., for the year 1299, it is stated, that underground peas for the use of the English garrisons were furnished at the rate of two shillings and ninepence, and beans for the horses, at four shillings and sixpence the quarter. Peas and beans were raised in small quantities. Flax was cultivated, and paid tithes to the clergy as early as the twelfth century,‡ as did also meadow hay; but artificial grasses appear to have been unknown at this period. In the agricultural operations of ploughing and harrowing, in the loading of hay and corn during the harvest, and in the carting of peat, oxen appear to have been principally employed, while the conveyance, to any great distance, of agricultural produce, was performed by horse labour. Thus we find, from the Cartulary of Kelso, that the tenants of this great religious house, in performing their usual services to the Abbot, were obliged to carry on each horse to Berwick, the usual place of export, three bolls of corn in summer, and two in winter, and to bring back in return, coals and salt.§ Immense herds of horses con-

stituted an important part of the agricultural wealth of the great proprietors, who seem to have bestowed great care on this branch of rural economy. Besides the domestic studs, great numbers ran wild in the extensive forests; and from among these, the hardy little hackneys of the light-armed Scottish cavalry were principally obtained. The domestic mares and horses of a larger breed, employed in war, in the tournaments, in the chase, and in agricultural labours, were of great value, and were in considerable demand. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which the rearing of horses was carried on at this period, from the fact, that, in the inventory of the animals possessed in old times by the monks of Melrose, mention is made of no fewer than three hundred and twenty-five great mares and horses, fifty-four domestic mares, a hundred and four domestic horses, two hundred and seven stags, or young horses, thirty-nine three-year old colts, and a hundred and seventy two-year old colts.*

At this period, the people appear to have consumed great quantities of animal food, and the pasture lands were stocked with extensive herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Wool formed the chief article of export, and was also largely employed in the manufacture of coarse home-spun cloth. The skins, both of the sheep and of the cattle, were exported in considerable quantities to England and Flanders. The latter were largely manufactured into shoes, leather jackets, and other articles of domestic wear. The dairy was evidently an object of considerable attention, and large quantities of cheese appear to have been manufactured. In the Cartularies, there are frequent notices of grants of cheese from the royal demesnes to the various religious houses. In the more cultivated districts, cows were kept in the proportion of ten to every plough; but, in the wilder districts, they were kept in much greater numbers. Large herds of swine fed on the beech-mast, and formed the staple animal food of the lower classes. Mention is made of goats in certain parts of the country, and the rearing of poultry was carefully attended to in the farm establishments, especially in those belonging to the monks, "the constant friends of national comfort and good cheer." In the reign of Malcolm IV., the monks of Scone, at the Feast of All Saints, received from every ploughland which belonged to them, ten hens, along with other farm produce; and the Abbot of Kelso, at Christmas, received a hen, for which he paid a half-penny, from each house of every hamlet belonging to the abbey, and some of these hamlets contained from sixty to seventy households.†

The lakes and rivers of Scotland furnished for all classes, an inexhaustible supply of Fisheries. food; and, as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, both the sea

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 796.

† Ibid. p. 797.

‡ Cart. of Glasgow and of Moray, Ibid. p. 798.

§ Cart. of Kelso, p. 475, Ibid. p. 797, note (s). The cotars were, among other services, bound to weed the corn of their landlords, a custom which still survives in certain districts of the country, and to assist at the washing and shearing of their sheep.

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 798, note (x)

† Cart. of Scone, p. 10, and of Kelso; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 800.

and the river fisheries were objects of importance, and were pursued with great assiduity and skill. Salmon, herrings, haddocks, eod, ling, and almost every other species of fresh-water fish were caught in great quantities, and appear to have been regarded as a necessary of life. Frequent mention is made in the Cartularies, of grants of fishings by the kings and nobles, to the monastic houses, and of the various modes in which this branch of industry, of which they were the great improvers, was carried on. At a very early period there were *stell*, or stationary fishings, on the shores of the sea, and especially near the mouths of the rivers; and numerous grants were made of *retes*, or the right of fishing with a single net and a boat, within certain limits; and of *yairs*, which were machines constructed of wood and stones, and inserted in the stream of the river. Among the provisions which were furnished to the English garrisons during the years 1299 and 1300, there were large quantities of herrings and of stock-fish; and the English monarch, during his invasion of Scotland, carried with him his nets and fishers for the supply of the royal table. The proper season for fishing appears to have been very early regulated by law, for measures were adopted by King Robert Bruce to enforce the "auld statute" against fishing during prohibited times.*

With regard to the prices of provisions at this period, it appears, from the Chamberlain's Rolls, in the reign of King Robert Bruce, that thirty-two bolls of wheat cost fifty-two shillings, or one shilling and sevenpence halfpenny per boll,† equal to one pound four shillings and fourpence halfpenny per boll, or six shillings and a penny per bushel of our present money. Six hundred and forty bolls of meal cost forty pounds, or one shilling and threepence per boll, equal to eighteen shillings and ninepence per boll. The average price of a quantity of barley and barley malt, purchased in 1329, for the royal establishment at Cardross, was one shilling and sixpence halfpenny per boll. Oats cost sixpence the boll. Seventy-six *marks*, or cattle for beef, cost thirty-two pounds, or about eight shillings and twopence each. Twenty cattle for pasture, (probably Highland kyloes,) cost five shillings each. In one instance, five sheep cost seven shillings and sixpence, or eightpence each. On another occasion, thirty sheep were bought for thirty shillings. A cow cost ten shillings; but, in 1261, forty cows were sold for ten pounds, the price of each being five shillings. Twenty-six salted salmon cost eighteen shillings. In one instance, fifty-six bolls of oats, when ground at the mill, were manufactured into sixteen bolls of white meal, thirteen bolls of ordinary meal, and nine and a fourth bolls of coarse meal, leaving a deficiency of seventeen and three-fourths bolls. In modern times, says Kerr, from good oats, there

ought to be a boll of meal for every boll of oats, besides paying mill-dues; we may, therefore, conclude, either that the oats were very bad in 1329, or that the king's miller took a very heavy toll.* Six stones of chalk for whitewashing a new chamber at Cardross, cost three shillings; and seventy-two bushels of lime for a similar purpose, cost eight shillings. In the Wardrobe Accounts for the year 1300, we find that wheat cost from seven to eight shillings per quarter; wheat flour, six shillings; oats and oat-malt, three shillings and sixpence; barley-malt, four shillings and fourpence; peas, two shillings and ninepence; beans, five shillings; salt, from two shillings and sixpence to five shillings; beer, from eight to eighteen shillings the dolium or butt; carcases of oxen, from five to six shillings and eightpence, and fat hogs, from two shillings and twopence, to three shillings and ninepence each. But, in 1264, thirty-eight swine brought only eighteenpence each; and, in 1288, twelve swine sold as low as a shilling a head. Hens cost a penny each; and a tonegall of cheese, weighing six stones, sold for three shillings. The prices of clothes appear to have varied greatly, according to the quality of the materials. Nine prebendaries received from Alexander III. a grant of fifty shillings to provide themselves with vestments. In 1329, John Bysit, a poor monk of Haddington, and one of King Robert's pensioners, was allowed twenty shillings annually for his clothing; and, in 1364, a poor scholar received from David II. four pounds annually, to provide himself with food and clothing; whilst mention is made of a robe for the Clerk of the Rolls, which cost thirty shillings, and of another for Patrick de Monte-alto, which cost four pounds. In 1263, a hundred and seventy hogsheads of wine were bought for four hundred and thirty-nine pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence. In the following year, sixty-seven hogsheads and one pipe cost three hundred and seventy-three pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence; while, in 1300, forty hogsheads were bought for three pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence per hogshead; sixteen, for three pounds; five, for two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; four, for two pounds; and one, for one pound ten shillings.†

With regard to the rent and value of land at this period, it is difficult to speak with certainty, in consequence of our want of definite information respecting the exact proportion which the ancient measures of land,—*caracutæ*, *bovatæ*, &c.—bear to the measures of land in the present day. In the reign of Alexander II., eight acres were purchased by the monks of Melrose for thirty-five marks. We learn, incidentally, that in 1281 land was valued at ten years' purchase; and that, in 1350, a perpetual annuity of eight marks sterling, or five pounds six shillings and eightpence, secured on land, was bought for one hundred and twenty marks, being exactly fifteen years' purchase. Four

* *Calodoula*, vol. i. pp. 763—785, and notes.

† The modern value of these sums has been estimated at fifteen to one. See Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 496.

* Kerr's Bruce, vol. ii. p. 497.

† For these details see the Chamberlain's Rolls, *passim*.

acres of land, at Selkirk, let for eight shillings. Three acres at Hope-Kailie, in Tweeddale, let for three shillings. For eighteen cottages, the monks of Kelso received an annual rent of twelve pennies each, and six days work at harvest and sheep-shearing; for another cottage, with six acres attached to it, and a malt-house, they received six shillings a year. Six cottages at Whitmere, with an acre of land and common of pasture attached to each, let from four shillings and sixpence to five shillings each. A cottage without land, at the same place, let for sixpence only.*

Reference has already been made to the wages of labour,† and, compared with the prices of provisions, it is evident that a fair remuneration was afforded to tradesmen and labourers. A carpenter received threepence a day, with his meat. A smith received twelve pounds, and a mason six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, for his yearly wages. The wages of barrowmen or labourers, in 1326, appear to have varied from fourteenpence to four shillings a week. The gardener of King Alexander III., at Forfar, had for his yearly wages five marks; the gardener at Menmouth only one mark. The keeper of the royal warren at Crail received, for his meat and wages during one year,

sixteen shillings and eightpence, and for the following year either a mark, which was thirteen shillings and fourpence, or a chaldar of oatmeal; and the king's cook and keeper of the royal larder was paid, for his arrears of three years wages, ten pounds.*

It is evident from these facts, that in Scotland, at this period, there was no want of the necessaries and even comforts of life, and that the lower classes of the community must, on the whole, have lived in comfortable circumstances. "Though the people of every rank," says Chalmers, "were but badly lodged, yet were they in general well fed. The lower classes certainly enjoyed a much larger proportion of animal food than they partake of at present. Cattle, swine, and poultry, were raised by them in great abundance, and were all consumed at home. Their bread was made of wheat and oats. The better ranks enjoyed wheaten bread, while the lower orders eat the bread of oats, and sometimes of barley and pease. The higher classes enjoyed the luxury of wine, but the principal beverage of the common people was beer, chiefly brewed from malt of oats. None of the malt was manufactured, in those simple times, into the less healthful beverage of spirits."†

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 800, and note (s).

† See ante, p. 105.

* Chamberlain's Accounts; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 273—275.

† Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 803, 804.

CHAPTER XI.

DAVID II.

A.D. 1329—1346.

KING ROBERT BRUCE was succeeded by his son David, a boy only eight years old. The kingdom was thus already threatened with the evils of a long minority, which the fierce and turbulent spirit of the nobles, the unsettled state of the country, and the jealousy of the English king, were likely to aggravate. The reign of the young monarch began, however, amid circumstances highly auspicious. An honourable peace had been concluded with England, which, by the marriage of David with Joanna, promised to be permanent. Baliol, worn out by age, hopeless of success, and soothed by the donations of Robert Bruce, had renounced all claims to the Scottish crown. The foreign relations of the kingdom had been placed on a footing the most satisfactory, by an alliance with France and Norway, and a reconciliation with the Papal See. With his dying breath, Robert had nominated as regent, during the minority of his son, Randolph, Earl of Moray; and the parliament of Scotland had sanctioned the appointment. Randolph combined in himself all the qualities of an able ruler. Wise and sagacious in peace, his military talents were of the highest order. In the administration of justice he displayed a stern severity which overawed crime, and placed the meanest property under the protection of the law. By a singular arrangement, the sheriff of each county was held responsible for the thefts committed within his jurisdiction; so that if even the common plough-irons, left by the husbandman in the open fields, were carried away, the price of the stolen article was paid by the sheriff. One example may be given of his impartial administration. A priest had been murdered by a person who had fled to Rome, and there obtained absolution for his crime. Returning to Scotland, he was seized and brought before the regent. The deed was admitted by the criminal, but the pardon of the holy father was pleaded as exempting him from punishment. Randolph ordered him to instant execution, at the same time remarking: "The Pope might pardon you for killing a priest; but his remission cannot avail you for murdering a subject of the King of Scotland."

The able administration of the regent, however, could not shield his country from the evils of foreign aggression and intestine treason. Edward III., in whom daring ambition was united with great perfidy, already contemplated the renewal of the struggle for the conquest of Scotland. The treaty of Northampton, and his alliance with David, forbade any direct attempt for this purpose; but cool, crafty, and unscrupulous,

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xx.

he resolved, in the first instance, to content himself with fomenting the disturbances of the Scots by raising up a new claimant to the throne, and to wait a favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of his designs. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce for the Scottish crown, died in obscurity in France, leaving two sons. The eldest of these, Edward Baliol, on the death of Robert Bruce, deemed this a fitting time for the renewal of his claims to the throne. The king was a minor; Douglas, as we have seen, had left the kingdom, on his expedition to the Holy Land, so that his great military talents were now lost to his country; Randolph was advanced in years, while the powerful family of Comyn, to whom Baliol was related through his mother, and the barons, who had espoused their cause, viewed the family of Bruce with intense dislike. Crossing to England, Baliol found matters in a train most favourable to his enterprise. During the temporary success of Edward I., large estates in Scotland had been conferred by that monarch on many of his nobles, who had aided him in conquering the country. On the establishment of the independence of the kingdom, these estates reverted to their original possessors. Some of the English nobles, however, laid claim to estates in Scotland, on the ground of lineal succession, which, they affirmed, no change in the government could affect. The treaty of Northampton distinctly recognized the rights of three of these, namely, Henry de Percy, Thomas, Lord Wake, and Henry de Beaumont. The estates of Percy were accordingly restored; but both Robert Bruce and Randolph successively evaded or delayed the claims of Wake and Beaumont. The caution of the king and regent was justified by the circumstance, that both of these barons were bitterly opposed to the treaty of Northampton, of whose provisions they sought to avail themselves,—were known to be hostile to the family of Bruce; and, through the extensive estates to which they laid claim, could, at any moment, precipitate on Scotland an invading army, to aid the efforts of discontent or treason. The disinherited barons, as they were called, determined to enforce their claims by an appeal to arms, and to make common cause with Baliol in the invasion of Scotland.* Accordingly, with four hundred men-at-arms, and about four thousand archers and soldiers of every description, they set sail from Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber, towards the end of July, 1332.

The conduct of Edward III. at this period, was marked by his usual duplicity. To the person and interests of David, his brother-in-law, he professed the warmest attachment; reiterated his determination to respect the treaty of peace, and transmitted instructions to Henry de Percy, to guard the marches, and to secure and punish those

* Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 170—173, and notes.

Dangers from the ambition of Edward Baliol.

Claims of the disinherited barons—

—in concert with Baliol, they prepare to invade Scotland.

Perfidy and duplicity of Edward III.

who might be arming in defiance of his prohibition.* On the other hand, Edward Baliol, of whose pretensions and movements he could not plead ignorance, was in England in consequence of his permission; the disinherited barons were allowed to collect their strength and invade Scotland by sea if not by land, and his instructions to Percy were transmitted after Baliol and the barons had embarked.

While the storm was thus gathering over Scotland, the young king and his consort, Joanna, were crowned at Seonc, on the 24th of November, 1331.† The regent having received information respecting the movements of Baliol and his allies, speedily assembled an army to resist the invaders. He marched first to the frontier of East Lothian; but, having there heard of the naval armament, he retraced his steps to provide for the defence of the interior

of the country. At this critical juncture, to the unspeakable grief of his countrymen, he died suddenly at Musselburgh, on the 20th of July, 1332. The Scottish historians affirm that he was poisoned by an English friar, an agent of the invading faction, during a feast held at the Wemyss in Fife, and there is every reason to believe that these statements are well founded.‡ The death of this great man, under circumstances of such peril, which he alone of the Scottish leaders was able to overcome, must be regarded as a national calamity. The parliament immediately assembled at Perth, for the election of his

successor, and, after great contention among the nobility, Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew to Robert Bruce, was appointed to the regency.§ Feeble, vacillating, and destitute of military talent, Mar appears to have been utterly unfitted for a situation so arduous and important. His connexion with the royal family, to which he owed his appointment, did not secure the ability and courage necessary for the defence of the country at this crisis; as the disastrous events which followed, too clearly indicate. Meanwhile, the

English fleet, after a prosperous voyage, appeared in the Firth of Forth, and cast anchor at Wester-Kinghorn, a small town on the shore of Fife. The troops were immediately disembarked. A brave, but unsuccessful resistance was made to the invaders by the Earl of Fife, at the head of some men hastily collected. His force was quickly routed, and the younger Seton slain.|| Baliol and his associates now marched to Dunfermline, where they were strengthened by numbers of the discontented nobles; they then proceeded northward, and encamped at Forteviot, on the river Earn. His whole force did not exceed three thousand men. On the northern bank of the river lay the army of Mar, num-

bering upwards of thirty thousand soldiers, and including the principal nobility of Scotland; while the Earl of March, with an army nearly as numerous, was only eight miles distant on the enemy's left flank.* But Baliol had secret friends in the Scottish armies, and their disgraceful treachery, combined with the incapacity of the regent, rescued him from his perilous situation. Andrew Murray, of Tullybardine, a Scottish baron in the army of March, basely pointed out to the English a ford in the Earn, by which it could be crossed in safety;† and, setting out at midnight, they passed the river, and surprised the camp of the Scots, who were completely taken at unawares; for Mar had not only neglected to post sentinels, but had allowed his troops to abandon themselves to intemperance and riotous mirth. On the first alarm, young Randolph, Earl of Moray, hastily drew together three hundred men-at-arms, and supported

Defeat of the Scots at Dupplin.

by Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, Alexander Fraser, and Robert Bruce, a natural son of King Robert, he succeeded in checking the onset of the English. But Mar, and the rest of the army, rushed down in one confused mass, without order or discipline, and in an instant overwhelmed Randolph and his little band. Wedged together in inextricable confusion, the front ranks trodden down by the masses behind pressing on, the Scottish troops were slaughtered almost without resistance. Hundreds of them were suffocated by the weight of their armour, and perished without stroke of weapon. The rout soon became total. By nine in the morning the whole Scottish army was slain, put to flight, or taken captive. Such was the battle of Dupplin Moor, one of the most calamitous and disgraceful events in the annals of our country. The English historians ascribe this easy victory to a miraculous interference of the Almighty on their behalf; while the Scottish writers regard it as an infliction of divine vengeance on their countrymen, for their haughtiness and pride. In this disastrous action there fell many of the bravest of the Scottish nobility and knights, and not fewer than thirteen thousand of the common soldiers and camp followers. Among the slain were the Regent Mar, Robert, Earl of Carriek, a natural son of Edward Bruce, Alexander Fraser, Chamberlain of Scotland, Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, and young Randolph, son of the great Earl of Moray. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable.‡ It is satisfactory to know that Murray did not escape the punishment which his base treachery merited. He was made prisoner at Perth, about two months after, tried, condemned, and executed.

The position of Baliol, notwithstanding his victory, was still critical, for the Baliol fortifies Perth. army of March was greatly superior in numbers to the force under his com-

* Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 518, 529.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxi.

‡ Wynntown, vol. ii. p. 146; Barbour, p. 442; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xix. He was buried at Dunfermline.

§ Wynntown, vol. ii. p. 147; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxii.

|| Ibid.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxii.

† He fixed a stake in the river to direct them; Ibid. chap. xxv.; Murray was an ancestor of the Duke of Athol.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chaps. xxiii. xxiv.; Wynntown, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153; Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 273.

mand. He, therefore, took possession of Perth the day after the battle, and hastily fortified it with palisades, in the expectation of an attack from the Earl of March.* But the conduct of this noble was so irresolute and equivocal, as to afford strong grounds for the suspicion that he and the other barons of his party were in friendly correspondence with Baliol. As soon as intelligence reached him of the overthrow at Dupplin, he hastened to Perth, apparently with the intention of assaulting it; but, on reaching the high ground immediately above the town, he commanded

his men to halt. On perceiving this, Beaumont exclaimed to his adherents, "Take courage, for that army, as I conjecture, will not hurt us, because I perceive, without doubt, our friends and well-wishers amongst them."† Events soon showed how accurate was this estimate of the feelings and intentions of March and his associates. The resolution to assault the town was abandoned, and preparations were made for a blockade,—a step from which the English garrison, abundantly supplied with provisions from the fleet lying at anchor in the Tay, had little to fear. At this moment, Crab, the Flemish mariner, who so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick, appeared with ten vessels in the Tay, and attacked the English fleet; but, though he at first made a prize of Henry de Beaumont's ship, he was in the end defeated, and compelled to seek refuge in Berwick.‡ Disheartened by this disaster, and glad of a decent pretext for abandoning the siege, March disbanded his army; and this event was followed at no long distance by his own accession, and that of a considerable number of the Scottish nobles, to the English interest. Baliol

having put down all opposition to his claims, was crowned at Scone, on the 24th of September;§ and thus, by the events of a few weeks, the struggles of many years, crowned by the brilliant victory of Bannockburn, appeared to be rendered abortive. The spirit of the nation, however, was overawed, not broken. The first act of the newly made sovereign exhibited at once his own baseness, and the real, though disclaimed encouragement which he had received from the English monarch. Hastening southward to Roxburgh, he there surrendered the independence of Scotland, acknowledging Edward as his liege lord, giving up the town, castle, and territory of Berwick and other lands upon the marches, amounting to the value of two thousand pounds a year; engaging to assist the English monarch in all his wars with two hundred men-at-arms, maintained at his own expense, and binding his successors to perform the same service with a hundred men-at-arms, under the penalty of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and if this enormous sum could not be paid, it was stipulated that the English monarch

should take possession of the remainder of Scotland and the isles.* Baliol also offered to marry the Princess Joanna, affecting to consider her as only betrothed to David Bruce, and offered to provide for his unfortunate rival in whatever way Edward should recommend. In return, Edward pledged himself to maintain Baliol on the throne with the whole military strength of his kingdom. The disgust which this bargain excited among the Scots when its terms became known, aroused the patriotic spirit of the nobles and people, and alienated from Baliol many of those whom interest or fear had hitherto attached to his cause. Already, indeed, his feeble power was tottering to its fall. The town of Perth, which he had fortified and intrusted to the care of

Capture of Perth. the Earl of Fife, was surprised by Sir Robert Keith and James and Simon Frazer, nephews of King Robert, who destroyed the fortifications, and took the governor and his family prisoners.† The office of regent was conferred upon the veteran Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, who had married Christian, the sister of the late king. Meanwhile, Baliol lay encamped in careless security at Annan; and the Earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, along with Sir Simon Fraser and Archibald Douglas, brother of the Good Sir James, having received intelligence of the Baliol's expulsion new king's exposed situation, collected a body of horse at Moffat, and, rapidly traversing the country, broke in upon his encampment at midnight. After a brief resistance, his troops were routed and put to the sword. Henry Baliol, his brother, Walter Comyn, Sir John de Mowbray, and Sir Richard Kirby were slain. Alexander, Earl of Carrick, was taken prisoner; and Baliol himself, almost naked, and with scarcely a single attendant, with difficulty escaped into England.‡

On receiving intelligence of the expulsion of Baliol, and of a subsequent inroad of Edward, which the Scottish leaders made into the English border district, Edward had the effrontery to accuse the Scots of having violated the treaty of Northampton;§ and, in his correspondence with the Pope and the king of France, he grossly misrepresented the state of affairs in Scotland, and threw upon the Scottish nation the whole blame of the recommencement of hostilities.

Baliol now renewed his allegiance to the English monarch, and having ceded part of the Scottish kingdom, and surrendered the independence of the rest, received in return promises of immediate aid in the attempt to win back his crown. Meanwhile, the Scots exasperated by the perfidy of Edward, and encouraged by the expulsion of his vassal king, resumed their destructive forays into England. Archibald Douglas, at the head of three thousand men, invaded Gillsland, and wasted with fire and sword for thirty miles the estates of Lord Dacres,

* Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

† Wynslow, vol. ii. p. 156.

‡ Wynslow, p. 150.

§ Wynslow, vol. ii. p. 157; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 190.

* Hailes, pp. 191, 192; Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 536 and 548.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxv.

‡ Ibid.; Wynslow, vol. ii. p. 159.

§ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 552.

who had received and hospitably entertained Baliol after his flight from Annan. In revenge for this incursion, Sir Anthony Lucy, of Cockermouth, entered

Defeat and capture of the Knight of Liddesdale—

Scotland with eight hundred men, and ravaged the districts through which he passed. On their returning, the English force was met near Lochmaben, by Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, when a brief but desperate encounter ensued, in which Lucy was severely wounded, and Douglas was totally defeated, with the loss of a hundred and sixty men-at-arms, including two knights.* A hundred knights were made prisoners along with Douglas himself, who was strictly confined in iron fetters by the orders of Edward, and was two years detained in captivity.† This event was followed by another equally disastrous. Baliol had returned to Scotland, and, accompanied by many of the English barons who were friendly to his cause, established his quarters in the castle of Roxburgh, waiting for the promised reinforcements of Edward to begin the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the regent, resolved to attack him before these succours arrived, and with a strong body of troops assailed and attempted to storm the castle of Roxburgh. In the conflict which ensued, a brave soldier, named Ralph Golding, having imprudently advanced before his companions, was thrown down and captured. Moray generously

attempted to rescue him, but unsupported by his men, and overpowered by the English soldiers, speedily shared his fate. Disdaining to surrender to his assailants, he exclaimed: "I yield to the king of England, conduct me to him." Edward issued orders for his imprisonment at Durham, and, like his co-patriot Douglas, Moray remained for two years in strict confinement.‡ Deprived thus of their bravest leaders, at the moment when their services were most required, the Scots made choice of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, surnamed Tyneman,§ and brother of the Good Sir James, as their regent,—a choice every way unfortunate, as succeeding events sufficiently proved. The English monarch, emboldened by these

successes, resolved to carry on the war with vigour. He summoned his army to assemble at Newcastle, besought the prayers of the church for himself and his troops engaged in the defence of the kingdom, endeavoured to dissuade the Earl of Flanders and his subjects from in any way assisting the Scots, and sought to justify his proceedings to the king of France by alleging that the Scots, having invaded England in open violation of the terms of peace, deserved the heaviest chastisement which his arms could inflict.||

The capture of Berwick was the first object

which engaged the attention of Edward, and having united his force with that of Baliol, he sat down before the town, which was strictly invested by land, while a large fleet supplied the assailants with provisions, and prevented relief to the besieged by sea. Sir William Seton was governor of the town, and the defence of the castle had been intrusted by the Scots to the Earl of March, notwithstanding the grave suspicions of treason to which his conduct after the battle of Dupplin exposed him. Edward at first attempted to carry the place by storm; but though the garrison was small, and ill prepared for an attack, and the assailants succeeded in filling up the ditches and planting their scaling ladders, they were repulsed with considerable loss, while a portion of their fleet was set on fire and destroyed.* The siege was, therefore, converted into a strict blockade, and the garrison were at last reduced to such distress, that they agreed to surrender if not relieved before a certain day, giving hostages in the mean time to Edward, among whom was the son of Seton, the governor. Before the day agreed on for the surrender of the town had arrived, the regent Douglas, at the head of a numerous army, crossed the Tweed, and advanced toward Berwick, by the south side of the river. In spite of the strenuous resistance of the besiegers, Douglas succeeded in throwing into the beleaguered town a party of soldiers under Sir William Keith; but as the English could not be induced to quit their vantage ground, or to engage in battle, he entered Northumberland, and by assaulting Bamborough Castle, where the young Queen Philippa was residing, endeavoured to produce a diversion in favour of the distressed garrison.† Edward, however, refused to be drawn from his position, even by the peril which menaced his queen, and the period stipulated for the succour of Berwick having now expired, he demanded that it should be immediately given up. The garrison, who, in the mean time, had chosen Sir William Keith as their governor, refused to comply, alleging that by the relief and reinforcement, which they had received, their former paction was rendered null and void.‡ Edward repeated his demand, affirming that as the Scots had

been unable to compel him to raise the siege, they were bound to surrender, and threatening in the event of further refusal to put the hostages to death. The garrison still remaining firm, Thomas Seton, the son of the late governor, a brave and handsome young man, was hanged so near the walls that his unhappy father could witness his dying struggles.§ Horror-struck at this tragedy, and dreading that the rest of the hostages would all be put to death, the citizens surrounded Keith and the Earl of March, clamouring for an immedi-

ate relief. The Earl of March, clamouring for an immedi-

* Walsingham, p. 132.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxvii.

‡ Ibid.

§ Rymer vol. iv. pp. 556, 557.

§ Ibid.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxvii.

† Ibid., chap. xxviii.

‡ Scala Chron., pp. 163, 164.

§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxvii.; Tyrell, vol. iii. p. 379; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 374—384, Appendix.

ate surrender, and refusing any longer to defend the town. Keith, who confidently expected immediate relief, yielded to their wishes, and a second treaty was formed with Edward, according to which the town and castle of Berwick was to be unconditionally given up before the hour of vespers on the 19th of July, unless the Scots in the meanwhile could reinforce the garrison with two hundred men-at-arms, or defeat the English in a pitched battle.* Having concluded this negotiation, Keith hastened to Douglas, who was then ravaging Northumberland, and representing the importance of Berwick, and the certainty of its loss, unless instantly relieved, urged him to hazard a battle. The importunities of the governor unfortunately prevailed with the regent, a brave man, but destitute of the higher qualities necessary to a successful leader, and in defiance of the dying recommendation of Bruce, that the fate of the kingdom should never, if possible, depend on the doubtful issue of a general engagement, the Scottish army crossed the Tweed on the 18th of July, and encamped at Dunse Park, a few miles to the north of Berwick. They found the English strongly posted on the crest of an eminence, called Halidon Hill, situated to the west of the town. They were

divided into four great battles ^{Battle of} ^{Halidon Hill.} flanked with numerous bodies of archers, and were further strengthened by a morass, which intervened between their lines and the opposite hill on which the Scottish leaders halted and drew up their army. It was divided also into four bodies; the first was led by the Earl of Moray, the son of Randolph, but assisted, on account of his youth, by two veteran warriors, John and Simon Fraser; the second, by the young Stewart of Scotland, under the direction of his uncle, Sir James Stewart, of Rosyth; the third, by the regent himself; and the fourth, or reserve, by Hugh Earl of Ross.† The entire Scottish force is said to have numbered fifteen thousand men, including the pages and camp followers, who were more numerous in all likelihood than the actual combatants. As the position of the English army could not be assailed by cavalry, the Scottish nobles and men-at-arms committed their horses to the care of the pages, and with their wonted impetuosity rushed on foot to the charge. While descending the hill, they were exposed to the deadly discharges of the English archers, and suffered severely in consequence, but managed to reach the intervening morass, resolute and in good order. Here the disasters of the day began; for, impeded in their advance by the soft and spongy nature of the ground, they broke their ranks and struggled in confusion through the bog. Meanwhile the English archers, from the slope of the adjoining hill, poured on them, with certain aim and fatal effect, volleys of arrows, by which hundreds were every instant wounded or slain. The arrows, says an ancient writer, flew as thick as motes in the sun-

beam.* Some of the Scots in the rear, on witnessing the carnage of their friends, wavered and fled; but the better part of the army extricated themselves at last from the marshy hollow, and, advancing up the hill, made a fierce attack upon the enemy. But, breathless and disordered by their ascent of the eminence, they were unable to sustain the conflict with fresh troops, posted in a most advantageous situation, and after a brief struggle they were driven down the hill ^{Defeat of the} ^{Scots.} with great slaughter. The Earl of

Ross, in leading the reserve to attack the flank of the wing commanded by Baliol, was repulsed and slain; the regent himself received a mortal wound, and was taken prisoner; the Earls of Sutherland and Menteith shared his fate, and the Scottish army gave way on all sides, and was pursued for many miles with great slaughter. Few of the leaders and men-at-arms escaped, as the pages on witnessing the issue of the battle fled on the horses of their masters, whom they abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Besides the nobles already mentioned, the aged Earl of Lennox, one of the earliest adherents of King Robert Bruce; the Earl of Carriek, son of Edward Bruce; the Earl of Athole, nephew of King Robert; James and Simon Fraser, John and James Stewart, uncles of the Stewart of Scotland, John de Graham, Alexander de Lindsay, and other barons, together with fourteen thousand men, were left on this fatal field.† So great was the slaughter of the nobility, that, according to an English historian, it was the general voice that the Scottish wars were ended, for no man remained of that nation who had either influence to assemble, or skill to lead, an army. The disastrous battle of Halidon Hill was fought on the 20th of July, and it was followed by the immediate surrender of the town ^{Surrender of} ^{Berwick.} and castle of Berwick, and the

almost entire submission of Scotland. The Earl of March and many other persons of rank swore fealty to Edward, and openly embraced the English interest. Five of the principal fortresses of the kingdom, however, still remained in the possession of the friends of Bruce. Malcolm Fleming secured the strong castle of Dumbarton, Lochleven was held by Alan de Vipont, Urquhart in Inverness by Thomas Lauder, and Kildrummie by Christian Bruce, the sister of the late king, and wife of Sir Andrew Moray, who still languished a prisoner in England. John Thomson, a man of obscure birth, but great bravery and skill, who led home the broken remains of the Scottish force after the defeat of Dundalk, garrisoned and resolutely defended the stronghold of Lochedoun in Carriek.‡ Alarmed for the safety of the young king and his consort, Fleming found means to convey them from Dumbarton Castle to France, where they were kindly received by Philip the Sixth.§

* MS. Harleian, quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 28.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxviii.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 170; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 204.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxviii.

§ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 207, and note.

* Fordun, vol. iv. pp. 604-609.

† Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 202, 203, and Appendix.

The English monarch employed every means to secure his conquest. He compelled the homage of such of the Scottish nobles as were in his power, seized and forfeited the estates of the barons in the county of Berwick, who held their property by charter from Robert Bruce; and in order to secure the important town of Berwick in future to the English interest, his tenants and vassals were prohibited from granting sub-leases to any but Englishmen, while the Scottish monks, who had animated their countrymen during the former sieges, were removed to monasteries south of the Trent, and their places supplied by ecclesiastics more favourably disposed to the views of the English monarch. In Baliol, now again nominally king of Scotland, Edward found a ready tool for his grasping ambition. A mock parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 18th of February, composed exclusively of English nobles, or those friendly to the English

supremacy. Among these, the Balaio dismembers the kingdom estates of the Scottish barons who of Scotland. had fallen at Halidon Hill, or who still adhered to the cause of David Bruce, were liberally divided by Baliol, while at the same time he ceded to Edward the town, castle, and county of Berwick, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, with all the towns and castles, and completed the humiliation of his country by doing homage for the remainder.* The subserviency of Baliol, however, could not give stability to his power, which was doomed to be lost almost as quickly as it was gained. John de Mowbray died, leaving daughters, but no male issue, and his brother Alexander was preferred by Baliol to the estates as heir male. But the cause of the female heirs was warmly espoused by Henry de Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and the Earl of Athole, to whom Baliol was chiefly indebted for his elevation. On the denial of their suit, these haughty nobles retired in disgust from the court, and hastening to their own domains, prepared to extort by force, what they could not induce Baliol to grant from a regard to justice or gratitude.† Alarmed at the consequences of this powerful secession, Baliol immediately reversed his decision, and put the female heirs in possession of the disputed estates; but this course, while it failed to conciliate the offended nobles, exasperated De Mowbray, who speedily joined the party of David Bruce. At this juncture Sir Andrew Moray, who had been taken prisoner at Roxburgh, returned from England, after a two years' imprisonment. The friends of the exiled family, encouraged by his presence, and the dissensions among their enemies, rose in all directions, and united for the Successes of expulsion of Baliol and his adherents. Richard Talbot, while on his way to England with a body of soldiers, was

attacked and made prisoner by Sir William Keith, of Galston.* Beaumont had retired to his castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, to which Moray, assisted by Mowbray, immediately laid siege. The fortress, situated on a precipitous rock overhanging the Moray frith, and connected with the main land by a narrow neck of land, resisted all attempts to take it by storm. Moray had recourse, therefore, to a rigid blockade, and having discovered and cut off the pipes which supplied the garrison with water, they were speedily compelled to surrender. Beaumont, on the payment of a large ransom, was permitted to return to England.† In the south and west of Scotland the movements of the royalists were equally daring and successful. The young Stewart escaped after the battle of Halidon Hill to Bute, where he was concealed by his vassals from the search of his enemies. On the first tidings of revolt he prepared to leave his hiding-place, and with the assistance of three retainers quitted Rothesay in a boat for Dumbarton, which he reached in safety, and was joyfully received by Malcolm Fleming, the governor of the castle. He immediately collected his vassals, and stormed the castle of Dunoon, in Cowal;‡ and the men of Bute, animated by the example of their chief, instantly rose upon the English governor and put him to death, and drove the enemy out of that district.§

The spirit of insurrection spread quickly into Annandale, where the patriots, on the news of Stewart's success, left their fastnesses, and headed by Sir William Carruthers, joined the force of that young nobleman. The insurgents were next strengthened by the accession of Thomas Bruce and the men of Kyle; and soon after, Randolph, Earl of Moray—who had fled to France after the fatal battle of Halidon—returned to his own country, and lent the aid of his great talents and bravery to the national cause. So bold and skillful were the efforts of the patriots, that they were everywhere crowned with success, and in a short period the English were expelled from the whole south and west of Scotland. The necessities of the country demanded the appointment of a regency; and accordingly, by the choice of the Scottish nobles, the young Stewart, and Randolph, Earl of Moray, were associated in the office. The Steward, in addition to his claims as the grandson of Robert Bruce, and nearest heir to the throne, had already displayed a wisdom and valour far beyond his years;|| while Moray inherited the fame and chivalrous

The Steward and the Earl of Moray are chosen joint regents.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xl.; Walsingham, p. 134.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid, chap. xxxii. Wyntown says, "The Brandanys of Bute" overwhelmed Lyle the governor with showers of stones, vol. ii. p. 186. According to Fordun, they asked and obtained, as a reward for their services, a perpetual exemption from the payment of *multures*.

|| "He was a comely youth, tall and robust, modest, liberal, gay, and courteous, and for the innate sweetness of his disposition, generally beloved by true Scotsmen." Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxii.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 214.

* Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 614, 616, and Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 203; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 209—211.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 175.

loyalty of his father. The regents followed up the previous successes by instant and vigorous measures for the punishment of the Earl of Athole, now,—in consequence of the removal of Talbot and Beaumont,—almost the sole stay of Baliol in Scotland, and who was formidable from his feudal influence and vast possessions, which comprehended, in addition to his patrimonial estates in Scotland and England, the extensive lands of the family of Comyn, and those of the Steward, bestowed on him by Baliol, in reward of his services. Moray, having collected a powerful force, proceeded rapidly to the north, and, attacking the earl before his preparations were completed, drove him into the wilds of Lochaber, and compelled him to surrender. He soon after renounced allegiance to Baliol and embraced the cause of David Bruce.* Baliol, thus deserted by the nobles, and viewed with indignation and contempt by the people, fled once more to England, to claim the protection and assistance of his liege lord.

The English king, though the season was unfavourable for military operations, determined, with characteristic promptitude, to support his vassal and regain his conquest. His expedition was viewed with little favour by his military barons, many of whom failed to appear when summoned to join the army; but, bent on his purpose, and confident of success, he pushed rapidly with his army into Scotland.† As the Scots had retired to the northern provinces on the news of his approach, his progress was altogether unopposed, and he found himself at last, amid the rigours of winter, in the heart of the Lothians, without having accomplished anything of note, save the capture of some robbers, on whom he executed summary punishment.‡ Baliol, who accompanied him, after ravaging Avondale, and the districts of Carrick and Cunningham, with a portion of the army, held a mock court at Renfrew, where he feasted royally, and rewarded his adherents by gifts of estates belonging to his enemies.§ But the expedition, instead of crushing the patriot party in Scotland, lent to it new vigour, and even the time-serving Earl of March renounced, at this period, his fealty to Edward and joined the friends of David Bruce. Though no general engagement took place, a desultory warfare was maintained between the parties. The

^{Siege of} castle of Lochleven, situated in the midst of the beautiful lake of ^{by the English.} that name, was commanded by Alan de Vipont, for David Bruce. Sir John de Strivelin, a Scotchman, but in the interest of Baliol, proceeded to besiege it, with a large body of English troops. Strivelin erected a fort in the churchyard of Kinross, where a narrow neck of land projects into the lake. From this point, by means of boat attacks, the English made frequent

attempts to surprise and storm the fortress, but were uniformly repulsed, with considerable loss, and compelled at last to resort to a strict blockade. But one dark and stormy night, De Vipont, the governor,—having ascertained that Strivelin, with a portion of his force, was absent in Edinburgh attending a religious festival,—conveyed his men secretly to land, and by a sudden and well-planned attack captured the fort, and drove the English from their position, with great slaughter, so that they were compelled to raise the siege.* Encouraged by these successes, the regents summoned a parliament, to meet at Dairsie, in Fife, which was attended by the Earls of March and Athole; Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell; Alexander de Mowbray; William Douglas, of Liddesdale; and many of the principal Scottish barons. The insolence of Athole, however,—who, from the unpopularity of Baliol, his own relation to the Comyns, and almost princely possessions, was probably not without hopes of gaining the crown,—proved so offensive to Randolph and the other nobles that after a scene of stormy recrimination, the meeting broke up in confusion, without having resolved on any course for the future defence of the country.†

Edward, on his return to England, after his fruitless expedition, busied himself in preparing for a new invasion of Scotland. Philip, King of France, endeavoured to mediate between the two kingdoms; but all proposals for peace were sternly rejected by the English parliament; and on the 11th of July, Edward marched from Newcastle with a numerous and well-appointed force, while his fleet was ordered to sail for the Frith of Forth, and to co-operate with the land troops on their arrival. One part of the English army, led by the king himself, entered Scotland by Carlisle, while another, commanded by Baliol, advanced by Berwick.‡ After ravaging the country with unsparing cruelty, the two divisions united at Glasgow, and marched on the town of Perth. They met with no organized opposition, and the country through which they passed was completely deserted, the inhabitants with their cattle having retired, by order of the regents, to the inaccessible fastnesses among the mountains. While wise

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 17. A more romantic account is given by some Scottish historians of this siege and the defeat of the English. According to them, Strivelin, in despair of obtaining possession of the castle by storm, determined to drown the garrison by damming up the waters of the lake at the eastern extremity, where they escape by the river Leven to the sea. De Vipont, however, sent out, at dead of night, a small boat with four men, who made a breach in the mound, and the whole body of water, breaking forth with incredible fury, swept away the tents, baggage, and troops of the besiegers, and nearly destroyed their army. Though the remains of the mound are still shown, the story has been pronounced to be physically improbable. See Tytler, vol. ii. p. 39, a note.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 2 and note.

‡ Ibid.; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxiv.

* Hailes, vol. ii. p. 215.

† Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 277.

‡ Ibid.

§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxix.

Meeting of the Scottish parliament, April, 1335.

Dissensions among the nobles.

Renewed invasion of Scotland by Edward.

Declining a general engagement, the Scots continued to hang on the advancing columns of the enemy, cutting off detached parties, and otherwise harassing them.

About the close of July, Guy, Count of Namur, landed at Berwick, with a large body of Flemish troops, to assist Edward in his Scottish campaign.

Imagining the country south of

the Forth to be entirely conquered, he advanced confidently to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. On reaching the town he was suddenly attacked by the Earls of Moray and March, and Sir Alexander Ramsay, at the head of a strong force. A fierce engagement ensued on the Borough Muir, in which the Flemings, clad in complete steel, had at first the advantage, till compelled to give way by the appearance of Douglas of Liddesdale, who came down from the Pentland Hills with a reinforcement. The Flemish mercenaries retreated to the town, closely pursued by the Scots, with whom, amid the narrow streets, they maintained a fierce conflict, signalized by many acts of individual prowess.* Driven at last to the rock on which the castle now stands, the Flemings killed their horses, and forming a temporary parapet with their carcases, bravely defended themselves against their assailants. They were at last compelled to surrender, and Moray and Douglas treated the brave strangers with distinguished courtesy; and on receiving their promise not to assist Edward in the Scottish wars, dismissed them without ransom, and accompanied them with an escort across the border.†

The generous conduct of the regent, however, had a disastrous issue. He was attacked and taken prisoner on his way home by the Earl of Moray. William de Pressen, the English warden of Jedburgh forest, who, after loading his captive with irons, committed him to Bamborough castle.‡ Baliol, meanwhile, overran and wasted the northern districts of Scotland, while the Earl of Cornwall, at the head of a large body of troops, spread desolation over the western portion of the kingdom. So completely were the Scots overawed by these successes, and the captivity of Moray, that the boldest were compelled to dissemble, and the lips of children alone durst express the unwavering loyalty of the nation. "If you asked a grown-up person," says Wyntown, "who was his king, he dared make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol, while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with

the name of David Bruce."§ The Earl of Athole joins the Earl of Athole, whose ambition, English— along with the malignant influence which he exercised on the young Steward, had

* Tradition long pointed out the spot at the foot of the tower, where David de Annand, a Scottish knight, is reported to have struck down with his battle-axe one of these mailed foreigners, killing horse and man, and shattering a huge stone in the pavement by a single blow.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxv.

‡ Ibid.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 222, and note.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 194.

contributed mainly to produce this deplorable state of things, hastened to renew his submission to Edward. He accordingly sent five deputies who concluded a treaty at Perth, in which the English monarch agreed that the Earl of Athole, and all other Scottish barons who came under this peace, should receive a free pardon, and have their estates in Scotland secured, unless they should hereafter be excepted from indemnity by common assent.* Athole was rewarded for his useful versatility by the restoration of his large English estates, and the appointment to the office of Governor.†

Edward, having thus put down all opposition, and secured a devoted and powerful adherent, returned to England after fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling.

Athole, the newly-made governor, entered on his duties with the characteristic zeal of a political apostate, and persecuted the friends of Bruce with great rancour. Determined, if possible, to extinguish the spirit of loyalty, he laid siege to the castle of Kildrummie, in which Christian, the sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of the veteran Sir Andrew Moray, had taken refuge. On learning this movement, Moray hastened along with the Earl of March, and the Knight of Liddesdale, at the head of fifteen hundred men, to the relief of the fortress. The troops of Athole

enamped in the forest of Kilblane, near Braemar, were surprised and speedily routed. Athole, in whose character bravery seems to have been the only redeeming feature, refused to flee, and, though abandoned by his soldiers, continued fighting till he was slain under a great oak tree, along with five knights who attended him.‡ The death of this nobleman—whose courage, rapacious cruelty, and unprincipled ambition, together with his vast feudal influence, both in Scotland and England, had made him not more abhorred than feared—infused hope into the small band of patriots on whose efforts the liberties of Scotland mainly depended; and at a parliament held in Dunfermline, they made

choice of Sir Andrew Moray as regent of the kingdom.§ The intelligence of Athole's defeat and death, followed by a new insurrection in Scotland, determined Edward to lead a powerful army into the northern kingdom and crush the revolt before it had gathered strength.

He penetrated first to Perth, and afterwards marched through the counties of Aberdeen, Nairn, and Inverness, ravaging the country, burning many of the towns and villages, and putting to death such of the inhabitants as he supposed to be unfriendly to his pretensions. The expedition, however, failed altogether in its main designs. The cruelty of

* Knighton, p. 2566; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvi.

† Ibid.; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 201; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvi.; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 220, and note.

§ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxvii.

Edward only irritated, when it was intended to subdue, and roused the spirit of vengeance, which awaited but his departure to make itself felt. The

Wise policy of regent, who wisely declined a general engagement, lost no opportunity of harassing the foe. Cool, crafty, and brave,

he hung on the rear of the English, and, availing himself of his knowledge of the country, made sudden and destructive attacks on their stragglers and detached parties, and then rapidly retreated through some narrow mountain pass, only to appear again at some new point in the march. Wyntown records one incident strikingly characteristic of the cool intrepidity of Moray. He was encamped with a portion of his force at Stronkaltere, near the base of the Grampians, when Edward, who had received notice of his position, advanced with his whole army to surprise him. The Scottish scouts hastened to inform Moray, who was then hearing mass, of the near approach of the English. The veteran warrior, in spite of the anxious impatience of his troops, continued reverently to listen to the service till it was concluded. His war-horse was at last led out, and its appointments carefully inspected, but, in the act of mounting, one of the straps which buckled his armour gave way. He ordered an attendant to bring him a coffer from his baggage, out of which he took a piece of skin, and sitting leisurely down, proceeded to cut a strip, with which he mended the fracture. He then deliberately closed the coffer and returned it to its place, and, mounting his horse, formed his troops in close order, and began a masterly retreat, in which he succeeded in leading off his force without the loss of a man. The unruffled bearing of the general doubtless saved his party, to whom a confused and hasty retreat must have proved destructive, from the proximity and vast superiority of the English army; but old warriors who were present confessed, that in their life they had never spent such anxious moments as during the time that their veteran commander sat cutting his leather skin in the wood of Stronkaltere.* Unable to bring the Scottish leader to a battle, or to provide sufficiently for his troops, which now, in consequence of his ravages, began to be grievously straitened, Edward determined to return to England, and, accordingly, having strengthened some of the principal strongholds, and given the command of a select body of troops to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, he left Scotland for his own kingdom.

The departure of the English monarch was the signal for a general insurrection. The loyalist leaders hastened from their mountain fastnesses, and at the head of bands, whom the memory of cruelty and oppression filled with a burning thirst

for vengeance, assailed the fortresses recovered from traitors which remained in the hands of the English. The castles of Dunnoter, Kinclavin, and Laurieston, were captured and demolished by Sir William Douglas and Sir William Keith, and those of St. Andrews,

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 294, 295.

Leuchars, and Bothwell, were taken and destroyed by the regent.* Moray, also, with the view of committing reprisals, and finding food for his troops, no longer able to subsist in a country which in consequence of the long war, and the interruption of agricultural operations, was afflicted with a grievous famine, led his forces across the borders, and wasted with fire and sword the northern provinces of England.† Returning from this Expedition of the Scots into England.

Returning from this expedition, he expelled the English from the counties south of the Forth, and besieged the castle of Edinburgh, which Edward had rebuilt. The lords marchers of England, hastening to relieve the fortress, were encountered by William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, near Crichton castle, in Mid Lothian. After a fierce struggle they were driven across the Tweed; but Douglas was severely wounded, and his force so much weakened by the conflict, that the regent deemed it expedient to relinquish the siege.‡

At this period, the cause of national independence received a sudden and powerful impulse. The relations between the courts of France and England had been gradually assuming a hostile aspect, in consequence of the pretensions of Edward to the crown of France. The progress of events in Scotland was regarded with deep interest, both by the English monarch and his rival. Besides sympathizing with his ally, Philip of France saw in the success of the Scots the most effectual barrier against the ambition of his formidable opponent, while Edward naturally desired the cessation of a war which distracted his efforts for the conquest of France. Foiled in his attempts to subdue Scotland, and anxious to begin his continental expedition, he sought to gain time by making overtures of peace to the Scottish leaders. These, however, were rejected; and, reduced to the necessity either to abandon or prosecute his pretensions to the French crown, to the great delight of the Scots, he preferred the bolder alternative, and declared war with France, on the 7th of October, 1337.§ The command of the English force in Scotland was entrusted to the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk, along with Edward Baliol, who were invested with ample powers to receive all the Scottish leaders who might be willing to accept of terms.

Declaration of war between England and France.

All attempts to secure an armistice with the Scots having failed, Montague, Seige of Dunbar. Earl of Salisbury, laid siege to the castle of Dunbar. This fortress, reckoned one of the strongest in Scotland, was built on a chain of rocks stretching into the sea, and could be approached from the main land only by one passage, which was strongly fortified. In the absence

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xxxix.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 280.

‡ Fordun, book xiii. chap. xli.; Scala Chron. ap. Leland, vol. i. pp. 550, 557; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 238.

§ Rymer Foed. vol. iv. p. 818.

of the Earl of March, it was defended by his countess, a daughter of the illustrious Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, whose lofty patriotism and indomitable courage she appears to have inherited. Though Salisbury assailed the castle with the best constructed military engines of the period, and encouraged his soldiers by heading the detachments who attempted to storm it, Black Agnes, as the countess was commonly called, from her complexion, continued, during five months, to defy his ut-

—and gallant most efforts. Her vigilance, self-conduct of Black possession, and contempt of danger, were united to a rude, but

biting wit, which, while it animated the garrison, seems to have greatly annoyed the besiegers. When the stones, thrown from the English engines, struck the walls, she ordered one of her maidens, with a white napkin to wipe off the dust, in derision of their vain attempts on her impregnable castle.* Salisbury himself was at one time nearly captured by a well-laid stratagem. Confiding in the sincerity of a soldier in the garrison, who pretended to betray the fortress to the English, the earl came at midnight to the gate, which was left open, and the portcullis drawn up. John Copland, one of his attendants, pressed hastily before him, on which the portcullis was suddenly lowered and the retainer was made prisoner instead of his lord, who, much to the disappointment of the Scots, succeeded in making his escape.† Among other engines, Salisbury employed the formidable machine called a sow, (so famous in the siege of Berwick,) in order to effect a breach in the citadel, by undermining the walls. As the huge engine advanced, Agnes saluted the Earl with the taunting rhyme,—

Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow!

and almost at the same moment a mass of rock, which had been kept in readiness, was hurled against the sow, dashing it to pieces, and killing or wounding the greater part of the soldiers who were concealed within. Salisbury, though constantly baffled by this high-spirited woman, seems to have regarded her with a chivalrous admiration, which found expression in the quaint pleasantry of the times. Riding near the walls one day, accompanied by a knight clothed in armour of proof, an arrow, shot by a Scottish archer, named William Spens, pierced through the chained mail-coat of the wearer, though it consisted of three folds, and struck him dead from his horse at the feet of the earl. "There goes one of my lady's tire-pins," said Montague; "the Countess's love-shafts pierce to the heart." Foiled in all his attempts to storm the castle, Salisbury converted the siege into a strict blockade, and with the assistance of a large fleet, so completely environed the fortress that its brave defenders were nearly famished. But Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, availing himself of a dark night, sailed from the Baas in a light vessel filled with provisions and

manned with forty resolute soldiers, and after passing, unnoticed, the English fleet, entered the castle by a gate near the sea. Animated by this welcome reinforcement, the garrison made a sudden and vigorous sally on the besiegers, driving in their advanced guards. The English at last withdrew from Dunbar, where for nineteen weeks the heroism of a woman had defied a ^{Salisbury is} powerful army, assisted by the best ^{compelled to raise} military engines of the day, and ^{the siege.} led by one of the bravest and most experienced of the English nobles. The failure of this enterprise was regarded as highly dishonourable to the national arms.*

On the departure of Salisbury for the South, the regent, Sir Andrew Moray, assisted by the knight of Liddesdale and Ramsay of Dalhousie, prosecuted the war with vigour and success. Attacked by the fierce bands of the Scots, who had become skilful in partisan warfare, the English were driven from the open country, and sought shelter in those fortresses which still remained in their hands. The retention even of these became daily more difficult, as the reinforcements of men and arms which Edward could spare for Scotland were frequently intercepted by the enemy, who lost no opportunity of attack or surprise. In these encounters the Scots were generally successful. The Knight of Liddesdale drove the English from Teviotdale, captured Sir John Stirling at the head of five hundred men-at-arms, intercepted a convoy of provisions

Gallant exploits of the Knight of Liddesdale and Sir Alexander Ramsay.

on its way to Hermitage, and succeeded in reducing that fortress; defeated Roland de Vaux, and in a fierce and repeatedly-renewed engagement with Sir Lawrence Abernethy, a Scotsman in the interest of Baliol, succeeded at the fourth encounter in capturing the knight and dispersing his followers.† Sir Alexander Ramsay emulated the bravery of Douglas, and with equal success. At the head of a body of knights and soldiers whom his fame as a daring and skilful warrior had drawn around him,‡ he sallied from the crags and caves of Hawthornden, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, inflicting great damage on the enemy, and driving them into the adjoining fortress. Emboldened by success, he penetrated into Northumberland, and wasted the country with fire and sword, carrying off much booty and many prisoners.

* Knighton, p. 2570; Walsingham, p. 136; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 214, and note. Wyntown says the English minstrels made songs in praise of the courage and perseverance of Black Agnes. He gives, as a specimen, the following lines, which have been somewhat modernised by Sir Walter Scott:—

"She kept a stir in tower and trench,
That brawling, boisterous Scottish wench;
Came I early, came I late,
I found Agnes at the gate."

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 213.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. xiv.

‡ Fordun says, that to be of Alexander Ramsay's band was considered as a branch of military education requisite for all young gentlemen who meant to excel in arms. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 245, note.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208.

† Ibid. p. 211; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xli.

Returning from one of these predatory inroads, he was encountered at Pressen, near Wark Castle, by Robert Manners and other barons, at the head of a powerful force. Ramsay, by a feigned retreat, led his enemies into an ambush, and, after capturing Manners, so completely defeated them that scarcely an Englishman escaped.*

These fierce encounters in the open field were sometimes varied and relieved, in Joustings between the English and the Scottish knights. Henry of Lancaster, then Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV. of England, having heard of the gallant exploits of the Knight of Liddesdale, sent him a courteous invitation to run three courses with him. In the first encounter, Douglas was wounded in the hand by a splinter of his own lance, and was obliged to relinquish the contest. The earl then requested Sir Alexander Ramsay to hold a tilting-match at Berwick, twenty against twenty. The invitation was at once accepted by the Scottish knight. On the appointed day, when Ramsay and his companions came to Berwick, they were received and hospitably entertained by the earl, who inquired of Ramsay in what manner of armour the knights should tilt together. "With shields of plate," † said Ramsay. "Ah! sire," said Derby, "we shall gain little praise if we tilt in such armour, for no one will be able to injure another; if you like, let us rather use the armour which we wear in battle, so shall we gain high renown." "By my faith," replied Ramsay, "it shall like us to fight in our kirtles alone, if such be your pleasure?" "Nay," said the earl, pleasantly, "that is too hard, truly." The jousting lasted three days, and turned out a sanguinary pastime. Two of the English knights were slain, and John de Hay, one of the Scottish knights, died of his wounds on the way home; Sir William Ramsay was struck through his helmet by a lance, the splinter of which remained in his skull, and fixed the helmet to his head. A priest was immediately brought, who heard him confess his sins, and shived him without the helmet being removed. "Lo! here is a fair sight," said the good Earl of Derby, "a fairer sight may no man see, than a knight or squire making his shrift in his helmet. When I shall pass out of this life, may God, in His grace, send me such an ending." When the shrift was over, Sir Alexander Ramsay made the wounded knight lie down at full length, and placing his feet upon his kinsman's helmet, by main force pulled out the broken spear. Then William Ramsay started on his feet, and declared he should soon all nothing. "What stout hearts these men have," was the laconic remark of the earl. ‡ Wyn-town, who relates this singular incident, does not mention whether the wounded man lived or died. Next day, Sir Patrick de Graham, a Scottish

knight, who had recently arrived from the continent, having heard of this jousting, hastened to Berwick. On his arrival, an English baron, named Richard Talbot, requested to run three courses with him, and was wounded in the encounter,—the lance of his opponent having pierced through the two breastplates which he wore, and sunk an inch into his breast.* If Talbot had been armed according to agreement, he would have been killed on the spot. Graham was then invited to supper, and, in the midst of the entertainment, a comely English knight, "that seemed stout, baith bald and wyeht," courteously begged to have a joust with him. "Dost thou ask to joust with me?" replied Graham; "rise early in the morning, and hear mass, and confess your sins, and you will soon be delivered." This was spoken in jest, but it proved true, for on the ensuing morning Graham ran the knight through the body with his lance, and he died on the spot. †

In awarding the prizes, it was settled by the heralds that the English knights should decide which of the Scots had behaved most valiantly, and that the Scottish knights should, in like manner, decide respecting the valour of the English. The heralds expressed their satisfaction with the awards, and the Earl of Derby showed great munificence in his entertainment of the knights, and in the distribution of gifts and prizes. ‡

About this period, Scotland sustained a heavy loss in the death of Sir Andrew Death of the regent—Moray, the regent, who died at his castle of Avoch, in Ross, to which he had shortly before retired, feeling himself sinking under the infirmities of age and the incessant toil of warfare. This veteran patriot, the last of the great Scottish commanders in the War of Independence, had the high honour to be the friend of Wallace and the brother-in-law of Bruce, and, during a career of forty years, showed himself worthy of that honourable alliance. "He was," says Wyntown, "a lord of great bounty, of sober and chaste life, wise and upright in council, liberal and generous, remarkably devout and charitable, stout, hardy, and courageous." § He is censured by Fordun for the manner in which he waged war, desolating the country, and reducing the inhabitants to the extremities of famine. || But the historian himself admits that this is not to be ascribed to the natural disposition of Moray, who "was a just and beneficent person;" and in burning the open country before the enemy, the regent only followed the lesson of defensive war which he had learned from Bruce. His intrepidity and coolness in the midst of great danger were conspicuously displayed, ¶ while his lofty principle and pure and inflexible patriotism, caused him, like his great compatriot, to spurn every offer made to induce him to follow the example of the time-serving nobles, who sacrificed the independence of their country to save their own lives and estates

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlviil.

† This was probably a peculiarly weighty and strong kind of armour, intended merely for tilting matches.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 223, 236.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 224.

‡ Ibid. p. 225, 226.

§ Ibid. p. 217.

|| Fordun, book xiii. chap. xliiii.

¶ See ante, p. 192.

He was interred in the chapel of Rosemartin, but his body was afterwards conveyed to Dunfermline, and deposited in the Abbey Church, beside the hallowed remains of Bruce and Randolph.

Moray was succeeded in the office of regent by

The Steward Robert, the Steward of Scotland, elected Regent, who soon showed himself worthy of the important trust. The first act of the new governor was to send the Knight of Liddesdale to solicit assistance from the French court.* He then commenced the siege of Perth—a place of great importance, as it had been the head-quarters of the English for many years, and the seat of Baliol's government. Edward had expended vast sums of money in strengthening the fortifications of the town, and had intrusted its defence to Thomas Ughtred, a veteran leader, who had acquired great experience in the Scottish wars. The siege had continued

Siege and capture of Perth— progress had been made in the reduction of the town, when the Knight of Liddesdale returned from France, bringing with him five ships of war, under the command of a skilful officer named Hugh Hautpyle, and having on board a body of men-at-arms, led by Arnold de Audeneham, afterwards a marshal of France,† the Lord of Garenquieres, and two esquires, Giles de la Huse and John de Bracy. Hautpyle, with his ships, seized the English vessels which brought provisions to the garrison, and cut them off from all relief. At this juncture, the besieging army was powerfully reinforced by the accession of William Bullock, a bold and able ecclesiastic, who had, at one time, been chancellor to Baliol, but now brought his powerful talents and uncommon genius for war to the aid of the popular cause. Bullock, it has been justly said, was one of those churchmen who loved the battle-field, or the political scenes of the cabinet, better than mass or matins. He had been intrusted by Baliol with the charge of the strong castle of Cupar, which he successfully defended against the late regent; but he was now induced, by the bribe of an ample grant of lands, to renounce the English interest, and to deliver up the fortress intrusted to his charge.‡ His indomitable courage and military experience were of great service in pressing the siege of Perth, which was still obstinately defended by the English garrison. The Knight of Liddesdale was dangerously wounded, and Alexander Boyd and John Stirling, who commanded the Scottish archers, were slain. But the Earl of Ross collected a body of miners, who, by means of a subterranean excavation, diverted the water from the fossé, and laid bare the walls. Preparations were now made to storm the town, but, in the midst of these operations, an eclipse of the sun took place, and filled the minds both of the besieging army and of the garrison with great

terror.* Bullock, however, showed the hardihood of his character by taking advantage of the darkness to advance his military engines close to the wall, to be in readiness for the assault. But the governor had at length lost all hope of relief, and capitulated upon honourable terms. He and his soldiers were allowed to retire into England, where his conduct was made the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, which terminated in his acquittal of all blame.†

The Steward having thus made himself master of Perth, proceeded to besiege the —and of castle of Stirling, which also Stirling yielded to his arms.‡ Baliol, intimidated by these successes, fled for refuge into England. He was hospitably received at Morholm by his kinswoman, Christiana de Lindsay, “who entertained him,” says the Chronicle of Lanercost, “with divers solaces and festivities, and he promised her, if he should chance to prosper in his enterprise, great lands and revenues in Scotland, which belonged to her hereditarily from ancient times.”§ His interest in Scotland, however, was now almost totally annihilated, and of all the English conquests in that country nothing remained except the fortresses of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Lochnaben, with a few inconsiderable strengths in their vicinity.

In the mean time Scotland was suffering severely from a terrible famine Famine in which broke out, and continued for Scotland several years. In consequence of the ravages committed by both parties during the war, the land was left uncultivated, and the people were, to a great extent, dependent for support on the supply of provisions surreptitiously imported from England. According to Wyntown, the district around Perth was entirely laid waste, and contained neither house for man nor harbour for cattle. The wild deer came down from the mountains, and roamed undisturbed in the vicinity of the town. Many of the inhabitants fled from the country in despair. Numbers of the poorer classes were constrained by hunger to feed upon the raw nuts and acorns which they gathered in the woods, or to devour substances most abhorrent to human nature; and it is even said that some miserable creatures were driven by want and Cannibalism. misery to prey on human flesh. Wyntown, a sober and trustworthy writer, speaks of one horrid wretch, called *Christian of the Cleik*,

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 234. This old chronicler remarks, with great simplicity,

“Bot had they knawyn the cause all
That garris sic ecclippis fall,
They suld noucht have had abayssing;”

and he then proceeds to explain this natural phenomenon in a manner which shows that it must have been but imperfectly understood even in his day.

† Foed. vol. v. p. 131.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 237, 238. He mentions, that in this siege Sir William Keith, a brave and experienced soldier, in mounting a ladder was struck down by a stone, and falling “twa-fauld” was “stickit on his own speer.”

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 271.

* Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlv.

† Ibid.; Froissart, vol. i. chap. xxxiv.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 233, calls Hautpyle “a sturdy reiver of the sea.”

‡ Ibid. p. 232; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlv.

from the iron cleik, or hook, with which he seized his victims, who used to set traps for women and children, as if for wild beasts, and subsisted on their flesh.* Famine was followed by its natural consequence—disease; a pestilence swept the land, and destroyed many thousands of the enfeebled inhabitants.

These horrors were somewhat alleviated by the expulsion of the English from the country. Order began to be re-established, and the operations of husbandry were resumed. In the language of *flower*, husbandmen were once more seen at the plough and priests at the altar. But this breathing-time was too brief to heal the wounds of the country. War suddenly broke out again with increased fury. Great preparations were made by the English to carry on with vigour their operations against Scotland, and many of the great barons undertook to raise considerable numbers of soldiers, and to serve in person against the Scots. Notwithstanding these efforts, however, the patriots continued to gain ground, and the important castle

Capture of Edinburgh Castle,
17th April,
1341.

of Edinburgh fell into their hands by a stratagem devised by William Bullock, and executed by the Knight of Liddesdale and Sir Simon Fraser. They procured one William Curry, a shipmaster of Dundee, to bring his vessel into the Forth, and in the assumed character of an English merchant, to make an offer to the governor of the castle to supply the garrison with wine and wheat. The offer was accepted; and as Curry pretended to be afraid that he might be intercepted by the Scots, he obtained permission to convey his goods into the castle at an early hour in the morning. In the course of the night Douglas concealed himself with a party of his men among the ruins of some houses adjacent to the castle, and at day-break next morning, Curry, and Sir Simon Fraser, with a few of the most resolute of his followers, wearing grey frocks over their armour, presented themselves at the castle-gate with barrels and hampers supposed to contain wine and provisions. The porter without suspicion readily opened the outer gate, lowered the drawbridge, and admitted the carriages into the outer court, when the pretended merchant and his attendants instantly threw off their disguises, stabbed the porter, and seizing his keys, opened the inner-gate of the fortress, and placed the casks and hampers in the entrance, so that the gate could not be shut, or the portcullis lowered. Douglas and his men, who lay in ambush at the foot of the hill, warned by the sound of a horn, hastened to the assistance of their associates. Meanwhile, the garrison having taken the alarm, hastily armed themselves and rushed to the gates. A desperate conflict ensued, which terminated in the total defeat of the English, who

were all put to the sword except the governor, Sir Richard Limosin, and six esquires. The command of the castle was intrusted to a natural brother of the Knight of Liddesdale.*

The Scottish leaders, having now succeeded in expelling the enemy almost entirely from the country, deemed it advisable that King David, who had for nine years been an exile in a foreign land, should return to his own dominions. The youthful king accordingly embarked with his consort, and landed in safety at Inverbervie, on the 4th of June, 1341, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by his subjects. David was now in his eighteenth year, and began to exhibit a character very unlike that of his heroic father. He was headstrong, violent in his passions, and immoderately fond of pleasure,—a propensity probably acquired by his education at the court of France; and, though possessed of a goodly person and considerable intrepidity, he was quite unfitted for the government of a country like Scotland, and ignorant of the character of the fierce and turbulent barons over whom he was called to rule. A lamentable proof of this occurred shortly after the arrival of the young king in his own dominions. The gallant Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, captured the important fortress of Roxburgh in a night attack; and David, as a fitting reward for this gallant exploit, conferred upon him the government of the castle and the sheriffdom of the county. The Knight of Liddesdale, who then held the office of sheriff, was deeply offended by this imprudent act,

Cruel murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay.

and immediately resolved to revenge himself upon Ramsay, who had been his friend and companion in arms. Having, by a pretended reconciliation, thrown Sir Alexander off his guard, Douglas led a band of soldiers to Hawick, where the new sheriff was holding his court in the church, attacked and dispersed his few attendants, wounded his unsuspecting victim in attempting a vain resistance, and throwing him bleeding across a horse, carried him, through many a wild bog and mountain path, to his solitary castle of Hermitage, among the morasses of Liddesdale, where he thrust him into a dungeon, and left him to perish of hunger. It is said that there was a granary above his place of confinement, and that some grains of corn falling through the crevices in the floor, enabled him to linger out a miserable existence for seventeen days, until death put an end to

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 239—243; Fordun, book xiii. chap. xlvii.; Froissart, vol. i. chap. lvi. Wyntown, who relates this exploit in a very graphic manner, and with great minuteness of detail, says that Curry and his men had their beards shaven when they presented themselves at the castle gate; from which we may infer that at this period the Scots retained the ancient practice of wearing their beards, which the English, in accordance with the Norman fashion, had shaved ever since the time of William the Conqueror. The kings alone retained the beard as a mark of dignity and distinction. See notes to Wyntown's Chronicle, p. 516.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 236. *flower*, the continuator of Fordun, who also relates this horrible incident, speaks of a woman by whom *Christie* is said to have been assisted. A similar story is told of a family of cannibals who are said to have lived in the reign of James II.

his sufferings.* The young king was deeply indignant at this atrocious crime; but such was the weakness of his government, that he was obliged not only to pardon the savage murderer, but to bestow upon him the office which had led to the perpetration of the crime. According to Wynthown, Douglas owed his pardon to the intercession of the High Steward. "It is scarcely possible," says Scott, "to give a more deplorable instance of those wretched times in which the great stood above all law, human and divine, and indulged their furious passions, not only with impunity, but with an enlarged scope to their ambition. Neither was the act of cruelty attended with any blot upon his fame, since the Knight of Liddesdale, who, before Ramsay's murder, had been distinguished by the splendid title of the Flower of Chivalry, continued to retain it after that atrocious transaction."

About this time a fate similar to that of Ramsay overtook William Bullock, the miserable fate of William Bullock. He was an able but versatile ecclesiastic who deserted the cause of Baliol, and assisted so powerfully in the capture of Perth. Having, from some cause or other, lost the confidence of the king, he was suddenly seized by David de Berkeley, stripped of his high offices, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle of Lochendorb, in Moray, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death. An ancient Scottish historian, who evidently regarded Bullock as an innocent and oppressed man, makes this melancholy remark on his fate:—"It is an old saying, that neither the wealthy nor the valiant, nor even the wise, can long flourish in Scotland, for envy obtaineth the mastery over them all."† There is reason to believe, however, that this intriguing ecclesiastic had been detected in a traitorous correspondence with the English, and that his fate was not wholly unmerited.

In the mean while the war with England still continued to rage, and the frontiers of both countries were disturbed and devastated by mutual incursions, which led to no decisive result. A two years' truce was at length concluded, which was to terminate at Martinmas, 1346. At this period, the English monarch tampered with the Knight of Lid-

* "He was the greatest menyd (lamented) man
That any could have thought on than
Of his state, or of more by far,
All menyt him baith better and waur (worse),
The ryche and pur him menyde baith
For of his dede (death) was meikle skaith."

Wynthown, vol. ii. p. 254.

Nearly four hundred and fifty years after the murder of this noble and gallant patriot, a mason employed in building a dike, in the neighbourhood of Hermitage, laid open a stone vault, about eight feet square, in the east end of the castle. He descended into it by a ladder, and found, amid a heap of chaff, some human bones, along with the remains of a saddle, a large bridle-bit, and an ancient sword. These were conjectured, and with great probability, to mark the vault as the place of Ramsay's death.

Statist. Acc. of Scotland.

† Fordun, book xiii. chap. i. Berkeley himself was not long after waylaid and assassinated by John de St. Michael, at the instigation of the Knight of Liddesdale. This fact strengthens the supposition that Bullock and Douglas were parties to a plot for the restoration of Baliol to the throne.

desdale, and succeeded in seducing him from his allegiance. Henry de Percy, Maurice de Berkeley, and Thomas de Lucy, were appointed commissioners by Edward, with full powers "to treat of and to conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him in a reward."* Douglas appears to have held repeated private meetings with Baliol and the English commissioners, and to have accepted of the terms which they offered; but, from some unknown cause, the conspiracy was laid aside for the time, and Douglas, probably with the view of clearing himself from all suspicion of treachery, in violation of the truce made a furious incursion into England, and burnt the towns of Carlisle and Penrith. The English king was at this time absent in France, carrying on the siege of Calais, and David was induced by the urgent entreaty of the French monarch to renew the war.† He accordingly assembled a numerous army at Perth, for the purpose of invading England. A strong body of troops, from the Highlands and islands of Scotland, appeared at the place of rendezvous; but a deadly feud, which existed between Reginald, or Ronald of the Isles, and the Earl of Ross, led to the assassination of the island chief in the monastery of Elcho, at the instigation of the earl; and the assassin, with his numerous retainers, dreading the royal vengeance, retired from the host and sought refuge in the mountains. The men of the isles, indignant at the murder of their chief, returned home in confusion, so that the king found his army much diminished in number.‡

David, however, though he possessed little of his father's judgment, or military skill, yet exhibited the hereditary valour of his house, and determined to proceed on his expedition. He entered England by the western frontier, and stormed a fortress called the Moat of Liddell, which was held by Walter Selby, the celebrated freebooter, who, along with Gilbert Middleton, at the instigation of King Robert Bruce, waylaid and plundered the Bishop of Durham and the two cardinals, who were commissioned to publish the Papal sentence of excommunication against the Scottish king.§ David put the garrison to the sword, and ordered the governor to be beheaded. The Knight of Liddesdale now recommended a retreat, but this judicious advice was rejected by the king, through the jealousy, it appears, of the other barons, who imputed it to the selfishness of Douglas. "You have enriched yourself," said they, "by the spoils of the English, and now you wish to deprive us of our share in the plunder. Never have we had such an opportunity of taking vengeance on our enemies. Edward and his chief leaders are absent, and we have none to

Treachery of
the Knight of
Liddesdale.

King David
prepares to
invade England.

Capture of
Liddell Castle.

* Foed. vol. v. p. 379.

† Walsingham, p. 165.

‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. 1.

§ See ante, p. 146.

oppose our progress, except ecclesiastics and base mechanics.*

David accordingly proceeded on his enterprise, and moved eastward to Hexham, plundering and laying waste the whole country with merciless severity. Even the sacred patrimony of St. Cuthbert did not escape the general devastation, although, according to a monkish historian, the saint appeared to the Scottish king in a night vision, and entreated him to abstain from the sacrilegious crime. The Scots marched through the bishopric of Durham, carrying everywhere rapine and ruin, and at length encamped at a place called Beaurpair (now Bear-park), within a short distance of the city of Durham. Meanwhile, unknown to them, the great northern barons of England, Percy, Neville, Mosgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, with Edward Balliol, the ex-king of Scotland, had assembled their retainers to repel the invaders; and, reinforced by the church vassals of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and by ten thousand soldiers, who were about to join the forces of Edward before Calais, but were countermanded in this emergency, they marched against the Scots, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. They had now reached Bishop-Auckland, only six miles distant from the Scottish camp; and on the morning of the 17th October, marching towards Sunderland, they came upon the Knight of Liddesdale, who, with a strong body of men-at-arms, was advancing for the purpose of forage, and unexpectedly found himself in presence of the whole English army, at a place called Ferry of the Hill. As his forces were totally inadequate to make a stand, he attempted to avoid an encounter; but his squadron was pursued, attacked, and routed, with the loss of five hundred men, and he, with the remains of his division, with difficulty escaped to the main body of the army, and gave the alarm.† On receiving the unexpected intelligence that the enemy were upon them, the Scottish forces were hastily drawn up in three divisions. David himself led the centre, the right wing was commanded by the Earl of Moray and the Knight of Liddesdale, and the left by the Steward and the Earl of Buchan;‡ Their position was very unfavourable, for the ground was intersected by inclosures and ditches, which separated the divisions, and rendered it impossible for them duly to support each other.

These arrangements had scarcely been made, when the English archers, to the number of twenty

thousand, came within sight. Sir John de Graham, an experienced leader, foreseeing the fatal consequences which would ensue, if the English were allowed to fix their arrows, entreated the king to permit him to charge the archers in flank with a body of cavalry. "Give me," he said, "but one hundred horse, and I will disperse them all."* But David, forgetting the success which attended a similar movement at the battle of Bannockburn, refused the request. "To confess the truth," says Fordun, "Graham could not procure a single horseman on that service."† In this crisis, Sir John attacked the archers at the head of his own followers, but they were far too few to make any impression, and were beaten off. Their brave leader had his horse shot under him, and with difficulty escaped to the main army.

The English began the attack on the right wing of the Scots, commanded by the Earl of Moray. The deadly shower of arrows flew thick as hail, and the men-at-arms and the bill-men charged through the gaps in the Scottish line, caused by the numerous inclosures which intersected the ground, and interrupted their system of defence. At length Moray fell, and the Knight of Liddesdale was taken prisoner, and the division, thus deprived of its leaders, was thrown into disorder and took to flight. The English then attacked the centre, where the king commanded in person, both in front and upon the left flank, which was now uncovered by the defeat of the right wing. In spite of every disadvantage, however, the contest was obstinately maintained for three hours, and amid the furious charges of the men-at-arms, and the slaughter of the unerring shafts of the English bowmen, David, although severely wounded by two arrows, fought bravely in the midst of his nobles, who fell fast around him, and continued to the last to encourage his few surviving officers. At length, a Northumbrian knight named John Copland, in a hand-to-hand struggle with him, in which two of his teeth were knocked out by the king's dagger, disarmed David and made him prisoner.‡ On the fall of the royal banner, the left wing of the Scots, commanded by the Steward and the Earl of March, despairing of being able to retrieve the battle, or to rescue the king, withdrew from the field, and succeeded in making good their retreat. The escape of these powerful nobles was a most fortunate event for their country; but there is every reason to believe that David regarded it as a wilful leaving of him to his fate, and that it enkindled in his bosom lasting resentment against the Steward. Along with the king there were made prisoners, the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Sutherland, and Wigton, and fifty other barons and knights; while the Earls of Moray and Strathern, David de la Haye, the Constable of Scotland, Keith the Marshal, Chartres the Hig-

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. l.

† Not other lords that were by,

Said he had filled fully

His bags, and theirs all toom (empty) were;

They said that they might rycht weel fare

Yit London, for in England then

Of great myght was left no man;

For they said all were in France,

Not countes, shawers, and merchants."

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 259.

‡ Ibid. p. 262.

* Wyntown, vol. i. p. 261.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. iii.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 263.

‡ Ibid. p. 264.

Chancellor, Peebles the Lord Chamberlain, and thirty other nobles, and about fifteen thousand common soldiers, were left on the fatal field.* "That day," says an old English historian, "would have been the last of the obstinate rebellion of the Scots, had the English, neglecting the spoil and the making of captives, urged the pursuit of the fugitives, and cut off from the land of the living that nation which has ever been rebellious."†

The Scottish king was conveyed to London, shortly after his capture, by an escort of twenty thousand men-at-arms. An old English chronicler mentions that he was mounted on a tall black horse, that he might be seen by all the people, and that the civic authorities, and the different companies of the city, clothed in their appropriate dresses, took part in the procession.‡ The captive

prince was conducted to the Tower, where, with a mean and ungenerous parsimony, Edward compelled him and the rest of the prisoners to maintain themselves at their own expense. In farther imitation of the conduct of his grandfather, Edward I., he brought two of his noble captives, the Earls of Menteith and Fife, to trial, on the ground that they had joined the party of Bruce after having sworn fealty to Baliol. Along with the commission for trying the prisoners, he transmitted to the judges a scroll of the sentence of condemnation, previously fixed by himself and his privy council.§ As a matter of course, the court, thus instructed in its duty, convicted both earls of high treason. Menteith was executed with all the shocking barbarities sanctioned by the English law of treason, and his members were distributed over the kingdom. The Earl of Fife, whose mother was the niece of Edward I., had his life spared, from his relationship to the royal family of England.

The calamitous defeat of Neville's Cross brought the Scottish nation to the very brink of ruin. The strong fortresses of Roxburgh and Hermintage immediately surrendered, and the whole country south of the Forth was at once abandoned to the enemy.¶ Edward, looking upon Scotland as at length completely subdued, laid aside the pretence of supporting the claims of Baliol to the crown, and appointed the English barons, Lucy, Daere, and Umfraville, to receive the homage which it was supposed the Scots were now willing to pay to the English monarch himself. But these expectations were speedily found to be premature. Though cast down, the Scottish people were not in despair. The nobles, who had escaped from the

The Steward is field of Neville's Cross, appointed elected regent. the High Steward, the heir of the throne, to the office of guardian of the kingdom; and, in this season of confusion and dismay, he

exerted himself to maintain the liberties of his country, with a prudence and resolution worthy of his illustrious descent.* His efforts were powerfully seconded by William, Lord Douglas, nephew of the Good Sir James, who at this critical period returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and with the hereditary valour of his house, succeeded in expelling the English from Douglasdale, and, in the course of time, from Ettrick Forest and Teviotdale.†

The English monarch was anxious to follow up his successes by vigorous measures, for the complete subjugation of Scotland; and with a view to collect funds for the payment of his army, he seized all the ecclesiastical lands belonging to the clergy who were hostile to the English interest, and resumed all the estates in Scotland which had been granted to natives of England. But, fortunately for the interests of the Scottish people, his barons could not be prevailed upon to aid him in a renewal of hostilities; and he was reluctantly compelled to consent to a truce with the Steward, which was renewed from time to time for six years. The object of Edward seems to have been to fill his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner and the noble captives taken at Durham, and to obtain possession of the Scottish throne by secret intrigues and negotiations, since he had failed in open war.

With this view David was treated with kindness, and was even permitted to revisit his own dominions upon parole, and on giving seven noble youths as hostages for his return within a limited period.‡ There is reason to fear that the king's impatience for his restoration to freedom, made him willing to surrender the rights and liberties of his country. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose; and there yet remain two instruments in which David recognizes the King of England as his lord paramount, and agrees to take the oath of homage. From some mysterious instructions given to the English commissioners, it would seem that David's temporary liberation had been conceded mainly for the purpose of promoting the views of Edward, in regard to this important point; and that the commissioners were em-

—his treachery powered to extend the term of to the liberties absence allowed to the Scottish of his country.

king, if they should think this likely to subserve the interests of England. According to an old English historian, David engaged to procure the acquiescence of his people in the long-contested claim of feudal superiority; but the nation refused to listen to the proposal for a moment, and declared, with one voice, that they would willingly pay the ransom of their sovereign, but they would never agree, for any consideration, to barter the independence of their country.§ David was therefore reluctantly compelled to return to his captivity.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. iii.; Knighton, p. 2500.

† Walsingham, p. 167; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 267.

‡ Knighton, p. 2592; Ibid.

§ Foed. vol. v. p. 549.

|| Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 265; Fordun, book. xiv. chap. vi.

* Fordun, book xiv. chap. vi.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 269, 270.

‡ Foed. vol. v. pp. 724, 727.

§ Knighton, p. 2608; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 273.

During his imprisonment, a dreadful pestilence, ^{(Great Plague, which had for several years swept} ^{as 1348.} through Europe, at last reached Scotland, and carried off immense numbers of the people. "The historians of all countries," says Lord Hailes, "speak with horror of this pestilence, which took a wider range, and proved more destructive, than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of human kind." It is calculated that not fewer than one-third of the inhabitants of Scotland fell victims to its ravages, aggravated, as they must have been, by the desolating war which had so long raged in that country.*

While negotiations were carrying on between Edward and the Scottish king for the surrender of the independence of Scotland, the Knight of Liddesdale, who had also been taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross, was induced to purchase his liberty at the expense of his honour, and to tarnish the fair fame of his former achievements by transferring to the English monarch that allegiance and duty which he owed to his country. He entered into a secret treaty with Edward, by which he bound himself to allow the English to pass unmolested through his estates at all times and for all purposes; neither openly nor secretly to give counsel or aid to his own country, or to any other nation, against the king of England; and to keep on foot a body of men for his service. In return for this act of base treachery he was liberated from prison, and received from Edward a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and the castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in the interior of Annandale.† "Thus in an evil hour," to use the language of Lord Hailes, "did Sir William Douglas at once cancel the merit of former achievements, and, for the possession of a precarious inheritance, transmit his name to posterity in the roll of time-servers and traitors." But his treachery was speedily discovered, and his intrigues entirely defeated by his kinsman Lord William Douglas, whom he had expected to gain over to his dark designs. Shortly after his return from England, as he was hunting in Etrick

Forest, he was waylaid and slain by his kinsman at a place called Galseford, between the Tweed and the Yarrow.‡ The contemporary historians ascribe this wicked deed either to domestic jealousy,§ or to revenge for the foul murder of Ramsey and of Sir David Berkeley. It

* Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 271. It is a curious fact, mentioned by Macpherson, in his notes on Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 512, that the Scots and Scots of Britain were the only nations who escaped the ravages of the pestilence which afflicted all Europe in the seventh century.

† Ford, vol. v. p. 720.
‡ Fordun, book six. chap. viii. The spot is said to have been long marked by a cross from which it received the name of William's Cross. The body of the slaughtered knight was conveyed to Lindou church, a mile or two below Galseford, where the funeral obsequies were first performed, and was then transported to Melrose, and buried in that ancient abbey.

§ Hume, in his History of the House of Douglas, vol. i.

is probable, however, that his treachery to his country, and his attempt to deprive his kinsman and chief of his patrimonial inheritance of Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle, led to his violent end. In spite of his courage and great military talents, and the services which he had rendered to his country, his selfishness and ambition, and the repeated and atrocious murders of which he had been guilty, must have deprived him of all sympathy. "The bloody and deceitful man shall not live half his days."

Meanwhile David had made various unsuccessful attempts to obtain his liberty, and negotiations for this object were repeatedly begun and broken off.

The Scottish nobles and people appear to have felt some reluctance to make great sacrifices to procure the liberation of a prince addicted to low pleasures, and who, by his attachment to the interests of the English monarch, had deservedly become an object of suspicion and distrust to his own countrymen. At length, however, a treaty was agreed upon at Newcastle (July, 1354), in which the king's ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of ninety thousand marks, to be paid in nine years, at the rate of ten thousand marks annually.* But before the treaty was ratified a brave French knight, Eugene de Garencieres, arrived upon a mission from the court of France with a small but select body of knights and esquires, and a sum of forty thousand *moutons* of gold,† which were to be distributed among the Scottish nobles on condition of their breaking off the treaty and renewing the war with England. "The Scots," says Fordun, "often for a penny lose a shilling." The negotiations for the ransom of the king had been peculiarly unpopular with the patriotic party in Scotland, who considered the sum demanded for his liberation exorbitant, and his return to the country an event rather to be deprecated than desired. They therefore lent a ready ear to the representatives of Garencieres, and were easily induced by him to adopt a course which was attended "with receiving money instead of that which involved their own

p. 143, has preserved a single stanza of a ballad, made on this dark deed.

"The Conness of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
'It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall.'"

Mr. Tytler, and other Scottish historians, have stated that the Knight of Liddesdale was a natural son of the good Sir James; but this is a mistake: he was of another family of Douglasses, and enjoyed all the honours and privileges of legitimacy. See Riddiman's edition of Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, and Stewartiana, p. 82.

* Foed. vol. v. p. 791.
† Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 271; Fordun, book xiv. chap. ix. This gold coin had the impression of the *Agnus Dei*, when the common people mistook for a sheep, and hence the coin received the name of *mouton*. Wyntoun says they were worth four shillings each. At this rate the whole sum brought over by Garencieres was £8000, but according to Fleetwood's valuation of the *mouton* in 1358, it amounted to £10,000, or about £24,000 of our present money.—M'Pherson's Notes to Wyntoun, p. 512.

paying it." The treaty was broken off, and an invasion of England resolved on as soon as the truce expired.

The Northumbrian borderers, however, made the first aggression by invading and plundering the estates of the Earl of March. Reprisals were soon successfully made by the Scots. Sir William Ramsay, of Dalhousie, was sent into Northumberland at the head of four hundred men, with orders to lay waste the country around Norham castle, while the Earls of Douglas and March, and a strong body of men-at-arms, along with the French knights and soldiers,

under Garcenciers, formed an ambuscade at a place called Nesbit Moor, within the Scottish frontier. Ramsay accordingly crossed the Tweed, and having plundered the village of Norham and the adjacent district, he proceeded, according to his instructions, to drive his booty into Scotland under the full view of Norham Castle. The garrison, led by the governor, Sir Thomas Grey and Sir James Dacre, sallied out to revenge this insult, and to recover the spoil, and pursuing Ramsay, who fled before them, suddenly found themselves in the presence of the main body of the Scottish army. After a most chivalrous defence, in which Grey and his brother knights performed many feats of valour, the garrison were entirely defeated, and the governor, and his eldest son, with Sir James Dacre, and nearly the whole of their men, were taken prisoners.*

Shortly after this exploit the important city of Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots. The Earls of Angus and March having collected some ships, under cover of a dark night sailed up the river, and silently landed their forces near the foot of the walls, and at daybreak scaled the ramparts, slew the captain, Sir Alexander Ogle, with some English knights, and obtained possession of the town.† As Berwick had long been the emporium of the commerce of both kingdoms, an immense booty fell into the hands of the captors. They next turned their arms against the castle, but its great strength resisted all their efforts. The regent soon after visited the town, and made some arrangements for its defence, although it was evident that while the castle remained in possession of the English,

—it is recovered the garrison could not long hold out against a hostile army. No sooner did the tidings of these successes reach Edward, who was then at Calais, than he hastened home with those veteran troops which had gained so much fame in the French wars, and sat down before Berwick with an army of eighty thousand

men. The Scottish garrison were totally unprepared for defence; and perceiving that Edward was preparing to storm the town, they capitulated on honourable terms, and were permitted to return to Scotland with all their effects.*

Berwick being regained, Edward prepared for the fifth time to march into Scotland at the head of his formidable army, determined now to make a final conquest of that country, and to put an end to those interruptions, which the resistance of the Scottish people had so frequently offered to his victorious career in France. With a view to the promotion of this object the weak and unfortunate Baliol appeared before Edward at Roxburgh, formally divested himself of the emblems of royalty in which he was clothed, and laying his crown at the feet of the English monarch, solemnly surrendered into his hands all claims on the sovereignty of Scotland. The alleged motives for this degrading act were Baliol's great obligations to the English king, his especial affection for him, and the nearness of the blood relation which existed between them; the ingratitude and rebellion of his relations, who stood next in succession to the crown; his own advanced years; the evils which might arise from a disputed succession after his death; and in general, his desire to promote the advantage of both nations. Such were the pretexs put forth to justify the surrender, but in reality Baliol was a mere stipendiary and tool of the English king;‡ and the ceremony of abdication was evidently arranged for the purpose of giving a colour of justice to the war which Edward was about to undertake, and to facilitate his designs upon the Scottish crown. Baliol was rewarded for his subserviency with a donation of five thousand marks, and an annual pension of two thousand pounds. After this base transaction he sank into obscurity, and, fortunately for Scotland, died childless in the year 1363.

The Scottish leaders prepared to meet the impending invasion according to the prudent policy lessons of defensive war taught adopted by the Scots. Bruce. In order to give time for the people to drive away their flocks and herds, to conceal their valuable property in the fastnesses of the country, and to destroy the hay and forage, and whatever could not readily be removed, the Scottish nobles entered into negotiations with Edward, who was lying at Roxburgh. The Earl of Douglas repaired to the English camp for this purpose, and succeeded in obtaining a ten days' truce, during which he amused the English monarch with hopes that his title to the crown would be recognised by the Scottish people. When the truce was about to expire, the earl withdrew and joined his countrymen, who had made excellent use of the space thus gained for defensive preparations.

On entering Scotland, the English found the

* Feod. vol. v. p. 828; Fordun book xiv. chap. xii.

† Feod. vol. iv. pp. 832, 843.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 276. Fordun, (book xiv. chap. ix.) mentions a shocking trait of feudal vengeance which occurred after the fight. A French knight purchased from the Scots some of their prisoners, and conveying them to a retired spot among the hills, murdered them in cold blood, to avenge the death of his father, who had been slain by the English in their wars in France.

† Fordun, book xiv. chap. x.; Scala Chron. in Leland's Coll. p. 565.

country deserted by its inhabitants, who had removed all their cattle and provisions into the fastnesses of the forests and mountains. They marched as through a desert, and no kind of supply could be found either for man or for beast. Incensed at finding himself overreached by Douglas in the previous negotiation, Edward, says an old chronicler, was like a she-bear robbed of her whelps,* and with a cruel and short-sighted policy, burned down every town, village, and hamlet which he approached, without sparing even the churches and religious houses. The noble abbey-church at Haddington, whose choir, on account of its singular beauty, was called the Lamp of Lothian, was utterly destroyed, and the monastery, with the town itself, laid in ashes.†

These barbarous proceedings, however, only aggravated the difficulties of his position. He could neither procure provisions for his men nor forage for their horses. Flying bodies of his nimble adversaries harassed him on all sides, and cut off his foraging parties the moment they ventured out of sight of the main army. The inclemency of the weather greatly increased the sufferings and privations of his troops. Bread began to fail, and the victualing-ships, which had been sent from Berwick, were dispersed by a storm, and completely destroyed. Famine stared him in the face, and, after he is compelled to retreat, he found it absolutely necessary to retreat, in order to save his army from total ruin. His return was not effected without considerable loss. Every glen, forest, and mountain-path swarmed with enemies, ready to pounce upon the retreating and disorderly invaders, whenever an opportunity offered. To avoid returning through the district of East Lothian and Berwickshire, which he had wasted in his advance, Edward involved himself in the defiles of Teviotdale and Ettrick, where he suffered great loss, and on one occasion, in passing through the Forest of Melrose, he very narrowly escaped being made prisoner or slain in an ambuscade which Douglas had laid for him.‡ The ravages which he perpetrated in this savage and inglorious expedition, caused the period at which it took place (Feb. 1356) to be long remembered in Scotland by the title of the "Burnt Country."

The failure of this formidable enterprise seems to have convinced Edward of the necessity of resorting to other means than those of open war, for the purpose of establishing his supremacy over Scotland. He was well aware of the facile and selfish character of the Scottish king, whom he had completely gained over to his views, and relied on his cordial co-operation in promoting his ambitious designs. As a preliminary step, therefore, it was

necessary to procure the establishment of peace between the two kingdoms, and the return of David to his own land. During a period of ten years various abortive conferences had been held for the ransom and liberation of the captive monarch; but as both parties were now desirous of peace, negotiations were renewed with every prospect of success. After a preliminary conference at London, it was arranged that commissioners from the two kingdoms should meet at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the 3rd of October, 1357, for the final settlement of the treaty.*

The Scottish parliament, convened by the Steward, met at Edinburgh on the 26th of September, when the three estates appointed delegates to represent them in the approaching conference. The Bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness, and Brechin, were chosen by the clergy; the Earls of Angus, March, and Sutherland, Sir Thomas de Moravia, Sir William Livingston, and Sir Robert Erskine, were delegated by the regent and barons; and the royal burghs made choice of eleven delegates of their own number to represent their interest.† The conference assembled at Berwick on the day appointed, and was marked by a dignity and splendour suited to the solemn occasion. In addition to the Scottish delegates, who seem to have vied with each other in state and retinue, there were present, on the part of England, the Primate, with the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the Lords Percy, Neville, Scrope, and Musgrave, while the interest of the assembly was deepened by the presence of David Bruce himself, whose freedom depended on the issue of its deliberations. Negotiations were speedily and satisfactorily brought to a termination. The ransom of the king was ultimately fixed at one hundred thousand pounds,—equivalent to the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling of modern money, to be paid by annual instalments of ten thousand marks. As sureties for payment, three of the principal nobles of Scotland were bound to reside, by turns, in England, and twenty youths belonging to the first families were also given as hostages.‡ A truce was concluded between the kingdoms for ten years, during which it was calculated that the debt would be discharged; failing this, or any of the previous conditions, the liberated monarch was bound to return as a prisoner to England. The enthusiastic loyalty of the Scots can alone account for their ready assent to a treaty, the terms of which were cruelly oppressive to their country. The ransom price, besides being exorbitant in itself, was likely to press heavily on a land, the resources of which, at no time great, had been drained by a long and expensive conflict, and by the maintenance of its king and many of the nobility during their captivity in England, while the number and importance of the hostages

* *Forbes*, *book iv. chap. xiii.*

† *Ibid.*; *Beza Chron. apud Ioland*, vol. i. p. 600; *Keightley*, p. 201; *Halles*, vol. ii. p. 288, and note.

‡ *Forbes and Keightley*, *supra*.

* *Rymer, Foedera*, vol. v. p. 831.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pp. 42—45.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48; *Halles*, vol. ii. pp. 205, 296, and note.

furnished Edward with opportunities, of which he was likely unscrupulously to avail himself, of extorting further and even more humbling concessions.

After the ratification of the treaty, David returned to his kingdom, from which he had been absent eleven years, and immediately summoned a parliament to arrange measures for fulfilling the conditions of his freedom. His character had not been improved by his long residence in England, and the people speedily found that their generous sacrifices had been made for one who despised their devotion to his person and crown, and would not deny himself a single selfish gratification in requital of the sacrifices which they had made for his sake. On his way to the hall where his privy-council were to meet, as the multitude crowded around him, anxious to obtain a sight of their king, and testifying their joy with shouts of welcome, he rudely repelled their familiarity, and, seizing a mace from one of his attendants, threatened to beat down any who should further annoy him.* The parliament

Meeting of the parliament at Scene. having met, proceeded to make various provisions for the payment of the king's ransom. It granted to David all the wool and woofels of the kingdom, at the rate of four marks for the sack of wool, from the sale of which to foreign traders, at a high profit, a large sum of money was likely to be realized.† Commissioners were appointed to collect and give accurate returns of the names of all the landed proprietors, with the rents and produce of their estates, and of all mechanics, artificers, and tradesmen, with the amount of their real property, in order that the tax which each person should pay, might be apportioned to his means; but white sheep, domestic horses, oxen, and household furniture were exempted from this account, and heavy penalties were enacted against all attempts to evade this impost.

Measures enacted by it. All the lands, rents, and customs originally belonging to the king, but which, in course of time, had been granted to other persons, were resumed, in order that the crown might be maintained from its own patrimony; and, as additional security, David was required to renew that part of his coronation oath which bound him in no case to alienate the lands of the crown or any of its revenues, without the advice and consent of his council. As a further source of probable revenue, it was ordered that "all the lands, possessions, and goods of the homicides since the battle of Durham, who had not yet bound themselves to obey the law, should remain in the hands of the king until they came under sufficient security to obey the law, and all pardons or remissions granted to such persons by the governor of the kingdom, during the absence of the king, were declared of no authority unless ratified by the king himself."

A species of intimacy now grew up between the

two kingdoms, and was zealously encouraged by the English monarch, who strove New and crafty by every means in his power to policy of Edward. ingratiate himself with the nobility and the people of Scotland. A friendly and unfettered intercourse between his own country and Scotland, was carefully fostered by this politic prince, and passports were freely given to nobles, merchants, pilgrims, and students,—to all, in short, who could allege either business or pleasure for visiting the English dominions. In this way it was hoped that the prejudices which had grown up during the fierce and protracted war between the two countries, would be gradually weakened, and the manifold advantages of peace with England having been felt by the Scottish people, they would be less likely to offer a strenuous resistance to a proposal for a complete union with that country. The Scottish king willingly lent himself to the promotion of this subtle Treachery of David to his country. policy. He had long been child-

less; the Steward was heir to the throne; and, as it has been justly remarked, princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors, when not of their own immediate family. David was, moreover, extravagant in his personal habits, and immoderately addicted to selfish pleasures; and his repose was embittered by the dread, that, in the event of his ransom remaining unpaid, he might be remanded to his prison in the Tower. He therefore turned a willing ear to the proposal of Edward, that, in the event of his own death without heirs, the crown of Scotland should devolve upon Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of the English monarch. This scheme was in the mean time carefully concealed from the Scottish nation, and was not publicly brought forward till six years afterwards; but it was never lost sight of for a moment, and no opportunity of promoting its success was neglected. A considerable number of the higher nobles appear to have Intrigues of the nobles with England. been seduced by the example of their sovereign, and by the blandishments of the English king, to join in the plot against the independence of their country. Secret negotiations were constantly carried on between the two monarchs, and commissioners were from time to time despatched to the court of Edward, on missions whose ostensible object was to maintain friendly relations with England, but which were really intended to pave the way for the ultimate annexation of Scotland to the English crown. The expense of these embassies was, in all probability, defrayed by the English monarch; and the Scottish nobles, flattered by his attentions, and enriched by his gifts, returned to their own country more eager than ever to aid him in his ambitious and sinister plans.

The truce was injurious to the northern kingdom from other causes. Reduced to a state of inactivity, which the fierce and protracted conflicts of the war of independence rendered peculiarly irksome, oppressed by heavy taxation, and deprived

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 283.

† Parl. Records, pp. 96, 97.

of their wonted opportunities for plunder, many of the nobility hastened to the continent, to mingle in the contests raging there,* or even enlisted themselves in the ranks of the English army, and fought against their ancient ally, France.† Thus, while treason menaced the country, many of its best and bravest defenders were absent, shedding their blood in distant wars with which they had no concern.

The second instalment of the king's ransom was now nearly due; but though the Scottish parliament had made every possible exertion to meet the claim, and the Pope, at the entreaty of David, had agreed that for a term of three years a tenth of all the ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland should be levied for the purpose, such was the impoverished condition of the country, that there appeared no prospect of raising the money.

In this emergency, David consented, at the instigation of the Steward and his friends, to open negotiations with France, offering to renew hostilities with Edward, if the French regent would assist in discharging his ransom. The French plenipotentiaries at first pleaded the exhausted state of the public treasury, and the captivity of their own king; but ultimately agreed to contribute fifty thousand marks, on condition that the Scots should renew the war with England, and at the same time ratify the former treaty between France and Scotland. This agreement, however, was never fulfilled. Shortly after, (5th May, 1360,) peace was concluded by the celebrated treaty of Bretigny. Edward agreeing to give up his Flemish allies,

and the French, on their part, consenting to renounce all former alliances with Scotland, and engaging for the future to make no new treaty with that kingdom to the prejudice of England. The assistance which many of the Scottish nobles openly gave to the English army, after friendly negotiations had been entered into between their own country and France, in no small degree contributed to this result, which was in every way injurious to the Scottish nation, by detaching from them a powerful ally, and leaving Edward free to prosecute his designs on the independence of their country.

While the liberties of the kingdom were thus menaced from without, the country was visited by two terrible scourges. Continuous and heavy rains produced a dreadful inundation in the district of Lothian, accompanied by a great loss of life and property.‡ The rivers, swollen by the torrents which rushed down from the hills, overflowed their wonted channels, tearing up the strongest trees by the roots, and sweeping away bridges, granaries, and cattle-sheds, with the

rudeness of the peasantry. The suburb of Haddington, called the Nungate, was levelled to the ground. At length, according to Bower, when the raging element was approaching the nunnery of that town, a nun, struck with terror, snatched up a small image of the Virgin from a shrine in the church, and threatened to throw it into the river unless she protected the abbey from the impending destruction. At that moment the flood, which had already reached the threshold of the building, suddenly retreated, and gradually subsided within its usual limits. "This nun," says the chronicler, "was a simpleton, but devout; although not according to knowledge." "If, however," Lord Hailes significantly remarks, "she perceived any abatement of the inundation before she uttered her threats, she was not a simpleton."

This catastrophe was followed by a still more dreadful visitant. The pestilence —and by the pestilence, which ten years before had made such havoc, again broke out in Scotland,† but on this occasion with an indiscriminate violence which rendered its ravages more appalling. The rich as well as the poor, the noble and the peasant, alike perished by hundreds. The king and his court were at last compelled to retreat to the north, and to remain at Kinross in Moray till the violence of the scourge had abated. One-third of the inhabitants of Scotland were computed to have been carried off by this dreadful malady.

During the retreat of the king to the north, an incident occurred which strikingly marks the savage character of the times. Catherine Mortimer, a native of Wales, with whom David had formed a degrading connexion during his imprisonment in England, had accompanied him to Scotland on his liberation, and continued for several years to be his favourite mistress. She in some way had become obnoxious to the profligate and factious Earl of Angus, and others of the nobility, and they resolved to put her to death. Two villains named Hulle and Dewar, hired for that purpose, went to her residence, and pretending to have received instructions to convey her to the king, induced the unfortunate woman to commit herself to their guidance. On the lonely road, between Melrose and Soutra, she was barbarously murdered by these inhuman wretches.‡ The king, on his return, committed Angus a prisoner to the castle of Dumbarton, where the plague terminated his turbulent career, and directed the body of his favourite to be interred with every mark of respect in Newbattle Abbey.

The events which followed during this and the succeeding years present little requiring detailed narrative. The Steward and his adherents viewed with apprehension the growing intercourse between the English and Scottish courts, as fraught with danger to the liberties of the country; while the

—and by the pestilence, A.D. 1361.

—and by the pestilence, A.D. 1361.

Murder of Catherine Mortimer, a native king's mistress.

• Hailes, vol. ii. p. 384.
 † Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxiv.
 ‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxiv.; Scala Chron. p. 106; Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 301, 302.

* Hailes, vol. v. p. 200; Botuli Scotis, vol. i. p. 630; Fordun, vol. ii. p. 104.
 † Ibid.
 ‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xvi.

king, who had been completely gained over to the interests of England, sought by every method to promote the base conspiracy which had been formed against the independence of his kingdom and the secret negotiations rights of his kinsman. The confederacy with England had gradually gained ground among the Scottish nobility, and as the negotiations with Edward were insidiously carried on under the guise of an attempt to secure lasting peace between the two countries, they received the support of not a few of the nobles and clergy who were ignorant of their real design, and were actuated solely by an honest and sincere desire to establish the pacific relations with England on a permanent basis. These dark designs against the liberties of Scotland had been maturing, as we have seen, for many years, and at length the king appears to have imagined that the time had arrived when he might venture to make known the plan which he had so long cherished for the transference of the sovereignty of Scotland to the English monarch. Accordingly, in a parliament held at Scone, in the year 1363, he proposed to the estates, that in the event of his death without issue, they should settle the crown on one of the sons of Edward III.; and he expressed his earnest wish that their choice should fall upon Lionel, the third son of that monarch—a prince well qualified to maintain the national liberties. He assured them that this step would secure a permanent peace between the two countries, and would induce the king of England to renounce all pretensions to the feudal supremacy of Scotland. The proposal was

David's proposal received by the estates of parliament to alter the succession, indignantly rejected by the parliament. Instantly and unanimously, the members replied, "We will never permit an Englishman to reign over us."* They reminded David that by solemn acts of settlement, sworn to in parliament, the Steward of Scotland was recognised as heir to the crown, in default of the present king or his issue,—that the Steward and his sons were brave men, and worthy of the succession, from which therefore they refused to exclude them by preferring the son of an alien enemy. They added, that they yet earnestly desired peace, and provided the royal state, liberty, and separate independence of the kingdom were not infringed upon, would willingly make every sacrifice to attain it.

David was deeply enraged at this resolute answer, but he repressed his feelings and made no reply, and the parliament, passing on to other matters, appointed commissioners to negotiate a final treaty of peace with England. The king apparently passed from his design of altering the succession to the crown; but the proposal destroyed all confidence between him and his people, and so alarmed

the Steward and his friends, the Earls of March and Douglas, and others of the great nobles, that, according to a common practice in that age, they entered into a bond or agreement of mutual defence, and assembled their retainers to compel the king by force to adhere to the order of succession as fixed in the days of Robert Bruce. The Steward and David, however, was not deficient in personal courage, and manifested on this occasion a very unexpected degree of promptitude and decision. The Steward and his supporters had placed themselves in a false position, by seizing and imprisoning the nobles who belonged to the king's party, and ravaging their estates; and the king, taking advantage of these violent and illegal proceedings, issued a proclamation commanding the rebels to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance; and he levied a numerous army for the purpose of compelling obedience to his commands.* Fortunately both parties were afraid of proceeding to extremities, and the calamities of a civil war were averted. The Steward and his associates laid down their arms, and consented to renounce their engagements, in a parliament held on the 14th of May, 1363, at Inchmurtoch, a palace of the Bishop of St. Andrews; and in recompence for this prompt return to his duty, the Steward's title to the succession was fully recognised, and the earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III.†

Scarcely had the public tranquillity been restored by this reconciliation between David and the Steward, when the faithless and imprudent monarch again repaired to London, and involved himself in secret negotiations with the King of England. A private conference was held at Westminster, between the two kings and certain chosen counsellors, on the 23rd of November, 1363, for the purpose of drawing up a new plan for the alteration of the succession to the Scottish crown. By this agreement, the King of England himself was to be declared heir of King David, in the event of the latter dying without heirs male of his body. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of which was evidently to reconcile the people of Scotland to the loss of their independence, and to induce them to submit patiently to the sway of the English monarch. It was agreed that the town and castle of Berwick, with the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaben, and the lands which belonged to King Robert Bruce at the time of his death, and were now in the hands of the King of England, should be delivered up to the Scots, and that the arrears of King David's ransom, and all the penalties incurred

* "Cui breviter et sine ulteriore deliberatione aut retractione responsum fuit per universalter, singulos et singulariter universos de tribus statibus, NUNQUAM SE VELLE CONSENTIRE ANGLICUM SUPER SE REGNARE." Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxv. Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 204.

* Fordun (book xiv. chap. xxv.) says that David expended large sums of money in paying the forces which he had collected. As his own finances were at this period in a very low condition, he must have received supplies of money, and probably of men also, from England. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 305, and note.

† Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxvii.

by its non-payment, should be cancelled, and the hostages set at liberty. It was carefully stipulated that the name and title of the kingdom of Scotland should be preserved distinct and entire, and that no part of the kingdom was ever to be alienated on any pretence whatever; but that it should remain free and entire as in the days of King Robert. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the sacred Stone of Destiny, on which the kings of England were henceforth to be crowned kings of Scotland, at Scone, and the ceremony was to be performed by those Scottish prelates whom the Papal court should depute to that office. All parliaments for the settlement of the affairs of Scotland were to be held within that kingdom. The independence of the Scottish Church was to be guaranteed by the solemn oath of the monarch at his coronation; and he was also to swear that he would maintain unimpaired the ancient laws and usages of the country, and never require the subjects of Scotland to answer to any suit except within the courts of their own kingdom, and according to their own laws. In addition to all this, Edward solemnly engaged that all ecclesiastical benefices or dignities, and all civil or military offices, should be conferred exclusively on natives of Scotland, and that he would employ Scottish counselors alone, in all national concerns of the kingdom. An artful attempt was to be made to gain over the various classes of the community by the offer of certain peculiar privileges of which they were at present deprived. The merchants and burghesses were to be conciliated by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade; to the powerful Earl of Douglas was held out the prospect of the restoration of the possessions in England which had belonged to his father and his uncle: and the full restitution of their estates was promised to the disinherited barons, and to all who owned lands in Scotland, either by the gift of the king when a prisoner, or on any other grounds. To propitiate the clergy, an article was inserted which promised to the various religious houses the restoration of the lands of which they had been deprived during the wars with England; while the good will of the military tenants, and of the community at large, was to be secured by the assurance that they were not to be bound to render any military service except what was required by the ancient regulations of the kingdom; and that no taxes were to be imposed upon them except those which they had been accustomed to pay under the government of their native kings. It is evident that the persons engaged in this plot against the independence of Scotland were fully aware that the bare suspicion of such proceedings would kindle a flame in that country; for the minutes of this extraordinary conference open with a provision of strict secrecy, and a declaration that the various stipulations which followed were to be regarded merely in the light of an experiment, and not as conditions finally agreed to either by one party or the other. By the last article, David undertook to sound the

inclinations of his people respecting this scheme, and to inform the King of England and his council of the result, fifteen days after Easter.* There is no evidence that this treaty was ever brought before the Scottish parliament or privy council, and there can be little doubt that David, on his return to his own dominions, found the scheme wholly impracticable.†

Some time before this, Joanna Queen of Scotland had died at Hertford Castle, David's marriage in England, and at this critical period the imprudent monarch added to the difficulties with which he was surrounded, by a marriage with Margaret Logie, a young woman of remarkable beauty but inferior birth.‡ This step disgusted the haughty nobles, and seems to have caused an open rupture between the king and his kinsman the Steward; and such was the influence which the young queen possessed over her reckless and selfish husband, that, at her suggestion, he cast the Steward and his son the Lord of Badenoch into prison, where they were long detained.§ Soon after his marriage, David paid another visit to England, under the pretext of performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin, at Walsingham. His queen, at the same time, obtained a safe-conduct to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. They appear to have remained a considerable period at the court of Edward, sharing in the splendid entertainments which were given at this time to celebrate the visit to England of the kings of France, Cyprus, and Denmark.

While the unworthy monarch was endeavouring to forget his own cares and the distresses of his kingdom amid these festive rejoicings, the Scottish commissioners continued their negotiations for a lasting peace between the two countries. The payment of the king's ransom was the principal obstacle. By extraordinary exertions, and great sacrifices, the sum of thirty thousand marks had been raised and paid to England, but the resources of the country were now exhausted; the instalments had not been regularly transmitted at the appointed periods, and penalties for default of payment had accumulated to a large amount. A parliament was summoned to meet at Perth, on the 13th of January, 1364, for the purpose of receiving the report of the commissioners respecting the conference on the projected treaty between the two kingdoms. The proceedings were characterized by great prudence and moderation. The estates declared themselves willing to make every sacrifice honourably to meet the engagements of the nation, and to obtain a permanent peace. They offered to restore the disinherited lords to the estates which they claimed in Scotland, and to settle upon the youngest son of

* Rymer, Foedera, vol. vi. p. 427.

† See Hailes, vol. ii. pp. 312, 313.

‡ Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxviii.

§ Ibid. chap. xxxiv.

the King of England the Isle of Man and the lands in Galloway, which were the inheritance of Edward Baliol. In the event of these offers being accepted, they professed their willingness to serve as his auxiliaries in an invasion of Ireland, conducted by the king in person. On the other hand, if these conditions should be rejected, the estates unanimously agreed to pay the full ransom, provided that moderate intervals between each term of payment should be allowed; and, over and above, to restore the estates of the disinherited lords, to cede the inheritance of Baliol to Edward's son; and to aid in the invasion of Ireland. They proposed to pay down annually five thousand marks sterling, till the whole accumulated ransom and penalty, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand marks, should be completed; or, if this offer should not be accepted, they declared their readiness, rather than renounce the hopes of a peace, to pay down in ten years the sum of a hundred thousand marks. To raise this enormous sum, it was determined that an annual custom of eight thousand marks was to be charged upon the whole wool of the kingdom, and that a general tax should be annually levied of six pennies in the pound upon every person in the country without exception.*

In consequence of these resolutions of the Scottish parliament, negotiations were entered into for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms. It was agreed that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be accepted in full of all demands for arrears of ransom, and of all penalties for non-payment at the stated period; and that this should be paid by instalments of six thousand marks yearly. On these conditions, the truce was prolonged for four years, from the 20th May, 1365,

A four years' preparatory to the conclusion of a truce concluded final peace.† It appears from an imperfect record of the proceedings of a parliament held at Perth, shortly after his prorogation of the truce, that Edward, as one of the conditions of a lasting amity between the two countries, had insisted that, in the event of an invasion of England, the Scots should assist him with a body of forty men-at-arms and sixty archers, and that if, on the other hand, Scotland should be invaded by foreigners, Edward should send to the assistance of his ally, two hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers. The Scottish commissioners were instructed to accede to these demands rather than break off the treaty.‡

Edward was evidently much less anxious to obtain payment of the ransom, than to render the burden of paying it so intolerable that the Scottish people should be willing to relieve themselves from the debt by the sacrifice of their independence. It was in vain, therefore, that the commissioners endeavoured to procure some mitigation of the rigorous terms proposed by the English monarch. The greater the sacrifices they showed

themselves willing to make for the sake of peace, the more did the insolence of his demands increase; and it is evident, from the arrogant tone which he adopted throughout these negotiations, that he confidently expected that his long-cherished schemes were about to be crowned with success. At the same time, he sought by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with the nobility and the trading classes of the community. Inducements were held out to the Scottish youth to frequent the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the piously-disposed portion of the people had every facility afforded them to make pilgrimages to the most celebrated English shrines; the vassals and labourers on the estates which belonged to the King of England and his nobles were treated with kindness, and were allowed to retain their ancient customs and privileges; important advantages were secured to the religious houses which acknowledged the English authority; the commercial intercourse between the two countries was placed on the most liberal footing; and grants of protection and immunity were readily bestowed on the Scottish merchants, to encourage them to trade with England.

This wily policy was followed by the most beneficial results, and would have deserved high commendation if its object had been fair and honest. The blessings of peace were gratefully accepted by a people who had undergone the most terrible sufferings during the fierce and protracted war which had withered or destroyed every branch of national property, and, under this change of measures, the country gradually improved in order and industry. The youth of Scotland crowded in great numbers to the English colleges. The Scottish merchants commenced a lucrative trade with England, and, through that country, with the continent, exporting thither the wool, hides, and other raw produce of their own country, and receiving in return, woollen cloth, earthenware, wine, salt, and spices of all kinds, gold and silver plate, and swords, helmets, and

Great increase of intercourse between England and Scotland.

all sorts of warlike accoutrements. The Scottish rolls in the Tower of London contain numerous passports or safe-conduits granted to merchants from Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Perth, Aberdeen, and other towns and royal burghs of Scotland, to travel into England and the continent for the purposes of trade. From these curious and authentic documents it appears that the merchants travelled with their goods in caravans, protected by companies of horsemen, and that sometimes passports were given to fifty or sixty at a time, each of whom was attended by a suite of four, five, or six horsemen. On one occasion, in the space of a single month, safe-conduits were granted to no less than sixty-five merchants, who were escorted by two hundred and thirty horsemen.*

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 104.

* Rotuli Scotie, vol. i. pp. 835, 836; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

In spite of the great benefits which the people of Scotland derived from the peace, and the unfettered intercourse with England, they continued to offer the most strenuous resistance to all attempts to degrade their country to the level of an English province, and neither the blandishments nor the threats of Edward availed to shake their resolution. In an assembly of the Scottish council, which was held at the monastery of Holyrood on the 8th of May, 1366, when David was absent in

Resistance of the Scots to Edward's subsidies England, it was declared in the strongest terms, that the proposals of the English king with regard to the homage, the succession, and the dismemberment of the kingdom, were altogether intolerable, and could not for a moment be entertained. At the same time it was announced, that in order to pay off the ransom of their king, the Scottish people were willing to submit to an additional tax on all the lands in the kingdom, both lay and ecclesiastical; and the rich proprietors were directed to appear on certain appointed days before the sheriff of the county in which they resided, and to state the precise sum which each was willing to contribute within three years, towards defraying the ransom. In this way it was calculated that the whole debt would be liquidated at the end of the four years' truce with England.

Meanwhile their unworthy sovereign, by his inconstant and expensive journeys to the court of Edward, as well as his pilgrimages to English shrines, had involved himself in a Heavy debt contracted by David load of debt. Heavy expenses had also been incurred by the Scottish commissioners during their protracted and fruitless negotiations for peace; and the large arrears of the royal ransom were a subject of great anxiety to the people of Scotland, and seemed to threaten national bankruptcy. In a parliament assembled

Resolutions of the parliament assembled at Scone at Scone on the 20th of July, commissioners were appointed to make

a last attempt at negotiation, on the basis of the articles agreed to in the parliament held at Perth on the 13th of January, 1364, for the purpose of obtaining either a final peace or a prolongation of the truce for twenty-five years.* An exact census of all the lands in the kingdom, lay and ecclesiastical, and of all the goods, not only of the burghers, but even of the husbandmen, was appointed to be taken, and a contribution of eight thousand marks was to be levied upon the gross rental, to defray the charges of the commissioners, and to pay off the debts which the king had contracted both in his own kingdom and in England. It was agreed that the annual instalment of four thousand pounds towards the payment of the ransom, should in the meantime be paid out of the great custom, as appointed by a former parliament, but that after the return of the commissioners it should be taken out of the general property-tax, and that two thousand pounds out of the same fund should be employed

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 104.

to pay the royal debts and the expenses of the commissioners. As this last sum was required without delay, it was borrowed from the barons, clergy, and burghers, on the security of Sir Robert Erskine and Walter Biggar, the Chamberlain.

It would seem that grievous abuses had sprung up in the administration of justice, and in the purveying of provisions for the royal household, as well as in the exactions of the nobles, who travelled through the country with the pomp and military array of kings, quartering themselves and their attendants at pleasure on the farmers and labourers, destroying or consuming their crops; and the present was deemed a fitting occasion for the enactment of regulations to remedy these grievances. Accordingly, it was proclaimed by the Abuses remedied by the estates king, at the instance of the three estates, that justice should be done to every subject of the realm, without favour or respect of persons; that whatever letters had been directed from the chancellor, or other court in the administration of justice, should not be liable to be recalled by other letters under any seal whatever, but that the officers to whom such were addressed should be bound to give them full effect, and to return them endorsed to the parties. It was also stipulated, that since the people had taken upon themselves so heavy a burden to pay the ransom of the king, together with the expenses incurred by him and by the commissioners, no part of the money collected for these purposes should be applied to any other use; that the clergy should be protected in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges; that no other burdens should be imposed upon them, than those which were sanctioned by parliament, and that those who were opposed to the regular payment of tithes, should be compelled to submit peaceably to their exaction, under the penalty of excommunication, and a fine of ten pounds to the king. Nothing was to be taken from the people for the use of the king without prompt payment, and, even when paid for, nothing was to be exacted, except what was sanctioned by use and custom. The parliament next resolved, that the rebels in Athole, Argyle, Badenoch, Lochaber, and Ross, and the other northern districts of the kingdom, should be arrested and compelled to submit to the laws, and to pay their share in the general contribution, besides being otherwise punished, as appeared best for securing the peace of the community. All sheriffs and other inferior officers were enjoined to obey the chamberlain and other superior authorities, under the penalty of a removal from their offices without hope of restitution. All remissions for offences, granted by the king, were declared null and void, unless the fine was paid within the year from the date of the pardon. It was ordained that the followers of the nobility, with their horses, should not be forcibly quartered upon the inferior clergy, or the farmer and husbandmen, so as to destroy the crops and meadows, and consume the grain; but that they should duly pay for their entertainment in the

inns where they took up their residence; and the chamberlain was enjoined to take care, that in every burgh proper inns were erected, and maintained according to the wealth of the place. No prelate, earl, baron, knight, or other person, lay or clerical, was to be permitted to ride through the country with a greater attendance than became their rank, and such persons were enjoined under pain of imprisonment, unless reasonable cause for the attendance of such followers was shown to the king's officers. And it was finally directed, that these regulations should be reduced to writing, under the royal seal, and publicly proclaimed by the sheriffs in their respective counties.*

In consequence of the resolutions of this parliament, another attempt was made to obtain a final peace, but without effect, and the abortive negotiations for that purpose were followed, on the part of England, by preparations for war; an array was ordered of all fighting men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and the border barons were enjoined to put the marches in a state of defence, and to hold themselves in readiness to repel an invasion of the Scots.†

At this critical juncture, the conduct of the Scottish king, and of many of his nobles, is deserving of the severest reprobation. David and his queen made such frequent visits to England, that they seem almost to have taken up their residence in that country; and in their incessant and unnecessary journeys, they lavishly squandered the money wrung from the commercial and labouring classes of the community, besides incurring so large an amount of personal debt, that ultimately they could not venture to visit the English court without a royal protection from arrest.‡ Many of the higher nobles imitated the foolish and selfish conduct of their sovereign, and, totally unmindful of the duty which they owed to their country, in great numbers undertook expensive pilgrimages to holy shrines in England and various parts of the continent,§ or entered into the service of foreign powers, and wasted their blood and treasure in quarrels with which they had no concern. And even when they remained at home, they were such more intently occupied in carrying on their petty feuds with one another, than in labouring to secure the independence or to promote the prosperity of their country. During the long minority and subsequent captivity of David, the exorbitant

power of these haughty and turbulent barons had grown to such a height, as to set — their turbulence at defiance all attempts to bring — and contempt them under the control of the for the laws. Their incessant quarrels with each other rendered the country a universal scene of disorder and bloodshed; and, secure in the strength of their castles, and the number of their vassals, they committed the most atrocious crimes with impunity. Even the patrimony of the crown was not secure from their rapacious grasp, and was so seriously impaired during the long captivity of the monarch, that on his return to his own country he was frequently reduced to great privations, and both he and his first queen were under the humiliating necessity of pawning their jewels for debt.

This serious defalcation in the royal revenue was brought under the consideration of a parliament, summoned for that purpose, at Scone, on the 27th of September, 1367.* It was resolved by the estates, that to enable the king to live as he ought, without oppressing the people, all the rents, dues, customs, and emoluments, which had belonged to the crown in the time of Robert Bruce and Alexander III., and which had been grievously dilapidated, should be reclaimed, and that even though these rents or duties had been disposed of, or the crown lands let, either by the king or his chamberlain; and with an entire disregard of the rights of private — attempt of the persons, the leases or gifts of parliament to restore it. these lands or dues were pronounced null and void. The chamberlain was directed to retain in his own hands, for the king's use, and the support of the royal household, all lands in ward, all the feudal casualties due upon the marriage of crown vassals, with the fines or perquisites of the royal courts. All deeds and charters by which the patrimony of the crown had been disposed of, since the time of Robert Bruce, were ordered to be delivered into the exchequer at Perth, to remain in the hands of the chancellor and the chamberlain; and any such deeds not so delivered upon the appointed day, were abrogated, and declared to be null and void, in all time coming.†

About this period, the Earl of Ross, John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and other Rebellion of the northern barons, appear to have northern barons—risen in rebellion against the royal authority, and to have refused to contribute their proportion of the impost for the relief of the kingdom. In a parliament held at Scone, in the summer of 1368, the distracted state of the northern districts was taken into consideration, and the best methods of

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, pp. 103, 106; Tyler, vol. ii. Illustrations, letter H, p. 391.

† Rotuli Scotiae, vol. i. pp. 909, 910, 911.

‡ Ibid. p. 900.

§ In the year 1363, the Earls of March, Douglas, and Mar successively visited the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. On the 10th October, 1365, Archdeacon Barbour, the celebrated biographer of Bruce, obtained a safe-conduct to proceed with six knights upon a foreign pilgrimage; and a month or two later in the same year, no less than twenty-two Scottish knights and soldiers, accompanied by a hundred horsemen, set out upon pilgrimages to different shrines in Europe and Asia.

* The record mentions that the Earls of March, Ross, and Douglas were absent through contumacy. It seems to have been no uncommon occurrence for the higher barons to refuse, at their pleasure, to attend parliament, or to contribute their share to the relief of the king and people.

† Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 108.

reducing them to obedience; in order, as it was said, that in the event of war, the estates of the kingdom might then have a safe place of retreat: * an expression which gives a very striking description of the low state to which the country was then reduced. John of the Isles, one of the insurgent chiefs, was the son-in-law of the Steward of Scotland; and David, in person, enjoined that officer and his sons, the Lords of Kyle and Menteith, with the Earl of Mar, to defend his subjects within the territories over which their authority

—measures taken for its suppression. John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and Gillespie Campbell, were at the same time summoned to appear before the king, and give sufficient security that the country should not, in future, be plundered by them and their vassals; and that, along with their equals and neighbours, they should submit to the labours and the burdens imposed upon them by the laws. The king was

recommened to take counsel, respecting the defence of the borders, with the Earls of March and Douglas, the wardens of the east marches, although it was added, these barons seemed little disposed to give either labour or counsel to promote the welfare of the country. The chamberlain, assisted by Walter Lesley, Walter Haliburton, Hugh Eginton, and Walter Moyne, was directed to visit, in the first instance, the royal castles of Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton, and to give orders for their being immediately repaired and garrisoned, and provided with victuals, warlike engines, and all other articles necessary for resisting a hostile attack; after which, the remaining castles in the kingdom were to be carefully surveyed and put into a state of defence. †

The exorbitant power of the great barons at this leaving constant period, of the cabinet. and their haughty contempt of all law and authority, are strikingly manifested in the tone of advice and entreaty, rather than of command, in which they are implored to lay aside their private feuds and dissensions, and to unite cordially in the defence of their common country. The parliament clearly perceived both the true nature and the origin of the evils which afflicted the state, and the regulations which it made to repress them were in most cases sound and sagacious; but such, unhappily, was the weakness of the executive, that it was always difficult, and often impossible, to put the laws in execution: and thus the nation, as it has been justly said, continued in the condition of a froward patient, who cannot be cured, because there is no prevailing upon him to take the prescriptions ordered by the physicians.

When the parliament again assembled nine months after this, John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell submitted to the royal authority. The Earls of Mar and Ross appeared in their places, and

engaged within their territories to assist the royal officers in the maintenance of law and order; and the Steward of Scotland became bound to put down dissensions in the districts of Athole, Strathern, and Menteith; but John of the Isles still continued to defy the power of the king and parliament, and to insist that his vassals were under no obligation to pay any portion of the national impost. David, incensed at this continued resistance to his authority, with un- Expedition wanted activity assembled an against John of the Isles— army, and though it was the the Isles— depth of winter, marched against John of the Isles in person, and reduced that turbulent chief to obedience. Accompanied by a numerous train of the insurgent Highland chiefs, he met the king at Inverness, and humbly submitted —his submission. to his authority, promising to pay the tax imposed by parliament, and to put down all disaffection within his territories, and gave hostages for the fulfilment of the obligations under which he had come.* According to Fordun, David employed artifice as well as force, in reducing the unruly natives of the islands and other remote districts of the country, and had recourse to the crooked policy of stirring up one chieftain against another, and bestowing large rewards on those who succeeded either in slaying or in taking prisoners their brother chiefs. † In this way the power of the whole was humbled and diminished, and the royal sovereignty was acknowledged, and regular government gradually established throughout their wild and almost inaccessible territories.

Meanwhile the truce with England was about to expire, and there appeared as Miserable state of little prospect as ever of the estab- the kingdom. lishment of a permanent peace between the two kingdoms. The Scottish nation was weighed down by an overwhelming load of taxation, and yet the debt of the king was accumulating year by year, and more than a half of his ransom was still unpaid. Many districts of the country, through the ravages of war, and the long neglect of husbandry, were reduced to such a state of poverty as to be wholly unable to pay their portion of the public impost. The common necessities of life were scarce, and therefore dear, and even the ordinary supplies for the maintenance of the royal household had to be imported from England. In the midst of these distresses, the Scottish nation though deserted and betrayed by their own degenerate Sovereign, continued, with unshaken courage and perseverance, to resist every attempt on the part of the English monarch to destroy or impair, by force or fraud, the independence of their country. Although the proposal made by David to settle the crown on one of the sons of Edward was promptly and indignantly rejected by the Scottish parliament and people, the unworthy sc

* Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 112.

† Ibid. p. 113.

‡ Ibid. pp. 111, 112; Tytler, vol. II; Illustrations, letter I.

* Tytler, vol. II, Illustrations, letter M; Robertson's Parliamentary Records, p. 115.

† Fordun book XIV. chap. xxxiv.

‡ Rotuli Scotie, vol. I. pp. 924, 930.

of the heroic Bruce did not abandon his base design. Up to the end of his life, he continued to act as the tool of England, and there is the clearest evidence, that during his almost constant residence in that country, he took an active part in the intrigues which Edward was incessantly carrying on for the purpose of securing this grand object of his ambition. Many of the nobility were, as usual, gained over to the English interest, but the great mass of the people were determined to preserve the independence of their country at all hazards, and the appeals made to their hopes and fears proved like unsuccessful. Year after year, negotiations were renewed, for the purpose of permanently establishing, on an amicable basis, the relations between the two kingdoms, but without effect. In the exhausted state of the country, the Scots were wholly unable to raise the enormous sum which they had stipulated to pay for the king's ransom, and Edward obstinately refused to abate any portion, either of the original amount, or of the penalties incurred by default of payment. It was in his power, by the terms of the treaty, at any time to have remanded the Scottish king to his prison in the Tower, but by taking this step, he would have deprived himself of a tractable and zealous agent for the promotion of his views on the independence of Scotland, and would, at the same time, have thrown the government of that country into the hands of the Steward, the rightful heir to the throne, and the decided enemy of English influence. His object was, therefore, so to avail himself of the difficulties under which the country laboured, as to reduce it to a state of insolvency, that the people might be constrained to sacrifice their independence in order to relieve themselves from the overwhelming pressure of the debt,—and his nefarious schemes were apparently about to be crowned with success.

War between
France and
England.

The country seemed to be rapidly sinking under its accumulated distresses, when it was at once providentially rescued from despair by the sudden breaking out of a war between France and England, and the consequent necessity under which the English monarch was placed of concentrating his whole strength on the contest, in order to maintain his position on the continent. His arrogant demands were immediately relaxed, and he readily consented that the truce between the kingdoms should be prolonged for fourteen years,* and that the balance of King David's ransom, amounting still to fifty-six thousand marks, should be paid by annual instalments of four thousand marks. In this

The truce
between England
and Scotland is
renewed for
fourteen years.

under the ransom of the king was at length completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign.†

* Parliamentary Records, p. 116.

† Rymer, Foedera, vol. vii. p. 417; Hailes, vol. ii. p. 317.

An important and dangerous innovation on the freedom of the great national council took place towards the close of David's reign. Innovation in In the parliament which was held the constitution of parliament. at Scone, in the year 1368, a practice was introduced, apparently for the first time, of appointing committees to consult upon the business, and to prepare and arrange the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterwards to come before the parliament at large.* When the council of the nation assembled at Perth, in the following year, a similar course was adopted on a more extended scale. All judicial questions which were to come before parliament were referred to a committee, consisting of six of the clergy, fourteen of the barons, and seven of the burgesses, who were directed to deliberate and give their judgment regarding them. To a second committee, composed exclusively of the clergy and barons, in the proportion of six of the former to eleven of the latter, was intrusted the management of certain secret affairs which it was not deemed expedient, in the first instance, to bring before the body at large. The principal business brought before this committee was the consideration of the king's debt; and it soon appeared that the object of the secrecy which had been preserved, and of the exclusion of the representatives of the royal burghs, was to prevent their opposition to a declaration remitting and cancelling all the debts contracted by the king throughout the realm, the king's debts. up to the period of the Exchequer Court at Perth, in the year 1368. This mean and fraudulent transaction showed how perilous this innovation on the constitution was to the rights of the community and to the principles of good government. It was probably with the view of reconciling the burgesses to the injury thus inflicted upon those who had lent money or sold goods for the royal use, that it was accompanied by an order enjoining the king's officers to exact only what was due by use and custom, and to make prompt payment of whatever was borrowed for the ransom, or the support of the royal household. For the purpose of equalizing the taxation over the whole country, it was declared that in those northern districts where sheep had not been introduced, and which consequently escaped the heavy tax on wool paid by the Lowland districts, an annual impost in aid of the crown should be levied upon the crops and farm-stocking, or that the king, at certain seasons, should take up his residence in these remote counties and assess them for his support.

Attempt to
equalize the
taxation.

It was enacted by this parliament, that a tax should be paid to the exchequer of forty pennies upon every pound of money, either of gold or silver, exported out of the country, under a penalty of twenty shillings upon every penny of the duty which was eluded; and with regard to horses,

Tax on the
exportation of
gold and silver,
and of horses
and cattle.

* Parliamentary Records, p. 118.

cows, and other animals purchased for exportation, a duty of forty pence was to be levied upon every pound of the price of the horse, and twelve pence upon the price of all other animals. As grievous complaints had been made from all parts of the kingdom respecting the extortion of the serjeants and other officers of the crown, a strict investigation was ordered to be made into the conduct of all persons who had held these offices since the period of the king's captivity, and those who were found guilty of malversation were ordered to be punished by imprisonment and deprivation of their offices. It was further declared, that no justiciary, sheriff, or other officer of the king, should execute any mandate under any seal whatever, not excepting the great or privy seal, if such mandate were contrary to law. All grants of exemptions from public burdens or services due to the king were revoked, and the merchants and burghesses were enjoined not to leave the kingdom without license from the king or the chamberlain.*

At this period discord broke out in the royal family, and from causes which are involved in obscurity, bitter animosity arose between David

and his queen. She appears to have been expensive in her habits, like most persons suddenly elevated to high rank, and was fond of splendid dress and entertainments; and she apparently also liked admiration. Nothing is known, however, with certainty, of the reasons that induced the king to dissolve the unequal alliance which he had so hastily formed. A sentence of divorce was pronounced by the Scottish bishops,

—her appeal in Lent, A.D. 1369; † but the queen to the Pope— appealed to the Pope against this decision, and having with great secrecy conveyed

herself and the treasure she had amassed, which is said to have been considerable, on board a vessel in the Forth, she set sail for France and proceeded to Avignon to prosecute her appeal in person. Her cause met with a favourable hearing at the papal court; but she did not live to bring it to a conclusion, as she died on her journey to Rome, 18th Feb. 1369. Immedi- —and death. ately after the divorce of the queen, the Steward and his sons were released from prison and restored to the royal favour.

Shortly after this event, David, while meditating an expedition to the Holy Land, as an expiation for his sins, was seized with a mortal illness, and died at the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22nd February, 1370, in the forty- seventh year of his age, and the forty-first of his reign.* The character of this prince presents little deserving of either affection or esteem. He was indeed possessed of personal courage and of courteous and affable manners, but he was habitually under the dominion of selfish and sordid passions; and while he exacted the most painful sacrifices from his subjects in the midst of their deepest distresses, which his folly and extravagance had greatly aggravated, he recklessly indulged his love of show and pleasure, and never denied himself a single indulgence in return for their devoted loyalty and affection. His violent resentments, and mingled obstinacy and caprice, entailed a long train of calamities upon his people; and his readiness to barter, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of his kingdom, must ever remain a dark blot upon his memory. It is a melancholy consideration, that the death of the only son of Robert Bruce must have been regarded by his subjects as a national deliverance.

* Parliamentary Records, pp. 117, 118.

† Fordun, book xiv. chap. xxxiv.

* Fordun, book, xiv. chap. xxxiv.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND—LAWS—CHARTERS—ROYAL BURGHS—TRADE AND COMMERCE—COINAGE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—HOUSES, MILITARY ARMS, AND DRESS—SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

THE origin and constitution of the ancient parliament of Scotland are involved in some obscurity, and have given rise to considerable discussion. The early monarchs of the Scoto-Saxon dynasty, like other feudal sovereigns, were doubtless accustomed, on important occasions, to consult the most powerful of their clergy and barons; but there is no evidence that a regular convocation of the three estates of the realm was ever held during their reigns, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to point out the precise period at which the transition from the occasional council to the formal and legal assembly took place. David I. was undoubtedly a legislator, and some of his laws have come down to our own day; but there is no reason to believe that any parliament was consulted in their enactment. In one instance, indeed, he held a meeting of the clergy and barons at Carlisle, in the year 1138; but this assembly appears to have been convoked by the papal legate, and may be deemed an ecclesiastical rather than a civil council. On various occasions during the reigns of his immediate successors, Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and Alexander II., mention is made of important public transactions having been carried through in accordance with the advice of a great council; but in other instances equally important the government appears to have been entirely directed by the will of the monarch; and nothing resembling a regular parliament is to be found throughout the whole of his period, although the word is once or twice employed by ancient historians in speaking of the consultations between the king and his council.

towards the close of the reign of Alexander III., on the death of his son and daughter, leaving an infant as the only heir to the crown, Wyntown informs us that the king "caused make a great gathering of the States at Scone,"* for the purpose of settling the succession; and we learn from Fordun,† that this "gathering" consisted of the bishops and higher barons of the realm; but no mention is made of the attendance of the representatives of the burghs upon this occasion.

Immediately after the sudden and calamitous death of Alexander, we are told by Wyntown that the Estates of Scotland held a parliament at Scone,‡

in which they appointed six guardians to govern the kingdom; but we possess no authentic information respecting the constitution or proceedings of this assembly, and therefore cannot say of whom it was composed. A very full meeting of the Estates took place shortly after at Brigham, which was attended by the five guardians, ten bishops, twelve earls, twenty-three abbots, eleven priors, and forty-eight barons, who assumed the title of the Community of Scotland.* The absence of the representatives of the burghs on this important occasion clearly proves that they were not yet recognised as entitled to a place in the national council. The stipulation in the treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Maiden of Norway, "that no parliament was ever to be held without the boundaries of Scotland," together with the declaration which Fordun informs us was afterwards made by the Scottish parliament to Baliol—that he had been compelled to swear homage to Edward without consulting the three Estates of the realm†—show how rapidly the great national council was rising into importance. The burgesses of Scotland were called upon by Edward I. to take the oaths of allegiance to him in his progress through the country (A.D. 1292), after his claims as Lord Paramount of the kingdom had been admitted by the Scottish clergy and barons; but it was not till three years later that we have the first authentic record of the admission of the representatives of the burghs into the Scottish legislature. The chiefs of the people formed a constituent part of that parliament which compelled Baliol to renounce his homage and fealty to Edward, and to declare war against England;‡ and in the treaty of marriage which the same parliament negotiated between the eldest son of Baliol and the daughter of the French king, a clause was inserted providing that the treaty should be corroborated by the seals and the signatures not only of the prelates and nobles, but of the communities of the towns of Scotland.§ There is no farther mention of the constitution of the Scottish parliament till the year 1305, when Edward, after what he deemed the final conquest of Scotland, proceeded to form a constitution for the country, which he regarded as now indissolubly united with the English crown. By his orders the States of the realm assembled at Perth on the 28th of May, and elected ten commissioners, who, in conjunction with twenty chosen by the English parliament, were invested with full powers to frame a series of regulations for the administration of justice, and the government of the country. These commissioners consisted of two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two members to represent the community of burghs,|| a satisfactory proof that the royal burghs

First admission of the representatives of the burghs into parliament.

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* Rymer Foed. vol. ii. p. 472; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 744, note (n).

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 153.

§ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 696; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

|| History, ante, p. 111.

* Wyntown, vol. i. p. 307

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 137; Tytler, vol. ii.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 10.

were now regarded as constituting an essential part of the national council. In the year 1315 the Estates of Scotland assembled at Ayr, and determined that, in the event of the death of King Robert Bruce without heirs male, his brother Edward should succeed to the throne. As the heads of the communities or royal burghs appended their seals to the instrument of succession along with those of the prelates and barons, there can be little doubt that they sat in this important parliament, and took part in its deliberations.* They were also present in the parliament which met at Scone in the year 1318, for the purpose of framing some new regulations regarding the succession to the crown, rendered necessary by the death of Edward Bruce; and the famous letter which the parliament held at Aberbrothock, addressed to the Pope, was drawn up in the name of the prelates, earls, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland,† thereby showing that the representatives of the royal burghs were now recognised as forming the third estate of the national council. In the year 1326, King Robert, finding his health rapidly declining, convoked a parliament at Cambuskenneth, for the purpose of making a final settlement of the crown, and taking the oaths of fealty to his infant son, David. The original record of this Assembly of the Estates has perished, but an indenture has been preserved which was drawn between the king and his earls, barons, free tenants, communities of burghs, and the whole community of his realm;‡ and proves beyond a doubt that the burghs were now considered an integral part of the parliament. Some writers, indeed, have contended that this ought to be regarded as the true epoch of the introduction of deputies from the towns into the great national council;§ but the cases already adduced afford a strong presumption, if not conclusive evidence, that this important change in the constitution of the country took place as early as the reign of Baliol. No record has been preserved of the parliament assembled at Edinburgh in the year 1327, for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the peace with England; but the treaty itself distinctly states that it had been concluded with consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other heads of the communities of the kingdom of Scotland.¶

In consequence of the distracted state of the country during the minority and captivity of David Bruce, no regular parliament appears to have assembled for more than twenty years, and the election of the various regents who carried on the government was vested in that portion of the nobility who adhered to the patriotic cause. But there is unquestionable evidence of the presence of the burghs, as the third Estate, in all the parliaments held by David after his return to his own

dominions; and on the record of the proceedings of the parliament held at Scone on the 20th of July, 1366, we find it stated, that the assembly consisted of those who were summoned to the parliament of the king, according to ancient use and wont; namely, the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and free tenants, and certain burgesses who were summoned from each burgh to attend at this time. Towards the close of David's reign, an important and most mischievous innovation took place in the constitution of the parliament. In the account of the meeting of the Estates in the year 1367, it is stated that, in consequence of its being held in the autumn, "certain persons had been elected to hold the parliament, while permission was given to the rest of the members to return to their own business."* In the meeting of the three Estates at Perth, on the 6th of March, 1368, the same questionable measure was adopted of intrusting the entire management of the business of the parliament to a committee, and allowing the rest of the members to return home and attend to their own affairs; and in the last parliament of David, which assembled at Perth on the 18th of February, 1369, this new and dangerous practice was still more fully recognized and carried out. The management of all the judicial questions and complaints which required to come before parliament was intrusted to a committee consisting of six of the clergy, among whom were the Bishop of Brechin, the Chancellor and the Chamberlain, John de Carrie, fourteen of the barons, and seven of the burgesses; while certain special and secret matters regarding the king and the nation were referred to another committee from which the representatives of the burghs were entirely excluded.† The change thus introduced in the management of parliamentary proceeding necessarily tended to limit the freedom of discussion in the national council, by investing a small body of the members with the power of keeping back or bringing forward at their pleasure the subjects for consideration and debate, and ultimately led to the institution of the Lords of Articles,‡ who possessed a veto upon all measures which were proposed to be brought before the Estates, and thus exerted a most injurious influence upon the freedom of the parliament and the nation.§

The origin of Scottish jurisprudence has given rise to a great deal of controversy, Origin of in which the most conflicting Scottish law opinions have been expressed; but the spuriousness of the laws attributed to Kenneth Macalpin, Malcolm II., Macbeth, and Malcolm Canmore, has been clearly demonstrated, and it has been shown that nothing like a code of written law was tra-

* History, ante, p. 169.

† Ibid. ante, p. 162.

‡ Kenney's Law Tracts, Appendix No. 4; Caledonia, vol. i.

§ i. note (p).

¶ Ibid.

¶ Robertson's Index, p. 103.

* Parl. Records of Scotland, pp. 105, 108.

† See ante, p. 211; Parl. Records, p. 117.

‡ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 316, and note.

§ See Tytler's Dissertation on the Ancient Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 217—230; Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 74—744; Wight's Rise and Progress of Parliament.

Dangerous innovation on the constitution of parliament.

mitted by any of the Celtic kings. David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and the Saxon princess, Queen Margaret, is the first of the Scottish kings whose legislative enactments were transmitted to posterity in a permanent form. His reign forms an important era in the jurisprudence of Scotland. His long residence at the court of Henry I. had made him intimately acquainted with the laws of England, and on his accession to the throne of Scotland, he laboured to introduce among his rude subjects, the laws, manners, and customs of the more civilized inhabitants of the southern division of the island. There can be little doubt that the code of

Laws of David I. mercantile law called *Assissa Burgorum*, from a term of English

jurisprudence, was gradually formed by this enlightened and patriotic monarch.* In the statutes of William the Lion there is a reference to "the customs and laws made by King David;" and in the year 1305, Edward I. enjoined his lieutenant to read, in the presence of the good people of the land, "the laws which King David had enacted." It appears from Ayloff's Calendar of Ancient Charters, that among the public records carried away by Edward, there were several rolls of the laws and assizes of the kingdom of Scotland, several rolls of the laws and customs of the burghs, and a roll of ancient statutes which had been made by the Kings of Scotland.† The greater part of these statutes and assizes were, in all probability, enacted during the reigns of David and of William the Lion. The learned Chalmers states, that he had inspected a manuscript collection of ancient laws preserved in the library at Berne, in Switzerland, and which is undoubtedly older than the year 1306.‡ This interesting document contains an enumeration of certain statutes under the title of *Leges Scotiæ* and *Leges Burgorum*, which it affirms were enacted by King David; but it makes no

The *Regiam Majestatem* mention of the famous code entitled *Regiam Majestatem*, from the first words of the treatise—the genuineness of which was long a keenly disputed question. Several Scottish lawyers and antiquaries have affirmed that the *Regiam Majestatem* is a book of Scottish law compiled, if not by the pen, at least in the age of David I. This opinion has been controverted by other distinguished Scottish jurists, such as Craig and Lord Stair, while the eminent English lawyers, Spelman and Hale, maintain that it was copied from the well-known treatise of Glanvill.§ More recently, the acute and learned Lord Hailes published an elaborate dissertation, intended to prove that the disputed code is a modern fabrication.|| It has been clearly shown by internal evidence, that the composition of *Regiam Majestatem* belongs to a later age than that of either David I.

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 725, 726, and notes (a) and (e).

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 729, note (l).

§ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 727.

|| "The Examination of some of the Arguments for the High Antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*."—Edinburgh, 1769.

or Glanvill, and that the date of its compilation cannot be fixed earlier than the fourteenth century. There is no reason, however, to suppose, with Sir George Mackenzie, that the code was the unauthorized production of a private lawyer, or that it was merely an inartificial copy from Glanvill. The treatise of the English lawyer, as Chalmers remarks, was undoubtedly in the view of the compilers of the disputed tract; but the lawyers who assisted in that work, had before them the whole code of English law, as it stood enlarged and improved at the conclusion of the long reign of the law-giving Edward I. There is no evidence, however, that Scotland, at this period, possessed a body of lawyers who could have compiled a judicial treatise containing so much Scotch and English canon and civil law as appears in the *Regiam Majestatem*.* The compilers of this code must therefore be sought in some other more probable quarter; and there can be little doubt of the accuracy of the statement made by the learned author already quoted, that the compilation of the *Regiam Majestatem* may be more justly referred to the genius of Edward I. than to the pen of King David. The true origin of this treatise is to be found in the famous state paper of Edward, known by the title of an "Ordinatio super stabilitate terræ Scotiæ," and published in 1305. In this celebrated decree it was declared that—"The Lieutenant or Guardian should, immediately on his arrival in Scotland, assemble the good people of the land in some convenient place, and that in their presence he should read the laws which King David had enacted, and also the amendments and additions which had been made by his successors: that the Lieutenant, with the assistance which he shall then have, as well English as Scottish, shall amend such of those laws and usages as are plainly against the dictates of God and reason, as they best may in so short a space, without consulting the king; and as to such matters as they cannot correct of themselves, that they put them into writing, by the common assent of the Lieutenant and the good men assembled, to be laid before the king at Westminster, under the Lieutenant's seal."† In compliance with this decree, a sketch of the old laws of Scotland was drawn up by the Guardian, with the assistance of the English lawyers who then accompanied him, and doubtless, also, of some of the Scottish clergy who attended this assembly, and this compilation, with numerous additions and alterations, constitutes the code entitled *Regiam Majestatem*. We learn from this

* Chalmers says, "I have looked unsuccessfully for lawyers in Scotland during the Sæto-Saxon period. The pleadings of the competitors for the crown of Scotland were plainly drawn by English lawyers. The bishops, and other dignified clergy in Scotland, were no doubt canonists and civilians; but they were not municipal lawyers. Even at the comparatively recent establishment of the Court of Session, there was not in Scotland a regular body of municipal lawyers. Most of the earliest Lords of Session were what the English judges once had been,—mere churchmen."—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 731, note (a).

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 732.

memorable ordinance of the English monarch, that a portion, at least, of the ancient consuetudinary laws and customs of the Scots and Britons existed at this period; so slowly and gradually had the feudal law advanced in Scotland, and displaced the usages of the Celtic tribes.* It appears also, that the Flemings, who colonized Scotland during the twelfth century, and settled in great numbers along the east coast, were long allowed to retain their own peculiar customs under the name of *Fleming-lauche*;† so that the establishment of entire uniformity of laws among the different races in Scotland was the work of a comparatively late period.

The earliest lawsuit of which there is any record, occurred before David's accession to the throne, and rose out of a dispute between his *Dronges* of Horndean-on-the-Tweed and the monks of St. Cuthbert. David decided, that if the monks could bring forward legal witnesses, or produce his brother's charter, they should be allowed to retain the land in dispute. They produced the charter, and the decision was given in their favour.‡ The next in point of time and interest was the dispute between Sir Robert Burgoner and the monks of Lochleven, who complained to the king that they were violently oppressed by the knight. David summoned a meeting of the whole county of Fife, in order to do justice to both parties. In order to support the laws, the power of the county was collected by Constantine the Earl of Fife, and the great judge, or justiciar, of Scotland; and the Bishop of St. Andrews also sent a body of troops, commanded by two officers, named Budadh and Slogadah. The dispute was referred to three judges, or arbiters—Constantine the Earl, and Dufgal and Meldoineth, two judges highly respected on account of their character and learning. After hearing witnesses, Dufgal gave judgment upon the complaint, and pronounced sentence against Burgoner. The whole proceeding, as Chalmers justly remarks, evinces that Fife was then a Celtic country, governed by Celtic usages.§

The fees and fines which arose from the administration of justice in the royal courts, formed no inconsiderable revenue; and as early as the reign of David I. these profits had become objects of donation. David granted to the church of Glasgow the eighth penny out of all his pleas in Cumbria; to the monastery of Dunfermline, the eighth part of all his pleas and gains in Fife

* In a charter of King Robert Bruce to Ranulph, creating him Earl of Moray, mention is made of certain *Scotican* usages, which must have been closely allied to the "usages of the Scots and the Bretons," and were no doubt customs or dues anciently paid to the Celtic kings, and which were transmitted as legal rights to their successors.—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 740.

† *Ibid.* p. 735, note (g); Charter of David II. to John

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 748.

§ *Ibid.* p. 749.

and Fotherif; to the monastery of Holyrood, the title of all his pleas from the Avon to Colbrands-path, and the half of the tithes of his *can* and of his pleas and profits in Kintyre and Argyle; to the priory of Urquhart in Moray, the title of his pleas and profits in Argyle. The same monarch bestowed upon the monastery of Cambuskenneth the tenth of all his pleas and profits in Stirling, Stirlingshire, and Calentire; and the prior and canons of Restennet obtained from him a grant of the tenths of the wards, reliefs, marriages, fines, escheats, and other emoluments which accrued to the king in the justiciary, chamberlain, and sheriff courts in Forfarshire. The successors of David imitated his example in bestowing upon the clergy and religious houses, similar revenues from judicial proceedings. Simon, Bishop of Moray, obtained from William the Lion the tithes of his pleas throughout the whole diocese of Moray. The bishops of Brechin received a part of the second tenths of the same profits in Kincardineshire, and those within the shires of Aberdeen and Banff were bestowed upon the bishops of Aberdeen. And before the termination of the Scoto-Saxon period, the royal revenue arising from the administration of justice to the people was, to a great extent, in the hands of the clergy.*

Charters, as we have seen, were called for in the earliest lawsuit on record in Scotland. Many fabulous statements are made by a certain class of Scottish historians respecting the existence of charters at a very early period in the history of the country; but there is no reason to believe that any such documents could have been found in Scotland until after the termination of the Celtic form of government. The earliest genuine charters are those of King Edgar.† They are invariably in Latin, which was also at that period the language of the laws and of all judicial proceedings. Chalmers states, that the oldest document which he has met with in the Scottish language, is a contract with the magistrates of Edinburgh in the year 1387.‡ The charters of Edgar and of Alexander I., and the greater part of those granted by David I. and his grandson Malcolm IV. are without dates. The earliest dates or public documents in Scotland refer to the reign of the king, the birth of his son, or some other event which had occurred during his government. The custom of employing the date of the year of our Lord was not introduced into Scotland till the beginning of the twelfth century.§ Seals were known in Scotland as early as the year 1122, but they did not come into common use till a much later period.

Reference has already been made to the *Leges Burgorum*, or Burgh Laws, enacted by David I. which afford conclusive evidence of the existence of royal boroughs at a period anterior to the reign

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 749, and notes (f) and (g).

† Anderson's Diplomata, Plate 6.

‡ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 754.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 755—757.

of that monarch. There were no towns in Scotland during the Celtic period, as the Celtic race have always shown an aversion to a settlement in large communities, and to habits of industry and the pacific pursuits of trade and commerce. The

Rise of the royal burghs. origin, therefore, of the towns and royal boroughs of Scotland cannot be traced to an earlier period than the commencement of the Saxon dynasty. The small clusters of hamlets, which, for the sake of security, were placed in the vicinity of the royal and baronial castles erected by the Anglo-Norman and Saxon settlers, and formed the dwellings of their feudal vassals and retainers, grew by degrees into extensive settlements of skilful and enterprising artisans, who again, in the course of time, were transformed into wealthy manufacturers and traders. These communities became the nurseries of freedom, and afforded a safe asylum to the slave who could escape from the vigilance of his master.* Their power and privileges continued steadily to increase, till at length they were formed into chartered corporations, endowed with peculiar immunities and rights; thus forming by their enterprise and wealth a useful check on the overweening arrogance and exorbitant power of the barons. The oldest of the royal burghs of Scotland are Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Stirling, which have been traced to the time of Alexander I.† To these were added, in the course of a few years, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen, which, however, obtained their respective charters from William the Lion. David I., with his usual sagacious policy, viewed with special favour the erection of these infant towns, and held out such encouragement to induce the more industrious and civilized tradesmen and merchants of England to settle in these communities, that we are informed by an English historian, the towns and burghs of Scotland under William the Lion were almost exclusively peopled by Englishmen. No less than twenty-five of these burghs, including Jedburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Inverness, Dumfries,

Lanark, Glasgow, and Dundee, had their origin under David and his grandson William, who carried out the policy which his predecessor originated. It is noticed by Chalmers, that though the names of these burghs are Celtic, the names of their streets and lanes are Anglo-Saxon—a significant fact, which clearly proves that for their elevation from the position of villages to the rank of towns, they are indebted to the Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Flemish settlers, who took up their residence in them during the twelfth century.* It is also worthy of notice that the burgesses and common people of the towns, who appear in the charters of that period, are distinguished by English or Flemish names, while the inhabitants of the rural districts, mentioned in these charters, receive Celtic designations.

At this early period the royal burghs were the exclusive property of the king, and were either held in his own hands, or let out to farm. This is shown by the conclusive fact, that the Cartularies, as Chalmers remarks, are full, not only of grants from successive kings to new settlers, and to the clergy and barons, of *tofts*, or small portions of pasture and arable ground, in their various burghs, with the right of building on them, but of annuities payable out of the royal farms, and pensions from the *census* of their burgesses.†

Not a few of the Scottish burghs owed their origin to the heads of the great religious houses, or to the higher barons, who imitated the policy of their sovereign in granting exclusive privileges to the villages or towns on their estates. Thus Selkirk was indebted for its elevation to the rank of a burgh to the Abbot of Kelso; Aberbrothock, to the Abbot of that monastery; St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Brechin, to the bishops of these sees; Newburgh, to the Abbot of Lindores; Peebles, to the Bishop of Glasgow; Burntisland, to the Abbot of Dunfermline; and Whithorn, to the Prior of Candida Casa.‡ Renfrew was granted by David I. to Walter, the son of Alan, the founder of the Stewart line. Robert Bruce obtained Lochmaben by a grant of the same monarch. Dunbar was early the property of the Earls of Dunbar; and Lauder, of the ancient family of the Morevilles.§ North Berwick was erected into a port by Robert II., who conveyed it to the Earl of Douglas. Wick belonged to the Earl of Caithness, and Inverary and Campbeltown were the property of the powerful family of Argyle. In these troublous times, the estates of the barons were frequently forfeited to the crown; and thus their burghs, like their castles and manors, became the property of the monarch, and, from baronial or ecclesiastical, were converted into royal burghs.

It appears that from an early period all disputes

* Any bondman, except the king's, who escaped from his feudal superiors and lived for a year and a day within a burgh, without being claimed by his master, became entitled to his freedom.—Laws of the Burghs, chap. xvii.

† The chronological series of the boroughs of Scotland is thus given by Chalmers:—"Under Alexander I.: Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, Aberdeen. Under David I.: Jedburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, St. Andrews, Dunfermline, Crail, Elgin, Forres, Inverness; Rutherglen and Inverness received their first existing charters from William. Under William, who granted many charters to boroughs: Dumfries, Lanark, Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, Forfar, Dundee, Aberbrothock, Montrose, Inverury, Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Nairn. Under Alexander II.: Annan, Dunbarton, Dingwall, Rosemarkie. Under Alexander III.: Kinghorn, Peebles, Cupar, Inverberie, Dunbar, Brechin, Lauder, Wigton. Under Robert III.: North Berwick, Pittenweem, Burntisland, Dysart. Under James VI.: Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Culross, Wick, Sanquhar, Stranraer. Under Charles I.: Dornoch, Inverary, New Galloway, Newburgh. Under Charles II.: Tain, Cromarty, Kilrenny. William III.: Campbeltown." Some of them may have existed as villages before they were erected into corporate towns. Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 775, 776, note (b).

* Caledonia, vol. i. p. 770.

† Ibid. p. 778.

‡ Ibid. p. 776, note (b).

§ Ibid.

which arose among the members of these trading communities, were determined in a separate court of their own; and that, from the decision of the burgh court, there lay a right of appeal to a tribunal denominated the Court of the

Court of the Four Burghs. Four Burghs, which was instituted by David I. The four burghs which composed this tribunal were Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; * and their commissioners assembled once every year at Haddington, before the Chamberlain of Scotland, for the purpose of "falseing the dooms of the burghs" as it was termed, or giving judgment upon the appeals brought before them. "By an easy transition," says Chalmers, "the Court of the Four Burghs, from being judicial in its principle, became legislative in its practice; and, before the commencement of the fifteenth century, delegates from all the burghs met in the convention of the Four Burghs, to treat and determine upon all things concerning the common weal of all the king's burghs." †

The gradual rise of the towns and royal burghs was, at first, highly conducive to the advancement of the mercantile wealth and prosperity of the kingdom, but the peculiar privileges with which these corporations were invested, must have ultimately proved injurious to the general welfare of the nation. These trading communities were all formed upon a principle of exclusion and monopoly. It was early settled as the law of Scotland that "all merchandis and boroughs enjoy their own liberties and privileges; that persons dwelling without boroughs shall not see any merchandize, nor sell any staple goods; and that none but merchant guilds shall buy or sell within the liberties of the boroughs." ‡ These exclusive privileges completely prevented competition. Each burgh had its own district, within which it strove to maintain a strict monopoly. The privilege of carrying on any branch of trade or commerce was confined to the guild brethren or favoured monks. The cargoes of foreign vessels could be offered for sale only to the members of the privileged corporations; and the "stranger merchand," when about to reload his ship, soon found that he could not purchase any goods for that purpose, either within or without the boundaries of a burgh, except from a burghess. § These impolitic regulations not only retarded the extension of the trade and commerce of the country by checking competition, but gave rise to jealousies and angry contentions between the members of the rival communities. The burghers of Dun-

Exclusive principles of these trading communities—

—jealousies and contentions to which their monopolies gave rise.

barton strove to exclude the men of Glasgow from trading in the counties of Lennox and Argyle.* The burghesses of Cupar endeavoured to prevent the citizens of St. Andrews from buying and selling within their district; but, after a lengthened litigation, the controversy was decided in favour of the bishop and his burghers. † There was a fierce and protracted contest between the towns of Perth and Dundee respecting their precedence and privileges in trade. ‡ The burghesses of Irvine and Ayr had a dispute regarding their exclusive right of traffic, which was finally settled by the verdict of a jury, under Robert II. § The royal burghs even attempted to deprive the burghs of regality and barony of an equal share in the privileges granted to these corporations, and they were ultimately allowed to participate in the benefits of foreign trade, only upon condition of their relieving the royal burghs of a certain proportion of the public taxes. ||

The information which we possess respecting the constitution and government of the royal burghs of Scotland at this early period is exceedingly scanty; but enough is known to warrant the conclusion that they closely resembled those of the southern division of the island. Berwick was governed by a mayor, under whom were four provosts. Some idea of the wealth and importance of this burgh may be formed from the fact, that the salary of the mayor was ten pounds a year—a sum equal to four hundred pounds of our present money. Glasgow was placed under the superintendance, of three provosts, Haddington of one; Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Stirling, and Perth, were each governed by an alderman; and the smaller burghs of Peebles, Linlithgow, Inverkeithing, Montrose, and Elgin, were superintended by one or more magistrates, called bailies. ¶

Constitution of the royal burghs—

Scone, which was the site of the Stone of Destiny, appears to have been the principal residence of the kings of the Saxon dynasty. Malcolm IV., in his charter to the monastery of Scone, terms it the principal seat of his kingdom. It was one of the earliest places in the country which carried on a foreign trade. Alexander I. granted to the monastery the custom of ships landing at Scone, and addressed an invitation to the merchants of England to trade at this place, promising them protection on paying cus-

—their trade and wealth.

* The villagers of Glasgow were originally the mere men of the bishop. In the Cartulary of the see they are termed "the men, natives, and serfs of the Bishop of Glasgow." Sometime between 1175 and 1180, William the Lion granted to Bishop Jocelyn "that he should have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursdays."—Cart. of Glasgow p. 28; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 779, note (u).

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 780.

‡ Birrel states in his Diary, p. 13, "that on the 20th Dec., 1567, the Lord Regent raid to the parliament house and was much troubled to compose these two turbulent townes of Perth and Dundie."

§ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 781, note (d).

|| Ibid. note (d).

¶ Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

* An Act of Parliament, passed in 1567, declares, that as long as Berwick and Roxburgh,—which were two of the burghs that of old ought to hold the chamberlain court,—shall be detained by their adversaries of England, Lanark and Linlithgow shall be substituted in their place.—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 777, note (c).

† The Auld Laws, p. 140; Ibid.

‡ Memoirs of the Burghs; Ibid. p. 78.

§ Burgh Laws, chap. xviii.; Ibid. p. 780.

toms to the monks.* Alexander II. addressed a mandate to his subjects in Moray and Caithness, requiring them to protect and succour the ship and men of the abbot and convent of Scone, if they should touch at their unknown coasts.† The residence of the court at Seone, and the privileges bestowed upon that monastery, seem to have exercised a most beneficial influence upon the neighbouring town of Perth, which was erected into a royal burgh by William the Lion, and became, in the words of a contemporary writer, one of the principal pillars of the opulence of the kingdom.‡ There is evidence that, at this remote period, the burghs of St. Andrews and Stirling also shared extensively in the benefits of a commercial intercourse with the continent; but Berwick was the great emporium of foreign commerce, and far excelled any other port in Scotland in trade and opulence. Its customs under Alexander III. amounted to the large sum of £2197 8s. sterling, one-fourth of the whole amount of the customs of England at that time.§

We learn from the Cartularies, that the monks were the earliest guild brethren, and possessed various exclusive privileges of trade and fisheries, at a time when scarcely any of the burghs existed. The ships belonging to some of the religious houses enjoyed special protection, and were exempted from the payment of *can*, toll, and custom.|| The monks were also the bankers of these times, being the only bodies who possessed any large portion of ready money; and many of their lands and tenements came originally into their possession as securities for the loans which they advanced to the extravagant or the needy.¶ Not a few of these great monastic houses became so extensively engaged in commercial enterprises, and obtained so many privileges from successive sovereigns, that they might be regarded as trading rather than religious corporations. To such an extent did the evil grow, that, as early as 1269, one of the canons of the Scottish church peremptorily forbade clerks or monks to engage in business; and William the Lion enacted, that “kirkmen live honestlie of the fruits, rents, and profits of their kirks; and sall nocht be husbandmen, schipherds, nor merchants.”** But these regulations do not appear to have been enforced, and the evil was probably beyond the reach of any legislative enactment.

The exports of the country at this period were principally composed of wool, skins, hides, salted fish, horses, sheep, and cattle, and on some occasions of pearls,†† falcons, and greyhounds. The

imports consisted of fine linen and silks, broad cloth, and a rich woollen cloth, called *sayes*, carpets and tapestry, wine, oil of olives, spices, drugs, arms, armour, and cutlery, and occasionally of corn and barley, and gold and silver plate. That Scotland at this time carried on an extensive trade with foreign countries, is shown by the violent efforts made to extinguish it by Edward I. and his successors, and the steady refusal of the Flemings, and other inhabitants of the low countries, to break off their traffic with the Scots.*

The inhabitants of Scotland must at a very early period have directed their attention to the arts of ship-building and navigation, and in this, as in other branches of industry, the monks led the way. As early as the year 1249, an old English chronicler records the building of a large vessel at Inverness, the property of the Count de St. Paul.† Mention is also made of the fleets of William the Lion, and his successor, Alexander II.; but it has been conjectured that these naval armaments were furnished by the islanders, who held their lands by the tenure of furnishing a certain number of galleys for the use of their sovereign.‡ Alexander III. possessed several large vessels, which were built in the port of Ayr. Robert Bruce was too much occupied with his almost incessant struggle for the independence of his kingdom, to be able to devote much time to the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce; but in the last year of his life, while residing at Cardross, his attention seems to have been anxiously turned to the subject of shipping and navigation, and he built several vessels, in which he often sailed on the adjacent frith. It was not till after the death of Bruce, however, that attempts were made to maintain a regular naval force. During the long-continued hostilities with England, which marked the reign of his son, the Scottish ships of war plundered the merchant vessels of the enemy, and made repeated and destructive descents upon their coast; and not unfrequently their merchantmen, even when riding at anchor within the harbours, were cut out and carried off by the Scottish seamen. The commerce of the English suffered severely from these naval attacks, and the Scottish navy at this period appears to have possessed a decided superiority over that of England. Mr. Tytler quotes from the *Rotuli Scotie*, a remarkable order addressed by Edward III. to his admirals and naval captains, and complaining in bitter terms of their pusillanimous conduct in permitting the united fleets of the Scots, French, and Flemings, to capture and destroy the ships of England in the very sight of his own navy, which

* Cart. of Scone, p. 3; Caledonia, p. 778, note (p).

† Cart. of Scone, p. 57.

‡ Necham apud Gough's Camden's Brit. vol. iii. p. 303; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 254.

§ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 253.

¶ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 783, and note (m).

¶ Caledonia, vol. i. p. 785, and note (z).

** Skene's Statutes, chap. xxxiv.; *Ibid.* p. 786.

†† See ante, p. 169.

* See ante, p. 149.

† M. Paris: Hailles, vol. i. p. 370.

‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 238. The old charters of the island chiefs required as the service for their tenure one vessel with twenty oars. On this account the great family of Argyle still bear ships, or lymphads, on their coat-of-arms.—Nisbet's Essay on Armouries, p. 9; Caledonia, vol. i. p. 786, note (b).

kept aloof during the action, and did not dare to give battle.* Many of the Scottish vessels, however, were evidently privateers hired from the Flemings and Genoese, and which served, as occasion required, either as traders or as ships of war.

Before concluding this brief sketch of the early commerce of Scotland, it will be necessary to notice the Scottish coinage of this period. It is evident that coins were unknown to the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Many coins of the Romans, English, and Sauto-Saxons have been found in various parts of the country, but none of her Celtic monarchs. The earliest Scottish coins that have yet been discovered are the silver pennies of Alexander I., which are of the same shape, fineness, and weight as the contemporary English coins of the same value.† There is every reason to believe that there was no gold coinage in Scotland at this period. From the time of Alexander, there was a regular coinage of silver pennies by the various monarchs who successively filled the throne down to the War of Independence, and their money continued to be of precisely the same weight and value as that of the contemporary English sovereigns. These pennies were composed of mixed silver, one pound or twelve ounces of which contained eleven ounces and two pennyweights of fine silver, and eighteen pennyweights of copper alloy.‡ The first attempt

to debase the Scottish coinage took place in the reign of Robert Bruce. The pound weight of silver then consisted of twelve ounces, each containing twenty pennyweights, or of two hundred and forty pennies. In the year 1300, Edward I. commanded two hundred and forty-three pennies to be coined out of the standard pound. The depreciation was, in the first instance, trifling; but the pernicious example thus set, was speedily followed and outdone by the Scottish king, who coined two hundred and fifty-two pennies from the pound weight of silver.§ Edward III., who closely copied the ambition, the cruelty, and the dishonesty of his grandfather, attempted to relieve himself of the debts which he had incurred in the French war, by paying his creditors with debased money; and a few years later (in 1346) he repeated this fraudulent and impolitic expedient, and commanded two hundred and seventy pennies to be made out of the pound of silver. This example was followed, in 1351, by the Steward, who was then regent of Scotland, and who issued a new coinage still more depreciated than that of England. Up to this date it appears that the silver pennies of both countries had continued to pass indiscriminately; but, on the issue of the new money of the Scottish regent, Edward wrote to the Sheriff of Northumberland, informing him that "the new money of Scotland, although of

the same figure with the old, was not, like it, of the same weight and quality with the sterling money of England; and he accordingly commands that officer to make proclamation within his district, that the new Scottish money should be taken only for its value as bullion, and carried to the proper office to be exchanged for current money; but that the old money of Scotland, which, as appears from what was above stated, was considerably better than that of England, should be still current as before."* This unjust and injurious tampering with the currency was repeated in 1367, when the Scottish Parliament, under the pressure of the scarcity of silver caused by the payment of the king's ransom, gave orders that the pound of silver should contain twenty-nine shillings and four pennies, or, in other words, that it should be coined into three hundred and fifty-two pennies. The enormous fraud thus practised on the community, besides other pernicious effects, produced a great rise in the prices of all the necessaries of life. And, as one false step leads to another, both in England and Scotland the legislature attempted to counteract the natural and necessary consequences of their own vicious legislation, by enacting stringent sumptuary laws, prohibiting artificers and labourers from asking a rise of wages, and enjoining the dealers in provisions to sell their commodities at reasonable prices.†

The weights and measures in use among the inhabitants of Scotland at this period were nearly all derived from England. The early intercourse of the Scottish merchants with the Netherlands led to the introduction into Scotland of what are called Dutch weights. The inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland islands, down to a very recent period, continued to use the Norwegian weights and measures, which the first settlers brought from their mother country.‡ The measures of land—which were all derived from England—were the caracate, the bovatc, or oxgang, the hide, the librata, the perticate, and several others, whose exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained, as they appear to have been used indefinitely, and to have varied at different times. Mention is also made in the Cartularies of the acre, the rood, the perch, and other well-known measures. The davoch, which appears to have been nearly of the same dimensions as the caracate, was the usual division of land in Scotland during the Celtic times. It comprehended eight bovates, or oxgangs. In the western districts of the country, mention is made of mark and half-mark lands, shilling lands, penny lands, &c., the origin of which is very apparent. As early as the reign of David I. the thrave was the common measure of corn in the field. This term, which was probably derived from the Saxon

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 268.

† Anderson's *Diplomata*, Plate 157.

‡ Calaneo, vol. i. p. 500, and note (b.)

§ M'Pherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 466; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 267.

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 268.

† *Regiam Majestatem*, pp. 45, 46; *Parl. Records*, pp. 105, 117; Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 270, 271.

‡ Swinton on *Weights and Measures*, pp. 104, 105; *Calcedonia*, vol. i. p. 815.

threaf, comprehended two shocks, or *stooks*, each consisting of twenty-four sheaves. Grain was measured by the chalders, which contained sixteen bolls; the boll—containing four firlots, or six bushels; the firlot—equal to four pecks, or a bushel and a half English standard measure; and the peck, which comprehended four lippies. A *shep* of meal appears very early in the Cartularies, and contained twelve bushels. Wool was sold by the sack, which consisted of twenty six stones; and hides, or skins, by the last, which contained twelve dozen. The lagen, or flagon, was an ancient measure of oil, wine, and ale, well known at this period in the monasteries of Scotland.*

With regard to the architecture of these primitive times, though strength and security were the qualities chiefly aimed at in the erection of the baronial castles of the nobility, yet elegance was by no means overlooked; and great ingenuity and skill were frequently displayed in combining security with comfort and splendour. The houses of the merchants and artisans, as well as of the farmers, were invariably built of wood, though there is no reason to believe that they were destitute of the comforts and conveniences of life. The hovels of the cotters and villagers were slight erections of turf or twigs, which, as they were often laid waste by the enemy, were erected merely for temporary accommodation. But the archi-

tectural skill of the age was chiefly manifested in the erection of the monasteries, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical buildings, which reared their towers in every district of the country. These magnificent structures were, for the most part, the work of ecclesiastics; and both the grandeur of their plan, and the extraordinary skill and genius shown in their execution, manifest the great proficiency which their architects must have made in mathematical and mechanical philosophy. The existing remains of these beautiful and imposing edifices are of themselves a sufficient proof of the perfection to which this noble style of architecture was carried in Scotland by the monks, and of the munificence with which they were patronized by the monarchs and nobility of that early age.

The high excellence to which the architecture of that period had attained, necessarily implies a corresponding degree of excellence in many other useful and ornamental arts, requisite for fitting up and adorning the mansions of the nobility and clergy. The manufacture of steel and iron implements must have been successfully practised by a people so frequently engaged in war, and who employed the armour and accoutrements of that age. The sumptuous robes worn by the dames and knights, show that the mysteries of embroidery and needlework, and the art of working in precious metals, must have attained to considerable perfection.

The military dress and arms used by Scottish

* Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 807—813.

warriors at this period appear to have been the same as those worn by the Saxons and Normans. The defensive armour of the knights consisted of a lorica, or entire coat of mail, reaching from the neck to the knee, and was composed of rings of steel or iron, quilted on leather. Sometimes the neck and head were protected by a hood of mail, over which the helmet was placed. In later times, it was customary over this mail-coat to wear a surcoat, made of cloth or linen, which was latterly ornamented with the arms of the wearer. The shield which was worn by the Scottish knights was kite-shaped, like the shield of the Normans. The higher order of yeomanry wore a haubergeon formed of the same ringed mails sewed upon leather, and which protected only the breast and the shoulders. The burgesses and freemen were protected by a wambais, or coat-of-fence, made of leather or cloth quilted with cotton. Ultimately the horses were clad in steel as well as the men. We are informed by an old chronicler, that the Scottish cavalry in the battle of Largs were armed, both horse and man, from head to heel in complete mail. The offensive weapons of the knights and men-at-arms consisted of a sword, and a lance or spear, to which a small flag was attached, while the arms of the inferior soldiers were a club or mace, and, at a later period, a short dagger, a bill, and a battle-axe. There is satisfactory evidence that the various improvements in their arms and military accoutrements, which were successively adopted by the English, soon found their way into the northern division of the island.* The ordinance of arms which was enacted by Robert Bruce, in 1319, gives a minute account of the arms then used by the Scottish soldiers. Every person who possessed ten pounds value in land, or ten pounds of moveable property, was to provide himself with an acorn and a steel helmet, gloves of plate, and a sword and spear. Those of lower rank were required to procure an iron jack, an iron head-piece, and gloves of plate. And the lowest class of all were to furnish themselves either with a spear, or with a bow and a sheaf of arrows. The bow, however, appears to have been at no time a favourite weapon with the Scots. At a very early period indeed, mention is made of small bodies of archers mingling with the spearmen in the Scottish armies; but, from the reign of Bruce downwards, they do not appear in any of their encounters with the English. The arms used by the Galwegians, and other Celtic tribes of Scotland, were much inferior to those employed by the Anglo-Saxon and Norman races. They wore an outer coat of leather, tanned with the hair on, and an under vestment, which was so short that the leg was wholly bare from the knee downward; their shields were formed of strong cow-hide, and they were armed with swords, darts, and javelins, and long spears pointed with steel, but blunt and badly tempered.

* An exact representation of the armour worn at this period, will be found on the seals of our early monarchs, which will be given in the course of the work.

Even their chiefs, as we learn from Aldred's description of the battle of the Standard, wore no steel armour.* They appear to have generally fought on horseback, but to have been accustomed, on emergency, to act also on foot.

The civil dress of this period was rich and graceful, and exactly similar to the dress of the higher ranks in England and France.

The monumental effigies exhibit the kings and nobles clad in full flowing robes, girded with a richly-ornamented waist-belt, mantles fastened by fibula on the breast or on the shoulders, long hose and laced sandals or boots, caps of various forms, and jewelled gloves. The mantles were lined with the most expensive furs, and the under tunics were usually of silk, or some other precious stuff. The toes of the boots and shoes were long and pointed, and frequently of the most absurd shapes. During the thirteenth century a ridiculous fashion was introduced, of clothing one half of the figure in one colour and the other half in another, or of having one stocking red or blue, and the other green or yellow. Another whimsical fashion prevailed about the same period, of indenting, escallopping, and cutting the edges of garments into the shape of leaves and other devices, and of embroidering letters and mottoes upon the gowns or mantles. Matthew Paris says, the nobles who attended at the marriage of Alexander III. with the daughter of the English king, in 1251, were attired in vestments of silk cut in this fashion. Velvet mantles lined with ermine, and beaver hats, were first introduced about this period.

The costume of the ladies appears to have been extremely rich and elegant. In the poem called "The Lay of Sir Launfal," the damsels are described as being clad in kirtles of light blue silk, with mantles of green velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and furred with the finest grey fur and vair; their heads attired with kerchiefs, well cut, and rich gold wire, and surmounted by coronets, each adorned with more than sixty precious gems. A girdle of beaten gold, embellished with emeralds and rubies, is mentioned in another poem, as worn by a lady "about her middle small."† In a contemporary account of a sumptuous entertainment given in 1276, it is mentioned, that "the ladies who attended had rings of gold, set with topazes and diamonds, upon their fingers; their brads were ornamented with elegant crests or garlands; and their wimples were composed of the richest stuffs, embroidered with gold and embellished with pearls and other jewels." The head-dress of the ladies at this period consisted of the wimple, the turban of chaplets of goldsmiths' work, or of wreaths of natural or artificial flowers, and the hair was sometimes plaited or braided, and sometimes turned up behind, and inclosed in a caul of net-work, composed of gold, silver, or silk thread, over which was worn the peplum or

veil. The satirists of the period complain loudly against the inordinate waste and excessive cost of the apparel of all classes, down to the menial servants, who are described as arrayed in silk, satin, damask, and green and scarlet cloth.

With regard to the sports and amusements of our ancestors, they appear to have been the same as in the other feudal countries of Europe. The healthy and spirit-stirring pastimes of hunting and hawking seem to have formed the principal recreations of our kings and barons. In almost every district of the country there were royal forests and hunting-seats, and the frequent sums entered in the Chamberlain's accounts for horses, hounds, and falcons, and the preservation of the game, show the attention that was then paid to the sports of the field. At a very early period, the Scottish stag-hounds and wolf-dogs were prized in foreign countries, and, during the reign of David II., Scottish dogs and falcons had become articles of export. Tournaments were an established amusement in Scotland, at least as early as the reign of Alexander II. Sumptuous feasts,* and masques and jugglers' tricks,† the amusement afforded by the licensed wit of the fool, the games of chess and dice, and the reading of romances, and listening to the lays of harpers and minstrels, occupied the time of our ancestors within doors, and when not engaged in the pursuits of war or of the chase.

On the whole, it is evident, from the few and scattered notices which we possess of the trade and commerce of Scotland during the Scoto-Saxon period, that between the accession of Malcolm Canmore and the death of Alexander III., a visible improvement had taken place in the resources of the country, and in the necessaries and comforts of life enjoyed by the great mass of the community. The increase, especially in the population and trade of the towns, must have been very considerable. In the twelfth century, the revenue which the Scottish kings received from the royal burghs was very trifling; and we find them at this time taking active measures to attract new settlers to their towns, and bestowing upon them exclusive privileges and local monopolies for the purpose of promoting their traffic. But during the fourteenth century, the progress which the burghs had made in trade and opulence is shown by the numerous grants which the Cartularies contain of annuities and pensions to the children and favourites of successive monarchs, payable out of the *mails* of the burghs, and the customs of their ports. The growing prosperity of the country, however, received a

* We learn incidentally from Fordun, that in the reign of Alexander III. the nobles sat down to dinner before twelve o'clock. The state banquets of that period were exceedingly extravagant and expensive.

† Aldred informs us, that at the battle of the Standard, the army of David I. was accompanied by jesters, buffoons, and female dancers. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I., in 1300 contains a payment of two shillings to a Gascon buffoon, for playing the fool before him; and Robert Bruce kept a fool called Patrick.

* See ante, p. 62.

† Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 807.

fatal check from the protracted and ruinous war which the Scots were compelled to carry on with England in defence of their national independence. The operations of husbandry were to a considerable extent suspended, and many fertile districts of the country were turned into uncultivated and barren wastes. The peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce could not continue to flourish among a people engaged in a death-struggle for life and liberty. The commercial intercourse with England, which, greatly to the advantage of both nations, had grown up during the reigns of David I. and his successors, was entirely extinguished; and the export trade of Scotland, which had been principally carried on through the neighbouring kingdom, experienced a material depression. An accurate estimate of the extent to which the trade and industry of the country, in all its branches, were injured by the inveterate war with England, may be formed from a comparison of the rents and profits of the crown lands, and of the revenues of the bishoprics, before the commencement of the war of succession, and after its conclusion. There existed during the reign of Alexander III. a well known valuation of

The old and the lands, which was usually called new extent. the "old extent." A new valuation or extent was taken in the year 1366, when a tax was about to be imposed for the payment of King David's ransom. Both the old and the new valuation contain an ample detail of the income of the bishoprics, and of the rents and profits which were paid to the crown from the several shires of Scotland; and a comparison of the two will serve to show the extent to which the wealth of the country was diminished by the English war.

	The Old Valuation.		The New Valuation.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Berwick	622	2 4	372	17 3
Dorburgh	1133	15 0	523	17 0

	The Old Valuation.			The New Valuation.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Selkirk	99	9	10	80	18	6
Peebles	1274	18	6	683	13	4
Edinburgh, with Haddington and Linlithgow	4029	16	10	3030	12	9
Lanark	4052	9	0	1755	19	8
Renfrew				635	0	8
Ayr	3358	19	10	1306	16	2
Dumfries	2666	13	4	892	15	4
Wigton	1235	3	4	195	0	2
Stirling	1749	19	4	687	3	10
Dunbarton	1442	9	6	96	9	6

Total revenue of the Crown from the Southern Shires } 21,005 16 10 10,421 13 2

	£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
Clackmanan	331	0	8	243	14	8
Kinross	65	0	0	39	14	8
Fife	3465	13	4	2555	0	0
Perth	6192	2	6	3087	1	7
Forfar	3370	6	8	2240	6	8
Kincairdine	1058	10	8	722	0	0
Aberdeen	4448	6	0	2588	5	2
Banff	1510	6	0	128	16	8
Inverness	3164	44	8	1080	11	9

The total of the Southern Shires 23,635 17 6 12,614 11 2

A similar result will appear from the following comparative statement of the revenues of the Scottish bishoprics, before and after the War of Independence :—

	The Old Valuation.			The New Valuation.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Candida Casa	368	15	6	143	1	8
Glasgow	3339	0	0	2028	10	6
St. Andrews	5340	13	4	3627	0	0
Dunkeld	1206	5	8	602	13	4
Dunblane	607	13	4	407	12	8
Brechin	441	9	4	321	16	8
Aberdeen	1492	4	4	1358	17	8
Moray	1418	11	0	559	8	8
Ross	320	7	11	246	12	0
Caithness	286	14	10	86	6	8
Argyle	281	6	8	133	6	8
	15,102	15	11	9515	6	6

CHAPTER XIII.

ROBERT THE SECOND.

1370—1390.

DAVID THE SECOND, the only son of Robert Bruce, dying without issue, was succeeded by his nephew, Robert, only child of Marjory Bruce and Walter, the sixth High Steward of Scotland. Previous to the coronation of the new monarch, however, his claims were unexpectedly opposed by the powerful Earl of Douglas, who, it is alleged, put forth pretensions to the crown as the representative of the families of Comyn and Baliol.* But these pretensions were abandoned as soon as he found that they were not likely to meet with public support; and as a reward for the promptitude of his obedience, the king's eldest daughter, Isabella, was promised in marriage to his eldest son, and the Earl himself was appointed to the high office of Justiciar on the South of the Forth, and Warden of the East Marches. To Sir Robert Erskine, the Earls of March and Moray, and the rest of the barons, who espoused his cause, the High Steward was equally liberal in his rewards for the prompt and efficient support which they had lent to the new government. All opposition to his claims having been withdrawn, Robert was crowned at Scone, March 26th, 1371, by the Bishop of St. Andrews. Next day, the king sitting on the moot-hill of Scone, according to custom, received the homage of the assembled prelates and nobles.† The new monarch then stood up, and in imitation of the example of his grandfather, pronounced his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick and Steward of Scotland, to be heir to the crown in the event of his own decease. This nomination was promptly and cordially ratified by the assent of the clergy, nobility, and barons, and by the acclamations of the people. The oaths of homage were also taken to the Earl of Carrick, as the future king of Scotland, and the whole of the proceedings were recorded in a public instrument, and attested by the seals of the principal nobility and clergy.‡ The new monarch had been twice married, and had a numerous family of sons and daughters, grown up to maturity.§ By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Adam Mure, of Rowallan, he had John, Earl of Carrick, Robert, Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany, and Alexander, Lord of Badenoch, Earl of Buchan, besides six daughters, united in marriage to the powerful families of

March, Lyon of Glamis, Hay of Errol, the Lord of the Isles, Douglas of Nithsdale, and Lindsay of Glenesk. By a second marriage, with Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and widow of Randolph, Earl of Moray, the new king was the father of David, Earl of Strathern, and Walter, Earl of Athol, and of four daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to James, Earl of Douglas, and the three others also wedded into ancient and powerful families. In addition to these legitimate supports of the throne, genealogists make mention of no less than eight natural sons, also arrived at maturity, who took their place among the nobles of the land, and added strength to the paternal throne.* Robert had been in his youth a bold and active soldier, and a successful opponent —his character.

of the designs of the English upon the liberties of the country; but he was now fifty-five years old, and his natural indolence, together with that love of repose which the approaches of old age tend to produce, made him somewhat unfit to restrain the turbulence and ambition of a fierce and lawless nobility. He was, however, just, prudent, and sagacious, pleasant in his address, and easy of access; while his simple yet graceful manners gained the affection of all classes of the community.

Robert was anxious to maintain the amicable relations which, at the period of his accession to the throne, existed between England and Scotland. Peace, indeed, was imperatively required by both countries. The efforts which the Scottish nation had made to pay the ransom of David II. had reduced it to the brink of bankruptcy, and a large portion of the sum was still unpaid. The country was not in a condition to bear the imposition of new taxes, and its financial difficulties were greatly aggravated by a grievous famine which pressed severely upon all classes of the community. Besides all this, their hereditary enemies were still in possession of an extensive tract in the southern district of the country, and of several of its strongest fortresses, and had therefore constant facilities for the invasion of the kingdom at pleasure. On the other hand, the continuance of the truce was no less necessary to the English. Edward III. had met with serious reverses in the prosecution of his ambitious schemes, which, after an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, had terminated in a series of most mortifying disasters. His own health had become infirm; Prince Lionel, whom he had attempted to make the heir to the Scottish throne, was lately dead in Italy; and his more celebrated son, the Black Prince, had been attacked by a mortal illness. In these circumstances he was compelled to abandon his deeply-laid designs against the independence of Scotland, and to seek in earnest to maintain the friendly intercourse with that country

* Fordyce, vol. ii. p. 302.

† Mr. Howard, quoted in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 36.

‡ Robertson's Index to the Charters, Appendix, p. 11; Tyler, vol. iii. p. 4.

§ Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 6—8.

* Stewart's History of the Royal Family of Scotland, pp. 56—58.



1



2



5



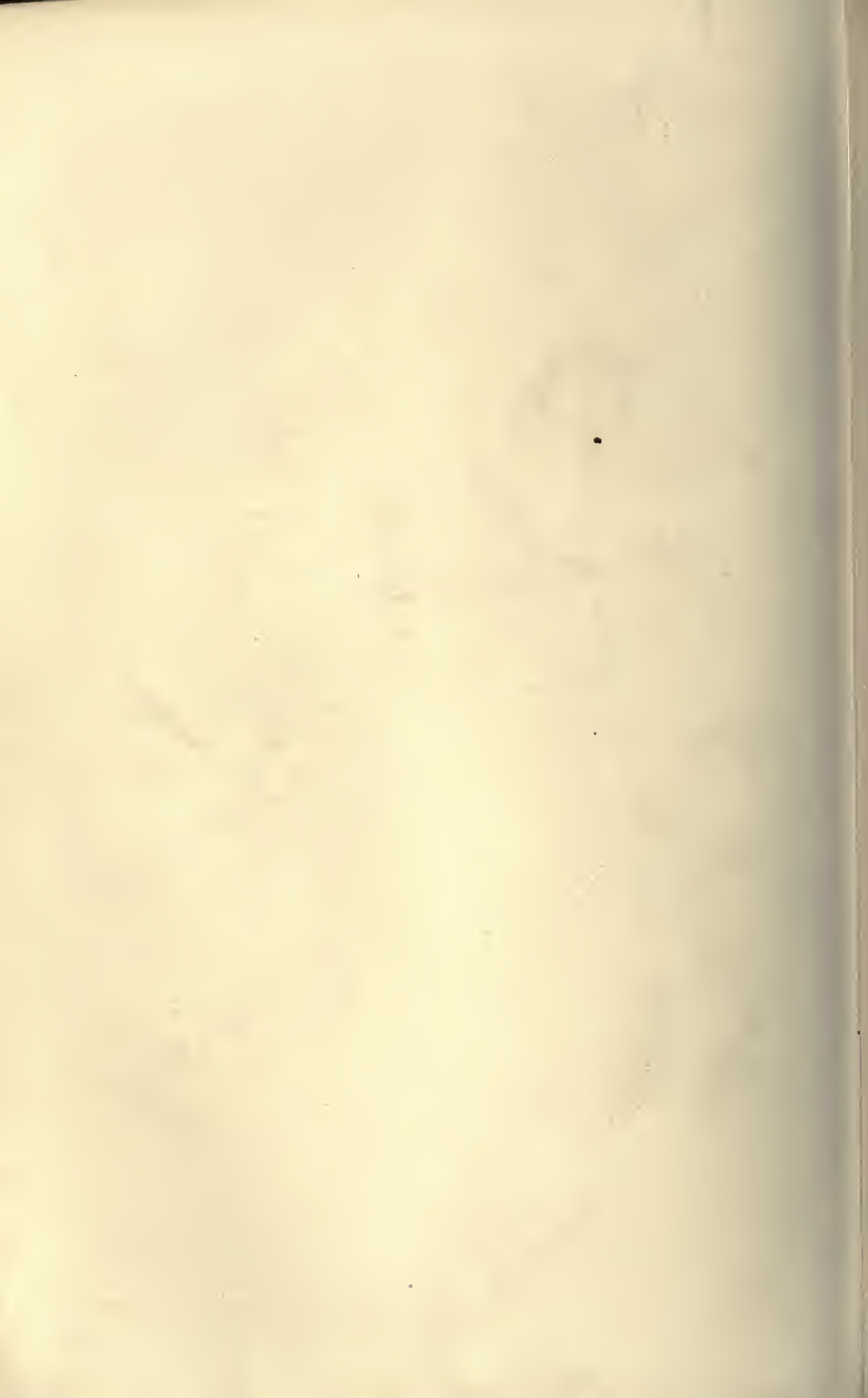
1. Great Seal of Robert II.

2. Coin of Queen Mary.

3. Coin of Robert III.

4. Coin of James I.

5. Great Seal of Robert III.



which had existed under its former monarch. The new king of Scotland was, on his side, well aware of the benefits of peace, and, both by temperament and policy, anxious to avoid the evils of war. He therefore determined strictly to observe the truce, which in 1369 had been prolonged for the term of fourteen years, and punctually to pay the instalments of his predecessor's ransom.

But though the truce was still maintained, there was little good-will between the two countries, —causes of sus- and various subjects of mutual picion and distrust suspicion and distrust still ex- between them. isted. A trifling incident served to show the hostile feeling towards the Scots, by which the English monarch was still actuated. When Biggar, the Chamberlain of Scotland, repaired to Berwick to pay one of the instalments of David's ransom, he found that Edward, in the discharge, had omitted to bestow the title of king on the reigning Scottish monarch, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the chamberlain, he obstinately refused to supply the omission.*

On the other hand, a new treaty of amity was concluded between France and Scotland, at the castle of Vincennes, on the 30th of June, 1371, by which the two kingdoms became bound, as faithful allies, to repel any aggression made upon either by their common enemy, England. It was also agreed, that no truce or treaty of peace was henceforth to be concluded by either kingdom in which the other was not included, and that in the event of a competition at any time taking place for the Scottish crown, the king of France should support the right of that competitor whose claims were sanctioned by the Estates of Scotland. This treaty was ratified by King Robert at Edinburgh, on the 28th October, 1371.† But, besides the stipulations mentioned, certain secret articles were proposed upon the part of France, which pointed at an immediate renewal of hostilities with England. By these, the French king engaged to persuade the pope to declare the truce between England and Scotland null and void; to pay a hundred thousand nobles towards discharging the ransom of King David; and, in the event of a war with England, to pay and supply with arms a body of five hundred Scottish knights and squires, and an equal number of "sargents;" and to send to Scotland an auxiliary force of a thousand men-at-arms. But these articles do not appear to have been ratified by the Scottish king, and thus the miseries of war were for the present averted from the country.‡

From this time to the death of Edward III., a period of five years, "it is impossible," says Pinkerton, "to pronounce from his disposition that there was peace, or from his exertion that there was war, between the two kingdoms." The Scottish king judiciously availed himself of the breath-

ing-time to provide for the maintenance of order, and the due administration of justice, throughout his dominions, and to regulate and strengthen the succession to the crown. These years, it has been justly said, must have been peaceful and prosperous, for they supply few materials to history. Edward III., whose guilty ambition had proved so destructive of the best interests of both ^{Death of} kingdoms, died on the 1st of June, ^{Edward III.}

1377, leaving his kingdom weakened and impoverished by his incessant wars, and despoiled of its fairest provinces on the continent, which were wrested from him towards the close of his life. He had the misfortune to outlive his illustrious son, the Black Prince, and to leave his throne to his grandson, Richard II., a boy of eleven years of age. The death of this able but unprincipled monarch put a final end to the long-cherished plans of the English government for the subjugation of Scotland, and Robert, with characteristic integrity and prudence, was anxious to maintain the peace with England, and to devote his whole attention to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom and the development of its resources. But the passion for military adventure, and the desire of plunder, had taken complete possession of the Scottish nobles. They had now become too powerful to be controlled by the crown, and, as they claimed the right of carrying on private war and avenging their own wrongs, they were ever ready, on the slightest injury or insult, real or supposed, to take the law into their own hands, and to gratify their thirst for vengeance and their love of plunder by ravaging the English frontiers. In this way, after mutual injuries and inroads, hostilities again commenced with great fury.

At the fair of Roxburgh, an officer of the Earl of March was slain by the English, ^{The Earl of March sacks and burns Roxburgh—} who then held the castle. March instantly demanded redress, but without effect; and therefore, watching his opportunity, he surprised and stormed the town during the next fair, on the Feast of St. Laurence, slew great numbers of the English, without regard to sex or age, and having set fire to the houses and booths, retreated in safety, and enriched with plunder.* In retaliation for this atrocious attack, the English ravaged the estates of Sir John Gordon, one of March's accomplices in the assault upon Roxburgh. Gordon, in his turn, broke in upon the English frontiers and carried off a large booty. On his return, he was intercepted at Carham by Sir John Lilburn, at the head of a greatly superior force, but after a desperate conflict, Lilburn was defeated and made prisoner, and Gordon, although severely wounded, made good his retreat with the plunder which he had collected.† Enraged at this insult, —war then raised ^{by Hotspur.} Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, crossed the border at the head of a powerful

* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 953.

† Parl. Records, pp. 122, 124.

‡ Ibid. p. 122.

• Wytownt, vol. ii. p. 306.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 300.

army, and encamped near Dunse, with the design of ravaging and plundering the estates of the Earl of March. But he was speedily compelled to make an inglorious retreat. It was one of the injunctions of "Good King Robert's Testament," that no rest should be given to an invading enemy, but that their encampments should be kept in a state of continual alarm,

"By wiles and wakening in the night,
And meikle noise made on heicht;"

and the peasantry of the Merse, acting on this advice, surrounded the camp of Percy at midnight, armed only with the rattles which they used in scaring away the wild beasts from their flocks; and such was the terror produced by the noise of the rattles and the yells of the peasants, that the English were thrown into the greatest confusion, and the horses of the knights and men-at-arms which were picketed on the outside of the encampment, broke loose and fled over the country, or galloped wildly through the ranks of their owners, greatly increasing their panic and disorder. When daylight broke, the cause of the midnight alarm was discovered; but, as the greater part of the soldiers were unhorsed, they were compelled to retreat, after pillaging the lands of the Earl of March, but without effecting anything worthy of the great preparations which they had made.*

On the western borders, the chief of the Johnston clan defeated a body of English near the Solway Frith; † while even at sea hostilities broke out between the two countries. An opulent Scottish merchant named Mercer,—who resided in France, and was greatly esteemed by the French monarch, Charles the Wise,—during one of his voyages had

been captured by some Northumbrians and carried into Scarborough.

In revenge of this injury, his son, a bold and enterprising naval adventurer, collected a small fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish privateers, attacked this seaport, and plundered the shipping. After this exploit, he continued to scour the channel, capturing many richly-laden vessels, and inflicting great damage on the English commerce. At length John Philpot, a wealthy and public-spirited London merchant, fitted out a considerable armament at his own expense, and attacking Mercer, defeated and captured him, along with his whole squadron and the prizes which he had taken. †

The truce with England was still declared to be binding by both governments, but it was nevertheless constantly infringed by raids and forays, which tended greatly to increase the exasperation between the two countries, without producing any important or permanent effect. In one of these incursions, the castle of Berwick, the key of the eastern borders, was taken from the English by a gallant squire, Alex-

ander Ramsay, with only forty companions. The Earl of Northumberland immediately collected an army of ten thousand men, and laid siege to the castle. On the news of Ramsay's daring exploit being brought to the barons and knights of Scotland, they determined to march to his assistance. Sir Archibald Douglas, the cousin of Ramsay, and Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, his uncle, proceeded to Berwick accordingly, with a force of five hundred men, but on drawing near the town, their scouts discovered the formidable array of the English, drawn up in two battalions before the gates.

"When Sir Archibald Douglas and the Scottish knights," says Froissart, "heard this account, they were quite melancholy, and said, 'We cannot think it will be any way profitable for us to advance further to meet the English, for they are ten to one, and all tried men: we may lose more than we can gain: and a foolish enterprise is never good, and such is what Alexander Ramsay has performed.' Sir William Lindsay, a valiant knight, and uncle to Ramsay, took great pains to persuade them to succour his nephew, by saying, 'Gentlemen, my nephew, in confidence of your assistance, has performed this gallant deed, and taken Berwick Castle; it will turn to your great shame if he should be lost, and none of our family will in future thus boldly adventure themselves.' Those present answered 'that they could not amend it, and that the many gallant men who were there, could not be expected to risk their own destruction in the attempt to prevent a single squire from being made prisoner.' It was therefore determined to retreat further up in their own country among the mountains, near the river Tweed, whither they marched in good order, and at their leisure."* Meanwhile, the siege of Berwick was pressed by the Earl of Northumberland, along with

Henry Percy, the celebrated Hotspur, who at this siege first became acquainted with arms. But though the besiegers were assisted by miners and war engines, Ramsay and his handful of followers made good their defence of the castle for a considerable time. It was at length taken, however, and all its defenders, except Ramsay, were slain. After making himself master of the fortress, the Earl of Northumberland, accompanied by the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Thomas Musgrave, the governor of Berwick, resolved to invade the southern districts of Scotland, and, marching up Tweed-side, directed their course towards the Merse. A detachment of three hundred spears, and as many archers, under Sir Thomas Musgrave, advanced to Melrose. Two of their squires, sent out to scour the country and find out the position of the Scots, fell into an ambuscade, commanded by Sir William Lindsay, "who had posted himself there," says Froissart "in hopes of meeting with some adventure, and to hear news of Berwick, and also what had been the

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 309 Fordun, vol. i. p. 385.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 311.

‡ Walsingham, pp. 211, 213.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. vii. and viii.

tate of his nephew Ramsay, and into whose hands he had fallen." On learning from his prisoners the capture of Berwick, and the situation of the English force under Musgrave, Lindsay sent immediate notice to the main army of the Scots, who lay encamped near Haddington. They instantly set out with the view of surprising Musgrave, and reached the vicinity of Melrose about midnight, but a tremendous storm of wind and rain compelled them to halt till dawn, when the tempest abated. Musgrave, on discovering the approach of the enemy, attempted to fall back, in order to effect a junction with the main army of the English, which had advanced to Roxburgh, but the Scots intercepted his march. A conflict,

Defeat of a body
of English under
Sir Thomas
Musgrave.

therefore, became inevitable, and both parties prepared for it, with great pomp and ceremony. Sir

Archibald Douglas, who commanded the Scottish army, called to him Robert and David, two sons of the king, who were then under his banner, and, along with his own son, knighted them on the field. Musgrave conferred the same honour on his son; and though his forces were greatly inferior in numbers to the Scots, he began the conflict with undaunted courage. But the engagement was quickly decided. Douglas, according to his usual custom, as we learn from Froissart, when he found the fight becoming hot, dismounted, and, wielding a large two-handed sword, made such havoc among the enemy, that they gave way on all sides. Great numbers of the English were slain, and Musgrave and his son, with many other knights and squires, were taken prisoners. After this victory, the Scots finding themselves outnumbered by the forces of Percy and the Earl of Northumberland, retired to Edinburgh with their captives, while the English leaders, unable to pursue them, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, were compelled to return to their own country, and to disband their men.*

Inroads of the
Scots.

A pestilence at this time broke out in England, and raged with great fury,† but it did not put a stop to the devastating inroads of the Scottish borderers, who continued to lay waste the northern districts of the country with great barbarity. An old English chronicler speaks in strong terms of the excesses which were perpetrated by these "enemies of the human race."‡ He says that their rapine was now so much greater and greedier than usual, that even swine, which they used formerly to spare or neglect, did not now escape them, and there were instances of their driving off forty thousand head of plunder in a successful inroad. He affirms, that they even played at foot-ball with the heads of the slaughtered English. This is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that the cruelty of these marauders equalled their rapacity. In one of

these inroads, the Earl of Douglas surprised the town of Penrith, during a fair that was held there, and, after collecting a great booty, gave the town to the flames.* In retaliation of these destructive raids, fifteen hundred of the Cumberland borderers advanced into Annandale, and laid waste the country with fire and sword, but falling into an ambush, they were defeated with great loss.† The contagious disease which still raged on the English frontiers was imported into Scotland by the reckless and rapacious borderers, and cut off great numbers of the inhabitants.‡

At length, in the ensuing year (1380), John of Gaunt, the celebrated Duke of Lancaster, uncle and chief counsellor of the young English king, marched to the border with a powerful army, for the purpose of putting an end to these destructive forays, and establishing peace between the two countries. The Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and the Earls of Douglas and March, along with Sir Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, were appointed commissioners from Scotland, and a truce was concluded between them at Berwick, to last for twelve months. Lancaster disbanded his army, and, according to agreement, again proceeded to Scotland in the following summer, attended by his usual suite, to continue the negotiations with the Scottish envoys. A conference accordingly took place near Ayton, in Berwickshire, with the Earl of Carrick, the heir of the throne, and other commissioners on the part of Scotland, which terminated in a renewal of the truce for three years; the Duke of Lancaster consenting that the payment of the remaining portion of King David's ransom should be delayed during this cessation of hostilities.§

While the commissioners were arranging the terms of the treaty, the celebrated insurrection of Wat Tyler broke out, and Lancaster, against whom much of the popular fury was directed, found it dangerous to return into England. In this perilous dilemma, with a generous confidence highly honourable to his character, he asked permission of the Earl of Carrick to make Scotland his temporary place of refuge. His request was promptly acceded to, and the Earl of Douglas and Sir Archibald Douglas of Galloway, at the head of a numerous retinue, met him near the borders, and conducted him to Edinburgh with the utmost courtesy and attention. Many gifts were presented to him by the Scottish nobles, who vied with each other in doing honour to their

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 311.

† Ibid. p. 312.

‡ Walsingham says, that to preserve themselves from the plague, which the English said God in his grace had sent for their repentance, the Scots used this prayer in their own idiom: "God and St. Mungo, St. Romayn and St. Andrew, schield us this day from Goddis gracie and the foule death that Englishmen dien upon."

§ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 312.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. x.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 310.

† Rotuli Scotie, vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ Walsingham, p. 234.

illustrious guest. The Abbey of Holyrood was fitted up for his residence, and there he remained till the civil commotion was abated. On his return to his own country, the Scottish nobles escorted him as far as Berwick with a convoy of eight hundred spears.*

In spite of this interchange of chivalrous courtesies, and the earnest desire of both monarchs for the continuance of peace, the restless character of the Scottish barons, and the intrigues of the French court, again involved the two countries in all the

Renewal of the war. miseries of war. To serve their own purposes at home, the French

government were anxious to obtain a diversion on the English frontiers, and instigated the Scots, by the promise of a large sum of money and of a thousand suits of armour, and the offer of an auxiliary force of a thousand men-at-arms, to resume hostilities on the expiry of the truce. The temptation proved irresistible, and in spite of the remonstrances of the old king, the war was renewed with increased fury. The strong castle of Lochmaben, which had long been in the hands of the English, was taken by a Scottish force under Sir Archibald Douglas and the Earls of Douglas and March.† For the purpose of punish-

John of Gaunt again invades Scotland—

ing the inroads of the Scots, the Duke of Lancaster again entered Scotland at the head of a numerous army, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, plundering the country. But, mindful of the hospitality which he had lately experienced there, he generously spared the city which had been his place of refuge. His army lay encamped for three days at a short distance from the town, and the inhabitants availed themselves of the opportunity, to remove their goods and cattle beyond the Forth; and, according to an old English chronicler, they even carried off the straw roofs of their wooden houses.‡ Meanwhile many of the English soldiers were seized with sickness, and five hundred of their horses died of cold. Provisions began to fail, and the foraging parties were attacked and cut off by the Scots, who, according to their usual policy, neglected no opportunity of harassing the invaders. The victualling ships which accompanied the expedition, anchored in the Forth near Queensferry, and the crew of one of the vessels, having made good a landing on the coast of Fife, were attacked by young Sir Alexander Lindsay, and his cousin Sir Thomas Erskine, at the head of a body of eighty horse, and driven back to their ships with great slaughter. Besides the loss sustained in their hasty retreat, such was their terror, that one of the fugitives cut a rope to which forty men were clinging, who were all drowned before the eyes of their companions.§ Lancaster, on learning that

the Scottish king had issued orders to assemble an army for the purpose of intercepting his retreat, withdrew into England, plundering and laying waste the country through which he passed. —he retreats to England.

Meanwhile a truce had been concluded between France and England, and notification of this event was made to the Scots by ambassadors sent over from France for that purpose. They were accompanied by a body of about thirty

French knights and esquires, animated by a strong passion for military adventures.* The Scottish king and his nobles were divided in their opinion as to the course which should be followed: Robert was anxious for peace, and did all in his power to induce his barons to comply with the truce. "This," says Froissart, "caused a difference between the king and the knights of his country. The Earls of Moray and Douglas, and the Children of Lindsay," (including under this patriarchal title Sir James Lindsay and the other contemporary knights of the family, whom he describes as Sir James's six brethren) "held a secret meeting with such knights and esquires of Scotland as wished for war, in the church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh," where it was resolved that the foreign knights who had come so far in search of adventures should not be disappointed. Accordingly, a secret message was sent to them from Douglas, inviting them to his castle at Dalkeith, where they were cordially welcomed by that baron and the other knights who had repaired to the trysting-place. An army of fifteen thousand lightly-armed cavalry had been assembled, and, at the head of this force, the

Earls of Douglas and Mar broke into the northern counties of England, ravaged the estates of the Percies and Mowbrays and of the Earl of Nottingham, laid waste the whole country to the gates of Newcastle with fire and sword, and returned home laden with booty.† Froissart mentions that the king of Scotland sent a herald to the English court to clear himself of any participation in this inroad, and to testify that he had assented to the proposed truce, and commanded "as strongly as lay in him," his nobles to do the same, but the Douglasses, the Earl of Mar, "and all those brethren De Lindsay," the Ramsays, and Sir William Seyton, would neither attend the parliament in which the treaty was agreed to, nor assent to the truce, such damage, as they asserted having been done to their lands by the English.

The explanation was deemed satisfactory; but in the meantime the Earl of Northumberland had retaliated upon the Scots the injuries they had inflicted on his estates, and thus both countries continued to suffer all the hardships of a cruel warfare, undertaken without any definite object and leading to no conclusive result.

It appears that in consequence of the distracted

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 314—316.

† Ibid. p. 317.

‡ Walsingham, p. 334; Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 25; Wyntown, however, states that Edinburgh was ransomed by its inhabitants, vol. ii. p. 320.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 320, 321.

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. cxliiii. + Ibid. chap. cxlix.

state of the country during the long-protracted wars with England, law and justice had come to be entirely disregarded in the northern districts of Scotland, and troops of robbers, who are termed *keitherans*, plundered the country and slew the inhabitants at their pleasure. This dreadful state

of matters was brought under the notice of the parliament by a meeting of parliament which was held in Edinburgh in the month of April, 1385, and John Earl of Carriek was directed to repair to the scene of these outrages, and, in concert with the landholders, to take prompt and decisive measures for the punishment of the guilty, and the restoration of order throughout the disturbed counties. The district of Teviotdale, which had remained in the hands of the English since the battle of Durham, had been recently recovered by the exertions of the Earl of Douglas, and steps were taken for the restoration of the estates in that district to the rightful owners. All the inhabitants of Teviotdale, who had lately transferred their allegiance from the king of England to the king of Scotland, were commanded within eight days to produce before the chancellor their charters of the lands and possessions which they claimed as their hereditary right, along with the names of their present possessors, and of the sheriffdoms within whose jurisdiction they were situated. It was also ordered that the chancellor should direct the king's letter to the various sheriffs, commanding them to summon all persons who then held, or asserted their right to hold, any lands, to produce their charters and title deeds before the king and council, in order that a final decision might be given on the subject. The barons, to whose charge certain districts had been committed in the event of war, were enjoined to have their forces in readiness, that they might be prepared to march to the borders if required, with arms and provisions, and not to pillage the lands through which they passed.* A complaint was made to the parliament by William de Fenton, that he had been unjustly deprived of his estate by the Baron of Dirleton, who had twice expelled him from his property after it had been restored to him, first by the sheriff of Edinburgh, and then by a solemn award of the king's privy council. In defiance of these legal decisions, Dirleton kept possession of the property which he had wrested from its lawful owner; a striking proof of the impotency of the law at this time, even in the vicinity of the capital, to restrain the depredations of these titled robbers, who neither feared God nor regarded man. As a last resource, Fenton appealed to the parliament for redress. His complaint having been proved by the evidence of the sheriff, the parliament resolved that Fenton should be instantly reinstated in his property by the royal power, and that the rents due since the time of his exclusion should be paid over to him.

At this period, the government of France, stimu-

lated by the favourable accounts which the French knights who took part in the raid under Douglas brought back to their own country, respecting the facilities offered to an attack upon England from the Scottish borders, resolved to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty which they had formerly made with the Scots, and to send a large body of auxiliaries to co-operate with that nation in their hostilities with the English. Accordingly, John de Vienne, Admiral of France, and one of the most distinguished warriors of the age, was despatched into Scotland with a thousand knights and men-at-arms, together with a body of crossbowmen and common soldiers, amounting altogether to about two thousand men, and forming, according to Froissart's phrase, a complete garland of chivalry. He carried along with him twelve hundred suits of armour for the Scottish knights, and a large sum of money to be distributed among the principal nobles, towards the expenses of the war.† These potent auxiliaries at first received a cordial welcome from the Scots, and were quartered in Edinburgh and the adjacent villages, till the arrival of the king, who was then residing in the district which Froissart terms the wild of Scotland. But heartburnings and misunderstandings speedily broke out between these ill-assorted allies. The French troops, accustomed to the comfort and luxury of Paris, murmured at the wretched food and miserable accommodations which they found in Scotland; while the Scots, on the other hand, grumbled loudly at the burden of maintaining these costly auxiliaries, who, although furnished with the best which their means afforded, only requited them with mur-

Expedition of
John de Vienne,
Admiral of
France, into
Scotland.

Misunderstand-
ings between
the French
troops and the
Scots.

murs and complaints. The burgesses, farmers, and yeomen, on whom the foreign troops were billeted, were especially loud in their expressions of dissatisfaction with the conduct of these fastidious guests, who helped themselves to the best of every thing, and, at the same time, despised and ridiculed the manners and customs of their entertainers. "What evil spirit hath brought you here?" was," Froissart tells us, "the common expression employed by the Scots to their allies. 'Who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods, and begone, for no good will be done as long as ye are here! We neither understand you, nor you us. We cannot communicate together, and in a short time we shall be completely rifled and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned such mischief as ye do. They burned our houses, it is true: but that was all, and with four or five stakes, and plenty green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed.'"† To such

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 324.

† Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clx.

a height did their mutual dissatisfaction and hatred arise, that from words they came to blows, and the Scottish peasants attacked the foraging parties of the French, and slew more than a hundred men.

At length the Scottish king arrived at Edinburgh. The fifty thousand franks of gold which the French admiral had brought with him were paid over to Robert and his leading barons,* and the suits of armour were distributed among the Scottish knights. Froissart describes the king as "a comely, tall man, but with red beared eyes of the colour of sandal-wood; and it soon became evident that he himself preferred a quiet life to war; he had, however, nine sons who loved arms."† A council was immediately held for the purpose of

A council of war is held, and it is resolved to invade England.

considering the question of an immediate invasion of England. The king was averse to the war, but his repugnance was ultimately

overcome by the united remonstrances of his nobles and of France, combined with the influence of French gold, and an army of thirty thousand was assembled in the vicinity of the capital.

The conduct of the army was committed to the king's sons, along with the French Admiral and the Earls of Douglas, Mar, Moray, and Sutherland. They marched at once across the borders, and after

The northern counties of England plundered and laid waste.

making great havoc, sat down before the castle of Roxburgh; but the siege was soon abandoned, in consequence, it is said, of an

extravagant pretension set up by the French knights to garrison and hold the fortress when it should be taken.‡ The army then advanced towards Berwick, and on their way assaulted and carried the fortalices of Ford and Cornhill.§ The strong border castle of Wark was next taken by storm, and the adjacent country was laid waste by fire and sword. Advancing through Northumberland, the combined host carried their ravages to the gates of Newcastle, collecting a large booty, when information was brought that the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the chivalry of York and Durham, had levied a powerful army and were approaching to attack the invaders. The French were eager for battle, but the Scots, with sounder policy, retreated before the enemy and returned into their own country to secure their prey.

In the meantime the young King of England had assembled an army of extraordinary power

* The proportion in which the money was distributed among the Scottish nobles, gives us a pretty correct idea of their comparative consequence and power. The king received 10,000 livres, Douglas 7500, Cardinal Wardlaw 6000, the Earl of Carrick 5500, Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway 5000, the Earl of March 4000, the Earl of Fife 3000, Sir James Lindsay 2000, the other nobles from 700 down to ten livres each. The livre at that time weighed 1½ ounce, and was equal to £4 of modern money. Rymer, vol. vii. p. 424; Hakerton, vol. I. p. 31.

† Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clxix.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 325.

§ Ibid. p. 324.

and splendour,* and, attended by his uncles and all the principal nobles of his kingdom, he moved towards the Scottish border. The immense host

King of England assembles a great army.

proceeded slowly through Liddesdale and Teviotdale without seeing the face of an enemy. The Scots, in accordance with their usual policy, drove away their cattle and carried off their goods into the forests and mountain fastnesses of the country, and left nothing but the green crops on the ground, and even they were trampled down and destroyed. The French and Scottish forces, on the approach of the expedition, had fallen back towards Berwick, but they now drew nearer to the invading army for the purpose of watching its progress and harassing and cutting off its advanced detachments and foraging parties. The French commander was still eager to give battle, and insisted that their combined force was equal to meet the enemy. But

Anecdote of Vienne and Douglas.

the Scottish leaders were too well aware of the inferiority of their troops, both in numbers and equipments, to hazard the fate of the country in a pitched battle, and the Earl of Douglas conveyed De Vienne to an eminence overhanging a mountain pass, through which the English army was at that moment defiling, and where, unseen themselves, they could see its imposing array. The Scottish leader pointed out to the admiral the number and discipline of the men-at-arms and the superiority of the equipments of the archers, and then asked the French knight whether he could recommend the Scots to encounter such a numerous and completely accoutred army with a few ill-trained highland bowmen and their light-armed pickers mounted on little hackneys. The admiral could not but admit that the risk was too great. "But yet," said he, "if you do not give the English battle, they will destroy your country." "Let them do their worst," replied Douglas; "they will find but little to destroy. Our people have all retired into the mountains and forests, and have carried off their flocks and herds and household stuff along with them. The English will find nothing, either to take away or to eat. We will surround them with a desert, and while they shall never see an enemy they shall not stir a bow-shot from their standards without being overpowered by an ambush. Let them come on, at their pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling, you shall see which has the worst of it." "But what will you do with your army, if you do not fight," said De Vienne; "and how will your people endure the distress, and famine, and plunder which must be the consequences of the invasion?" "You shall see that our army will not lie idle," was the reply; "and as for our Scottish people, they will endure pillage, and they will endure famine, and every other extremity of war, but they will not endure English masters."

* Walsingham, a contemporary historian, states that more than three hundred thousand horses were employed.

The result of the campaign proved the accuracy of these statements. The English devastated the empty granges and villages, and plundering and razing the churches and monasteries. The beautiful abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbottle, were successively given to the flames. Edinburgh and its churches were also burned; but the Abbey of Holyrood was spared, at the earnest entreaty of John of Gaunt, to whom it had recently afforded a retreat. These barbarous and impolitic proceedings, however, soon recoiled upon the heads of the invaders. Provisions began to fail, multitudes perished from want, and, to escape destruction, they were compelled to order a retreat through those districts which their own merciless and short-sighted cruelty had rendered a blackened desert.

Meanwhile the Scottish army, with their French auxiliaries, broke into England by the western marches, and burnt and plundered the district of Cumberland,* retaliating with tenfold fury the ravages committed by the English. According to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in this inroad, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted upon Scotland had they burned the whole country from the border to Aberdeen. On their return to Edinburgh, to the great astonishment of their French allies, the inhabitants were seen emerging from the mountain fastnesses and recesses of the forests, to which they had fled for refuge, carrying their household goods and chattels, and driving before them their flocks and herds. With a few stakes and wattles they rebuilt their burned and blackened houses, and speedily resumed their former habits and occupations.

The French were now completely disgusted with a mode of warfare in which they had reaped neither gold nor glory. They complained that the people whom they came to assist had treated them with great rudeness and unkindness, and had even refused to supply them with the necessary provisions and forage. The Scots, on the other hand, declared that the foreigners were rather an incumbrance than a help, and they upbraided them with their effeminacy, and were disgusted with their arrogance and petulant pretensions to gallantry. Even Vienne himself made love to a near relation of the king, to the great scandal and indignation of the grave and sober Scots. The French at length prepared to leave a country which they despised for its poverty and rudeness, and to return home; but their allies refused to permit their departure until security was given that the French government should pay the expenses which they had incurred during their residence in Scotland, and for the injuries which they had inflicted by trampling and destroying the crops and plunder-

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

ing the inhabitants. These conditions were complied with, and the Scots provided vessels, in which, says Froissart, "divers knights and squires had passage, and returned into The French Flanders, as wind and weather knights return home. drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the Kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies, and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland."* Thus ended, in mutual disappointment and recrimination, an expedition undertaken with high expectations, and fitted out at an immense expense. The result served to show the wisdom of the instructions which the great King Robert left for the guidance of his countrymen in their hostilities with England, and demonstrated the impossibility of blending, with any hope of success, two systems of military operations so completely distinct as those of the Scots and French.

After the departure of the French troops, the war with England was carried on with systematic rapacity and cruelty; and the Scots, who were peculiarly fitted for this species of predatory hostility, in their incessant raids into the northern counties of England made great havoc, and collected immense spoil. In one of these destructive inroads, the fertile country around Cockermonth, which had not been invaded since the days of Robert Bruce,† was plundered and laid waste without opposition for three days, by a powerful force under the Earls of Fife and Douglas, and Sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway. An old Scottish chronicler mentions, that among the spoil collected in this expedition, there was an ancient charter of the Saxon King Athelstane, which in the following brief terms made a conveyance of two estates to one of his nobles:—"I, King Adelstane, giffys here to Paulan, Oddam and Roddam als gude and als fair as ever thai myn war: and theirto witnes Mald my wyf."‡ The clearness and brevity of this curious deed astonished and delighted the Earl of Fife, afterwards the Duke of Albany, who, long after, when administering justice as regent of the kingdom, was wont to contrast this brief legal document of the good old times, with the verbose and prolix charters of more modern days. It is singular, as Mr. Tytler remarks, to meet with a protestation at so remote a period against the unnecessary multiplication of words and clauses in legal deeds.

At this time several brilliant exploits were performed by Sir William Douglas, Character of Sir William Douglas— of Galloway.§ This young knight, whose graceful person and warlike prowess, com-

* Froissart, vol. ii. chap. clxiv.

+ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

‡ Scotichron, vol. ii. p. 403.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 332—334. This old chronicler calls Douglas—

bined with great generosity and a most winning gentleness of manners, had gained him the hand of the king's daughter, Egidia,* and the lordship of Nithsdale, resolved to punish the Irish Katerans for their piracies on the coast of Galloway. He accordingly collected a force of five hundred spear-

—his descent upon Ireland. men, and having effected a landing near Carlingford, he immediately proceeded to assault the town with only about two hundred of his men, finding it difficult to procure boats to land the whole. The inhabitants offered a large sum of money to ransom the place; and having thus obtained an armistice, they secretly despatched a messenger to Dundalk, and procured the assistance of eight hundred horse. The Scottish leader, in the meantime, being entirely unsuspecting of any fraud or dishonesty, was on the shore busily engaged in victualling his ships, when he perceived the approach of this strong body from Dundalk, and the inhabitants at the same time sallying from the town to assist them in this treacherous assault. Douglas immediately divided his men into two bodies, and sent Sir Robert Stewart with the one to repel the attack of the citizens, while he with the other encountered the auxiliaries. A fierce and stubborn conflict ensued, in which the Scots, although greatly outnumbered, completely defeated their assailants, after which they ravaged and burnt the town, demolished the castle, and loaded with their plunder fifteen merchant vessels which lay at anchor in the harbour.† After this signal act of vengeance they set sail for the Isle of Man, which they also "harried," and then returned safely to Lochryan, in Galloway. On his return from this successful expedition, Douglas learned that his father and the other Scottish barons were engaged in an expedition against the border districts of England, and he immediately took horse and joined the invading host.

A remarkably minute and interesting account of

"A young jolly Bachelor
Prized greatly was of war;
For he was ever travelland,
Whiles by sea and whiles by land,
To skathe his foes right busy,
Sa that they dread him gretfully;"

and after mentioning various deeds of valour, which bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the exploits of David's worthies, he thus sums up his description of this Scottish Paladin:—

"Sa stoutly he was travelland,
And put to sa hard assays,
That to say sooth in-to my days
I have not heard a Bachelor
Sa greatly prized far or near
In-to sa short time as was he."

- Wytown says the princess was
- "The fairest of fashion (form) and of face
That men might find that day living,
Though they had sought o'er all Scotland."

And Fordun states that the report of her beauty so inflamed the King of France that he privately despatched a painter into Scotland to bring him her picture; when he found, to his disappointment, that the affections of the princess were already engaged.—*Scotichron*, vol. ii. p. 403.

- Wytown, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336.

this expedition is given by Froissart,* which is deserving of peculiar notice, on account of the famous battle of Otterburn, in which it terminated. England was now torn by dissensions between the weak and unfortunate Richard II. and his nobles, and the Scottish barons judged this a favourable opportunity to retaliate the injuries which the recent expedition of the English monarch had inflicted upon Scotland. "In order," says Froissart, "that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feast to be held at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended, and it was then resolved that in the middle of August, 1388, they should assemble all their forces at a castle called Jedworth (Jedburgh), situated among the deep forests and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged everything concerning this business, they separated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the king; for they said among themselves he knew nothing about war."

Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Earls of Douglas, Fife, and Moray, Sir James Lindsay, of Crawford, and various other powerful Scottish barons, came with their followers to the trysting-place. They formed the most numerous assembly that had been seen in Scotland for many years; and in order the more efficiently to arrange their plans, they appointed another preparatory meeting to take place at Yetholm, a village not far from Jedburgh, and situated at the foot of the Cheviot hills.

On the day appointed, an army of forty thousand infantry and twelve hundred men-at-arms assembled at the place of rendezvous. The English barons meanwhile, to whom the care of the borders was committed, having received information of the projected inroad from the minstrels and heralds, whom as privileged spies they had commissioned to attend the preliminary conferences, began to prepare for resistance, and despatched one of their squires to attend the meeting at Yetholm, and discover the intentions of the Scots. In the disguise of a groom he entered the church where the Scottish chiefs were in council, and learned the whole of their plans; but when he returned to the place where he had left his horse tied to a tree, he found it had been stolen; and, fearful of exciting suspicion by inquiring after it, he set off on foot on his way homewards. This very caution occasioned his detection. "I have witnessed many wonderful things," said a Scottish knight to his friend, as they stood near the church door; "but what I now see is equal to any; that man yonder has, I believe, lost his horse, and yet makes no inquiry after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us; let us go after him, and see whether I am right or not." They soon overtook him, and on their approach,

* Froissart, vol. iii. chap. cxvii. See also Wytown, vol. ii. pp. 337—343, for an account of this battle, corroborating in all important points the narrative of Froissart.

Great invasion of England determined on by the Scots.

Preliminary conferences.

Seizure of an English spy.

says Froissart, with much simplicity, "he was alarmed, and wished himself anywhere else." His confused and contradictory answers confirmed their suspicions. He was immediately seized; and on being closely interrogated, and threatened with instant death if he did not tell the truth, was induced to reveal all he knew concerning the force and intentions of his countrymen. From his confession the Scottish leaders learned that the English did not consider themselves strong enough to encounter the Scottish army, and had determined to remain quiet until the invaders had crossed the borders, and then, "by way of counteracting their career," to make an inroad into Scotland. "Should you march to Cumberland," said the spy, "they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh; if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carlisle, and enter your country by these mountains."

"The barons of Scotland," continues Froissart, "were in high spirits at this intelligence, and considered their success as certain, now they knew the disposition of the enemy. They held a council as to their mode of proceeding, and the wisest and most accustomed to arms, such as Sir Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Fife, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir James Lindsay, were the speakers." It was ultimately resolved that, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the English, the troops should be divided into two bodies, and that an invasion should be made both by the eastern and western marches. Accordingly, the main body of the army, under the Earl of Fife, the king's second

son, with Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the Earls of Sutherland, Menteith, Mar, and Strathern, began their march through Liddesdale towards Carlisle; while a smaller division, consisting of three hundred men-at-arms and two thousand foot, was placed under the command of the young Earl of Douglas, along with the Earls of March and Moray, Sir James Lindsay, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John de St. Clair, and other experienced leaders, for the purpose of invading England by the eastern marches.

By a swift and secret march, the Earl of Douglas, with this small force, pushed rapidly on through Northumberland, which they did not molest; but as soon as they reached the bishopric of Durham, the plundering began, and the smoke of the flaming villages gave the first intimation to the English garrisons that the Scots had

crossed the border. They ravaged the whole of that rich and populous district without opposition, as the English imagined that Douglas was supported by the whole force of the Scottish army, and were therefore afraid to venture beyond the walls of their fortresses. After wasting the country as far as the gates of Durham, the Scots returned to Newcastle, where lay Sir Henry Percy, renowned by the name of Hotspur, his brother Sir

Ralph, and many other Northumbrian barons and knights; and there Douglas determined to remain two days, to try the mettle of the English warriors. In one of the skirmishes at the barriers of the town, a personal encounter took place between Douglas and Hotspur, in which the pennon of the English leader remained in the possession of the Scottish earl, who boasted that he would carry it to Scotland, and plant it on the tower of his castle of Dalkeith. "That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do: you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland; be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of." "Well," replied Douglas, "your pennon shall this night be placed before my tent: come and win it if you can." He then continued his march up the river Tyne, and, encamping at night, stuck the pennon into the ground in front of his tent, expecting that Hotspur would redeem his pledge.

The English leaders, however, were still under the impression that the main army of the Scots was close at hand, and that the object of Douglas was to draw them from their entrenchments. Percy's wish to attack Douglas that night was therefore overruled; and the Scots, after in vain expecting an encounter, left their encampment, and resumed their march homeward. On their way they attacked and carried the tower of Ponteland, which they razed to the ground; and, still continuing their retreat, arrived on the second day at Otterburn, a hamlet situated in Redesdale, about thirty miles from Newcastle. There was a strongly-fortified castle there, which resisted the attacks of the Scots; and, after some deliberation, they were prevailed upon by Douglas to remain a day or two in order to reduce it, and to give Percy an opportunity of fulfilling his promise. They accordingly pitched their camp in an advantageous position, on the banks of the Reed water, flanked on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a small wooded hill, and placed their carriages and waggons at the entrance, under the charge of the sutlers and camp-followers. Having taken these precautions against a surprise, they spent the day in attacking the castle, and at night retired within their encampment. Meanwhile, Hotspur, having discovered that Douglas was not supported by the main army of the Scots, and that he lay encamped at Otterburn, hastily assembled about six hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand infantry, and marched rapidly in pursuit of the enemy.

It was after sunset before Percy came in sight of the Scottish encampment. It was a sweet moonlight evening—Froissart tells us—clear and bright; and the breeze blew soft and fresh. The day had been extremely warm, and most of the Scots, fatigued by an attack upon the castle, had taken their evening meal and lain down to rest, and their leaders were sitting in their gowns and doublets at supper, when they were roused by the war-cry of "Percy!"

"Percy!" The English attacked the encampment with great fury, but the camp-followers courageously defended the barricade of waggons, and thus gave time for the knights and men-at-arms to put on their armour and take up their position. The leaders, however, had to arm in such haste that Douglas's harness was in many places unclasped, and the Earl of Moray fought all night without his helmet. Instead of waiting within the camp to receive the assault of the enemy, Douglas drew up his men, and, silently sweeping round the wooded eminence, fell on the flank of the English while they were engaged in the marsh which bordered on the Scottish encampment. Percy, having discovered the mistake which he had made, now drew back his troops on firm ground, and received the attack of the enemy with great courage. The English were somewhat fatigued by their march, but they were greatly superior to the Scots, both in numbers and in the temper of their armour and weapons. The latter, however, were fresh and well breathed, and flushed with their previous successes, and for several hours the battle raged with the utmost fury. At length the Scots, who fought against treble their number, began to give way, when Douglas, wielding a battle-axe with both hands, and followed only by a few of his household, cut his way into the thickest of the enemy, where, being separated from his men, he was borne to the

Death of Douglas
earth, and mortally wounded in his head and thigh.* But this disaster was unknown to either army, for the tide of battle was for the moment setting against the Scots, and some time elapsed before the English were again forced to give way, and the spot where Douglas fell was cleared. Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, were the first to discover him, as he lay bleeding to death. His banner lay on the ground not far from him, the bearer having fallen; and his chaplain, a priest of the name of William Landis, afterwards Archdeacon of North Berwick, who had fought during the whole battle at his side, was found bestriding his wounded patron, and protecting him from injury with his battle-axe. "How fares it with you, cousin?" asked Sir John. "But so so," replied the earl; "yet, God be thanked, few of my ancestors have died — have died in chambers or in their beds. There has long been a prophecy that a dead Douglas should win a field.† I trust it will now be fulfilled; my heart sinks;—I am dying. Do you, Walter, and you, John Sinclair, raise my banner,‡ and cry 'Douglas!' and tell neither friend nor foe I am lying here." These were his last words. The Scottish leaders raised the banner, and with cries of "Douglas!"

* See Appendix, Note XI.

† "How has been known at that dread name to yield; And Douglas dead, his name hath won the field."

HOME.

‡ Sir Walter Scott states, that in this conflict the banner of Douglas was borne by his natural son, Archibald Douglas, ancestor of the family of Cavers, hereditary sheriffs of Teindland, amongst whose archives this glorious relic is still preserved. The earl, at the onset, is said to have charged his son to defend it to the last drop of his blood.

"Douglas!" fell afresh on the enemy; and the Scots, animated by the cry, and believing that their leader was still in the field, pressed on the English with such fury that they at length gave way on all sides. Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph, were taken prisoners, and scarcely a man of note among the English escaped death or captivity. About eighteen hundred and sixty of their men-at-arms were left on the field, and a thousand were grievously wounded. This battle, famous in song under the name of "Chevy Chase," was fought on Wednesday, the 5th of August, 1388. Froissart, who received his account of this celebrated conflict from English and Scottish knights who were engaged in it, says, "Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight, or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly hand to hand with his enemy, without either stay or faintheartedness." He adds, that his informants agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought.

Defeat of the English, and captivity of Hotspur.

The day after the battle, the Bishop of Durham, having heard of the defeat of Percy, arrived at Otterburn with ten thousand men, and attempted to cut off the retreat of the victorious army. But finding them strongly entrenched in the same advantageous position, he judged it prudent to withdraw, and allow them to return to their own country without further molestation. The body of Douglas was carried by the Scottish army in solemn and sorrowful procession to the Abbey of Melrose, where they buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers, and hung his banner over his grave. Among the noble prisoners who were carried to Scotland besides the brothers Henry and Ralph Percy, were the Sceneschal of York, Sir Ralph Langley, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir John Lilburn, Sir John Copland, Sir Thomas Walsingham, Sir John Felton, Sir Thomas Abingdon, and almost the whole chivalry of the north of England. Froissart highly applauds the courtesy Character of the shown by the Scots to their prisoners, and observes, that both nations were not less deserving of praise for their gentleness after a battle, than for their courage during the conflict.

Meanwhile, the main body of the Scottish army, under the Earl of Fife, were engaged in plundering and laying waste the western counties of England, when they received the tidings of the victory at Otterburn. According to Wyntown, the earl was not a little envious at the success of the smaller division of the army, for the victory and the wealth acquired by the ransom of the noble prisoners were esteemed the most remarkable that had occurred since the field of Bannockburn.*

* Froissart says, the ransoms were estimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preston, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and baronies of Froudin, Aberdeenshire, the town of Fyrie, and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, and the five-mark land of Park-

Connected with this chivalric conflict there is an episode charmingly told by Froissart, which deserves insertion here, as it affords a striking illustration of the knightly manners of the age.* Sir James Lindsay, the chief of the warlike sept of the Lindsays, greatly distinguished himself in the conflict,† and was the first to reach the place where Douglas was lying. When the victory was gained, the Scots chased the fugitives for five miles from the field of battle. On their return from the pursuit, Sir David and Sir John Lindsay asked after their chief, but none could give them any news of him; whereat, says Froissart, they marvelled and grieved much, doubting not but that either he had been slain or taken prisoner. "Now," says the chronicler, "I will tell you what befel the said knight of Scotland."

Sir Matthew Redman, Governor of Berwick, and commander, in conjunction with Sir Robert Ogle, of one of the two great "battles," or divisions, in which Percy had marshalled his army, had mounted his horse to fly, very reluctantly; but still, all things considered, he alone could not recover the day. Sir James Lindsay, noticing his departure, and being mounted on a fleet charger, immediately galloped after him, lance in hand, and, after a chase of more than three English leagues, got so close to him that he might, had he chosen, have stricken him with his lance. But instead of doing so, he shouted to him repeatedly, "Ha! Sir Knight!" (for he saw well that he was one, though he knew not his name), "turn ye!—'tis foul shame thus to fly. You have only me to cope with, and if you can discomfit me, I am Sir James de Lindsay!" When Sir Matthew heard that, he pulled in his horse, and, wheeling round, drew his sword, and betook himself cheerily to his defence. Sir James aimed at him with his lance; but Sir Matthew, by writhing his body, escaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew cut it in two with his sword. Sir James then threw the truncheon on the ground, and seized his battle-axe, which was slung across his shoulder, and assailed Sir Matthew, who defended himself bravely. Thus they pursued each other for a long time by the light of the moon, the one with the axe, the other with the sword, for there was no one to interrupt them.

During a pause in this tourney, Sir James Lindsay asked Sir Matthew, "Knight, who art thou?" to which the other replied, "I am Sir Matthew

Redman." "Well," rejoined Sir James, "since we have met thus, I must conquer thee, or thou me!" and then began the battle again; and they had no other weapons, save the one his sword, and the other his battle-axe, which he used with one hand very dexterously, the Scots being accustomed thus to handle it. At last, Sir Matthew's sword flew out of his hand in a return stroke, and he stood defenceless. "Lindsay," said he, "I yield me." "Rescue, or no rescue?" asked Sir James. "I consent. You will take good care of me?" "That I will!" rejoined the knight; "and, for a beginning, since you are my prisoner, what shall I do for you?" "I wish," said Sir Matthew, "that you would allow me to return to Newcastle, and by Saint Michael's day I will render me at Dunbar, or Edinburgh, or at any port you choose in Scotland." "I am willing," said Sir James; "let it be at Edinburgh, on the day you name."*

With these words they took leave of each other, Sir Matthew returning to Newcastle, walking his horse gently, as it was much fatigued.

"Now," saith the chronicler, "I will tell you a marvellous adventure which befel the knight of Scotland,—an adventure not to be forgotten with this night of peril,—a freak of fortune such as often bechance in love and war. Sir James might well say, 'This morning I thought to have gained much; but, in sooth, I have lost more than enough in chasing the English.' I tell you why." Sir James had no sooner parted with Sir Matthew, than he and his squire (who, it appears, had followed him closely through all the vicissitudes of this eventful night) entangled themselves in the mazes of a broad heath, covered with furze and thickets of low wood, and entirely lost their road, which Sir James soon found out; but it was then too late to remedy the evil. No stars were visible, the moon had gone down, and the night was dark and gloomy. Coming at last to a path which ran, as he thought, in the right direction, he pursued it;—alas! it was the direct road to Newcastle; and he would have arrived at the gates, of his own accord, before daybreak, but for a previous rencontre with the Bishop of Durham, who had been too late for the battle, and was at that very moment returning to Newcastle by a path running, it seems, nearly parallel with the one Sir James had taken.

Sir James's horse, scenting the English horses,

* "Such," says Holinshed, "was in those days the humanity among the borderers and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue between the inhabitants of those places. But if any do not return at the day appointed, this punishment is set upon him for a perpetual disgrace, that in the assembly of true days (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation to the other), they use that he which complaineth himself to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carry about a hand or glove painted on a cloth, with a long staff or spear, to be seen of all men; and which is accounted a singular infamy to the deserter thereof. For they which have so broken their faith be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonesty they will not afford them good report or entertainment."

hill. Hotspur, for his ransom, to the Lord Montgomery, built the castle of Pencon, in Ayrshire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun.

* Froissart, vol. iii. chap. cxxix. quoted in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays—a delightful book, equally honourable to the head and the heart of its noble author.

† The old ballad of Chevy Chase bears witness to the valour of "the Lindsays light and gay," in that famous engagement:—

"The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done."

began to neigh, and caracole, and paw the ground, and press in that direction; and the knight, thinking they were his friends, and that he was close to Otterburn, gave him the rein; and, in unsuspecting confidence, rode into the midst of the bishop's company. The bishop, seeing the dark shadow of a horse and rider, rode forward and asked, "Who goes there?—friend or foe, herald or minstrel?" to which Sir James, still unaware of his situation, replied, "I am Sir James de Lindsay." "Ha! Sir Knight!" cried the bishop, "you are very welcome! render yourself my prisoner!" "And who are you?" asked the astonished intruder. "I am Robert de Neville, priest, and Bishop of Durham."

Sir James saw well that resistance would be useless, surrounded as he was by five hundred men, and said only, "Sith it must be so, God's will be done!" Thus they rode on to Newcastle, Sir James entertaining the bishop with the account of his chase and capture of Sir Matthew. "And where is he?" asked the bishop. "By my faith," replied Lindsay, "I have seen nothing of him since I fancied him; he started for Newcastle, and I was on my road to Otterburn." "In my opinion," interrupted the bishop, "you chose your road ill enough, Sir James; for, lo! this is Newcastle we are now entering." "I cannot help it," answered Sir James; "I have taken, and I am taken,—such is the fate of arms! I had fixed Sir Matthew's day for appearing at Edinburgh, but I think he need not trouble himself to take so long a journey to make his fynance." "So it seems," rejoined the bishop. With these words they entered Newcastle, and all went to their several lodgings; Sir James continuing with the bishop, as his guest and prisoner. Guards were set, for fear of the Scots, at all the gates, towers, and walls, and the bishop himself watched at the principal barrier till sunrise.

Meanwhile, Sir Matthew Redman had also reached Newcastle a little before the bishop's arrival, and, after disarming himself (as a captive knight), and putting on other clothes, he went to wait on the bishop at his lodgings, where he met Richard Heberdon, Sir James's squire, who told him the whole story of his master's misadventure. Greatly did Sir Matthew marvel at the news, and then bade the squire lead him to his master's apartment. He found Sir James leaning against the window, looking out, and very melancholy,—doubtless for the loss of his friend Douglas. The two knights recognized each other immediately by daylight, having often met before on the borders, and at the march meetings. "What has brought you here, Sir James?" was Sir Matthew's salutation. "By my faith, Redman?" replied the former, interrupting his sad thoughts, and turning to meet him, "ill luck!" and then repeated the tale already told. "I believe," he added, "there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we can finish the matter here, if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree to that,"

rejoined Sir Matthew; "but you must come and dine with me, for the bishop and his men are going to attack your countrymen; I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindsay. Then, concludes Froissart, did these two knights rally each other, and bandy many blythe words of merriment; and thus said the English knight, "By my faith, little did I think to find my master, Sir James Lindsay, here!" "Such," replied the Scot, "is the chance of arms! As little thought I last night to have gained so little by chasing the English!"

The aged King of Scotland seems now to have become so unequal to the fatigues of state, that the parliament found it necessary to relieve him from a burden which he was no longer able to bear. John Earl of Carrick, the heir apparent to the throne, had been injured by the kick of a horse, and was unable, from bodily weakness, to undertake the management of affairs. The Earl of Fife, second son of the king, was therefore chosen governor of the kingdom, in a meeting of the three Estates held at Edinburgh, in 1389.* Fife was crafty, cold-blooded, and selfish, —his character. and his advancement, on the present occasion, to the high office of regent, in preference to his elder brother, seems to have whetted his unprincipled ambition, and ultimately led him to commit the most atrocious crimes to maintain his ascendancy. He possessed little genius for military affairs, and it was probably his consciousness of this defect which induced him, soon after he had been invested with his office, to seek to maintain his reputation among the fierce and turbulent nobility of Scotland by one of those absurd bravadoes which a really brave man will always carefully avoid. The Earl of Nottingham, Marshal of England, to whom the English king had intrusted the wardenship of the eastern marches, had been in the habit of reproaching the Percies for their defeat at Otterburn, and of boasting that he would overcome the Scots in a fair field, even though their numbers should double his. The regent affected to consider that his knightly honour required him to notice these foolish boastings, and having collected a numerous army, he crossed the border, and defied Nottingham to meet him in the field. The English baron, however, having entrenched himself in a strong position, declined the combat, alleging that "he had no orders to expose the lieges of his sovereign to any danger." The Scots, after remaining half a day in front of his position, with banners displayed, burned Tynemouth and returned to their own country.†

In the summer of the same year, the English and French commissioners met at Leilinghen, between Boulogne and Calais, with the view of concluding a truce for three years. The Bishop of

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 414.

† Ibid.; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 346.

Aberdeen, Sir Archibald Douglas, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, were sent as commissioners for Scotland, to protest

Three years' truce. against it. The treaty, however, was agreed to, the allies of both countries being included* in its provisions, and a joint embassy of English and French knights was despatched to Scotland, and succeeded in persuading the Scottish nobles to become parties to this cessation of hostilities, to the great delight of the good old king, who had long been desirous of seeing his country enjoy the blessings of peace. Soon

Death of Robert II.— after this desirable event, he retired to his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, where, on the 13th of May, 1390, he died, after a short illness, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign.

In the early part of his career, Robert displayed great energy and courage in the defence of the liberties of Scotland, and was the main instrument in defeating the in-

* Rymer, Foed. vol. vii. p. 622. It is curious to notice that John, Lord of the Isles, is mentioned among the allies of England, showing that up to this period the chiefs of the Isles were virtually independent of Scotland. A treaty, indeed, was concluded between Richard II. and the Lord of the Isles in the preceding year.

sidious designs of Edward III., when the weak and selfish son of Bruce attempted to betray the independence of his country. He had the wisdom to perceive that peace with England was indispensably necessary to the maintenance of order in his kingdom, and the development of its internal resources, and earnestly sought to carry out this judicious policy; but his lot was cast on evil days, and he appears in his later years to have lacked the energy and activity necessary to keep his rude and turbulent nobles in due subordination, and to have lost sight of the duties of his office in his fondness for retirement and ease. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that, to use the words of Buchanan, "he was a most excellent man, and in the arts of peace few kings could be compared to him. He administered justice diligently and impartially; he severely restrained robbery; he was steady in his conduct, and faithful to his word. The kingdom, which he received in turbulent times, he restored to internal tranquillity by his justice and equity, and so far recovered it from the enemy, that at the time of his death they had only three castles remaining in it."*

* Buchanan's History of Scotland, Aikman's edition, vol. ii. p. 62.

CHAPTER XIV.

ROBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 1390—1424.

ROBERT II. was succeeded in the throne by his

Accession of eldest son, John Earl of Carrick, Robert III.— who, on the day following his

father's burial, was solemnly crowned at Scone, in presence of a large assembly of nobles and prelates. The name John, from its association with Baliol and other sovereigns who had borne it, was regarded with superstitious dislike by the Scots. The new monarch, therefore, took the title of Robert III., as heir to the crown of his heroic ancestor Robert Bruce. Like his father, Robert had passed the prime of life when his reign began. He had been married for upwards of thirty years to Annabella Drummond, a daughter of Sir John Drummond, of Stobhall, by whom he had one son, David, yet in his minority. Robert possessed

many qualities, which, in happier circumstances, would have rendered

him an eminently popular and successful sovereign. Though he had been lamed by an unfortunate accident, his person was tall and graceful, and his manners were affable and pleasing. To great amiability of disposition he added strong good sense, and a strict love of justice. The welfare of his people seems ever to have been the paramount object of all his measures as a ruler, and he wisely endeavoured to promote it by the maintenance of peace. United to other virtues suited to the fierce spirit of the times, these properties might have secured to him the respect and co-operation even of his fierce nobility and rude subjects. He was naturally, however, timid and irresolute, and his love of peace made him often weakly yield to men destitute of principle, but endowed with greater force of character. At no time remarkable for personal courage or skill in military exercise, he had been compelled by his lameness to retire early in life from the stirring scenes of the battle-field and the tournament, to the more congenial sources of enjoyment found in domestic and devotional retirement. The nobles, therefore, who viewed these amiable qualities as the evidence only of unnatural weakness, regarded him with a feeling bordering on contempt, and, calculating on impunity, prepared to renew their deadly feuds. On the retirement of the late king from public life, the sense of the nation as to Robert's incapacity for government had been testified by the appointment of the Earls of Fife and Buchan, his brothers, to the chief offices in the state. Both were likely to retain their influence over the monarch—an influence which could only tend to the dishonour of the crown and the ruin of the kingdom. With no pretensions to talent, either in the cabinet or the field, Fife was ambitious of power, and under

a plausible manner veiled a crafty and cruel disposition, which scrupled at no crime, however dark, to gain its ends. Buchan was a monster of crime, who gave himself up to every species of lust and rapine, and among the miserable population of the north, whom his oppression filled with terror, was commonly termed "The Wolf of Badenoch."

The reign of Robert, however, began auspiciously, by the renewal of the truce of Truce of eight years. Lcilinghen. The terms of this

treaty, which secured the cessation of hostilities between Scotland and England, and placed the relations of the two kingdoms on an amicable footing, were faithfully observed by both countries; and during eight years Scotland enjoyed the unwonted blessing of exemption from the miseries of war, while her trade and agriculture revived and steadily improved. These symptoms of prosperity were greatly checked by the nobles, who, deprived of their ordinary employment of war, and unrestrained by the feeble government of the king, embroiled the country with their fierce disputes. The Wolf of Badenoch, at the Atrocious conduct of the Earl of Buchan— head of a large force, invaded the

district of Moray, in revenge of

some quarrel with the bishop of that see, and, after ravaging the country, plundered and profaned the cathedral of Elgin, which he afterwards set on fire, reducing the noble edifice, with the adjoining religious houses and the town itself, to a mass of

blackened ruins. Buchan had —and of his natural son, Duncan Stewart. barely retired with his plunder

when his natural son, Duncan Stewart, with a band of fierce veterans, commanded by three chiefs, whom Wyntown calls Duncansons, passed the mountains which divide the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar, and attacked the inhabitants, spoiling and slaying them with merciless cruelty. Sir Walter Ogilvie, sheriff of Angus,

—"That good knight,
Stout and manful, bauld and right,

along with Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, collected a force of Combat at Gasklune and defeat of the Lowland barons. about sixty men, and attacked the invaders at Gasklune, near the water of Isla.* After an obstinate

contest, the Highlanders were victorious, slaying the sheriff, with his brother, Wat of Lichtoun, and many of the gentry of the county. Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were severely wounded, and with difficulty carried off the field. An idea of the ferocity of the Highlanders may be formed from a striking incident mentioned by Wyntown. Sir David Lindsay, armed at all points and well mounted, made great slaughter among the veterans; but having pierced one of them through the body with his spear, and pinned him to the ground, the savage mountaineer, though in the agonies of death, writhed his body up against the weapon, and collecting all his force, with a last dying effort fetched a sweeping blow with his

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 367, 369.

broadsword, which cut through the knight's stirrup leather and steel boot,

"Three ply or four above the foot,"

to the very bone.

"That man na straik gave but that ane,
For there he deit (died): yet nevertheless
That guid Lord there wounded wes,
And had deit there that day,
Had not his men had him away
Agane his will out of that press."*

The feuds of the lowland barons were no less frequent or destructive, and the nobles most frivolous disputes were settled by an appeal to arms. A quarrel of this kind occurred between Robert Keith and his aunt Lady Margaret Lindsay, daughter of Sir William Keith, Mareschal of Scotland, and wife of David Lindsay. The lady, who was heiress of Fermartine, or Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire, had employed some masons at her castle of Fyvie, with whom the followers of her nephew quarrelled. The rude chief took up the matter so warmly as to besiege his aunt in her own castle. She sent notice to her husband, who was then at court, and he instantly started with four hundred men to relieve his wife. Keith intercepted him near the Kirk of Bourtie, in the Garioch, where he was utterly defeated by Sir James, with the loss of upwards of fifty of his men.† In these days, indeed, every man did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in the land.

These outrages, of which the government took no notice, were followed by other scenes, which, though they occurred with its sanction, manifested a policy as cruel as it was disgraceful. The Highlands had long been convulsed by the quarrels of two clans, or separate confederacies of clans, called Clan Kay and Clan Chattan or Clan Quhele. The chivalry of the times seems to have suggested the determination of their disputes by a battle in presence of the king between an equal number of combatants, chosen from both clans, and including their best warriors. This project was probably recommended with the expectation that the clans would lose their bravest chiefs in the conflict, and would then be more easily managed in future. Lists were accordingly erected in the north Inch of Perth, a beautiful and level meadow, on the south bank of the river Tay, and, on the day appointed, the representatives of the rival clans, in two bands of thirty each, stood fully armed and prepared to decide in mortal conflict their long-disputed claims. The signal to advance was about to be given, when one of the Clan Chattan threw himself into the Tay, swam across the river, and fled to the woods. Robert, who had probably been persuaded against his better feelings to sanction the combat, humanely sought to avail himself of this occurrence to prevent

the contest; but a burgher of Perth, named Henry Wynd, an armourer by trade, agreed for half a mark to take the place of the recreant clansman. The engagement which ensued was fierce and bloody, the Highlanders inflicting with their two-handed swords and battle-axes the most ghastly wounds, till the lists were drenched with blood, and covered with the dead or dying. At length the victory fell to the Clan Chattan; only one man belonging to the Clan Kay remained, while eleven of their adversaries were left alive, including the brave burgher, whose strength and skill are said to have contributed mainly to the result.* This terrible conflict, however, justified the expectations of its cold-blooded

—its results.

abettors. The fierce mountaineers, deprived of many of their ablest leaders, were compelled to remain quiet, and, for a time, ceased to scourge the lowlands with their periodical incursions.

The truce between Scotland and England continued to be faithfully observed by both nations, and the animosities of centuries were gradually worn away by the amicable intercourse which now existed between the two kingdoms. The deadly contests of the battle-field gave place to gentle passages of arms between stalwart knights, who, in tilts and tournaments, maintained the honour of their respective countries, and cleared their weapons from the rust of inaction. Generous courtesy and chivalrous valour came to be regarded as the marks of a true knight, and the rude manners of the times, in the absence of higher influences, became gradually softened and refined by these friendly encounters.

One of the most famous of these "passages of arms" took place between John, Lord Wells, an English warrior of great celebrity, and Sir David Lindsay of Glesesk, first Earl of Crawford, who was so severely wounded in the combat at Gasklune. The details of this chivalrous encounter are very fully narrated both by Wyntown and Bower, and throw great light on the manners of our ancestors in these warlike times. Lord Wells having been sent ambassador into Scotland by Richard II., happened to be carousing with the Scottish nobles at a solemn banquet, when the conversation turning on valiant deeds of arms, and Sir David eagerly extolling the prowess of his countrymen, Wells exclaimed: "Let words have no place: if you know not the chivalry and valiant deeds of Englishmen, assail ye me, day and place where ye list, and ye shall soon have

Contest between
the Clan Kay
and the Clan
Chattan—

Passage of arms
between Sir
David Lindsay
and Lord Wells—

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374; Fordun, vol. ii. p. 420. Wyntown calls the leader of the Clan Kay, Shaw Farquharson, and the chief of the victorious clan, Cristjohnson. The Clan Kay is thought to have been the Davidsons, a branch of the M'Phersons. According to tradition, Henry Wynd, (whom the Highlanders call the *Gow Chrom*, the crooked or bandy-legged smith,) when the battle was over was not able to tell the name of the clan he had fought for, replying, when asked on which side he had been, that he was fighting for his own hand. Hence the proverb, "Every man for his own hand, as Henry Wynd fought." See Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather," and "Fair Maid of Perth."

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 369. Fordun (vol. ii. p. 420) says the battle was fought at Glenberet, or Glenbriechan, about eleven miles north of Gasklune.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 371.

experience." "Then," said Sir David, "I will assail ye." Lord Wells naming London Bridge for the place, Sir David appointed the festival of St. George for the day of combat, "be reason that he was sometime ane valiant knight," and forthwith began preparations for his expedition.* And, so important did Lindsay consider the affair, that he freighted the ship St. Mary, belonging to Dundee, to bring him from London a new suit of armour. All being ready, in the words of the Prior of Lochleven:

"A thousand three hunder and ninety year
Fra the birth of our Lord dear,
The good Lyndyssay Sir Davie
Of Glenesk the Lord mightie,
Honest, able, and avenant
Pass'd on conduct in England,
With knights, squires, and other men
Of his own retinue then;
Where he and all his company
Wes well arrayed and daintily,
And all purveyed at device;
There was his purpose to win prise."

"He was received with high honour by King Richard, and on the appointed day—both parties appearing in great state at London Bridge, eased in armour of proof, and mounted on mighty war-horses—he entered the lists against Lord Wells. The scene was splendid: the fair ladies and gallant knights of Richard's court were seated all around the king and queen—Anne of Bohemia, surnamed the Good—in the highest places of honour, while a great concourse of the common people attended, attracted by the interest of the spectacle, and the fame of the antagonists."

After the usual preliminary ceremonies, at the stirring blast of the trumpet the knights rushed at each other "on their mighty horses right eagerly," with spears sharply ground "to the death." In the first course both spears were broken; but Lindsay kept his seat so firmly that the spectators cried out that, contrary to the law of arms, he was "locked," or tied to the saddle: upon which he rode up to the royal tent, vaulted lightly to the ground, made his obeisance to the king, and, though loaded with complete armour, again sprung into the saddle "right cleverly," without touching the stirrup, or receiving any assistance. "Incontinent they rushit togidder with new spears the scound time with burning ire to conquest (acquire) honour. But in the third rink" (or course), having exchanged their spears for stronger ones, "Lord Wells was doung (struck) out of the saddle with sic violence that he fell to the ground,

'Flatlings down upon the green,
with great displeasure of Englishmen.'

After this encounter on horseback, the knights commenced a desperate foot combat with their daggers, which ended in the total discomfiture of Lord Wells; for Sir David, who was a man of

* It appears from Wytown, that a formal "talyhe," (tally) or instrument of agreement, was drawn up and signed or sealed by both parties, binding them to the combat. This was not unusual, and the conditions of the tourney were frequently specified in such documents.

† Closely.

‡ Safe conduct.

great personal strength, fastening his dagger between the joints of his antagonist's armour, lifted him off his feet, and hurled him to the ground, where he lay at his mercy.

King Richard, who had seen the whole affair from his "summer castelle," called out to the victor,—

"Lyndyssay, cousin good Lyndyssay!
Do furth that thou should do this day"—

meaning that if he wished to put his antagonist to death, as the savage laws of these combats, a *l'outrance*, permitted, no one should hinder him. But the victorious knight, courteously raising his foe from the ground, and leading him beneath the ladies' gallery, "presented him to the queen as his gift, wishing, like a true knight, that mercy should proceed from woman." The queen thanked him, and then gave liberty to Lord Wells. Sir David supported him in the lists till a leech arrived, "tenderly embracing him, that the people might understand he fought with na hatrent, allanerly (solely) for the gloir of victory;" and he visited him afterwards every day till he recovered from his wounds.*

Among the knights who accompanied Sir David on his visit to London, was Sir —and between William Dalzell, who, according to Sir William Dalzell and Sir Piers Courtenay. —wisdom, but was also of a lively wit. Happening to be at court, he there saw Sir Piers Courtenay, an English knight, famous for his tilting, and for his handsome person, who bore upon his surcoat a falcon with this motto—

"I bear a falcon fairest of flight:
Whoso prikketh at her his death is dight,
In graith."†

The Scottish knight appeared next day in a dress exactly similar to that of Courtenay, but bearing a jay instead of a falcon, with an inscription ingeniously contrived to rhyme to the vaunting inscription of Sir Piers.

"I bear a pyet peikand at ane pees,§
Whasa pykhis at her I sall pyk at his nees,||
In faith."

This affront could only be expiated by a joust with sharp lances. The knights ran three courses, in two of which the helmet of the Scot, from being loosely strapped, gave way at the touch of his antagonist's lance, and he thus avoided the shock of the encounter. The Englishman, who lost two of his front teeth in the third encounter, complained bitterly of Dalzell's conduct in not fastening his helmet, and insisted, that by the law of arms it was imperative on both knights to be exactly on equal terms. "I am content," said Dalzell, "to run six courses more on such conditions, and let him who breaks them forfeit two hundred pounds." This being agreed to, the wily Scot took off his

* Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. pp. 88—91; Wytown's Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 353—357; Bellenden's Boece, vol. ii. p. 470; Lindsay, in gratitude for his victory, founded a chantry of five priests "within our Lady's kirk at Dundee."

† Prepared.

‡ Armour.

§ Piece.

|| Nose.

helmet, and throwing back his thick hair, showed that he was blind of an eye, which he had lost by a wound in the battle of Otterburn. He therefore demanded that the handsome Englishman should consent to the extinction of one of his eyes. As Courtenay demurred to this equalization of optical power, Dalzell demanded the forfeit, which, after much altercation, the king appointed to be paid to him, saying he surpassed the Englishman both in wit and valour.* In such rough pastimes, intermingled with sumptuous banquets, did our ancestors pass their time, when not engaged in the kindred pursuits of war and of the chase.

The feeble reign of Robert had now continued for eight years, during which the government had been chiefly conducted by his brother, the crafty and ambitious Earl of Fife. But his eldest son, David, Earl of Carrick, a youth of considerable ability, though of violent passions, began now to dispute the ascendancy of his uncle. We find the prince associated with Fife, and Sir David and Sir William Lindsay, in a march-meeting, held at Haldanestank, for the purpose of negotiating with John of Gaunt, and other English nobles, to prolong the truce and regulate the jurisdiction of the borders;† and on a subsequent occasion he was deputed to meet with the Duke of Lancaster,—afterwards Henry IV.—for a similar purpose. Shortly after, in a meeting of parliament held at Perth, on the 28th of April, 1398, the prince was created Duke of Rothesay, and at the same time the dignity of Duke of Albany was bestowed upon the Earl of Fife. It is worthy of notice, that on this occasion we find the title of duke for the first time introduced into Scotland.

The young prince, whose fate forms so mournful a page in the history of Scotland, was at this period upwards of twenty years of age. His handsome person, elegant accomplishments, and winning manners, rendered him the favourite of the people. The counsels of his mother, and the judicious culture of his tutor, William de Drummond, had developed the powers of a mind naturally vigorous. His acquaintance with the literature of the age gave a refinement to his character rarely met with among the rude and ignorant nobility of that age; and the sagacity and energy which he had already exhibited on various occasions, in the management of public affairs, gave high promise of future eminence.‡ But these excellencies were unfortunately

marred by a love of pleasure, and a fondness for gay, dissipated companions, exceeding even the licence usually conceded to the eldest son of a king; and his excesses gave a great advantage over him to his cool and unprincipled uncle, by whom he was both feared and hated. Robert, who doted on his son with an overweening affection, was well aware of the dangers to which he was exposed from the ambition of Albany, and sought to protect him from the intrigues of that crafty and cold-blooded plotter, by entering into bonds or covenants for his defence with the most powerful nobles of his kingdom, whom he induced, by large grants of money, to become bound to give their "service and support" to defend himself and his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, in time of peace as well as war.* These feudal bonds or agreements had hitherto been concluded between subject and subject; and their formation at this period, for the first time in the history of the country, between the sovereign and his vassals, clearly shows the great increase which had taken place in the power of the barons, and the proportional diminution in the influence of the crown since the death of Robert Bruce. Rothesay having shown his capacity for the management of public affairs, now manifested an increasing impatience of his uncle's supremacy. Queen Annabella, a woman of sense and courage, strenuously supported her son in his struggle with Albany, and, aided by her influence, and that of a strong party among the nobles, who favoured his claims, the prince at length compelled his crafty and ambitious relative to resign the office of governor.

Immediately after this important step, a meeting of the parliament was held at Perth, on the 27th of June, 1398, for the purpose of sanctioning the transference of the office of lieutenant of the kingdom to the heir-apparent to the throne. A solemn Act was accordingly passed, in which, after an allusion to the distracted state of the kingdom, from the want of a duo administration of the laws of the king and his advisers, the Estates declared, that since the king, in consequence of the sickness of his person, is not able to undergo the labour of governing the kingdom, nor to restrain "trespassers," the Duke of Rothesay shall be appointed the king's lieutenant for a period of three years, possessing all the powers and prerogatives of the sovereign, under the control of the parliament, or, in his absence, of a council of experienced and faithful men, of whom the principal are to be the Duke of Albany and

Albany resigns the office of governor—

—the Duke of Rothesay is chosen by the parliament to succeed him—

—council appointed to advise him.

* Scotchchron. vol. ii. p. 423; Marmion, c. i. note viii.
 † Wyntown has recorded a repartee of Sir David Lindsay on this occasion, which is interesting from its historical reference. Sir David, happening to observe that the celebrated Henry Percy, who was one of the English commissioners, was sheathed in complete armour, notwithstanding the peaceable character of the conference: "It is for fear of the English horsemen," said Hotspur, in explanation, for he was already meditating the insurrection immortalized by Shakespeare. "Ah, Sir Harry!" rejoined Sir David, in allusion to the night of Otterburn, "I have seen you more sorely bested by Scottish footmen, than by English horse!"

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 377.

† Wyntown calls him,—

* Chamberlain, Accounts, vol. ii. p. 107; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 72.

Walter Stewart, Lord of Brechin; the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; and the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, and Crawford; with the Constable, the Marshal, and several others of the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom. The members of the Council were required to take an oath to give the governor "lele counsail for the common profit of the realm, nocht havande therto fede na frendshyp;" and the prince himself was to swear that he would administer the laws uprightly, maintain the old manners and customs for the people, restrain and punish all mainslayers, reifars, brennars, and all strong and masterful misdoers, and more especially that he would seize and put down all cursed or excommunicated men and heretics, and fulfil all the duties which the king in his coronation oath had sworn to perform to holy kirk and the people.

The parliament next proceeded to make provision against any undue interference on the part of the sovereign with the prerogatives of the regent, and declared that the king shall be obliged not to "let or hinder the prince in the execution of his office by any counter-orders, as has hitherto happened; and if such were given, the lieutenant was not to be bound either to return an answer or to obey them." Care was also taken to lay down explicitly the doctrine of the responsibility of the regent and his advisers, and strict orders were issued, that whatever measures were adopted by him in the execution of his office should be committed to writing, with the date of the day, and place, and the names of the councillors by whose advice they were adopted, so that each councillor might be responsible to the general council for the advice which he had given. The foreign relations of the country were at the same time placed on a friendly footing by the despatch of an embassy to France, and the appointment of commissioners to determine the propriety of acceding to a truce with England for twenty-eight years.

The financial affairs of the country were next taken into consideration; and it was agreed to raise eleven thousand pounds for the common necessities of the kingdom, according to an equitable system of taxation, which was extended to the clergy and to the burghesses who were resident beyond the Forth, as well as to the burghers in other parts of the kingdom. The enactment which followed showed in a very striking manner the frightful state of anarchy and disorder to which the country had been reduced under the feeble government and the mal-administration of Albany. Considering, it was said, "the great and horrible destructions, hereships, burning, and slaughter, which disgraced the kingdom, it was ordained by consent of the three Estates, that every sheriff should make proclamation, that no man riding or going through the country be accompanied with more attendants than they are able to pay for; and that, under penalty of the loss of goods, no man disturb the country by such slaughters, burn-

ings, raids, and destructions, as had been common under the late governor." The Act also declared, that, "after such proclamation has been made, the sheriff shall use all diligence to discover and arrest the offenders, and shall bind them over to appear and stand their trial at the next Justice Ayre;" if unable to find bail, they were immediately to be put to the knowledge of an assize, and, if found guilty, instantly executed. In cases where the power of the offenders rendered their arrest by the sheriff and his officers impossible, that functionary was instructed to declare the names of such, "enjoining them within fifteen days to come and find bail to appear and stand their trial, under the penalty that all who do not obey this summons shall be put to the king's horn, and their goods and estates confiscated."*

The tranquillity which followed the elevation of Rothesay to the office of governor, was destined to be of brief duration. The marriage of the prince was earnestly desired by all his friends, and especially by his mother, as the most likely means of correcting those scandalous irregularities in which he still indulged. But Albany, who contrived to obtain the management of the affair, succeeded in rendering it subservient to the advancement of his own designs, by holding up his nephew to contempt, and embroiling him with the most powerful nobles of his father's court. He made it publicly understood that the hand of the heir-apparent to the throne should be assigned to the highest bidder; and the Earl of March having offered the largest dowry, and paid down a part of the sum, his daughter was affianced to the prince. But the powerful Earl of Douglas, Disgraceful treatment of the Earl of March by Albany and Douglas. jealous of the aggrandizement of his rival, objected to the match, and by the payment of a much more splendid dowry than had been promised by March, he prevailed upon Albany to set aside the previous agreement, and to prefer his daughter to Elizabeth of Dunbar.† The only apology offered to March for this scandalous breach of faith, was the shallow pretence that the sanction of the three Estates had not been given to the proposed marriage; whilst, to consummate the injustice of this nefarious transaction, an evasive reply was returned, when the earl demanded the restoration of the sum which had been advanced by him as part of his daughter's marriage portion. March was not of a temper tamely to brook the gross insult which had been offered to his family; and on learning that the marriage of Rothesay with the daughter of Douglas had been precipitately concluded, he committed the charge of his castle of Dunbar—the key of the eastern marches—to Sir Robert Maitland, his nephew, renounced his allegiance to the Scottish king, and took refuge in England, where he entered into negotiations with Henry IV. His extensive

* MS. Record of Parliament; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 75—78.
† Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 428.

estates were immediately seized by the Douglases, and the strong fortress of Dunbar was surrendered to them without a blow, by the weak and timid youth to whom March had intrusted it.* So great was the apprehension that this important fortress might be betrayed into the hands of the English, that the king took the field in person for its reduction; but, before he reached Dunbar, the castle was yielded to the son of Douglas. The continuator of Fordun mentions an incident which occurred during this expedition, highly creditable

to the good feeling and principle ^{Amiable character of the king.} of the amiable monarch. After waiting at Haddington for three days, for the arrival of various reinforcements, the royal army prepared to march, and the king's foot was in his stirrup when a poor butcher begged an audience, to complain of the conduct of an officer of the royal household, who had not paid for the meat which had been ordered for the king's table. Robert listened patiently to the statement, and as the officer could not be found, he paid the sum himself. He then ordered a proclamation to be made at the market-cross, that all debts due by his attendants should be instantly paid, and in future always observed this rule on leaving any place;—a praiseworthy example, which the legislature in vain strove to compel his nobles to follow.† The people, we are told, on this occasion remembered with pleasure a similar incident which occurred at the coronation of the kind and simple-hearted monarch, and which is thus related by Bower:—The coronation took place in harvest, and the ripe crops in the fields belonging to the monastery of Scone were trampled down and destroyed by the nobles and their followers. One of the monks, who filled the office of store-keeper, attempted to obtain an audience of the king, for the purpose of claiming some compensation; but the royal chamberlain contemptuously refused him admission. Determined, however, to obtain redress, he had recourse to the following whimsical mode of gaining the royal ear. Early on the morning after the coronation, before the king had awoke, the priest assembled the farm-servants and cottars belonging to the monastery, who, bearing an image stuffed with straw, and armed with the drums, horns, and rattles which they used in their rustic festivals, took their station under the windows of the royal bedchamber, and struck up such a peal of yells, horns, and rattles, that the court awoke with terror and dismay. The leader of the rabble rous was instantly seized and dragged before the king, who demanded the meaning of this strange uproar. "Please your Majesty," was his reply, "what you have just heard are our rejoicings when our crops are gathered in; and as you and your nobles have spared us the trouble and expense of cutting them down this season, we thought ourselves bound in gratitude to give you a specimen of our harvest jubilee." The nobles were indignant at this sarcastic exposure of their conduct,

and would have punished the plain-spoken priest, but the good-natured monarch ordered an immediate inquiry into the damage done to the monastery, and not only paid the full amount, but applauded the humour and courage of the ecclesiastic.*

During the struggle for the supremacy between the heir apparent to the Scottish throne and his intriguing relative, ^{Deposition of Richard II., and accession of Henry IV. to the English throne.} an extraordinary revolution had taken place in England. The weak and dissolute Richard II. had been deposed by Henry of Lancaster, who ascended the throne under the title of Henry IV.† To the new sovereign the renewal of the truce with Scotland was a matter of great importance, menaced as he was at home by the intrigues of the adherents of the deposed monarch; but the fierce borderers, who had submitted with impatience to the restraints of the treaty, which deprived them of their accustomed occupations of war and plunder, were eager for the renewal of hostilities, and, as soon as the truce expired, they broke across the marches in considerable force, and stormed the castle of Wark in the absence of the governor, Sir Robert Gray, besides ravaging the surrounding country.‡ The northern counties of England were ill prepared to repel the marauders, in consequence of the dissensions ^{The borderers renew their inroads.} which enfeebled the new government, and a pestilence which then raged with unusual severity; but Sir Robert Umfraville hastily collected a body of troops, and defeated the Scots at Fullhopelaw, capturing a number of their leaders.§ The border districts thus became once more the scene of predatory warfare and unsparing ravage.

If the Scottish government had entertained any desire at this time to renew the truce with England, these inroads would have been easily restrained; but there is reason to believe that this renewal of hostilities took place with the connivance of the king and Albany, who regarded Henry with dislike, as a lawless usurper. It suited also the interests of France, with which Scotland had again formed an alliance, that the treaty with England should not be renewed; and various circumstances occurred to disturb the amity which had for some time existed between the two countries. Shortly after his deposition, Richard II. was reported to have died in Pontefract Castle; but an extraordinary story arose in Scotland, ^{A real or pretended Richard appears in Scotland.} that the dethroned monarch had escaped from his enemies, and after many wanderings had found refuge in the Western Isles of Scotland, where he

* Fordun, vol. iv. pp. 1111, 1112; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 62, 63.

† The deposition of Richard appears to have excited great surprise and indignation in Scotland. Wyntown says, it was extraordinary for us to hear that

"A crownyt king nane heretike,
Provit, convict, kend, nor knawyn,
Was thus undone among his awyn,
As ane auld abbot sa put downe
For open dilapidation."—vol. ii. p. 386.

‡ Walsingham, p. 362.

§ Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 102.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 429.

† Ibid. pp. 418, 419.

was recognized by the sister-in-law of Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had known him in Ireland. It is certain that a person of weak intellect, bearing the name of Richard II., resided in Stirling Castle for the long period of nineteen years from this date, and was professedly regarded by the Scottish government as the rightful sovereign of England.* Henry, however, declared this person to be an impostor, and, indignant at this attempt to raise up a claimant to the English throne, he gave a cordial welcome to the fugitive Earl of March, and declared his determination to restore him, by force of arms, to his castle and estates. For this purpose he thought proper to revive the old claim of supremacy on the part of England, and prepared, as Lord Superior of Scotland, to conduct an expedition into that country for the purpose of chastising his rebellious vassal. While preparations for the invasion of

March and
Hotspur make
an inland into
Scotland.

Scotland were in progress, March, in company with Hotspur and Lord Talbot, crossed the border at the head of two thousand men, and

Marching through the estates which had once been his own property, they laid waste the country. After an unsuccessful assault on the castle of Hailes, they burned several villages, and, having collected a considerable booty, they encamped at Linton, where they proposed to pass the night. But Archibald Douglas, the eldest son of the earl, advancing rapidly from Edinburgh against them, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind their tents and plunder. They were pursued during the whole night by the Scots, who captured a considerable number of them in the wood of Colbrandspath, and continued the chase to the gates of Berwick, where they took the lance and pennon of Lord Talbot.†

Soon after this, Henry began his march to Scotland, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. On reaching Newcastle he despatched a herald to summon King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third of August, and there do him homage as their lord paramount.‡ A scoffing ballad was the only answer returned to this absurd demand; and Henry, continuing his march, reached Leith, where he met his fleet, and obtained a supply of provisions for his army. The castle of Edinburgh was held by Rothesay, the governor, and he, incensed at the insolence of the English king, sent him a defiance, and stated, that to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to decide the quarrel by a combat of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred nobles on each

side. Henry evaded this proposal, and in answer expressed his surprise that Rothesay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others.* Albany had in the meantime collected a numerous army, and advanced towards the capital with the apparent design of raising the siege; but on reaching Calder Moor he pitched his tents, and sent a herald to Henry to say, that if he would remain in his position for six days he should give him battle. The English monarch readily accepted the challenge, and gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token of his satisfaction with the message he had brought.† But Albany had no intention of keeping his word, and allowed Henry unmolested to prosecute the siege of Edinburgh Castle, which was gallantly held out by Rothesay, assisted by his father-in-law the Earl of Douglas. The garrison was numerous and well provisioned, and, animated by the example of their young governor, they resolved to defend the fortress to the last extremity; on the other hand, the English troops were suffering both from sickness and scarcity of provisions. Henry, therefore, finding that nothing was to be gained —his retreat— by continuing the siege, prudently resolved to lead back his army into England. His movements were accelerated by intelligence of a rebellion having broken out in Wales, headed by the celebrated chieftain, Owen Glendower.

This was the last invasion of Scotland, conducted in person by an English monarch; and although the issue of the campaign was inglorious to Henry, it is impossible not to admire the noble forbearance with which it was conducted, —moderation displayed by him in this invasion. contrasting so honourably with all preceding and subsequent invasions of Scotland. Whatever were the motives which induced him to undertake this expedition, he disdained to stain his banner by acts of plunder and cruelty. His advance and retreat, through a country which could offer no resistance, were alike orderly. The submission of the inhabitants secured at once his protection to their persons and property, and a banner with the arms of England hung over the walls of any village, monastery, or fortalice, was a sign of inviolability, which the fiercest of his soldiers were compelled to respect. When two canons belonging to the monastery of Holyrood waited upon him, and earnestly implored him to spare their house, he replied with great courtesy, "Never, while I live, shall I cause distress to any religious house whatever; and God forbid that the monastery of Holyrood, the asylum of my father (John of Gaunt), when an exile, should suffer aught from his son! I am myself a Cumin, and by this side half a Scot; and I come here with my army, not to ravage the land, but to answer the defiance of certain amongst you who have branded me as a traitor, to see

* See Appendix to vol. iii. of Tytler's History, for a statement of the arguments in favour of the identity of Richard II. with the person who lived and died in Stirling Castle, bearing the name of that monarch; and for an answer to Mr. Tytler's remarks, see an article by Mr. Amyot, in the 2d vol. of the "Archæologia," p. 277; Kiddell's "Legal and Antiquarian Tracts;" and Lord Dover's "Dissertation on the Manners and Period of the Death of Richard the Second."

† Camden, a General, vol. ii. p. 429.
‡ Rymer, Fœd. vol. viii. pp. 167, 168.
§ Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 67.

* Rymer, Fœd. vol. viii. p. 68.
† Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 68.

whether they dare make good the opprobrious epithets with which I am loaded in their letters to the French king, which were intercepted by my people, and are now in my possession.*

At this period, (21st February, 1401,) a meeting of the great National Council was held at Scone, in which many judicious laws were passed, chiefly affecting the tenure of property, and the procedure of the criminal courts. Feudal superiors were forbidden to resume the lands held by their vassals, without due and lawful cause; nor was the resumption to be valid in any case, unless conducted according to legal forms, after a public intimation in the parish church, and an opportunity granted to the defaulter to recover his rights. Where the succession was disputed, it was to be settled by a jury before the sheriff in open court; and, with the view of preventing a common source of contention, it was enacted, that a younger brother dying childless should be succeeded by the immediate elder brother, in the possession of the lands which he had personally acquired. It was at the same time ordained, that sheriffs should have clerks, appointed by the crown,—should keep regular minutes of their proceedings, and should appear annually before the King's Exchequer Court with their accounts,—that no bail should be admitted in the case of persons accused of heinous crimes; among whom are particularly mentioned such as had been excommunicated or arrested by the order of a bishop,—that the complaints of churchmen, widows, and orphans, should be heard and judged in without delay and without requisition of securities,—that justiciary courts should be held twice a year on both sides of the Forth,—that ecclesiastical offenders should have a right of appeal, first to the conservator of the clergy, and ultimately to the General Assembly of the Church,—and that the trial by combat should be allowed only when a capital crime had been committed so secretly that ordinary sources of evidence could not be appealed to, there being at the same time some prevalent and probable suspicions attaching to the accused. Regulations were also enacted respecting "the assize of weights and measures," and the coinage of the realm, which had been greatly deteriorated. The catching of salmon within the forbidden season, the killing of hares in time of snow, and the burning of moors except in the month of March, were strictly prohibited, under heavy penalties.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war with England, the collision between the Duke of Rothesay and his uncle Albany terminated fatally for the former. The queen his mother, his father-in-law the Earl of Douglas, and the venerable Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, whose united wisdom and authority had hitherto restrained to some extent the turbulence and licentiousness of the prince, and counteracted the ambitious designs of Albany, all

died within a short period of each other; and, according to Fordun, it was said commonly through the land, that the glory and honesty of Scotland were buried with these three noble persons.* Freed from their control, Rothesay broke out into those scandalous irregularities which embittered the life of his aged father, alienated the affections of all whom he ought to have conciliated, and afforded an opportunity to his cool and crafty enemy to effect his long-meditated destruction. His frank, generous, and courageous disposition, made him a favourite with the people in spite of his vices; but advancing years do not seem to have produced any favourable change in his character. He surrounded himself with gay and profligate companions, with whom he ran to the greatest excess in dissipation and riot, and he is even said to have abused the power intrusted to him as governor of the kingdom, to violate the laws and to plunder the collectors of the public revenue. He had long been the object of bitter hatred to Albany, both as the detector of his intrigues and as the great obstacle between him and the crown, and his wild and thoughtless disposition made him an easy prey to his cunning and unprincipled relative. It was also unfortunate for Rothesay that his conduct had raised against him several powerful enemies, whose desire of revenge induced them to join the conspiracy for his destruction. He was a negligent and unfaithful husband, and had in consequence roused the fierce resentment of his wife's brother, Archibald, Earl of Douglas. He had slighted, at some former period, the sister of Sir William Lindsay, of Rossie, who had long meditated revenge,† while in Sir John Ramorny he found an enemy more dangerous than either. To high talents for public business, and elegant accomplishments, among the Scottish barons of that age, Ramorny united a heart thoroughly corrupt, and an audacious and implacable disposition. He had been for some time the chosen companion of the prince, whose foibles he flattered, while he pandered to his excesses, and Rothesay, captivated by a graceful gaiety so congenial to his own nature, overlooked, or did not suspect, the consummate villainy of his associate. In a moment of confidence, Ramorny is said to have proposed to the prince the assassination of his uncle, as the easiest mode of freeing himself from his intriguing and dangerous rival. But Rothesay, who, with all his faults, was generous

* Wyntown mentions, that the fourth great pestilence which devastated Scotland appeared in 1401: but it does not appear that any of these great persons fell a victim to it. The metrical historian adds,—

"The comet appeared that year,
A fair bright stern (star) and a clear,
That stern appearing signifies,
As clerks find in great treatys,
Death of princes or pestilence,
To fale or wede with violence:
And thither the beams it strikes all,
Where these casis (casualties) first shall fall."
vol. ii. p. 303.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 432.

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 430.

Enactments of
the Scottish
parliament.

Wild and reck-
less conduct of
Rothesay.

Character and
intrigues of Sir
John Ramorny.

and high-spirited, recoiled in horror from the proposal, and, after bitterly reproaching Ramorgny, renounced his society, while the latter, stung by the scorn of the prince, from that moment became his bitter enemy, and, joining the faction of Albany, lent all his aid to accomplish the ruin of his former patron.

A deep-laid scheme was concerted for the destruction of the unhappy prince, which was speedily carried into execution. By means of artful representations respecting the licentious conduct of his son, and the necessity of restraint, to tame his stubborn spirit, Ramorgny and Lindsay induced the aged monarch to issue an order under the royal signet to Albany, to arrest the prince and place him in temporary confinement. No time was lost in carrying this mandate into effect. Rothesay was inveigled into Fife for the purpose of taking possession of the castle of St. Andrews, till the election of a successor to the deceased prelate; and as he rode toward that place, accompanied by a slender retinue, he was seized near Straththrum by Ramorgny and Lindsay, and conveyed a prisoner to the castle of St. Andrews until Albany and his council, who were assembled at Culross, should determine the place of his confinement. Shortly after, Albany and Douglas, with a strong body of followers, arrived at St. Andrews,

and, mounting the unfortunate prisoner on a cart-horse, and covering his dress with a russet cloak, conveyed him to the royal palace of Falkland, and thrust him into a dungeon, where he soon after died. The manner of his death is one of those vexed questions in history, on which, amid conflicting statements, it is difficult to speak with certainty.

The account generally adopted by modern historians may be given in the words of Tytler: * "For fifteen days, the unhappy prince was suffered to remain without food, under the charge of two ruffians, named Wright and Selkirk, whose task it was to watch the agony of their victim till it ended in death. It is said, that for a while the wretched prisoner was preserved in a remarkable manner by the kindness of a poor woman, who, in passing through the garden of Falkland, and attracted by his groans to the grated window of his dungeon, which was level with the ground, became acquainted with his story. It was her custom to steal thither at night, and bring him food, by dropping small cakes through the grating, whilst her own milk, conducted through a pipe to his mouth, was the only way he could be supplied with drink. But Wright and Selkirk, suspecting from his appearance that he had some secret supply, watched, and detected the charitable visitant, and the prince was abandoned to his fate. When nature at last sunk, his body was found in a state too horrible to be described, but which showed that, in the extremity of hunger, he had gnawed

* History, vol. iii. pp. 100, 107.

and torn his own flesh. It was then carried to the monastery of Lindores, and there privately buried, while a report was circulated that the prince had been taken ill and died of dysentery." According to the same authority, Albany, loudly accused of his nephew's murder, demanded the judgment of the parliament; and, after a public examination by the great council (which is pronounced to have been "a solemn farce") regarding the causes of Rothesay's death, was acquitted, receiving, at the same time, a full remission drawn up under the king's seal.*

To this tragic story, the enmity of Albany to the ill-fated Rothesay, and the death of the latter while his prisoner, doubtless lend countenance;

but it derives no support from any authentic record, and is therefore, in all probability, to be classed among those cases in which history has been sacrificed to effect. It appears for the first time in the pages of Hector Boece, whose fertile fancy found congenial employment in embellishing with fictitious horrors a story in itself sufficiently tragic. Wyntown, who was a contemporary historian, narrates simply the fact of the death and burial of the prince, without a word as to the perpetration of a murder.† Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who could be influenced by no fears of Albany's vengeance, such as are supposed by some to have constrained the silence of Wyntown, expressly states that the prince died of dysentery, adding merely the remark, as if it were an idle popular rumour, that a report arose of his having died of hunger.‡ The death of Rothesay, in short, whatever were the ulterior designs of Albany when he placed him under restraint, may be easily accounted for by disease, superinduced by irritation and confinement, working on a constitution enfeebled by a long course of vicious indulgence.

By the death of his nephew, and the increasing infirmities of the aged and bereaved monarch, Albany became once more governor of the kingdom.

Albany regains the office of governor.

In spite of the truce between England and Scotland, the borderers in both countries continued to wage war with their accustomed ferocity. The Earl of March was naturally indignant to see his vast patrimonial estates in the hand of his rival, Douglas, and, assisted by the Percies, he made several destructive inroads upon the eastern marches. The men of the Merse were attached to the cause of their exiled chief, and no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions

* Lord Hailes, who has printed this deed in his remarks on the History of Scotland, observes, that the pardon taken out by Albany and Douglas was as broad and comprehensive in its terms as if they had actually been guilty of the murder which they denied. The deed contains a mysterious allusion to the motives of the persons who executed the mandate for the prince's confinement, and which are expressly said to be concealed for a sufficient reason. See Appendix, Note XII.

† Vol. ii. p. 307.

‡ "The prince was kept in the castle by John Selkirk and John Wright, until, having wasted away by dysentery or, as others will have it, by hunger, he died on the seventh of the kalends of April."—Vol. ii. p. 431.

on the English border, and by the advice of the Earl of Douglas, the barons of Lothian agreed to assemble their followers, for the purpose of conducting a series of expeditions into England, and to intrust the command, by turns, to the bravest amongst them. Their first raid was successful, but in the second, led by the younger Hepburn, of Hailes, the Scots, having penetrated far into Northumberland, were intercepted on their return by Percy and March, at a place called West Nesbit, in the Merse, three miles south of Dunse.*

A fierce conflict ensued, in which the Scots, though greatly inferior in numbers, being well armed and mounted, made an obstinate resistance, till borne down by the Master of Dunbar, who, in the heat of the conflict, joined his father and Percy, with two hundred fresh soldiers from the garrison of Berwick. The gallant leader of the Scots was slain, and the Haliburtons, Cockburns, Lauders, and other brave knights, and the flower of the chivalry of the Lothians, either shared his fate or were taken prisoners.†

Douglas, incensed at this disaster, collected an

army of ten thousand men, and, accompanied by Murdoch, Albany's eldest son, the Earls of Moray and Angus, Fergus M'Dowall, of Galloway, with a body of his fierce and half-armed vassals, and many other Scottish barons, invaded England, and laid waste the country as far as the gates of Newcastle, without opposition. The English monarch was at this juncture engaged in suppressing the rebellion of Owen Glendower; but the charge of the borders had been intrusted to the veteran Earl of Northumberland, and his son the renowned Hotspur; and these experienced leaders, along with the Earl of March, who possessed an intimate knowledge of border warfare, collected a powerful army, and resolved to intercept the Scots on their return to their own country, when burdened with spoil and lulled into security by the apparent terror of the English. This prudent policy was attended with complete success. Douglas had reached Wooler on his march homeward, when he received intelligence that Hotspur, at the head of a powerful army, barred his way, and was advancing to attack him. The Scottish leader immediately drew up his men on a neighbouring eminence, called Homildon Hill. The courage of Douglas cannot be questioned, but his errors as a general were many and grave. The position which he selected

was completely commanded by various eminences, especially by one directly in front, and of which his enemies, by a strange fatality, were allowed leisurely to take possession, and form in order of battle. The dense ranks of the Scottish spearmen were thus exposed, without the power of resistance, to the fatal shot of the English archers, who composed a large portion of Percy's army, while the obvious

movement of dispersing them, by means of a body of light cavalry, seems not to have been thought of. Hotspur, with characteristic impetuosity, proposed an immediate charge on the Scots with his men-at-arms, but March, who was destined on this occasion to prove the evil genius of his country, seized his bridle-reins, and suggested that the bowmen should first advance and try the effects of their archery. The scenes which followed were painfully similar to those which marked the disastrous battle of Halidon Hill. Marching to the front, the English archers poured their volleys, thick as hail, upon their foes, whose ranks, says an ancient writer, were so closely wedged together that a breath of air could scarcely penetrate their files, making it impossible for them to wield their weapons.* The Scots, most of whom were clad in light armour, fell in hundreds; the knights found even their chain-mail no defence against the deadly shafts of the bowmen, and dropped fast from their horses, which, wounded and ungovernable, rushed madly hither and thither, increasing the confusion and trampling the wounded to death.

The Scottish archers attempted to restore the fight to more equal terms; but at no time able to cope with their enemies in the use of the bow, and distracted by the confusion and carnage around them, their arrows fell short of the mark, or effected but little damage. In this extremity, a brave knight, Sir John Swinton, exclaimed, "Why stand we here to be shot like deer, and marked down by the enemy? Where is our wonted courage? Are we to be still and have our hands nailed to our lances? Follow me, and let us, at least, sell our lives as dearly as we can." This gallant proposal won the admiration of Sir Adam Gordon, a young border noble, whose family had long been at feud with that of Swinton, and, throwing himself from his horse, and kneeling at his feet, he begged his forgiveness and the honour of knighthood from his hand. "For of hand more noble," he exclaimed, "can I never receive that honour." Swinton granted his request, and, after having hastily performed the ceremony, tenderly embraced his late foe. The two knights then remounted their horses, and at the head of a hundred horsemen charged fiercely on the English host; but, unsupported by their countrymen, the little band, with its gallant leaders, were speedily overpowered and slain. Douglas, whose movements were tardy and irresolute, now made a final effort to retrieve the day by heading his men-at-arms in a desperate charge. This step only completed the overthrow of his already broken host. The English archers, as they slowly fell back upon the cavalry, poured on their advancing foes the same close and deadly discharges; and when the Scots wavered, and at last fled, they flung aside their bows, and with their knives slew or captured many of the enemy. The victory of Homildon Hill was chiefly remarkable as won entirely by the skill of the English archers: of the men-at-arms composing the army of North-

* The spot is still called Slaughter Hill.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 133.

* Ancient MS. Chron.; Tyler, vol. iii. p. 112.

umberland, scarcely one couched a lance or drew a sword. The loss of the victors was trifling; that

Total defeat of the Scots, in addition to those who fell in the conflict, included fifteen hundred who were drowned while attempting to cross the Tweed in their flight. Besides Douglas himself, who was wounded in five places, Murdoch, the eldest son of Albany, the Earls of Moray and Angus, and eighty nobles and knights, belonging to the chief families of Scotland, were taken prisoners. Besides Swinton and Gordon, Sir John Livingston of Callender, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Roger Gordon, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Walter Sinclair, and many other knights and squires were left on the field of battle.*

Henry IV. received the tidings of the victory at Homildon with the liveliest satisfaction; but in consequence of his own imprudence, it led to events which placed his throne in imminent danger. By the laws of chivalry, the captive taken in war was entirely at the disposal of the victor, to ransom or hold him prisoner at pleasure; but in violation of this acknowledged right, Henry transmitted orders to the Earl of Northumberland and his son, that none of the Scottish prisoners should be admitted to ransom, or allowed to depart until they should receive further instructions upon the subject. The Percies viewed this interference of the king with great indignation. They had been mainly instrumental in securing the elevation of Henry to the throne; and their late success, while it rendered the conduct of the monarch more irritating, augmented the sense of their power, and determined them on

Conspiracy of the Percies, a conspiracy was accordingly set on foot, the object of which was the dethronement of their ungrateful sovereign. Meanwhile, as a pretext for assembling their forces, and as a blind to their ultimate designs, they announced their intention to invade Scotland, and reduce the country as far as the Frith of Forth. They accordingly marched toward the borders, and laid siege to a small tower called Cocklaws, about three miles to the south of Kelso. The captain of the fortress agreed to surrender at the end of six weeks, if not relieved by the King of Scotland or the governor, and a messenger was despatched avowedly for the purpose of communicating this convention to Albany, but in reality with the view of inducing him to support the Percies in their conspiracy against King Henry. Albany readily entered into the views of the insurgents, and agreed to invade England in person, at the head of a numerous army. Douglas, with the majority of the captive Scottish knights, had already been gained over to the enterprise; and secret promises of aid from various parts of England gave confidence to the conspirators. The rebellion of Owen Glendower in Wales precipitated their movements. Leaving Scotland, Percy and Douglas hastened to the south, where, on being joined by the Earl of Worcester,

* Walsingham, pp. 407, 408. Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 400—401; Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 401.

they marched upon Wales. Notwithstanding the secrecy and celerity of their proceedings, the English monarch had been apprised of their purpose by the Earl of March, who not only refused to join the confederacy, but warned Henry of the danger which menaced him. He had time, therefore, to assemble a powerful force, and hastened, by forced marches, to intercept the northern insurgents before they could form a junction with Glendower. The two armies, equal in numbers and valour, encountered at Shrewsbury. The *Battle of Shrewsbury,* conflict which ensued was pro-

tracted for three hours, and raged with varying fortune. The fierce charges of Hotspur and Douglas more than once placed the life of Henry in great danger, and nearly decided the battle. But the valour of the Prince of Wales—afterwards Henry V.—sustained the courage of the royal troops; and the death of Hotspur, *Death of Hotspur,* who fell pierced through the brain

with an arrow, was the signal for the rout of his army. The Scottish auxiliaries were nearly all slain, and Douglas, in attempting to escape, was once more wounded and taken prisoner,—thus justifying the name of *Tine-man, i. e. Lose-man,* generally applied to him by his countrymen. Albany, in the mean time, ignorant of these occurrences, had collected an army of forty thousand men, and was hastening to the assistance of the Percies; but on reaching the border, he received intelligence of their defeat in the battle of Shrewsbury, and immediately retracing his steps, he disbanded his army, and turned to employments more congenial to his character.*

The government of Albany was as weak and vacillating in peace as it was *Albany's weak and partial administration,* inglorious in war. His main object was to insure the continuance of his own power, and to weaken and destroy the authority of the king, and the respect due to the royal family. With this view he connived at the encroachments of the nobles on the patrimony and rights both of the sovereign and the people, and allowed their lawless outrages to pass with impunity. A striking instance of the weakness of the law, and the gross partiality of Albany's administration, occurred shortly before the overthrow of the Percies. Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of the late queen of Scotland, and husband of Isabella Countess of Mar in her own right, was suddenly surprised in his own castle by a *Murder of Sir Malcolm Drummond,* band of ruffians, who cast him into a dungeon, where he soon after died, in consequence of the barbarities inflicted on him. This lawless outrage was universally ascribed to Alexander Stewart, a natural son of the notorious Wolf of Badenoch, brother to Albany, who was the leader of a band of Highland freebooters and emulated the rapine and bloodshed of his father. Shortly after the murder of Drummond this ferocious chief, accompanied by a strong bod-

* Fordun, vol. ii. pp. 435—438; Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 404, 406.

of Ketherans, attacked and stormed the castle of Kildrummie, in which the widowed countess had taken up her residence, and either by violence or persuasion induced her to marry him. These shocking deeds excited universal horror, even in that unscrupulous age; and for the purpose of somewhat veiling their atrocity and silencing the clamour for redress, Stewart presented himself at the gate of Kildrummie Castle, and there, in the presence of the Bishop of Ross and the assembled tenantry and vassals, surrendered the keys of the fortress into the hands of the countess, to be disposed of at her pleasure. The lady then declared that she freely chose Stewart for her husband, and that she conferred on him the earldom of Mar and all her possessions. This infamous transaction was legalized and sanctioned by the government, and the king's name was affixed by Albany to a charter, confirming the earldom to this lawless intruder.*

Meanwhile the relations of the Scottish government with England continued in a somewhat precarious condition. The absence of those turbulent barons, who had been taken prisoners in the recent battles, tended not a little to the promotion of peace between the two countries; but on the other hand, the reports, which, from time to time, proceeded from Scotland with regard to Richard II. being still alive in that country, and which, whether true or false, Albany took care not to contradict, led to various plots against the government of Henry IV. and exasperated his mind against the Scottish regent. There can be no doubt that Albany was a party to the formidable conspiracy of the Earl of Northumberland, the father of Hotspur, and Scrope, the Archbishop of York, in 1405. After its detection and failure, the Earl, with his grandson, and Lord Bardolf, found refuge in Scotland, where they were kindly received by the regent; and it appears that soon after, the English king had received intelligence of an intended invasion of the Scots, to be led, as he expresses it, "by his common adversary, Robert Duke of Albany, the pretended governor of Scotland."† At this juncture, however, an event occurred which materially altered the feelings with which the Scottish governor and the English monarch regarded each other.

The aged and feeble king of Scotland had long been almost entirely secluded from public affairs, and though deeply anxious for the safety of his only surviving son, James Earl of Carrick, now about fourteen years of age, yet, in the midst of age and infirmities, wholly unable to take effective measures for his security. A few remaining friends of the family, however, watched over the safety of the heir to the throne, and devised means for his protection against the unprincipled ambition of his

uncle. The youthful prince was committed to the charge of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate ^{Prince James is committed to the care of Bishop Wardlaw—} of high honour and integrity, and distinguished for his loyalty and his love of letters. Under the care of this eminent scholar, and in company with young Henry Percy, who had found an asylum in the castle of St. Andrews, James was carefully trained in all the accomplishments befitting his rank, and speedily acquired great proficiency both in learning and in the exercises of chivalry. Still, however, apprehensions for the prince's safety continued to be felt both by his aged father and the friends of his house, and it was resolved to send him for a season to France, as the surest means of protecting him from his uncle's intrigues.† His departure was hastened by the discovery of a new proof of the baseness and treachery of Albany. His eldest son, Murdoch, and the Earl of Douglas, were still prisoners in England, along with the other captives taken at Homildon; and it appears that the governor had entered into secret negotiations with Henry to procure their release by surrendering to his vengeance the old Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, who had sought the protection of the Scottish court. This villanous project was discovered by Sir David Fleming, of Cumbernauld, an intimate friend of Northumberland; and the two unfortunate exiles sought safety in flight. The friends of the royal family feeling assured that a country subjected to the sway of such a governor was no fit residence for the youthful heir to the throne, made all haste to send him —resolution to send him to a place of greater security. France.

The necessary preparations being at length completed, the vessel which was to convey him to France was sent to the Bass, and the prince, accompanied by the Earl of Orkney, who was appointed his governor, proceeded to North Berwick, under the protection of Sir David Fleming, and a strong party of the gentlemen of Lothian, who attended him to the ship. On their return they were Skirmish at attacked at Lang-Hermandston by Lang-Hermandston. James Douglas, of Balveny, uncle to the earl, in revenge for the conduct of Fleming in facilitating the escape of Percy, and the conveyance of the prince to a place of safety; and after a fierce struggle Fleming and several of his companions fell, and the rest were made prisoners.†

Meanwhile the vessel in which James had embarked was captured off Flam- The prince is treacherously captured by the English, borough Head by an English cruiser, and the prince and his attendants were carried to London, 13th March, 1405, and committed to the Tower. As a truce at that time subsisted between the kingdoms, the capture of James was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, and must ever remain a deep stain on the character of the English monarch. But Henry

* Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 403, 404. Sutherland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. p. 45.

† Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 414.

* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 439.

† Walsingham, pp. 416, 417. Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 413.

was deaf to all considerations of justice and honour; and to the remonstrances against the cruelty of his conduct, he replied by the heartless witticism, "Had the Scots been grateful they ought to have sent the youth to me, for I understand French well."* This new disaster completely broke the spirit of the poor old King of Scotland, and was probably

the cause of his death. He died, as it is commonly believed, of a broken heart, on the 4th of April, 1406, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and Albany immediately obtained the object of his ambition,—the sole and unfettered government of Scotland.

The leading features in the character of Robert have been already pointed out, and require little additional description.

His personal appearance, in spite of his lameness, was noble and dignified, and was rendered peculiarly venerable in advanced life by a flowing beard, which age and sorrow had bleached to a silvery whiteness. His manners were grave, but sweet and affable, and his disposition was affectionate and confiding, though credulous and easily duped. He was eminent for his piety and humility, and possessed in a high degree all the virtues of domestic life. But his personal excellences

* Walsingham, p. 375; Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 415, 416.

cannot counterbalance his faults as a king. "It was his great misfortune, it has been justly said, that, like others of his devoted line, his merits were not of a kind suited to the part he was called upon to perform in life." Timid, indolent, and irresolute, he was totally destitute of the energy and activity necessary to hold the reins of government among a fierce and warlike people like the Scots; and he weakly shrunk from the difficulties of his position, and, abandoning his authority to his brother, left his kingdom a prey to all the evils which the unscrupulous ambition of the regent, and the unrestrained licence of his nobles, could inflict. During his life he resolutely declined to erect a monument for himself, according to the custom of the age, and after the example of his father and grandfather, saying, in answer to the remonstrances of his queen on this subject, that it little became a wretched man and the vilest of sinners to erect a proud tomb for his miserable remains, and that he would cheerfully be buried in the meanest shed on earth, could he thus secure rest to his soul in the day of the Lord.* His remains were conveyed, however, to the abbey church of Paisley, and interred before the high altar with every mark of respect.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 440.

REGENCY OF ALBANY.

The death of Robert, as might have been anticipated, produced no change in the administration. The parliament assembled at Perth, and, after declaring that James, Earl of Carrick, was lawful king of the realm, though unjustly detained in

England, made choice of Albany as regent of the kingdom, until the freedom of the monarch could be procured.* In the peculiar

position of the country, an alliance with France was obviously a matter of great importance. Commissioners were accordingly despatched to the French court, to renew, if possible, the league,

offensive and defensive, between the two countries.† In this they were successful; the growing jealousy of France regarding the ambitious designs of Henry IV. rendering the friendship of the Scots in the highest degree desirable.

Meanwhile, the harmony between England and Scotland continued undisturbed, as it was evidently the interest of the rulers of both countries to remain at peace. Henry, occupied with the conquest of France, sought to secure the neutrality of the sister kingdom in the coming struggle, while the residence of the captive king, and many of the nobles at his court, gave him an influence in the national councils of which he was not slow to avail himself. Though the unjustifiable imprisonment

of James had excited general indignation in Scotland, the regent and his party did not participate in this feeling. It became now, Policy of Albany indeed, the main object of the and of Henry IV. diplomaey of Albany to secure at once the detention of James in England, and the liberation of his son Murdoch, and of Douglas, and the other nobles who were either friendly to him, or might be gained over to support his views. He felt himself completely in the power of the English monarch, who could at any moment, by restoring the young king to liberty, peril his authority, and destroy his hopes. His only safe course, therefore, was the maintenance of friendship with Henry, and happily for the welfare of the nation, the selfish designs of the regent gave to the country a brief breathing-time of peace, during which it began to recover, though slowly, from the effects of wasting inroads and internal misgovernment. The friendly dispositions of Albany were met on the part of Henry by a policy alike just and conciliatory. Besides endeavouring to restrain the piracies of the English cruisers who infested the coasts of Scotland, and provoked reprisals on the part of the armed navy of the Scots, he sought to promote kindly intercourse between the two countries by repressing the lawless habits of the borderers, and readily granting letters of safe conduct to such of the nobles or merchants of Scotland as were desirous of visiting his kingdom. Negotiations also were resumed for the freedom of the

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 418.

† Records of the Parliament of Scotland, pp. 137, 138.

Scottish prisoners. In these, with strange significance, the name of James was not mentioned.

The Earls of Douglas and March return to Scotland. Henry listened with favour to the overtures of Albany, in so far as they related to the liberation of Douglas, who was permitted to return for a year to Scotland, on the payment of a thousand marks, and the delivery of thirteen hostages, belonging to the first families in the kingdom, as a guarantee for his faithful observance of the terms of leave.* The earl succeeded ultimately in obtaining his freedom, on payment of a large ransom. About the same period, George Dunbar, Earl of March, the great rival of Douglas, made his peace with the government, and returned to his own country. The fierce feud between these two powerful nobles had been gradually moderated during their residence at the court of England, and now terminated in complete reconciliation. March was not unwilling to return to Scotland. The hope of recovering his possessions by English aid had long since vanished, while the chief authors of his wrongs were either dead, or disposed to treat him with kindness. Henry IV. had rewarded his important services by the grant of extensive estates in England, and viewed with favour the residence in Scotland of a powerful noble strongly attached to his cause. Albany was anxious to secure the aid of his great influence to the government, and Douglas, who, during the exile of March, had occupied his estates, now agreed to restore the whole of these immense possessions, with the exception of the lordship of Annandale, and the castle of Lochmaben †; and the earl, after ten years' absence, resumed his place in the councils of the nation. The presence and friendship of these two potent nobles exerted a salutary influence on the government, besides securing the defence and promoting the peace of the borders, where the petty chiefs, in the absence of their superiors, had indulged, without restraint, their habits of outrage and plunder.

The truce with England expired about this period, and the Teviotdale borderers immediately recommenced hostilities, and stormed and took the castle of Jedburgh, which had remained in the hands of the English since the battle of Durham. In accordance with a policy recommended by the authority of Robert Bruce, it was resolved to demolish this strong fortress, which, in the hands of the enemy, had subjected the surrounding districts to incessant annoyance. The fortifications, however, were found to be unusually strong, as the mortar, hardened by time, had converted the walls into one solid mass, and their removal promised to be attended with great labour and expense. The destruction of the building was considered as so important, that, in a parliament held at Perth, it was proposed to defray the cost by levying a tax of two pennies on every hearth in Scotland. But Albany, desirous of

popularity, opposed the plan, declaring that, during his administration, no such tax ever had been, or ever should be, imposed; nor would he now merit the maledictions of the poor by a contrary course. He therefore gave orders that the sum required should be defrayed from the common customs of the country.* It deserves to be recorded, as an example of the regent's peculiar talent in availing himself of favourable opportunities to strengthen his power, that this display of generosity, which cost him nothing, probably did more to exalt him in popular esteem, than any of the few acts in his administration from which the nation derived real benefit. The reduction of Jedburgh Castle by the Scots, was followed by a series of petty enterprises, which tended still farther to weaken the English influence in Scotland. Fast Castle, built on a bold and almost inaccessible promontory, overhanging the German Ocean, had been occupied by an English pirate and freebooter, named Holder, who continued to fill the neighbourhood with the terror of his deeds. In spite, however, of the strength of the fortress, and a desperate defence by the garrison, Patrick Dunbar, son of the Earl of March, succeeded in capturing it, and crushing the nest of robbers to whom it had so long given shelter. † The town of Roxburgh, also, which still remained in the hands of the English, was attacked by Gawin Dunbar, March's second son, in company with Archibald Douglas of Drumlanrig, and given to the flames. To revenge these losses, Robert Umfraville, Vice-Admiral of England, entered the Forth with ten ships, and after capturing fourteen vessels loaded with grain and merchandise, swept the adjoining coasts with his fleet, inflicting everywhere heavy damage. The grain thus acquired proved a seasonable supply to England, at that time afflicted with partial famine, and procured for Umfraville the expressive surname of "Robin Mendmarket." ‡ Farther hostilities between the two countries were arrested by proposals for a renewal of the truce, and as Henry and Albany were favourable to the object, a treaty was concluded for a year. While negotiations were in progress, the presumptuous hopes of Albany were sufficiently indicated by the language which he adopted in his letters to the English king. He styled himself regent, "by the grace of God," and the people, "our subjects of Scotland." § Henry, however, prudently took no notice of this assumption, as his own title to the throne was less valid than that of Albany to the regency of Scotland. The truce, though brief, was fortunate for Scotland, now on the eve of one of those great domestic quarrels which, at different periods, not merely endangered the throne, but the civilization of the country, in the contests between Saxon and Celt.

Fast Castle is taken, and Roxburgh burnt by the Scots.

Sir Robert Umfraville captures fourteen Scottish ships.

* Fordun, & Goodal, vol. ii. p. 444.

† Ibid.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 90.

§ Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 635; Ibid. p. 91.

Harl. MSS.; Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 87, note 4.
Fordun, vol. ii. p. 444.

The Western Islands had been for many ages governed by a race of rude, but powerful chiefs, who, far removed from the seat of government, assumed, as Lords of the Isles, the state of petty kings, and made war, or formed alliances, as independent sovereigns. During the vigorous administration of Robert Bruce, they had been compelled to do homage, as vassals to the Scottish crown; but during the "troubulous times" of his successors, they found it easy to resume that independence of which they had been deprived. Donald of the Isles, the present chief, laid claim to the earldom of Ross, which included the island of Skye, and a large portion of the north-west coast of Scotland. His pretensions were not without a show of justice, and, supported as they were, by an army of savage clansmen, excited in the government serious alarm for the result.

The ancient line of Ross terminated in Euphemia, who married Sir Walter Lesley. A son and daughter were the fruit of this union—Alexander, who became Earl of Ross in right of his mother, and Margaret, who was wedded to Donald of the Isles. Alexander married Isabel, daughter of the Duke of Albany, by whom he had an only daughter, also named Euphemia. This lady having formed the resolution of retiring into a convent, proposed to resign the earldom of Ross in favour of her maternal uncle, John, Earl of Buchan, the second son of the regent. This proposal, however, was strenuously resisted by Donald of the Isles, who contended that Euphemia by her religious vows was dead in law, and could make no valid disposition either of title or estate, both of which, he held, belonged lawfully to himself in right of his wife.* The pretensions of the island chief, as might have been expected, were summarily repelled by the regent; but Donald, confident in his strength, incited by the greatness of the stake, and desirous to impress the English monarch, whose alliance he courted, with a favourable idea of his power, resolved to enforce his claims by an appeal to arms. At the head of ten thousand Highlanders he crossed to the mainland, and seized on the disputed earldom, the inhabitants of which readily submitted to his authority. Having taken Dingwall, where he encountered a brave but unsuccessful resistance from a chief named Black Angus, Donald marched through Moray, Strath-bogie, and Garioch, plundering and laying waste the whole country—his army receiving constant accessions from the Highlanders, who were induced either by force or the hope of plunder to follow his banner. Emboldened by success, he threatened not only to give the town of Aberdeen to sack and flame, but to make a desert of the country as far as the banks of the Tay.† His

—he ravages the northern districts—

progress, however, was arrested by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, whose military fame and knowledge of Highland warfare eminently qualified him to stop the desolating march of Donald and his savage hordes.

In his earlier days, Mar had been the leader of a band of Highland freebooters, and had raised himself to rank and opulence by means worthy of his descent as the son of the Wolf of Badenoch.* Amidst all his rudeness and ferocity, however, there must have been something noble in his disposition, for, after his elevation to the dignity of the earldom, a great change took place in his character; and he obtained high renown both in Scotland and England on account of his valour and skill in the exercises of chivalry. His restless spirit and love of fame carried him abroad in quest of distinction; and, according to Wyntown, during a three months' residence in Paris he kept open house, and was highly honoured for his wit, virtue, and bounty.† From the court of France he proceeded to Bruges, and joined the army which the Duke of Burgundy was leading to the assistance of his brother, John of Bavaria, the bishop elect of Liege—"a clerk nocht clerklke appearing,"—who was in danger from a rebellion of the people of his diocese. The subsequent victory at Liege was mainly owing to the skill and courage of Mar, who slew in single combat Sir Henry Horn, the leader of the insurgents. On his return to his own country, he exerted himself vigorously to repress the disorders of the northern counties; and at a recent period, when the coasts of Scotland were ravaged by the English cruisers, he manned a fleet at his own expense, and made reprisals on the enemy. "It was a singular chance," says Sir Walter Scott, "that brought against Donald, who might be called the King of the Gael, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of their plundering bands; and no less strange, that the islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable."

As soon as Mar took the field against the Lord of the Isles, the lowland gentry of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Angus flocked to his standard. Sir Alexander Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, brought up the principal gentlemen of that district: Sir James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, Sir Robert Maule, Sir William Abernethy, nephew to Albany, and many other knights, joined Mar at the head of their retainers.

* See ante, p. 249.

† "Door and yett (gate) baith gart he,
Ay stand open that men might se,
Enter all time at their plesance,
To eat or drink or sing or dance;
Of all nations generally
Commended he was gretumly
Of wit, virtue, and largess,
With all that he with known was."

* Sutherland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. sect. 7.
† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 444.

while the town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of burghesses under Sir Robert Davidson their provost. The two armies encountered at the village

Battle of Harlaw. of Harlaw, on the water of Ury, about ten miles north-west of

Aberdeen. Mar's forces were immensely outnumbered by those of his opponent, but this disproportion was to a considerable extent compensated by their martial skill, and the superiority of their arms and armour. Animated by the old and deep-rooted hostility between the Gael and the Saxons, the armies joined battle with the most inveterate fury. The Constable of Dundee and Sir Alexander Ogilvy, who commanded the van of Mar's army, cut their way through the dense masses of the Islesmen, and hewed them down in hundreds with their ponderous maces and battle-axes till they were worn out by the slaughter. But the places of the slain were instantly supplied by fresh warriors, who, finding that their weapons made little impression on their mail-clad adversaries, seized and stabbed their horses, and then crowding around the fallen riders, succeeded in despatching them with their daggers. In this way fell the Constable of Dundee, with the Sheriff of Angus, the Provost

of Aberdeen, and the flower of the lowland barons. Mar himself and a small number of the survivors obstinately continued the struggle

till nightfall terminated the desperate conflict. The victory might be considered doubtful, but the advantage remained with the lowlanders. The island lord retreated during the night, leaving on the battle-field the chiefs of Maclean and Macintosh, with upwards of nine hundred men. On the side of Mar were slain, Sir James Scrymgeour, Sir Robert Davidson, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, with his eldest son, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum,* Sir Robert Maule, Sir Thomas Moray, Lesley of Balquhan with six of his sons, and above five hundred men-at-arms, including the principal gentry of the district.† The loss of their provost, and his brave band of burghesses, was so much regretted by the citizens of Aberdeen that a municipal regulation was adopted, that the chief magistrate should not, in his official capacity, go beyond the limits of the immediate territory of the burgh. This bloody engagement, which is commemorated both in the music and in the poetry of Scotland,‡ was fought on the 24th of July, 1411, and may be said to have terminated the struggle for superiority between the Celtic and the Saxon races. The northern clans continued, indeed, to annoy the lowland

districts by their occasional forays; but these proceeded rather from the love of plunder than from any serious intention to overturn the government. The heirs of those who fell in this battle were exempted by the governor from the feudal fines usually exacted from those about to enter upon possession of their estates.*

The issue of the battle of Harlaw was so indecisive that the regent, suspecting that Donald would recruit his forces and renew his invasion of the northern counties, resolved to anticipate his movements by occupying the disputed territory, and, if necessary, to carry the war into the dominions of the island chief. Accordingly, with unwonted courage and activity, he collected an army, and about the end of autumn marched in person to the castle of Dingwall, in Ross-shire, which he took and garrisoned. Donald, however, retreated to his own country, where, during the winter, he found shelter in his wild fastnesses. But on the return of summer, Albany resumed operations with such vigour and success that the island lord was compelled to renounce all claims to the earldom of Ross, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Scottish crown, and to give hostages for his future obedience. The successful termination of this contest was followed by a truce with England for six years, from the 17th of May, 1412.†

Meanwhile, Murdoch Stewart, the eldest son of Albany, still remained a prisoner in England, and the governor now manifested an increasing anxiety to procure his liberation, evidently with the view of transferring to him the government at his own death. Negotiations for this object had been carried on with little interruption for years, during which Henry IV., desirous of a peace with Scotland while prosecuting his schemes on France, contrived to amuse the regent by promises which he never meant to fulfil. The death of Henry, which took place on the 20th of March, 1413, produced no change in the relations between the two countries. One of the first acts of the new monarch, indeed, seemed to indicate the existence of a hostile feeling towards his Scottish prisoners. On the day following the death of Henry IV., orders were issued that James, King of Scotland, and Murdoch, Earl of Fife, should be committed to the Tower;‡ but there is reason to believe that this was merely an act of precaution lest the captives should attempt to make their escape, in the belief that they were freed from their parole by the death of the sovereign to whom it had been given. After a brief confinement they were liberated; and that his friendly intentions might not be suspected, Henry even dismissed without ransom some of the less distinguished prisoners. On the

* According to tradition, the chief of the Macleans and Irving of Drum sought out one another by the armorial bearings on their shields, and met and killed each other. Irving was buried on the field, and the place of his interment was long marked by a cairn, called Drum's Cairn.

† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 445.

‡ See "The Battle of Harlaw," in Laing's Early Metrical Tales—probably the most ancient Scottish historical ballad of any length now in existence. A tune of the same name, adapted to the bagpipes, was long extremely popular, and, within the remembrance of man, the first which was played at *circus* and other rustic festivals.

* See Tytler, vol. iii. Illustrations, letter (C).

† Rymer, Foed. vol. viii. p. 780.

‡ Ibid. vol. ix. p. 2.

accession of Henry V., Albany renewed his efforts for the freedom of his son, while he skilfully veiled his designs by affecting an anxiety for the speedy return of James. Three separate

Negotiations of Albany for the liberation of his son—

embassies were despatched to the court of England, urging the release of the young monarch, and offering high terms for his ransom; but these, with another in which the regent stipulated solely for the liberation of Murdoch, issued only in a truce to last till June in the following year.* Circumstances, however, brought about what a long course of persevering negotiation had failed to accomplish. In spite of the truce, and the anxiety of both governments to maintain peace, the borders continued to be the scene of fierce and destructive forays. The Earl of Douglas, in revenge of some incursion, broke into Cumberland and burned Penrith, while the English borderers retaliated by giving Dumfries to the flames. A general desire of the great family of Northumberland, whose eminent services in defending the borders were now specially needed, in consequence of the absence of Henry in France. Henry Percy, the son of the celebrated Hotspur, had been left in Scotland by his grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, and though retained by the Scottish court as a prisoner, the young nobleman had been treated with great kindness, and liberally educated by the Bishop of St. Andrews. Negotiations were now entered into between the English government and Albany for his release, which terminated in the exchange of Henry Percy for

—their success.

Murdoch, the son of the regent.† The return of Percy was hailed with joy by the English people, to whom his chivalrous family had long been dear. That of Murdoch seems to have been regarded with little interest, save by Albany, who saw in it the first and chief step to the realization of his ambitious schemes. Its malignant influence on the liberation of James became quickly apparent. The young monarch was now of age, and, as the nobles who visited England brought back the most flattering accounts of his character and accomplishments, his subjects were eager to procure his freedom. A new treaty was accordingly begun with Henry for his ransom, and the English monarch relaxed so far as to consent that James should visit Scotland for a limited time, on giving sufficient hostages as security for the payment of a hundred thousand marks, in the event of his failing to return at the expiry of the term of leave. The negotiation had proceeded so favourably that the Bishop of Durham, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were appointed to receive the oaths of the king and his hostages, while commissioners, nominated by the Scottish council, and consisting of the Bishops of St. Andrews and

Glasgow, the Earls of Crawford, Douglas, and Mar, Murdoch Stewart, Albany's eldest son, and his brother John, Earl of Buchan, were furnished with letters of safe conduct through England to arrange a final settlement. Henry, however, for some reason which cannot now be ascertained, suddenly recalled all his previous concessions, and the Scottish king saw his fondly cherished hopes of freedom perish on the very eve of being realized. The correspondence of Albany with the Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in Eng- Albany's selfish policy— land, gives strength to the suspicion that the interruption of the treaty was mainly owing to his insincere and selfish policy.* So long as his son remained a prisoner in England, it suited his interest to cultivate friendly intercourse with the English court; but as the main object of his administration was to prevent the return of his nephew, in order to gain this base end, he did not hesitate to inflict on the two countries all the miseries of war. Under the erroneous impression that the whole available force of England was with Henry in France, he —his inglorious expedition into England. laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh; but on the approach of the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, he precipitately abandoned the siege, and retreated into the interior of the country. This inglorious expedition received from the Scots the contemptuous appellation of "The Foul Raid"—that is, the dishonourable inroad.†

On the retreat of Albany, the savage warfare of the borders was renewed with even more than its wonted havoc and devastation. Sir Robert Umfraville, governor of Berwick, invaded Scotland by the eastern marches, and burned the Inroad of Sir Robert Umfraville. towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, and Dunbar, besides reducing the surrounding country to a smoking desert. The imbecility of the regent seems to have paralyzed the courage and activity of the Scots, who submitted, with the helplessness of despair, to the wild havoc and insolent demands of the English soldiers. So inglorious was this campaign to Scotland, that the surprise of the castle of Wark, by William Haliburton, of Fast Castle, was the only instance of successful reprisal: and even that advantage was speedily lost, for the stronghold was retaken by Sir Robert Ogle, and the Scottish garrison put to the sword.‡

The events of the continental war, however afforded the Scots ample opportunities of redeeming the disgrace which had been brought upon them by the selfish policy and military incapacity of Albany. Henry V. carried on hostilities in France with such vigour and success, that the whole northern provinces of that kingdom submitted to his arms, and the Dauphin, reduced to the greatest distress, resolved to solicit the assist

* Foed. vol. ix. p. 6; Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 96.
 † Foed. vol. ix. p. 323; *Ibid.*

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 97, note 2.
 † Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 449; Foed. vol. ix. p. 307.
 ‡ Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 458.

ance of Scotland in the struggle. He therefore despatched an embassy to the regent, requesting aid in his declining fortunes, according to the terms of the treaties frequently ratified between the two countries. With this request the Scottish parliament was induced to comply, and Sir John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the second son of Albany, was sent with an army of seven thousand men to the assistance of their ally. The Scots were conveyed in transports furnished by France; and though Henry sought to interrupt or capture the fleet, they reached Normandy in safety, where they joined the army of the Dauphin, which was then about to attempt the reduction of Languedoc.* Albany did not live to witness the result of this new scheme to embroil still farther the two king-

doms. He died at Stirling, on the 3rd of September, 1419, in the eightieth year of his age, having virtually governed Scotland for thirty-four years, though his actual regency extended only over fourteen years. In spite of his vices, amongst which we must number deep dissimulation, entire selfishness, and unscrupulous ambition, his administration had been far from unpopular. His pacific policy, the result partly of constitutional timidity, and partly of the necessities of his position, secured for Scotland a happy exemption from those wars which for many years had exhausted the resources of the country, and retarded all social improvement. The people regarded him as their friend, the nobles had profited largely by his munificent gifts out of the spoils of the royal revenues, and his well-timed liberality to the church procured for him at his death the grateful eulogies of the clergy.†

So firmly had Albany consolidated his power, that, on his death, his son Murdoch assumed the vacant regency without opposition. This quiet transfer of the government from father to son, must have taken place with the approbation of the higher barons; but it does not appear that Murdoch's assumption of the authority and name of governor was sanctioned by any meeting of parliament, or any council of the nobility. The new ruler speedily betrayed his incapacity for the dangerous elevation to which he had been raised by his party, rather than by the choice of the people, or his own fitness for the office. He possessed neither the ambition of his father, nor the craft by which it was supported.

Indolent, good-natured, and vacillating, he was little qualified, even as a legitimate ruler, to govern a people so rude and fierce as the Scots, far less to retain an au-

thority, the assumption of which, in the circumstances of the case, was undoubtedly an act of treason. Under such a governor, the deadly feuds of the nobles were resumed with impunity, the people soon ceased to fear the law, or to expect its protection, and the country was turned into one scene of rapine and outrage. In the words of an old monkish chronicler, whose melancholy history is preserved in the Cartulary of Moray, "In those days there was no law in Scotland, but the great man oppressed the poor man, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves. Slaughters, robberies, fire-raising, and other crimes went unpunished, and justice was put into banishment beyond the kingdom's bounds."‡ To add to the distractions of the unhappy country, it was visited by a contagious disease resembling a fever and dysentery, the result of ungenial seasons. Great numbers of all ranks perished by this disorder, including, among other noble victims, Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney; James Douglas, Lord of Dalkceith; and George Dunbar, Earl of March, whose talents and experience rendered his death at this juncture a calamity to his country.†

Meanwhile the band of Scottish warriors in France had won great renown under the leadership of the Earl of Buchan. The Dauphin intrusted to the Scots the defence

Exploits of the
Scottish
auxiliaries in
France—

of the province of Anjou, as the Duke of Clarence had been sent by Henry V. to attempt its reduction. On the 22nd of March, 1421, Clarence had just sat down to dinner, when he learned from some prisoners that the force of Buchan was encamped in his vicinity at Baugé, a village about twenty-two miles east of Angers. Instantly springing from the table, the duke exclaimed, "Let us attack them, they are ours; but let none follow me but the men-at-arms." He made a rapid march to Baugé, with the hope of surprising the Scots, but a small advanced body of the French soldiers, under Sir Robert Stewart, of Railston, and Sir Hugh Kennedy, threw themselves into the church, and resolutely defended it, thus affording time to their allies to form themselves in order of battle before they were charged by the English. The river Coesnon separated the two armies, and Clarence, distinguished by the richness of his armour, and a golden coronet, which he wore over his helmet, rode fiercely forward to take possession of the bridge, while the Scottish knights on the opposite bank rushed down to dispute the pass. In the encounter which followed, Clarence was unhorsed, and wounded in the face by Sir William Swinton; and as he strove to re-

* "The auld times o' rugging and riving through the hale country, when it was 'ilka ane for himsell and God for us a,'—when nae man wanted property if he had strength to take it, or had it langer than he had power to keep it. It was just he ower her and she ower him, whichever could win upmost, a' through the east country here, and nae doubt through the rest o' Scotland in the self and same manner."
—Scott.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 460.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 459.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 466; and Wyntown, vol. ii. pp. 418—421. The latter descants in glowing terms upon his goodly person and lofty stature, his strength, wisdom, chastity, sobriety, affability, his piety, hatred of Lollards and heretics, and liberality to the church.

gain his steed, he was felled to the earth and slain with the mace of the Earl of Buchan. The Earl

*—victory of
Baugé gained
by them.*

of Kent, and the Lords Gray and Ross, with fourteen hundred men, fell along with their leader, while

the Earls of Huntingdon and Somerset, with many other nobles, were taken prisoners. For this service the Dauphin rewarded Buchan with the office of Constable of France, and conferred upon Sir Robert Stewart, of Darnley, the lordship of Aubigny, in France.*

The important services rendered by the Scottish auxiliaries, which seemed to peril his conquests in France, made Henry anxious to detach them, if possible, from the service of the French. With this view he succeeded, by the promise of an annual payment of two hundred pounds, in obtaining the promise of the services of the Earl of Douglas, who engaged to assist him in his French campaign with two hundred knights, and two hundred mounted archers.† The weakness of Murdoch's government is strikingly indicated by this conduct on the part of Douglas, though an excuse has been found for it in the desire entertained by this powerful noble to induce the English monarch to permit the return of the captive king to his own dominions. Henry

*Henry V. carries
the Scottish king
with him to
France.*

followed up his alliance with Douglas by a stroke of policy even more dexterous. He determined to take the Scottish king with him

to France, in the expectation that the Scots would abandon the service of the Dauphin, rather than fight against their rightful sovereign. With the view of inducing James to enter cordially into this scheme, Henry promised to permit him, at the conclusion of the campaign, to revisit Scotland for a limited period, on giving a sufficient number of hostages for his return.‡ The young king willingly consented to perform all the duties of knightly service to the English monarch, but refused to command his subjects to abandon the service of the Dauphin, alleging, with justice, that

* Jordan, vol. ii. p. 461; Monstrelet's Chronicle, by Johnes, vol. v. p. 258. The exploits of the Scottish forces in France do not properly belong to the History of Scotland, but it may be proper to mention briefly the ultimate fate of their expedition. Shortly after the battle of Baugé, the Earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to recruit his forces, and succeeded in persuading his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, to break off his agreement with the English king, and to bring to the aid of France an auxiliary force of five thousand men. But the usual bad fortune of Douglas, which procured him the name of Tyne-Man, continued to attend him. He was completely defeated at Crevant, in the year 1423, by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, mainly in consequence of the same neglect of military tactics which caused the loss of the battle of Homildon. The Scots received a still more fatal overthrow near the town of Vermeuil, 17th August, 1441. An unfortunate dispute which took place between Douglas and the Viscount of Narbonne, the French general, respecting the order of battle, prevented the Scots from co-operating cordially with their allies. The consequences were most disastrous. Douglas and Buchan were slain, along with the greater part of the Scottish knights, and the auxiliary force under their command was almost totally annihilated.—See Jordan, a Goodall, vol. ii. p. 463; and Monstrelet's Chronicle, vol. vi. pp. 49, 40.

† Good. vol. x. p. 124.

‡ Rymer, vol. x. p. 125.

the orders of a captive sovereign could possess no authority. Henry did not live to ascertain the result of his policy, or to fulfil his promise to James. He died in the midst of conquest, redeeming, by the wisdom and noble deeds of his manhood, a youth of profligacy and folly.

*Death of
Henry.*

On the death of the English king, the prospects of James began to brighten. The Duke of Gloucester, who became regent of England, and the Duke

*Negotiations
for the return of
James I.—*

of Bedford, who was intrusted with the government of the conquered provinces of France, viewed with favour the liberation of the Scottish monarch, from the conviction that his release, on generous terms, was likely to secure the permanent goodwill of a powerful ally, already well disposed to England by courteous treatment, and the friendships which, during his long exile, he had formed with many of its nobles. Meanwhile, among the people of Scotland, the desire for the return of their king became earnest and universal. Duke Murdoch himself grew weary of

*—they are
countenanced by
the regent—*

exercising a feeble sovereignty over a disorderly people and a headstrong and unbridled nobility, and determined to rid himself of a burden too heavy for him to bear. He was so far, indeed, from being able to restrain the haughty and turbulent nobles, that he could not control his own household; and his determination to procure the release of his nephew is said, by tradition, to have been precipitated by a flagrant insult offered to him by Walter, his eldest son. Murdoch, like the other nobles of the age, indulged in the amusement of hawking, and possessed a falcon of peculiar excellence, which he highly valued. His son Walter had often solicited the gift of this bird, but in vain; and at last, irritated by repeated refusal, the young man seized the falcon as it sat one day on his father's wrist, and brutally wrung its neck. Murdoch, whose feelings were deeply wounded by this gross insult, uttered the ominous words, "Since thou wilt give me neither reverence nor obedience, I will fetch some one whom we must all obey."*

Availing themselves of this favourable conjuncture of circumstances, the friends of James resumed negotiations with the privy council of England for his speedy return to his kingdom. It was ultimately agreed that a meeting of commissioners from both countries, should take place at Pontefract, on the 12th of May, 1423, when, in presence of the young king, and with his consent the conditions of his freedom were to be definitely arranged. On the day named, the conference assembled, and matters were at length brought to a satisfactory issue. The terms of the treaty were upon the whole, lenient to Scotland, and indicated the friendly disposition of the English court. In lieu of demand for ransom-money, which the unjustifiable seizure of James in his childhood could not war

*—terms of the
treaty.*

* Boece, quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 102.

rant, the English commissioners required the payment of forty thousand pounds, to defray the expense of his maintenance and education. The debt was to be liquidated by yearly instalments of two thousand pounds; and James not only promised upon his oath to pay the sum, but, as additional security, hostages were required from the first families in Scotland, and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen became bound, by a separate deed, to secure payment of the money to the English treasury.* The English commissioners were also instructed to request the immediate departure of the Scots from France, and to procure the assent of the Scottish privy council to the marriage of James with an English lady of high rank. During his residence at the court of England, the young monarch had won the affections of Johanna Beaufort, a daughter of the Earl of Somerset, niece of Richard II., and granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; and now awaited the formal consent of the Scottish council to their union. The high rank, great beauty, and accomplishments of the lady readily secured the necessary sanction, and they were married at the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, with all the pomp befitting the

* Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 303.

occasion.* By all parties the union was viewed with lively satisfaction. It promised to unite more closely the two countries, and to convert a truce, which had just been concluded for seven years, into a permanent peace. It lessened, also, the heavy obligations which Scotland had contracted to secure the freedom of her king, as James received next day, in the name of dowry with his bride, a discharge for ten thousand pounds,—the fourth part of the original sum which had been agreed on.† The necessary arrangements being now completed, the royal pair set out for Scotland, attended by a numerous and —his return to brilliant retinue. They were met by his own kingdom at Durham by three hundred of the principal nobles, barons, and gentry of Scotland, from whom, in terms of the treaty, twenty-eight persons were selected as hostages for the national faith.‡ On crossing the borders, James gave his solemn assent to the treaty, on the Holy Gospels, at Melrose Abbey, and, amid universal acclamations, took possession of the throne from which the misfortunes of his early life had so long detained him.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 322.

† Ibid. p. 323.

‡ A statement of the annual rent of their estates is set down in the schedule containing their names. See Appendix, Note XIII.

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES THE FIRST.

1424—1437.

THE character of James the First presented a striking contrast to that of his father and grandfather. His natural talents were of the highest order; and they had been cultivated with the most sedulous attention. During his long and unjustifiable detention in England, he had enjoyed advantages which almost repaid him for his captivity. Henry IV. had made the only possible amends for his cruel injustice in detaining him a prisoner, by bestowing the most anxious care upon his education, and under the eye of this monarch the youthful prince acquired every knightly accomplishment. He was carefully instructed in the various arts and sciences of that period, as well as in all the warlike exercises and observances of chivalry; and, from his great strength and agility, few could compete with him in manly and martial feats. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a musician, and possessed an intimate acquaintance with the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. His education in England had afforded him a favourable opportunity of studying the science of government, and he had the advantage of being instructed in the art of war by Henry V., one of the greatest captains of the age, whom he accompanied in his French campaigns. On his return to his own dominions he was in the prime and vigour of manhood, and his character, formed in the school of adversity, was one of great power. It required, indeed, a sovereign of no ordinary ability and wisdom to wield the reins of government in Scotland at this period, and James brought to the task remarkable shrewdness and sagacity, combined with indomitable courage, and the power of concealing his plans till they were ripe for execution.

The youthful monarch found his kingdom a scene of lawless excess and rapine the country. —a condition to which it had been reduced from the want of a firm hand to restrain oppression and enforce the laws. Since the death of Bruce, the power of the aristocracy had been greatly on the increase, while that of the crown had proportionally lost ground; and the object of James, as can be clearly discerned through the history of his brief reign, was to restore the legitimate authority of the crown,—to rescue the commons from oppression and plunder,—to give security to property, and encouragement to the industry and pacific arts of his people,—and to compel his rude and turbulent barons to renounce their ideas of individual independence, and to become quiet and peaceable subjects. It is stated by Bower, that when he first entered his kingdom, and was made

fully acquainted with the violence and rapine which everywhere prevailed, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "Let God but grant me life, and throughout my dominions I shall make the key keep the castle, and the bush secure the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it."* He persevered in this difficult and dangerous task with unwavering resolution and a courage bordering on rashness; and it must be admitted, that in his efforts to depress and crush the feudal oppressors of his people, he sometimes lost sight both of justice and of mercy.

On entering his kingdom, James proceeded to Edinburgh, where he held the festival of Easter, and a month later, he and his queen were solemnly crowned in the abbey church at Seone. Murdoch, Duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife, exercised his ancient hereditary right of placing the sovereign on the throne,† and the excellent Bishop Wardlaw, his early instructor, anointed the young monarch and placed the crown upon his head. A truce for seven years having been previously concluded with England, James had full leisure to proceed with the arduous work of internal reform, and in a parliament held at Perth, only five days after his coronation, the manifold disorders of the kingdom were brought under review, and measures adopted for their correction.‡ In this important national council the ancient freedom and established privileges of the church were confirmed; it was decreed, that the king's subjects should maintain thenceforward a firm peace throughout the realm; and the barons were forbidden, under the highest penalties of the law, from making war against each other, or from travelling with a more numerous retinue than they could maintain; and, in order that these and other enactments might be duly executed and justice done to the "commons of the land," it was ordained, that efficient administrators of the law should be appointed throughout all the realm. Treason and rebellion were declared to be punishable with forfeiture of life, lands, and goods. Severe penalties were denounced against sturdy beggars or "thiggars," who traversed the country in formidable bands, "sorning" on the people and devouring their substance; but an exception was made in favour of "royal beggars," who were to wear a certain token, to be furnished by the sheriff, or the aldermen and bailies, as an attestation that they were unable to support themselves in any other way. It was enacted, that the "great customs," which had been very much diminished in value by the improvident grants of Albany, should remain in the hands of the king for the support of his royal estate; and that the mines of gold and silver discovered in the kingdom should, under certain restrictions, become the property of the sovereign. It was also decreed, that gold and

* Scotchmonicon, vol. ii. p. 511.

† See ante, pp. 33, 135.

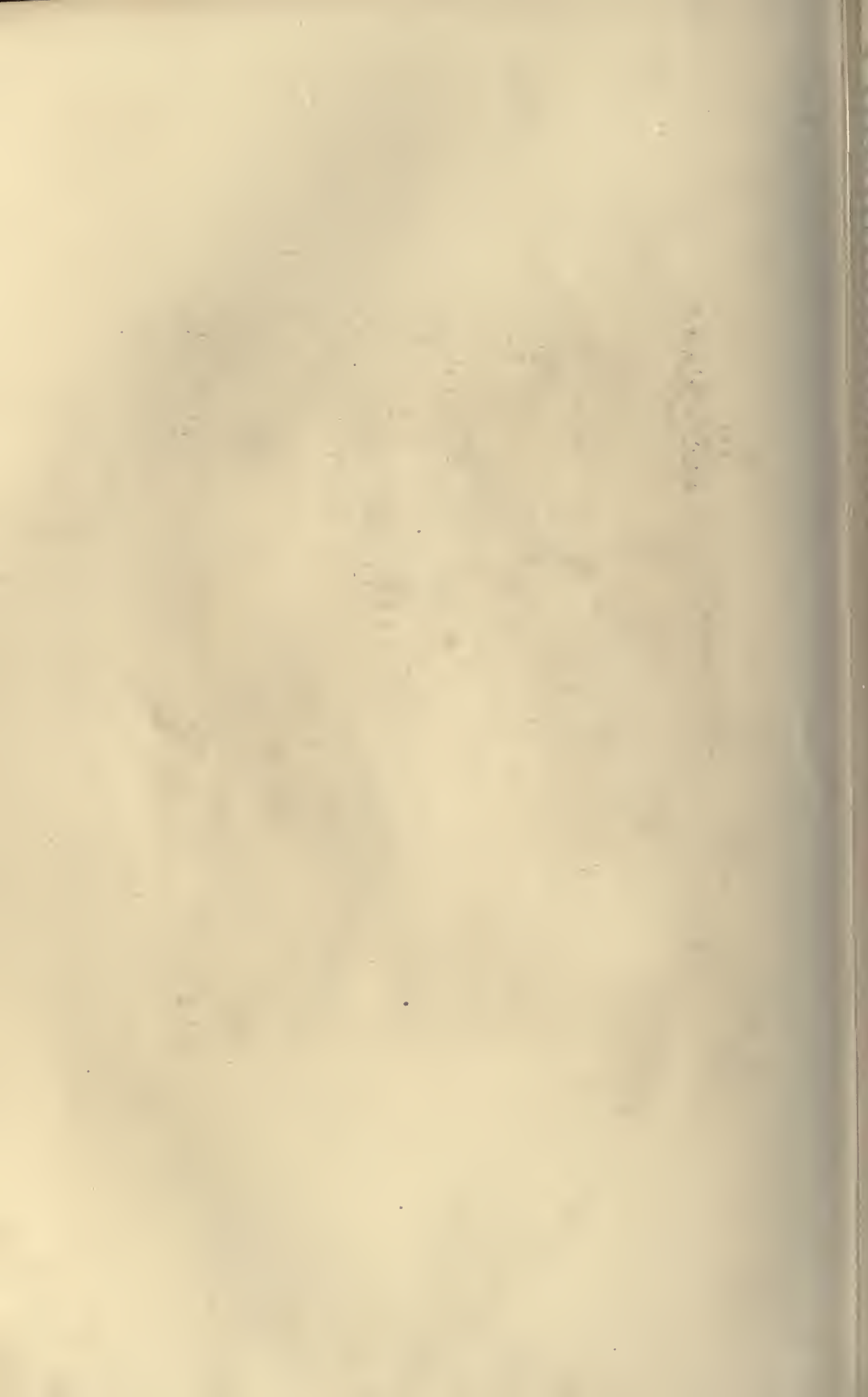
‡ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 2—8.



Engraved by C. Hall

JAMES I.

From the Original Engraving in Robertson's Iconography



silver should not be carried forth of the realm, except upon payment of a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported. Stranger merchants were enjoined to expend the money which they had received for their goods either in the purchase of Scottish merchandise, or in the payment of their personal expenses. It was determined, that the current coin of the realm, which, as we have seen, had been greatly depreciated, should be called in, and a new coinage issued of equal weight and fineness with the money of England. A duty was imposed upon oxen, sheep, and horses, and on the skins of harts and hinds, of does, roes, martins, otters, and foxes purchased for exportation, and upon herrings sold in the market. The clergy were forbidden to pass over the sea, or to send procurators upon any foreign errand without an express licence from the king; or to purchase any pension payable out of any benefice, religious or secular, under the penalty of forfeiting the same to the crown. Severe enactments were made against the killing of salmon within the interval between the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady and the Feast of St. Andrew in the winter, and all *yaires* and *crues* for the taking of fish were ordered to be put down for three years, on account of the destruction of the spawn which they occasion. For the protection of agriculture, rooks were ordered to be destroyed, in consequence of the mischief which they occasion to the corn; and the burning of moors from the month of March till the corn was cut down, was prohibited, under a penalty of forty shillings, or in default of payment, imprisonment for forty days. The long residence of the king in England had impressed him with the vast superiority of the English archers, and the importance of encouraging the practice of the long-bow among his subjects, and it was accordingly provided, that all the Scottish youth, above twelve years of age, should be regularly trained to the practice of archery.*

Such is a brief outline of the regulations enacted by James at the commencement of his reign, for the equal administration of justice, and the reformation of the disorders of his kingdom; and it must be admitted, that, making due allowance for the circumstances of his age and country, they reflect great credit on his legislative talents, and were on the whole well fitted to gain the object in

Inquiry ordered respecting the dilapidations of the crown lands.

view. But there were two other measures enacted in this parliament which were highly unpopular. The first was the issuing

of orders to the different sheriffs throughout the realm, to inquire what lands belonged to the crown under the last three monarchs, and to summon an inquest, who, after having examined the proper evidence, were enjoined to return a verdict under their proper seals, adjudging the lands to belong to the crown.† To facilitate the recovery of those lands which had been alienated from the royal

patrimony, it was declared that the king might summon his tenants and vassals to exhibit their charters and holdings. This attempt to compel the restoration of the crown lands, which had been shamelessly dilapidated during the weak reign of the king's father and grandfather, and the unprincipled administration of Albany, excited great dissatisfaction among the nobility, many of whom had shared largely in the royal spoils. The second measure was the imposition of a Tax upon the whole lands of the kingdom. large subsidy for raising the sum due to England for the maintenance of the king; of which, says Sir Walter Scott, it is only necessary to say that it was a tax, and was therefore unpopular, and the more so as it fell on a poor country, in which, moreover, direct taxation was at that time wholly unknown. The tax consisted of twelve pence in the pound upon all rents, lands, and goods, corn and cattle, whether belonging to clergy or laity, and was to continue for two years. Auditors, or chief receivers, were appointed to superintend the levying of this subsidy, who, in the first year, collected about fourteen thousand marks;‡ but, in the second year, such was the universal dissatisfaction which this impost created, that the attempt to collect it was prudently abandoned.

The disorders of the kingdom, however, were too deeply rooted to be eradicated by mere legislation, however judicious, and James soon proceeded to take other and more effective steps to vindicate the authority of the laws, and to humble the power of the feudal aristocracy. The regency of Albany and of his son Murdoch was naturally and justly regarded by him as little else than a long usurpation. He was mortified that Albany,—against whom, as the alleged murderer of his brother, and the main cause of his own protracted captivity, he entertained the deepest resentment,—should have escaped his merited punishment, and the royal vengeance fell with a proportionably heavier force upon Murdoch, his son and successor, and the members of his family. But as the administration of Albany and his son appears to have been popular among the community, and the adherents of the family were numerous and powerful, James was compelled to proceed with great caution. At the commencement of his reign he had ordered into custody Walter, the eldest son of Duke Murdoch; and at the same time,—probably to conceal his designs, he had arrested Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock.‡ Shortly after, the Earl of Lennox, father-in-law to Duke Murdoch, and Sir Robert Graham, a man of a peculiarly fierce and daring disposition, were also committed

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 4.

† This would give nearly two hundred and eighty thousand marks, or about three millions sterling, of modern, as the income of the people of Scotland at this period, besides the yearly value of the lands, and cattle employed by landholders in their own husbandry, which were specially exempted from the tax.

‡ Scotchchron. vol. ii. p. 481.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 2—8.

† Ibid. p. 4.

to prison. Several months were suffered to elapse before any further steps were taken by the king to carry out his schemes; and he seems to have sedulously employed the interval in gaining over to his views the whole body of the clergy, and many of the most influential among the barons. Having, with the utmost secrecy, matured his plans, he prepared to inflict signal vengeance on the powerful house of Albany. for the wrongs which he had sustained through their means, and to strike terror into those proud nobles, who had so long set all law at defiance, that they appear never to have dreamed that they would be expected to yield the slightest obedience to the recent parliamentary enactments. They soon found, to their cost, that they had now to deal with a sovereign who would no longer allow the laws to remain a dead letter. The blow was struck at last with a suddenness and vigour, which filled the boldest of them with

Parliament
assembled at
Perth, 12th
March, 1424.

dismay. A parliament was assembled at Perth, on the 12th of March, and for eight days was quietly engaged in passing enactments against the dissemination of heretical opinions, the formation of leagues or confederacies among the nobles, and the circulation of false reports which tended to create discord between the king and his subjects, and in ordering due inquiry to be made, whether obedience had been given to the statutes passed in the former parliament. On the ninth day, however, the king suddenly arrested

Imprisonment
of Duke Mur-
doch and
twenty-six of
the nobles

Murdoch, the late regent; his second son, Alexander; and the Earls of Douglas, Angus, and Mareh, with upwards of twenty other nobles of the highest rank, among whom were Hay of Errol, Constable of Scotland; Lindsay, of Glesnk; Hepburn, of Hailes; Hay, of Yester; Maxwell, of Caerlaverock; Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee; Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie; Sir John Montgomery; Ogilvy, of Auchterhouse; Stewart, of Rosyth; and Sir John Stewart, of Dundonald, commonly called the Red Stewart.* Immediately upon the arrest of Albany, the king took possession of his castles of Falkland and Doune; in the latter he found Isabella his wife, whom he shut up in the castle of Tantallon. Murdoch himself was confined in the fortress of Caerlaverock, while his eldest son, Walter, was committed to the strong castle of the Bass.†

Owing to the loss of many of the original records of this reign, which might have thrown light upon the measures adopted by the king, it is impossible to state with certainty what were the motives which led to the imprisonment of so many of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom, whose estates were separated over various parts of Scotland, or what was the precise nature of the specific charges which were brought against them. It is probable that the persons arrested were the principal allies

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 482.

† Ibid. p. 483. Chronicon Jacobi Primi Regis Scotorum, pp. 3, 4—published by the Maitland Club.

of the house of Albany, or had shared most largely in the spoils of the royal patrimony during the regencies, and that the object of the king in this display of vigour was to prevent any insurrection in favour of the late governor, and to compel his adherents to leave him to his fate. There can be little doubt that they had all rendered themselves amenable to public justice by their disregard of the recent statutes, enjoining them to disinnis their armed followers, and to produce their charters, or to surrender the crown lands, or rents, which they had usurped. Immediately on the arrest of Albany and his associates, the parliament was adjourned to meet at Stirling, upon the eighteenth of May. On the twenty-fourth of the month, Trial and condemnation of Walter Stewart, eldest son of Albany—Albany, was brought to trial, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, and presided over by the king himself. All record of the trial has perished; but it is stated in an ancient chronicle, that the noble prisoner was tried for robbery.* Of the twenty-one nobles and barons who composed the jury, there were seven, the Earls of Douglas, March, and Angus; Sir John de Montgomery; Gilbert Hay, of Errol; Sir Herbert Herries, of Terreagles; and Sir Robert Cunningham, of Kilmaurs, who had been seized by the king, when he imprisoned Albany and his sons.† The object of this strange proceeding was, probably, to give an appearance of impartiality to the trial, while, as the verdict was decided by a majority of voices, there was a sufficient number of the assured friends of the king upon the jury to secure the condemnation of the prisoner. It is scarcely necessary to add, that —he is executed. Walter Stewart was found guilty, and condemned to death, and instantly beheaded.

On the following morning, Duke Murdoch himself, his second son Alexander, and Trial and execution of Albany, his second son, and his father-in-law. his father-in-law the Earl of Lennox, were tried before the same jury. The nature of the charges brought against them is unknown; but they were all found guilty, and executed on the Heading Hill, before Stirling Castle, within sight of the stately palace of Doune, which Albany had erected for his residence; their immense estates were at the same time confiscated to the crown.‡ The other nobles, who had been apprehended along with Albany and his sons, were set at liberty immediately after this signal example of judicial vengeance. James, the youngest son of Albany, was the only member of Fate of Albany's youngest son. this devoted house who escaped the destruction in which the rest of his family were involved. When his father and brothers were arrested he escaped to the Highlands, and, burning with the desire of revenge, he collected a band of freebooters, and, assisted by Finlay, Bishop of Lismore or Argyle, his father's chaplain, attacked and

* Cupar MS., quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 116.

† Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 5.

‡ Ibid. The Heading Hill is immediately to the north of the castle of Stirling.—See the view in this work of the scene of the Battle of Stirling from the ramparts of the castle.

burned the town of Dunbarton, and slew the king's uncle, Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, along with thirty-two men. The perpetrator of this audacious act succeeded in regaining his Highland fastnesses; but so hot was the pursuit that was instituted, by the king's command, against him and his accomplices, that he was compelled to take refuge in Ireland, whence he never returned. Five of his band, however, fell into the king's hands, and were torn in pieces by wild horses, and their quivering limbs suspended upon gibbets.*

So horrid a punishment, and the exterminating severity exhibited to all connected with the house of Albany, admit of no justification; and it is impossible to believe that the king in this instance carried along with him the feelings of the people. Duke Robert, the founder of the house of Albany, and the great offender against the royal family, whom he had in every way deeply injured, had escaped the vengeance of his nephew, and had long before been summoned to answer for his crimes before a higher tribunal. Yet even he, though a usurper and a murderer, had evidently been a popular ruler; † and his weak and vacillating son, who was compelled by circumstances to assume an office which

he speedily renounced, was an object of commiseration rather than of abhorrence. The lofty stature and commanding presence of Duke Murdoch and his sons, and the venerable appearance of the Earl of Lennox, who had reached his eightieth year, ‡ together with the respect naturally paid to fallen greatness, excited a deep feeling of compassion in the breasts of the people; and even among those who admitted the justice of the sentence, the recollection of the faults of the sufferers was lost in sympathy for their misfortunes. James had undoubtedly received great provocation, and the long and galling captivity, in which his youth had been wasted through the selfish intrigues of Albany, and the frightful state of

disorganization in which he found his kingdom on his return, in consequence of the misgovernment of that crafty usurper, had excited in his mind a thirst for vengeance which could be satisfied with nothing short of the ruin of every member of the family. But it is impossible to deny that the retribution which he exacted was cruel and excessive; and there was a craftiness and unrelenting severity in the whole process of their punishment, which excited deep and general indignation. It is no doubt true, that the condition of the country rendered necessary the adoption of strong measures, and that an iron hand was needed to quell the disorders which had arisen during the administration of Albany and his son. And it is easy to see that it was the object of James not merely to gratify his revenge upon his hereditary

enemies, but to exhibit to the turbulent and ferocious nobility of his kingdom, who had been trained up in open disregard of all law human and divine, a memorable example of stern and inflexible justice, without respect of person or place. The punishment, however, was generally regarded as excessive, and therefore in a great measure failed to produce the intended effect. Instead of striking a wholesome terror, it excited a vindictive spirit of revenge in the bosoms of many of the nobility, which ultimately brought the monarch himself to an untimely grave.

Having given this severe and sanguinary lesson the next efforts of James were addressed to the internal administration of his kingdom; and the parliament proceeded to the enactment of several statutes for the regulation of trade and agriculture, and the proper administration of justice. "Weapon-schawings," or general musters of all who were capable of bearing arms, were ordered to be held four times a year, in every sheriffdom within the realm, for the purpose of military exercise, and the inspection of their weapons. Penalties were enacted against those who stole green wood, or stripped the trees of their bark under cover of night, or broke into orchards to purloin the fruit—a proof, it has been justly said, of the improved attention of the nobles to the inclosure of their parks and the ornamental woods around their castles. It was declared that all complaints which could not properly be determined by parliament should be brought before the district judge, who was enjoined to administer justice without fraud or favour, as well to the poor as to the rich; and it was humanely provided that "gif thar be ony pur creatur, that for defalte of cunning or dispens, can nocht, or may nocht folow his caus, the king for the lufe of God sall ordane that the juge before quhame the caus suld be determyt purway, and get a lele and wyss advocate to folow sic creaturis caus. And gif sic caus be obtenyt, the wrangar sall assythe the party skathit, and ye advocatis costis that travale. And gif the juge refusys to doe the law evinly, as is befor saide, ye party plenzeand sall haf recours to ye king, ye quihilk sall sa rigorusly punyst sic jugis, yat it be ane ensample till all utheris." It was declared to be the intention of the sovereign to pardon any injury done to person or property, on condition that reparation was made to the injured party; but the Highlanders were excepted from this rule, on the ground that before the king's return they had been so accustomed to rob and murder each other, that it was impossible to ascertain correctly the extent of the damage done, or to obtain compensation from the rude and turbulent inhabitants of the northern districts; and, finally, the parliament passed a stringent statute against Lollards and heretics, directing the bishops to search them out and bring them to punishment according to the laws of the church.*

Proceedings
of the
parliament.

The fate of Albany and his family excites public sympathy.

Reflections on the policy adopted by James.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 483.

† See ante, p. 256, note.

‡ Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 483.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

In his efforts to correct the internal disorders of his kingdom, James experienced no interruption from without. He was at peace with England, and his marriage with Jane Beaufort, the niece of Cardinal Beaufort, had, from her near relationship to the English monarch, strengthened the ties between the two countries. France was the ancient

Renewal of commercial intercourse with Flanders.

ally of the Scots, and the Netherlands profited too largely by their trade with Scotland not to be anxious to preserve the most friendly relations. It appears that, during the captivity of the king, the Flemings, as allies of England, had treated the Scottish merchants with great arrogance, and had even issued letters of marque against them, and James had, in consequence, ordered the Scottish trade to be transferred to Middleburgh, in Zealand. As this step had entailed great loss upon the Flemish merchants, an embassy was sent from the States of Flanders to solicit the return of the trade. The king received the ambassadors at St. Andrews, where, at the time of their arrival, he was engaged in keeping his birthday, attended by the Earls of Douglas, Mar, Moray, Angus, and other barons, and on the offer of enlarged privileges for the merchants of Scotland, and compensation for the injuries they had received, he agreed that the staple of the Scottish commerce should be restored to Flanders.*

Although James was well aware of the importance of maintaining pacific relations with England, in order that he might direct his undivided attention to the affairs of his own kingdom, he had no great reason to be satisfied with the generosity or friendship of the English court; and while he carefully avoided every thing that might lead to a violation of the truce between the two countries, he was strongly inclined to maintain the ancient alliance with France. On the

Proposal of a marriage between the Dauphin of France and the daughter of James.

other hand, the French monarch, Charles VII., whose affairs were in a most precarious condition, regarded the assistance of Scotland as an object of so great importance, that, in 1425, he sent over an embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Rheims, the Primate of France, and John Stewart, of Darnley, the Constable of the Scottish auxiliaries, to negotiate a marriage between Louis the Dauphin, and Margaret, the eldest daughter of the King of Scotland. The proposed alliance was cordially agreed to by James, and it was determined that the betrothment of the young couple should take place in five years. Accordingly, in 1429, the Archbishop of Rheims and Lord Darnley again visited Scotland for the purpose of carrying out this contract of marriage.† It was stipulated, that instead of a dowry, James should send six thousand men to the assistance of the French monarch, and that in return the princess should receive an income as ample as had ever been granted to any queen of

France. In addition to this, the county of Xaintonge and the lordship of Rochfort were to be assigned to the Scottish king, and all former alliances between the two countries were to be renewed and solemnly ratified.* The six thousand Scottish soldiers were to be sent over to France as soon as the transports for their conveyance should arrive. But the extraordinary successes of the Maid of Orleans, which occurred soon after the conclusion of the treaty, rendered it unnecessary for the French monarch to require the promised aid. The marriage contract, however, remained in force, and the bridal took place in 1436.

Having thus strengthened his kingdom by renewing commercial intercourse with the Netherlands, and drawing closer the ancient ties of alliance with France, James resolved to complete these amicable arrangements by a settlement with the Norwegians, who had heavy claims for the arrears of an annuity granted to them by Alexander III., in return for their surrender of the sovereignty of the kingdom of Man and the Western Isles. Accordingly, in 1426, an embassy was despatched to Bergen, consisting of William, Lord Crichton, the Chamberlain of Scotland, and two other envoys, for the purpose of adjusting the debt due to Norway; and a treaty was concluded by them with Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, in which the ancient alliances between these countries and Scotland were renewed and confirmed, mutual freedom of commercial intercourse conceded, and all damages and defaults on either side cancelled and forgiven.‡

For several years after this, James continued to occupy himself with zealous efforts to promote the improvement of his kingdom, to remedy the abuses of the government, and to encourage the industry of his people. His great principle,—and it was one worthy of so wise a prince,—seems to have been a determination to govern the country through the medium of his parliament. Of these convocations of the national legislature, which had been rarely held under the regency of the two Dukes of Albany, no fewer than thirteen were assembled during his brief reign, which, dating from his return in 1424, lasted only thirteen years. The series of legislative enactments which were from time to time adopted by these various meetings of the three states, comprehending the subjects of agriculture, commerce, foreign and domestic manufacture, the regulation of weights and measures, the police of the country, its defence against invasion both by land and by sea, the administration of justice, and even the constitution of the supreme government afford a striking illustration of the internal condition of the country at this remote era, and are on the whole, highly creditable to the sagacity

Frequency of the meetings of parliament.

Important legislative measures.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. pp. 487, 509.

† Ibid. p. 484. Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 6.

* MS. in Harleian Coll., quoted in Pinkerton's History vol. i. p. 122.

‡ Scotichron. p. 509.

and enlightened views of James and his counsellors.

In a parliament convoked at Perth, upon the 11th of March, 1425, it was declared, among other provisions for the regulation of trade and commerce, and the government of the country, that all merchants trading with foreign countries should, along with their usual cargoes, bring home a supply of harness, and armour, and arms; that "weapon-shawings," or military musters, should be held by every sheriff four times a year, and that the various classes of the people should attend, properly armed according to their estate; that all the subjects of the realm must be governed by the laws enacted by the parliament, and not by any particular laws, or any privileges or customs of other countries; and, for the due administration of justice, a new court, known by the name of the SESSION, was instituted, in which it was ordained, that the Chancellor, and certain discreet persons of the three estates, should sit three times in the year, for the hearing and decision of all causes which may be determined before the king's council. It was also decreed that no man who had accused another, should sit upon the jury at his trial; that none should practise in the courts held by the king's justiciars, or their deputies, except persons of sufficient learning and discretion; that the prelates, barons, and freeholders, should attend the parliament in person, and not by procurators; that the sheriffs were to prevent all ships and galleys from sailing to Ireland without special licence, because the rebels against the king had taken refuge in that country; and the Irish were forbidden, under similar restrictions, to come to Scotland, as they might be spies for the English; that, in order to support the regular inns in villages and burghs, all travellers on foot or horseback should rendezvous in these hostelries, and not take up their residence with their acquaintances and friends; that stout and idle vagabonds should be compelled to labour for their living; that prayers and collects should be regularly offered up by all priests, religious and secular, throughout the kingdom, for the health and prosperity of the king and queen, and their children; that six wise and able men, learned in the law, should be chosen from each of the Estates, for the purpose of examining the books of the statutes, and "to mend the lawis that nedis mending;" that a public record should be kept of all charters, and infestments, and confirmations of ancient rights and privileges; and that all the statutes and legislative enactments should be transcribed in the king's register, and copies given to the different sheriffs, who were to distribute them among the prelates, barons, and burgesses, and to publish and proclaim these statutes in the chief and most notable places in the sheriffdom, so that in time coming no man should have cause to pretend ignorance of the laws.* This last enactment was peculiarly necessary, both to remove the extreme ignorance

of the laws, which in that rude age existed among all classes of the community, especially in the more remote districts of the country, and to take away all apology from the nobles and barons, who had no desire to make themselves acquainted with those new regulations, which diminished their power over their vassals, and who not unfrequently, as the statute hints, pretended ignorance of the law as a cover for their disobedience. The framers of the statutes were, indeed, in many cases, the most notorious violators of the laws which they had helped to make; and it was justly remarked by Buchanan, that in Scotland one great Act of Parliament was wanted, namely—a decree to enjoin the strict observance of the others.

It appears, that at this period the disorders in the Highlands and islands of ^{State of} Scotland had reached a height ^{the Highlands.} which imperatively demanded the interference of the king, to preserve those districts from a state of total anarchy. The chiefs in these remote provinces, emboldened by the impunity which they had enjoyed during the regency of Albany and his son, scarcely acknowledged even a nominal dependence upon the Scottish crown. Living in their secluded and almost inaccessible fastnesses, and surrounded by their numerous vassals and serfs, over whom they ruled with absolute authority, they set all law and authority at defiance, and made war upon each other, and robbed and murdered at their pleasure. All the evils which, during the captivity of the king, had grown up in other parts of the country,—the unbridled licentiousness, lawless rapine, oppression of the poor, private feuds, spoliations, murders,—had developed themselves, with such frightful rankness, in the northern provinces, that the whole country beyond the Grampian hills seemed about to relapse into a state of absolute barbarism. As soon as the king had succeeded in repressing the general habits of violence and lawlessness in the lowlands of Scotland, he determined to take vigorous measures for the introduction of law and order into the more remote districts of his dominions. It would appear that the various fortalices and places of strength beyond that part of the Grampian range called the Mounth, had been allowed to fall into decay,—doubtless in consequence of the extreme insecurity of life and property. To remedy this evil,—to promote the good government of the lands by wise polity,—and to ^{Rebuilding of the castles beyond the "Mounth."} cause the produce of the soil to be consumed on the territory where it was grown,—it was determined by the parliament, in 1426, that the owners of lands beyond the Mounth, upon which, in "auld tymes," there were castles or fortalices, should be compelled to rebuild or repair them, and either themselves to reside therein, or to procure friends to take their place.* To set an example, the king commanded the strong castle of Inverness to be repaired; and

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 13.

having summoned his parliament to meet him

there, he marched northward, at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by his principal nobles and barons.* The chiefs of the marauding clans were summoned to attend the meeting of parliament, and, whether constrained by terror or the hope of impunity, they did not venture to disobey. But, on entering the hall of the parliament, upwards of fifty of the principal heads of the clans were instantly seized, ironed, and cast into prison. Among the most noted of these,

mention is made of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and the Countess of Ross, his mother; Angus Dow, or Duff, with his four sons, who could bring into the field four thousand men of the clan Mackay, from Strathnaver; Kenneth More, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray and Makmathan, the leader of two thousand men; Alexander Makreiny, of Garmoran, and John Macarthur, each of whom commanded a thousand ketherans; along with John Ross, William Lesley, and James Campbell.† According to Bower, James was so overjoyed to see these ferocious chiefs caught in the toils prepared for them, that while the officers were binding the prisoners, he repeated some monkish Latin rhymes, exulting over the merited doom which awaited them.‡ Two of these chiefs, Alexander

Makreiny and John Macarthur, were immediately beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former Lord of the Isles; and the rest were confined in different prisons. Of these, several whose crimes had rendered them especially obnoxious were afterwards put to death; others were banished, and the remainder were set at liberty, with an admonition to abandon their evil courses. Of the last-

mentioned class was Alexander of the Isles, the successor of Donald, who fought at Harlaw. This powerful chief, like his predecessors, had affected the state of an independent monarch, and had, on various occasions, entered into an alliance with England against his own sovereign; while the remote position of his insular dominions, the immense number of his vassals, and the superiority of his naval force, enabled him frequently to brave with impunity the authority of the Scottish crown. James seems to have been unwilling to proceed, in the first instance, to extreme measures against this ocean lord,—probably on account of his youth, and his connexion with the family of Lesley, a house of hereditary loyalty,—and after a short confinement he dismissed him without punishment, upon his promise to abstain from his habits of lawless tur-

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 488.

+ Ibid.

‡ "Ad turrim fortem ducamus caute cohortem;
P. r. Christi sortem meruerunt hi quia mortem."

Which has been thus translated by Sir Walter Scott—

"To donjon tower let this rude troop be driven,
For death they merit by the cross of heaven."

bulence,—detaining, however, his mother, the heiress of the ancient family of Lesley, as a hostage for his fidelity. But, no sooner did the king return to his southern dominions, than the haughty chief, goaded into a pa—rebellion of this roxysm of fury by the indignity of prince. the arrest to which he had been subjected, collected a force amounting to ten thousand men, invaded and laid waste the mainland, and burnt the town of Inverness.*

Immediately on receiving intelligence of this outrage, the king assembled an —he is defeated army, and marched with the ut—by the king, most haste to the Highlands, A. D. 1428— where, in some marshy ground near Lochaber, he overtook the forces of the island chief. The sudden and unexpected appearance of the royal banner struck terror into the minds of the marauders, and two powerful tribes, the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, deserted the standard of their leader, and went over to the royal army.† Weakened and dispirited by this defection, the insurgents were entirely routed, and the Lord of the Isles, completely humbled, sent an embassy to sue for peace. But the king sternly refused to enter into any negotiations with a fugitive and an outlaw; and Alexander, reduced to despair, and driven from one place of retreat to another, was compelled at last to throw himself upon the royal clemency. Having travelled secretly to Edinburgh, he presented himself, upon a solemn festival, before the high altar in the church of Holyrood, clothed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding his naked sword in his hand by the point, he offered the hilt to the king, in token of unconditional submission; and falling upon his —and throws knees, in presence of the queen himself upon and the nobles of the court, im— the royal mercy. plored the royal mercy. James granted him his

life, at the intercession of his royal consort, but committed him a prisoner to the castle of Tantallon, under the charge of his nephew, the Earl of Angus.‡ The island lord ultimately received a free pardon, and was restored to his castles and estates.

A striking anecdote of this period, related by Bower, will serve to show the Anecdote illustrative of the ferocity and lawlessness of the northern chiefs. A petty chief, called McDonald, leader of a band of freebooters in Ross-shire, had plundered a poor widow of two of her cows. Provoked at this act of robbery, she exclaimed that she would never wear shoes again till she had carried her complaint to the king in person. "It is false," answered the brutal savage, "I'll have you shod myself before you reach the court;" and with a barbarity almost incredible, he caused two horse shoes of iron to be nailed to the poor woman's naked feet, after which he thrust her forth wounded and

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 489.

+ Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 490.

bleeding on the highway. The widow, however, being a woman of high spirit, determined to keep her word, and, as soon as her wounds were healed, she travelled on foot to Perth, where the court was then held, and sought out the king, acquainted him with the cruelty which had been exercised on her, and in proof of her statement showed her feet, still seamed and scarred by the inhuman treatment she had received. Her story excited the deepest indignation in the breast of the king, and he immediately caused the robber chief to be arrested and brought to Perth. He was tried and found guilty of the atrocious crime imputed to him, and condemned to be executed. He was then clad in a linen shirt, upon which was painted a representation of the cruel deed for which he was to suffer, and, after being paraded in this ignominious dress through the streets of the town, he was dragged at a horse's tail, and hanged on a gallows.*

There is another story, related by the same historian, which shows that James was equally strict in vindicating his authority, and the respect due to the royal person, among his lowland barons. A nobleman of high rank, and nearly related to the king, having quarrelled with another baron in the presence of the court, forgot himself so far as to strike his adversary on the face. James ordered the hand with which the offence had been committed to be instantly extended on the council table, and unsheathing his cutlass, gave it to the noble who received the blow, and commanded him to strike off the hand of the offender, threatening him with death if he refused. In this posture the unhappy culprit remained for a considerable time, while the queen, and the prelates and nobles of the court, implored forgiveness, and at length, with great difficulty, obtained a remission of the sentence. But the offender was immediately banished from court.†

Meanwhile, the great council of the nation assembled from time to time, and passed a series of important enactments for the regulation of the manufactures, the commerce, and the agriculture of the kingdom, and the impartial administration of civil and criminal justice to all classes of the community. In a parliament held at Perth, on the first of July, 1427, an unwise attempt was made to fix the wages of mechanics, and to prescribe the quantity of the various kinds of grain which were to be sown by the farmers and husbandmen. The deacons of the trades had previously to this been enjoined to confine themselves strictly and simply to their duty of ascertaining, by an inspection every fifteen days, whether the workmen were sufficiently expert in their business, and were forbidden to alter the laws of the craft, or to punish those who had offended against them. It was now declared that the provisions regarding the appointment of deacons were henceforth annulled, as they had been

found productive of grievous injury to the realm; that no deacon should be permitted after this to be elected, whilst those already holding this office were prohibited from exercising their functions. The cause and object of this enactment are involved in considerable obscurity; but taken in connection with the attempt made by this parliament to fix the prices of the various kinds of labour, and the declaration that the meetings of the deacons of the crafts had led to conspiracies, it seems probable that there may at this period have existed combinations amongst the various workmen on subjects connected with their trade.*

The speedy and impartial administration of justice appears to have largely occupied the attention of the legislature. Regulations were made for the choice of an oversman, or umpire, in the settlement of disputes by arbitration, and it was declared, that all persons who should be appointed judges for the determination of causes, should be obliged to take an oath, that they would decide the questions brought before them to the best of their knowledge, and without fraud or favour.† Disputes regarding the property of Scottish merchants dying in Zealand, Flanders, or other parts of the continent, were declared cognizable by the ordinary judge within whose jurisdiction their testaments were confirmed. The litigants in any plea were commanded to attend the court accompanied only by their councillors and "fore-speakers," and such sober retinue as befitted their estate, and not with a multitude of armed followers; and it was strictly forbidden to interpret the statutes contrary to the real meaning, as understood by those who framed them. It was made incumbent on all clergymen who were desirous of passing beyond the seas, to show good cause for their expedition, and to make faith that they should not be guilty of any kind of simony; and heavy penalties were denounced against those who were convicted of the crime of "barratry," or the purchasing of benefices by money.‡

Other Acts were passed at the same time, respecting the hunting and slaughter of wolves; the catching of fish by cruves or watted machines, the freighting of cargoes in foreign vessels, and forbidding, under a penalty of forty shillings, the killing of partridges, plovers, blackcocks, greyhens, and muirecocks, between "lentryn and August." Lepers were strictly prohibited from taking up their residence within the bounds of any town, or mixing indiscriminately with the inhabitants; and no person smitten with this loathsome disease was to be allowed to enter any burgh, except thrice in the week, at certain prescribed periods, for the purpose of purchasing food.

At this period, an important innovation was made in the constitution of the Scottish parliament, which is of peculiar interest, as containing the first embryo of the principle of representation.

Regulations regarding the administration of justice.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 510; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 290, 291.

† Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. pp. 1334, 1335; Ibid.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

† Ibid. p. 13.

‡ Ibid. p. 16.

The smaller barons and free-tenants appear to have regarded attendance on the meetings of the national council as an intolerable and expensive grievance, and repeated injunctions were issued that all the barons and freeholders should attend the meeting of the Estates in person, and fines were inflicted upon those who were absent without "a legitimate excuse." Now, however, it was determined by the king, with consent of his council, that the smaller barons or freeholders need not come hereafter to parliaments, nor general councils, provided that two or more "wise men" were sent as commissioners from each shire. These representatives were to have the privilege of electing the speaker of the parliament, whose duty it should be to bring forward all cases of importance involving the rights and privileges of the commons; and the expenses of the commissioners, and of the speaker, were to be defrayed by their electors, who owed suit and presence in the parliament or council.*

In a subsequent meeting of parliament, held at Perth, on the 26th of April, 1429, a sumptuary law was passed, regulating the dress of the various ranks of the community, and prescribing the different kinds of armour and arms to be worn respectively by the knights, burgesses, and yeomen.† All barons and lords possessing estates within six miles of the sea, in the western and northern counties, and opposite the isles, were enjoined to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to the terms of their tenures; an enactment evidently suggested by the great inconvenience experienced from the want of a fleet in suppressing the recent rebellion of the Lord of the Isles.‡ It was declared, that in the event of any vessels being wrecked upon the coasts of Scotland, the laws regarding the appropriation of their cargoes should depend upon the law respecting wrecks in the country to which such vessels belonged. All Scotchmen who should travel to England without the king's leave were declared traitors; and it was enacted, that all advocates or fore-speakers, and the litigants themselves, if they happened to be present, should swear before they were heard, that "they trow the cause is gude and lele that they shall plead."

On the 16th of October, 1430, to the great joy of the nation, the queen was delivered of twin sons; the eldest of whom, named Alexander, died in infancy; the second succeeded his father, in 1437, by the title of James II. This auspicious event was celebrated with great public rejoicings, and, at the baptism of his sons, the king conferred the honour of knighthood upon them, and upon the youthful heirs of the Earls of Douglas and Abercorn, of the Chan-

cellor, Lord Crichton, and others of the principal nobility.*

The truce with England was now about to expire, and as James and the guardians of the English monarch, of the truce with Henry VI., were equally anxious ^{Renewal of the truce with England.} to maintain amicable relations between the two kingdoms, commissioners from both nations were appointed to negotiate for a renewal of the armistice; and a truce was concluded for five years, from the 1st of April, 1431. Various regulations were at the same time adopted, for the purpose of restraining the ravages of the turbulent borderers, and guarding against aggressions, or violations of the truce, by the subjects of either kingdom.†

In spite of the vigorous measures which James had adopted for the repression and punishment of the ketherans in the ^{Disturbed state of the Highlands.} Highlands and islands, these remote districts still continued in a state of anarchy and rebellion. In the year 1431, Angus Duff, the chief of the powerful clan of the Mackays, and Angus of Moray,—both of whom had shortly before been released from the prisons to which they had been consigned on their arrest at Inverness,—met in hostile array in Strathnaver, in the wild province of Caithness, with twelve hundred men on each side; and so fierce and obstinate was the conflict, that hardly thirty of the whole were left alive.‡ About the same period, the turbulent inhabitants of the isles, undismayed by the ^{Rebellion of Donald Balfour—} imprisonment and submission of Donald Balfour—their chief, rose again in rebellion, and choosing for their leader Donald,—called Balloch, or the Freckled,—the cousin-german of the Lord of the Isles, they invaded Lochaber, laying waste the district with fire and sword; and encountering, at Inverlochy, the Earls of Mar and Caithness, who were stationed there, with a superior force, for the protection of the western coast, totally defeated them, with great slaughter. The Earl of Caithness, with sixteen of his squires, and many other knights, were left dead on the field; while the Earl of Mar with great difficulty made good his retreat.§ But James, with his characteristic promptitude and vigour, assembled ^{—its suppression.} an army for the purpose of inflicting exemplary vengeance on Donald and his accomplices; and marching northwards, took up his residence in the castle of Dunstaffnage. His arrival struck terror into the minds of the insurgent chiefs, who hastened in crowds to make their submission and to entreat pardon. By their means, it is said that three hundred of the ^{Three hundred thieves hanged.} most noted robbers were seized and executed; and Donald Balloch, having fled to Ireland, was there slain, and his head sent to the king.||

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.
 † Ibid. pp. 17, 18.
 ‡ Ibid. p. 19.

* Chronicon Jacobi Primi, pp. 9, 10.
 † Rymer, Foed. vol. x. p. 482; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 230, 237.
 ‡ Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 11.
 § Ibid.
 || Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 230, 240.

At this period Scotland again suffered severely from the ravages of the plague.

This fearful scourge first broke out at Edinburgh in the month of February, 1430, and continued to rage in various parts of the country throughout the two following years. The severity of this awful visitation was greatly aggravated by the inclemency of the weather; not only the domestic cattle, but even the beasts of the chase, having perished through the intensity of the cold. Amid this combination of calamities the minds of the common people were bewildered and agitated by superstitious terrors, which were augmented by

Total eclipse of the sun. an eclipse of the sun, which occurred on the afternoon of the 17th of June, 1432, and for half an hour caused a darkness as deep as midnight. It was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the Black Hour.*

As the affairs of the English continued to decline on the continent, and the French steadily gained

Advantageous proposals of the English government— ground, the guardians of Henry VI. became anxious to prevent the impending completion of the marriage treaty between France and Scotland, and to detach James, if possible, from his French alliance. For this purpose Lord Scrope was sent as an ambassador to the court of the Scottish king with offers so remarkably advantageous, that some doubts were entertained of their sincerity. His proposals were a firm and lasting peace, with the restitution of Roxburgh and Berwick, together with all the fortresses and possessions that had anciently belonged to the kingdom of Scotland. When these propositions were submitted to the

—their discussions in a general council— general council of the three Estates at Perth, the whole body of the temporal barons, and the majority of the prelates and higher churchmen, expressed an anxious desire for peace with England, and gave it as their opinion, that the terms offered ought to be accepted. But a party among the minor clergy, headed by the Abbots of Scone and Inchcolm, strenuously contended, that since the king had entered into a treaty of marriage and alliance with the court of France, he could not conclude a lasting peace with England without a violation of his honour, and a formal breach of a contract which he had solemnly sworn to maintain inviolate, and which, having been ratified by the Pope, could not be infringed without a high crime. It was also asserted, that no reliance could be placed on the good faith of the English, and that their only object in making these proposals was to sow dissensions among the Scots, and to excite division between them and their French allies; and that, however liberal they might be in their promises, they had no intention of fulfilling the offers which they now made. These arguments were stoutly controverted by John Fogo, the Abbot of Melrose, who maintained that it was more

advantageous to the kingdom to be at peace with the English, who were their near neighbours, than with the French, who lived at a distance. Lawrence of Lindores, the persecuting inquisitor, denounced the arguments of Fogo as savouring of heresy. The controversy grew lengthened and warm, and in the heat of the discussion the English proposals were altogether lost sight of, and the negotiation unfortunately fell to the ground.*

Meanwhile James steadily prosecuted his plan of humbling the nobility and diminishing their exorbitant power.

The king pursues his plan for diminishing the power of the nobles— The Earls of March, on whom the generosity of David I. had bestowed a princely estate, along

with the castle of Dunbar, one of the most important fortresses in the kingdom, had been long remarkable for their dubious fidelity to Scotland, and seem to have thought themselves at liberty to renounce or return to the allegiance of that country at their pleasure. The position of their principal residence on the eastern marches enabled them, whenever they thought proper, to give free admission to the English into the interior of the country. Hence it was a common saying in Scotland, that March held the keys of the kingdom at his girdle; and the successive heads of this powerful and ambitious house had on many occasions abused their power to the serious injury of the nation. We have seen that the father of the present earl had renounced his allegiance to Robert III., and for a number of years had shown himself the zealous and unrelenting foe of his native land. In the year 1408, however, he had made his peace with Albany, and had obtained the restoration of his estates, which had been confiscated in consequence of his rebellion. He survived his return to his own country for fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son, who commanded the English troops in the skirmish at West Nesbit, so fatal to the chivalry of Lothian, but does not appear to have been otherwise implicated in his father's intrigues. The king, however, in the prosecution of his scheme for the depression of the feudal aristocracy, had resolved to deprive

—his designs against the Earl of March— the Earl of March of a power which was too great for any subject to hold with safety to the realm; and having prepared the way for the execution of his design, by obtaining from the three Estates, in 1431, a declaration that the governor during his regency had no power to alienate any lands, which, by the decease of a bastard, might have fallen to the crown,† he committed the Earl of March a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and took possession of the fortress of Dunbar, the chief seat of the family.

A parliament was then assembled at Perth, on the 10th of January, 1434, apparently for the purpose of deciding this important question; and a

—his designs against the Earl of March—

—his designs against the Earl of March—

—his designs against the Earl of March—

* Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1307; Tytler, vol. iii. pp. 240, 241.

* Chronicon Jacobi Primi, pp. 13, 14.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 20.

committee, consisting of three of the clergy, three of the barons, and three of the burgesses, was appointed to hear and report all causes during the session.* The case between the king and the Earl of March was solemnly discussed by their respective advocates, or prolocutors, and after a long debate the parliament decided that the Duke of Albany had exceeded his power as regent, in granting

—the Earl is deprived of his title and estates—

ing a pardon and the restoration of his estates to the Earl of March; and that, in consequence of the forfeiture of that noble, all title of

property to the lands of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar belonged of right to the crown, and might immediately be resumed.† James instantly followed up this decision by taking possession of the forfeited estate, and delivering the keeping of the castle of Dunbar to Sir Walter Haliburton, of Dirleton; but at the same time he

—he is created Earl of Buchan— Earl of Buchan,‡ with an annuity of four hundred marks out of the revenues of that northern earldom. If James expected in this way to conciliate the powerful family whom he had so tyrannically deprived of their inheritance, he was disappointed, for the Earl scornfully rejected the proffered compensation, and, indignant at the injustice with which he had been treated, abandoned

—and retires in resentment into England.

his native country, and, along with his eldest son, retired to England.

There can be no doubt that, although this extraordinary proceeding called forth no remonstrance, or open resistance, it excited strong dissatisfaction and apprehension in the minds of the great body of the nobles and barons; and that the harshness, if not injustice, of the act which deprived the house of March of the estates which they had possessed for twenty-six years without challenge, contributed greatly to swell the tide of discontent against the policy of the king. There is reason to believe that many of the nobility began now to regard their sovereign with fear and hatred, and he appears to have entertained some apprehensions that his measures might arouse a spirit of vindictive revenge; for before the dismissal of the parliament, he required all the members of the three Estates to give written pledges of adherence and fidelity to their sovereign lady the queen.‡

About this period a considerable property accrued to the crown by the death of Alexander Stewart, the celebrated Earl of Mar, and the antagonist of Donald of the Isles in the bloody battle of Harlaw. This powerful noble was, in his early days, as we have seen, the turbulent leader of a

band of Highland freebooters; but, afterwards, became one of the most experienced and sagacious leaders of the day, and acquired a brilliant reputation in the continental wars. He was the natural son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the fourth son of Robert II., and upon his death, his immense estates, by the old Scottish law of bastardy, reverted to the crown.* The house of Erskine regarded the earldom of Mar as their rightful inheritance; but James, in accordance with his usual policy, refused to acknowledge their claim; and it was not till the reign of Queen Mary that its justice was admitted. The loyalty of the Erskines induced them to acquiesce in the king's decision, with a mere protest in reservation of their rights; but there can be little doubt that the effect of this procedure was to strengthen the hostile feeling which was rapidly gaining ground among the nobility, as they saw their importance in the national scale steadily decreasing with the increase of the royal authority.

A breach of the truce with England, which occurred at this time, afforded an opportunity for the manifestation of this hostile spirit. Sir Robert Ogle, an English border baron, for some cause which is now unknown, at the head of a considerable force made an inroad into the Merse, and ravaged the country around Paxton.

Lord Robert Ogle makes an inroad into Scotland—

But he was encountered by the Earl of Angus, near Piperden,

—he is defeated at Piperden.

defeated, and taken prisoner, with nearly the whole of his party.† James violently remonstrated with the English regency against this unprovoked infraction of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since his accession to the throne; but his demand for immediate redress was treated with neglect. His indignation at this wanton outrage was greatly increased by a most discredit attempt, on the part of the English government, to intercept his daughter, the Princess Margaret, on her way to France. The Dauphin, to whom she was betrothed, having now attained his thirteenth year, while the princess herself was ten years old, it was resolved to complete

The Princess Margaret is sent to France. A.D. 1439—

their marriage. With this view the youthful bride was sent to the court of France, accompanied by the Bishop of Brechin; Sir Walter Ogilvy, the treasurer; Sir John Maxwell, of Calderwood; Sir John Campbell, of Loudon, and many other nobles and knights, together with a hundred and forty youthful squires, and a guard of a thousand men-at-arms. The fleet which was appointed to convey the princess and her train, consisted of three large ships and six barges, and was commanded by William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney.‡ The English government, probably irritated at the rejection of their proposals for a permanent treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, sent out a fleet of one

—the English attempt to intercept her.

* Bower, the Abbot of St Colm and the continuator of Fordun, was one of the clerical members of this committee.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 23.

‡ The Earl of Buchan, high constable of France, who fell at the battle of Vermeuil, in 1424, left an only daughter, to whom the title of right belonged; but James, by an arbitrary stretch of power, treated her as having reverted to the crown.

§ Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 23.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 500.

+ Ibid.

‡ Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 485.

hundred and eighty vessels, to intercept the princess upon her passage to France. But while they were watching for the appearance of the Scottish fleet, a number of Flemish merchantmen hove in sight, laden with wine from Rochelle, which they pursued and captured. Almost immediately after, however, a Spanish fleet came up, and, after a fierce struggle, recaptured the prizes, and put the English to flight. During these contests, the princess and her suite arrived in safety at Rochelle, where she was received by the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishops of Poitiers and Xaintonge. The marriage was soon after solemnized at Tours, in the presence of the King and Queen of France, and a magnificent assemblage of the nobility of both kingdoms.* It is mentioned by Bower, to the credit of the king, that though he was by the feudal law entitled to a subsidy from his people on this occasion, he refused to oppress them by the imposition of any general tax, and contented himself with the voluntary contributions of the principal clergy and nobility.†

James was naturally indignant at the dishonourable and perfidious conduct of the English government in attempting to intercept his daughter during the existence of a truce; and this flagrant breach of the law of nations, which must have reminded him of the treachery by which he had himself been made a prisoner, determined him to keep no farther measures with men whom no engagements could bind. He therefore issued

—he renews a declaration of war against Eng-
the war— land, and having summoned the whole array of his kingdom, he commenced the siege of Roxburgh Castle, August, 1436. After remaining fifteen days before the fortress, it was on the eve of being surrendered, when the queen suddenly arrived in the camp, and James, apparently in consequence of some information which

—his abrupt she had communicated, immedi-
dismissal of his ately raised the siege, disbanded
army. his army, and returned to the north.‡ It has been conjectured, with great probability, that this sudden step was taken in consequence of the king having received information of a conspiracy against his life; and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal retainers, who regarded revenge as a sacred duty, and fidelity to the command of their lord as of paramount obligation, was certainly no safe residence for a monarch at enmity with his nobles.

About two months after this abrupt dismissal of his forces, the king held his last parliament at Edinburgh, on the 22nd of October, 1436. Various enactments were passed respecting the administration of justice, and the regulation of trade; which, however, were calculated to fetter, rather than to encourage the commerce of the country. It was declared, that

jurymen should swear that they had received no bribe, and that trespassers might be accused at the instance of the king, though no private prosecutor should appear. To secure the im- —its enactments.
portation of bullion, it was decreed,

that exporters of wool were to bring home and deliver to the master of the mint, three ounces of bullion for every sack of wool, nine ounces for a last of hides, and three ounces for such quantity of other goods as paid freight equal to an ancient measure called a *serplait*—the delivery of the silver to be regulated by weight or measure, and not by value. It was also declared, that no person should be permitted to remain in a tavern after nine o'clock at night; that gold, silver, or jewels, should not be exported out of Scotland; that no Scotchman should buy wine of certain Flemings in Scotland; that no English cloth should be purchased by Scottish merchants; and that English traders should not be allowed to export articles of Scottish trade or manufacture, unless such were specified in their letters of safe conduct.*

While James was thus actively engaged in promoting the best interests of his kingdom, and all seemed secure and prosperous, his active and useful career was sud- Conspiracy
denly cut short by a dark conspir- formed against
acy among the nobles of his court. Although the king—
considerable obscurity hangs over the ramifications of the plot which ended so fatally to the king and country, there exists no doubt, that it owed its origin to indignation at the fate of Albany and his family, and to those deep feelings of feudal revenge which had been long cherished by the friends of that unhappy house. The chief promoters of the conspiracy were the

king's uncle, Walter Stewart, Earl —its leaders—
of Athole; his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart; the king's chamberlain, and Sir Robert Graham, brother of Sir Patrick Graham, of Kincardine. Athole, who appears to have possessed some portion of the haughty and unscrupulous ambition of his brother, the first Duke of Albany, had long aspired to the crown.† He contended that Robert III. was born out of lawful wedlock, and that he, as the eldest surviving son of Robert II. and Euphemia Ross, was the lawful heir of the throne. His ambitious hopes are said to have been stimu- —their charac-
lated by the predictions of a High- ter and motives.
land seer, who had prophesied that Athole should be crowned in this same year; and he was thus induced, both by the love of power, and the desire of revenge upon the oppressor of his house, to join a plot against the life of his nephew and sovereign.

Sir Robert Graham, who was the principal agent in the execution of the bloody enterprise, was a man of the darkest and most determined character, and had both personal and family injuries to avenge upon the king. He was, originally, one of

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 23, 24.

† "Inveteratus comes Atholie qui a longo tempore callide ad coronam aspirabat."—Chronicon Jacobi Primi. Contemporary Account, p. 52.

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 501.

† Ibid. p. 502.

‡ Chronicon Jacobi Primi, p. 15.

the supporters of the house of Albany, and, along with the other principal adherents of that powerful family, was committed to prison on the return of James from his captivity in England—an insult not likely to be forgotten by a person of Graham's fierce and vindictive character.

Enmity of Sir Robert Graham to the king.

Two years after this event, another transaction occurred, which seems to have still further exasperated his haughty and revengeful spirit. David, Earl of Strathern, the eldest son of Robert II. by his second wife, Euphemia Ross, died during the regency of Albany, leaving an only daughter, married to Patrick Graham, son of Sir Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, who, in right of his wife, assumed the title of Earl of Strathern. As the transmission of feudal dignities by female succession was the acknowledged law of Scotland, there can be no doubt that his claim was well founded. But James, in the prosecution of his schemes for lessening the power of the nobility, resumed the possession of this powerful earldom, under the pretext that it was limited to heirs male, and ought to have reverted to the crown on the death of Earl David, his uncle. As some recompense, however, for the injury thus done to the family whom he had dispossessed of their lands and dignity, he conferred the life-rent of the earldom upon Athole, brother of Earl David, and he created the new earldom of Monteith in favour of Malise Graham, the son of Patrick, Earl of Strathern.* The youthful baron was at this time absent in England; but his uncle, Sir Robert Graham, remonstrated, though without effect, against this invasion of his rights, and, indignant at an act so arbitrary and unjust, he determined upon revenge: and, in the existing state of feeling towards the king, on the part of many of the nobility, he had no difficulty in obtaining accomplices to aid him in his dark designs.

A very minute and interesting account of the

Contemporary narrative of the plot.

progress and accomplishment of the plot against the king, is contained in a contemporary narrative entitled "The Deth of the King of Scotis," which was first published by Pinkerton in his History of Scotland.† Few stories, it has been justly said, either in history or in fiction, can compete with the horrors of this grim chronicle. According to this ancient narrative, many of the nobles were strongly dissatisfied with the rigorous proceedings of the king, in limiting their power and punishing their excesses; and the people were also discontented at the imposition of taxes, to which they had long been strangers. In this state of affairs, and probably in the year 1434, after the confiscation of the estates of the Earl of March, "many of the lords of the land, dreading sore of the harm that might betide them, drew them to counsel how they might withstand and resist the king's tyranny."‡

* Maitland Case, by Lord Hailes, chap. v. p. 57; Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 134.

† It has now been published by the Maitland Club, along with the Chronicle Jacobi Primi.

‡ Contemp. Account, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 49.

Their object in the first instance seems to have been merely to limit the royal authority, and to regain the power which they had lost; and Graham, whom the chronicler terms "a man of great wit and eloquence, wonderfully subtle, witty, and expert in the law," offered to represent their grievances to the king, in the next meeting of parliament, if the rest of the nobles would second his remonstrance. His proposal was agreed to; but instead of detailing their complaints with respect and moderation, the natural fierceness and audacity of his character caused him to break out into a violent denunciation of the tyrannical conduct of the government, concluding with an attempt to arrest the sovereign in the name of the Estates of parliament. Approaching the royal seat, and laying his hand upon the king, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "I arrest you in the name of all the three Estates of your realm here assembled in parliament; for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you bound by your oath to keep your people, and to govern by law, so that you do them no wrong, but in all right maintain and defend them." Then, turning to the assembled barons and prelates, he said, "Is it not thus as I say?" But the barons who had promised to support him were so confounded by the arrogance and temerity of his conduct, that none of them dared to utter a word, whilst the king, indignant at his presumption and audacity, ordered the traitor to be instantly arrested. The command was promptly obeyed, and Graham, after a sarcastic expression of contempt for the cowardice of his associates, was hurried to prison, and shortly after had his estates confiscated, and was banished from the court.*

Enraged at the failure of his plans, and the ruin which had overwhelmed him, this bold, bad man retired to the recesses of the Highlands—the country of the wild Scots, as the chronicler terms it—meditating revenge; and he had even the audacity to send a letter to the king, in which he formally renounced his allegiance, and defied him as a tyrant who had ruined him and his wife and children; and he declared, that if ever he could find opportunity, he would slay him with his own hand as his mortal enemy. On this new proof of his desperate audacity, a royal proclamation was issued, offering a large sum of money to any one who should bring in the person of Sir Robert Graham dead or alive.†

Shortly after this, the last parliament of James was held in Edinburgh, and Graham found means from his Highland retreat to communicate with Athole and the other leaders of the conspiracy, and to arrange with them the details of the scheme for the murder of the king. The execution of the plot he offered to take upon himself; and it was settled, that in the

Graham's audacious attack upon the king—

—he is banished, and his estates confiscated—

—he renounces his allegiance—

—a price set upon his head.

Progress of the conspiracy.

* Contemporary Account, pp. 50, 51.

+ Ibid.

event of its success, the crown should be conferred upon Sir Robert Stewart, the grandson of the Earl of Athole, and next heir to the throne after James and his young son. The accession of Stewart to the conspiracy was a matter of primary importance, as "he did ever abide in the king's presence, full familiar about him at all hours, and most privy above all others; and was a full gentle squire, and right amiable, whom the king entirely loved as his own son."* The inferior agents in the plot were certain retainers of the house of Albany, who were eager to exact a deep and terrible revenge for the destruction of that unfortunate family.

The preparations of the conspirators were now nearly completed, while the king seems to have been totally unconscious of his danger. If he had ever entertained any apprehension of a design against his life, his suspicions appear to have vanished; and on the approach of Christmas, he determined to keep the festival at Perth,—a step which greatly facilitated the schemes of the traitors, by bringing their victim to the immediate vicinity of the district in which Graham had taken refuge. They accordingly resolved to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them for the execution of their bloody enterprise. Some surmises respecting their nefarious project seem, in some way or other, to have got abroad, and various intimations were made to the king of the impending danger. As the monarch and his suite were on their road to Perth, and were approaching the Frith of Forth,—then called the Scot-

—he is warned by a Highland woman.
 tish Sea,—a Highland woman, who laid claim to the character of a prophetess, presented herself before the royal cavalcade, and cried out with a loud voice, "My lord king, if ye pass this water ye shall never return again alive." James was struck with her appearance and language,—for shortly before, says the chronicler, he had read a prediction that in the self-same year the King of Scots should be slain,—and, halting for a moment, commanded one of his knights to inquire of the woman what she meant. She replied, that her information came from one Huthart;† but, either from carelessness or treachery, the knight remarked, that no attention should be paid to the woman's words, for she was but a drunken fool, and wist not what she said.‡ The king, therefore, proceeded on his journey, and having crossed the Frith, rode on to Perth, and took up his residence in the monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars. The Christmas festivities were kept up by the court with great spirit and splendour, and day after day passed away in feudal pastimes and revelry. The king himself, wholly unsuspecting of his approaching fate, was remarkably gay and cheerful. One

day, when engaged in playing at chess with a young knight, whom he was accustomed to call in jest the King of Love, he told him of the prophecy which declared that a king should that year be slain, and warned him to look well to his safety, "for ye wot well, Sir Alexander," said he, "that thar be no more kings in this realm but you and I, and I let you wit that I shall ordain for my sure keeping sufficiently."* On another occasion, Christopher Chambers, formerly a squire in the household of Albany, who had been admitted as an accomplice in the plot, being seized with remorse, three several times approached the royal presence intending to warn the king of his danger, but his heart failed him, and he ultimately abandoned his design. "And thus," adds the chronicler, "as it was said by the old wise fathers, many years before we were born, what thing is destined to any person, be it late, be it soon, at the last ever it cometh."†

Meanwhile the conspirators had completed their plans, and fixed on the night between the twentieth and the twenty-first of February for the execution of their bloody enterprise. On this fatal evening the nobles and ladies of his court, were occupied until long past midnight with the common amusements of the period,—the game of chess and of the tables, the reading romances, the harp, and the song. The treacherous Athole was among the company at supper, and remained till a late hour. At this moment a last effort to save the king was made by the Highland prophetess, who had followed the court to Perth, and now knocked at the door of the chamber, and so earnestly implored admission that the usher informed the king of her wishes. But his evil destiny prevailed; he bade her return on the morrow, and she quitted the monastery, declaring that they should all repent that they would not allow her now to speak with the king.‡

About an hour after this, James called for the *voidee*, or parting cup—the signal for retiring to rest,—and the company dispersed. Sir Robert Stewart, the chamberlain, was the last to leave the apartment. To facilitate the entrance of the conspirators, he had previously—treachery of his destroyed the locks, and removed chamberlain. the bars of the doors of the royal bedchamber, and the outer room adjoining, which communicated with the passage; and about midnight he had placed wooden boards and hurdles across the moat, which surrounded the garden of the monastery, to enable the murderers to enter without alarming the warder.§ The king was standing before the fire, in his nightgown and slippers, talking gaily with the queen and her ladies of the bedchamber, when there was a great noise and clashing of arms heard, and torches flashed up from the garden. The threatened vengeance of the traitor Graham in-

* Contemporary Account, p. 52.

† Sir Walter Scott conjectures that *Huthart* might either be the same with *Hndikin*, a Dutch spirit, or with the Red-capped demon, so powerful in the case of Lord Soulis, and other wizards. See "Demonology and Witchcraft," p. 41.

‡ Contemporary Account, p. 53.

The night of the 20th of February fixed for the murder.

Manner in which the king spent the evening—

* Contemporary Account, p. 53.

† *Ibid.* p. 54.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 53.

§ *Ibid.*

stantly darted on the king's remembrance, and the queen and the ladies flew to secure the door of the chamber; but to their consternation they found the locks destroyed and the bolts removed. James thus became aware that a plot had been laid for his destruction, and calling to the women to keep the door as long as they were able, he attempted to force the windows; but they were barred with stanchions of iron, and resisted all his efforts. At last, in utter despair, he seized the tongs of the fire-place, and wrenching up one of the boards of the floor, let himself down into a small vault below the apartment and then concealed the aperture by replacing the board. This vault, which was used as a common sewer, had formerly had an opening into the outer court, for the purpose of cleaning the apartment, and the king might in this way have effected his escape; but it had unfortunately been built up only three days before, by his own orders, because when he played at tennis in the courtyard the balls had repeatedly rolled into the vault through that aperture.* Meanwhile the conspirators burst open the doors, and having slain Walter Straiton, a page, whom they met in the passage, rushed towards the king's bedchamber. The queen and her women

endeavoured to barricade the door, of Catherine Douglas, lady, named Catherine Douglas, heroically thrust her arm into the staple from which the bolt had been removed. But it was instantly broken, and the assassins rushed into the room with naked weapons, throwing down and wounding some of the ladies as they ran shrieking into the farthest corner of the apartment. The queen, who had nothing on but her kirtle and mantle, was paralyzed with horror, and stood rooted to the spot without power of speech or motion, whilst one of the villains, in his brutal fury, attacked, wounded, and would have slain her, had it not been for a son of Graham's, who interposed, and said, "What will you do, for shame of yourself, to the queen? She is but a woman. Let us go and seek the king." The conspirators now perceived that James had escaped them, and they sought him in every part of the chamber, and of the adjoining apartment, and diligently examined every place of probable concealment, but without success; and after a fruitless search they dispersed, to extend their scrutiny through the other rooms and remoter parts of the monastery.

So much time had now been gained, that it seemed exceedingly probable that assistance would arrive in time to save the king's life; but unhappily he became impatient of his confinement, and having heard no noise for some time, and thinking that the conspirators were gone, he called to the ladies to bring the sheets from the bed, to draw him up from his uncomfortable place of concealment. In their attempt to effect this, Elizabeth Douglas, one of the queen's women, fell down beside the king, and at this moment Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, who knew all the

* Contemporary Account, p. 60.

corners of the monastery, suddenly recollected the vault beneath the bedchamber, and feeling satisfied that the king must be there concealed, returned to the apartment.* He at once discovered where the floor had been broken, and, raising the plank, perceived by the light of his torch the king, and the lady who had fallen into the vault; upon which he called to his fellows with savage merriment, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we have sought, and carolled all night."† Sir John Hall, another of the traitors, then leaped down with a dagger in his hand; but the king, who was possessed of great bodily strength and activity, seized him by the throat, and by main force threw him under his feet. Hall's brother, who next descended, met with the same fate; and so violently did the king grapple with the murderers, that the marks of his gripe were visible on their throats for weeks afterwards. But they were armed with large

The murder.

knives, while James was wholly weaponless, and in the struggle to wrest their weapons from them, his hands were severely cut and mangled. Sir Robert Graham now came to the assistance of his associates, and James, worn out with the mortal contest, and finding no further defence possible, earnestly implored his mercy. But Graham replied fiercely, "Thou cruel tyrant, thou never hadst mercy upon thine own noble kindred, nor upon any one else; therefore no mercy shalt thou have here." Then said the king, "I beseech thee that for my soul's salvation thou wilt let me have a confessor." "Thou shalt have no confessor but this sword," replied the assassin, and ran the unhappy prince through the body, who instantly fell down, and continued faintly to implore mercy, and to offer half his kingdom for his life. And yet it is said that when the blood-thirsty ruffian saw the king lying bleeding under his feet, he was so much moved by the piteous spectacle that he was about to come up, leaving him still breathing; but his associates above threatened him with instant death if he did not complete the horrid deed; upon which Graham, with the assistance of the two Halls, fell on the king with their daggers, and slew him by repeated wounds.‡

This atrocious murder being thus consummated, the assassins sought for the queen, fearing her revenge; but she had fortunately made her escape. By this time the alarm had been given, and the citizens and the nobles, who were quartered in the town, hearing the tumult, hastened to the spot with torches and weapons. The traitors on their approach fled in great haste, and were seen crossing the moat by Sir David Dunbar, brother of the Earl of March, who pursued and slew one of their number, after being himself severely wounded.§ The principal conspirators, however, succeeded in

* Contemporary Account, p. 58.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 59. There were sixteen wounds in his breast alone.

§ Ibid. p. 60. "As he fought with them in their fleeing, they cut off three of the fingers of his one hand, and sore wounded him upon his head."

making their escape to the Highlands, expressing their great regret that they had not killed the queen along with her husband, dreading her active and inexorable vengeance.* And not without

Capture of the good reason, for so zealous and un-murderers— wearied were her efforts to trace and apprehend the murderers, that in less than a month they were all taken and brought to justice.

They had undoubtedly committed a crime of no ordinary atrocity; but the refined and complicated tortures inflicted upon them were shocking to humanity, and must have contributed in no small degree to defeat the end contemplated in their punishment. Sir Robert Stewart and Christopher Chambers were first taken and brought to Edinburgh, where, after a full confession

—they are tortured and executed.

of their guilt, they were tortured, and then beheaded with an old

rusty axe, on a high scaffold raised in the midst of the market-place, and their heads fixed upon the gates of Perth. The aged Earl of Athole, who was apprehended by the Earl of Angus, was next brought to trial and condemned. He admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but affirmed to the last, that he exerted every effort to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed he had succeeded.† As Easter was approaching, the cross on which his grandson had been tormented was taken down, and he was tied to a pillar in the city, with a paper diadem upon his head, thrice inscribed with the name of traitor; his head was then struck off, encircled with an iron crown, and fixed upon the top of a spear. Shortly after, the arch-conspirator, Graham, was captured in the wilds of Mar, by two Highland chieftains, John Stewart Gorm and Robert Duncanson, and conveyed to Stirling. His remorseless courage supported him to the last, amid tortures the very relation of which makes the blood run cold and the

Audacious defence of Sir Robert Graham.

heart sicken. He boldly contended, in the presence of the court, that

he had a right to act as he had done, and that, having renounced his allegiance, under his hand and seal, and defied the king as his mortal enemy, it was lawful for him to slay him wherever they met; and if they did him justice they would allow him to go free, seeing, said he, he did no wrong nor sin, but only slew God's creature, his enemy. The contemporary chronicler, who seems to have had a friendly feeling towards him, says, "This same Sir Robert Graham, with manly heart, and well advised, as a man well instructed in law and letters, said these words standing at the bar before the judges:—'I doubt it not, that ye shall see the day and the time that ye shall pray for my soul, for the great good that I have done to you and all this realm of Scotland, that I have thus slain and delivered you of so cruel a tyrant, the greatest enemy Scots or Scotland could

* Contemporary Account, p. 60.

† The Contemporary Account assigns the chief part in the conspiracy to Graham, but Buchanan and the other Scottish historians represent that audacious man as Athole's tool.

have, considering his unquenchable covetousness in his youth, against all nature—his tyranny immeasurable, without pity or mercy to friend or foe, to high or low, to poor or rich."*

"These things," continues the old chronicler, "will be rehearsed in Scotland many a year hereafter; for he was a man of great heart and manhood, and full discreet, and a great scholar of laws, positive, and canon, and civil both; and yet," he adds, in sorrow, "he was condemned."

"This was the sentence:—there should be brought a cart, in the middle of which there should be set fast a tree, upright, longer than a man; and with that same knife that he slew the king withal, was his hand all upon high nailed fast to that tree. That done, the hangman was commanded with that same knife to cut off that hand from the arm. After that, he was nailed, naked as he was first born of his mother, drawn through the town, and the tormentors on every side of him, with hooked instruments of iron, fire hot, all red and glowing; they pinched and twined his thighs, his legs, his arms, his sides, his back, his shoulders, his neck, his womb, and over all his body, that was still sick and piteous to look upon. With the unsupportable pain of torment, he cried then piteously, with deadly voice, for the pains and passions he so suffered, saying to them, that they did that torment against the laws. 'This that ye have done to me is only by the rigour of unmeasurable tyranny. All the world may clepe you Scotch tyrants, for human nature will not suffer nor endure the painful and tyrannic tormenting that ye put me unto. I doubt me full sore, that, if ye continue thus your torments upon my wretched person, that by the pain ye shall constrain me to deny my Creator, and if I so do I call you before God, the high and chief Judge of all mankind after their deserts at the universal doom, that ye be the very cause of the loss of my soul.'

The miserable wretch was reserved for another day of agony; but it is necessary to draw a veil over the horrid scene. He was at length beheaded, and the dreadful tragedy terminated with the execution of Thomas Hall, "who, it was known," says the contemporary chronicler, "was the principal and the final cause of the king's death. And thus ends this sorrowful and piteous chronicle."

James I., who was thus cut off in the prime of life, and in the midst of his wise and energetic measures for the improvement of his kingdom, was by far the ablest sovereign that had occupied the Scottish throne since Character of James I.—the days of King Robert Bruce; and it may be doubted whether any of his successors have equalled him, either in the vigour of his talents, or the extent and variety of his accomplish-

* "The evil spirit which had seduced him," says Sir Walter Scott, "and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme to this effect—

'Robert Graham
That killed our king,
God give him shame.'"

ments. His natural abilities, indeed, were of the highest order, and had been early called forth into maturity, both by assiduous cultivation, and by the stern lessons of adversity. His protracted residence in England enabled him to study the science of government to the best advantage, and he acquired in this school a knowledge of the art of administration, which he could hardly have learned in his own kingdom. The enlarged and sagacious character of his political views is proved by the courage with which, undeterred by threatened danger, he uprooted time-honoured abuses, and introduced the most extensive and beneficial changes into the constitution of the country. The introduction of the principle of representation in the meetings of the three Estates of the realm, and the frequency and regularity with which they were assembled—the publication, for the first time, of the Acts of Parliament in the language of the common people—the steps taken to give the utmost publicity to the statutes passed by the legislature—the institution of the Court of Session, and the numerous enactments of his reign for the maintenance of law and order, and the due administration of justice to all classes of the community, vindicate his claim to the character of a wise and good sovereign, and show his enlightened and deep anxiety to promote the welfare of his subjects. “James

—his affection sought to found the basis of his power on the affections of his people— people. He attached the lower orders to him by the reformation of abuses, the temperate and equitable administration of justice, the encouragement of the arts of peace, and the promotion of every thing that could diffuse comfort, competency, and innocent enjoyment through the humblest ranks of society. He mingled occasionally among the common people in disguises; visited their firesides; entered into their cares, their pursuits, and their amusements; informed himself of their mechanical arts, and how they could best be patronized and improved, and was thus an all-pervading spirit, watching with a benevolent eye over the meanest of his subjects.”* As might have been expected, James was highly popular with the great mass of the nation, who felt the benefits they enjoyed from his vigorous and equitable administration, and willingly took refuge under his protection from the grievous oppression of the feudal barons. But his turbulent and factious nobility regarded him with very different feelings; and, it cannot be denied, that in his laudable efforts to curb their exorbitant power, to

—severity towards his nobles— strip them of those dangerous immunities which they had usurped during the anarchy of the preceding reigns, and to punish those who had been guilty of flagrant offences, he displayed an inflexible severity, which sometimes bordered on cruelty. But the evils of the feudal system had,

during the feeble sway of his predecessors, and the long usurpation of Albany, grown up to a rankness which could be repressed only by the adoption of the most vigorous measures, while the long exile of James in a foreign land, through the unprincipled ambition of his uncle, and the state of anarchy in which he found his kingdom on his return, made revenge appear almost in the light of a duty, and may account for, if it cannot justify, the unrelenting rigour with which he pursued his uncle's family to utter ruin.

The personal accomplishments of James were of a very high order. He was well —his personal learned, we are told, “to fight accomplishments— with the sword, to joust, to tourney, to wrestle, to sing, and dance. He was an expert mediciner, right crafty in playing both of lute and harp, and sundry other instruments of music, and was expert in grammar, oratory, and poetry.” He was an eminent calligrapher, illuminator, and painter in miniature. Gardening was a favourite amusement with him, as it was with his predecessor the good King David I., and he took great pleasure in planting shrubs and trees, and in grafting.* He contributed greatly to improve the national music of Scotland, and wrote several poems, both serious and comic, which bear the stamp of original genius, and are remarkable for a grace and elegance which were previously unknown to Scottish writers. In person, James was rather below the middle size, but possessed of such strength and activity, as to excel in the games of chivalry, and in all the manly exercises of the age.

This excellent prince perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth. He left one —his children. son, James, his successor, and five daughters, of whom, Margaret, the eldest, inherited her father's love of literature and taste for poetry. But her husband, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. of France, was notorious for his duplicity and falsehood, his mean malignity and gross licentiousness, and her lot was singularly wretched. She was neglected and contemned by her infamous husband, and is believed to have fallen a victim, in her twenty-second year, to a base calumny, invented by one of his unworthy courtiers.† Her sister Eleanor, who married Sigismund, Duke of Austria, was equally fond of literature, and translated the romance of Ponthus et Sidoine into German for the amusement of her husband. James's remaining daughters were Isabel, married to Francis, Duke of Bretagne; Mary, to the Count de Boucquan, son to the Lord of Campvere; and Jane, to the Earl of Angus, and subsequently to the Earl of Morton.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. p. 514.

† “Her accuser,” says Pinkerton, “was proved to be a ‘scondrel’ and ‘common liar;’ qualities which, doubtless, recommended him to the special protection of Louis.” History, vol. i. pp. 199—201, and note (8). For the character of Louis see Introduction to Quentin Durward.

* Washington Irving.

CHAPTER XVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A. D. 1370—1436.

THE ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had now become completely assimilated, in the general outline of its constitution, to the other churches which acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The provincial councils of the clergy appear to have been regularly assembled, but their acts are imperfectly recorded, as they contain little or nothing of much interest. The following

passage gives in brief compass a comprehensive view of the privileges enjoyed by the Scottish church at this period. "The clergy seem to have possessed an exemption from tribute and war, and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial, and heretical affairs; freedom to let land and tithes; submission to no foreign church but the Pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church. In benefices, the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops and of the collegiate bodies whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent; but James III. seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination.*

As might naturally be expected, in an age when the great mass of the people were immersed in gross ignorance, superstitious notions and usages were widely prevalent in Scotland at this period. The virtue of the mass,† and of the relics of saints, the adoration of images and of the cross, the efficacy of indulgences and the importance of confession, of processions, and of pilgrimages, were zealously inculcated by the priests, and credulously believed by the people.

Immense numbers of pilgrims travelled to the various shrines of saints and martyrs, not only in Scotland and England, but even on the continent. If, however, we may credit the statements of contemporary writers, the extreme frequency of these pilgrimages did not originate wholly in religious zeal. A graphic de-

scription of what the fashionable pilgrimages of the time really were, is given by William Thorpe, one of the early followers of Wycliffe, in his defence before Archbishop Arundel:—"Examine," he says, "whosoever will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find the man or woman that knows surely a commandment of God, nor can say

Character and conduct of the pilgrims.

their Pater-noster and Ave-Maria, nor their creeds readily in any language." "The cause," he affirms, "why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimages, is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls, more to have riches and prosperity of this world than to be enriched with virtues in their souls, more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship than to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven." Such persons as thus spend much money in seeking and visiting the bones of this or that saint, do that, he contends, which is in direct disobedience to the command of God, inasmuch as they waste their goods partly upon hostellers (or inn-keepers) many of whom are women of profligate conduct, partly upon rich priests that already have much more than they need. "Also," he concludes, "I know well, that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them (arrange with one another) before to have with them both men and women that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes; so that every town they come through, what with the noise of their singing, with the sound of their piping, with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came there-away with all his clarions and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month in their pilgrimage many of them shall be an half-year after janglers, tale-tellers, and liars."* The most noted Scottish pilgrimage appears to have been Whithern, in Galloway, and great numbers of pilgrims resorted to this shrine from England, and even from foreign countries. Rabelais mentions the frequent pilgrimages to St. Triegnan, which is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern.†

It was at this period that the doctrines of Wycliffe appeared for the first time in Scotland. The disciples of this great reformer had already become very numerous in England, where they had undergone a fierce persecution at the hands of the Romish hierarchy. Great numbers were condemned to the stake, and others suffered prolonged imprisonment, whipping, and similar punishments. Some of these zealous opponents of papal errors soon penetrated into the northern division of the island, either in search of a refuge

First appearance in Scotland of the doctrines of Wycliffe.

* Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 173.

† Even the learned Bower, the continuator of Fordun, relates with all gravity an example of the virtue of the mass in saving three monks of his monastery who were bringing ale in a boat that was lost.

* Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

† Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 175, note (1). St. Ringan is the Scottish corruption of St. Ninian.

from the persecution of their enemies, or, more probably, from an ardent desire to propagate the truth. They were usually termed Lollards, probably from the German reformer, Walter Lollhard, who was burnt at Cologne, in 1322, for his preaching against the mass, extreme unction, the efficacy of penance, and the authority assumed by the pope. The English and Scottish Lollards were the zealous opponents of the pretensions of the Romish hierarchy, and appear to have held nearly the same doctrines with Luther and his followers in the next century. A very distinct account of their creed is given in a petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1395, in which

Opinions held they maintain, that "the possession of temporalities by the clergy is contrary to the law of Christianity, and destructive of faith, hope, and charity; that the Romish priesthood is not that established by Christ; that outward rites of worship have no warrant in Scripture, and are of little or no importance; that the celibacy of the clergy is the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the whole church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation tends to make people idolatrous; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, &c., have more in them of necromancy than of religion; that the clergy, by accepting secular places under the government, become hermaphrodites, attempting at the same time to serve both God and Mammon; that prayers made for the dead are more likely to be displeasing than otherwise to the Almighty, inasmuch as for one among other reasons, they are probably, in most cases, offered for persons (more especially the founders of monasteries and other such pernicious endowments) who have already been consigned to punishment for their evil lives, and are beyond the reach of mercy; that pilgrimages and prayers made to images, are nearly akin to idolatry; that auricular confession is a highly objectionable practice; that priests have no power of absolution for sin; that to take away the life of man, either in war or by sentence of a court of justice, is expressly contrary to the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and, lastly, that certain trades ought to be put down, as both unnecessary and the occasion of a great deal of sin, especially those of the goldsmith and the sword-cutler, both of which, though they might be tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, were not lawful under that of the New Testament."*

It was not at all unnatural that the clergy should regard with the greatest alarm the spread of doctrines like these, which struck at the very root of the papal system; but the measures which they adopted for their suppression were in the highest degree unjustifiable and impolitic. In the year

1407, John Resby, an English priest, of the school of Wycliffe, who had preached the tenets of

the reformer with great boldness and zeal, was ap-
* Wilkin's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 221. Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. p. 141.

prehended on a charge of heresy, and brought before a clerical council, presided over by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor of theology. He was charged with no fewer than forty heretical opinions, the principal of which were, that penance and auricular confession are of no avail; that the pope is not the vicar of Christ; and that he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life. Resby made a courageous and eloquent defence; but, as was to be expected, he failed to convince his ecclesiastical judges, by whom he was found guilty, and barbarously condemned to the flames. This intrepid witness for the truth was accordingly burnt at Perth along with his books and writings.* The conduct of the clergy, in thus kindling the flames of religious persecution, was abetted, if not instigated, by Albany, whose zeal for the purity of the Romish faith, and hatred of Lollards and heretics, are gratefully commemorated by Wyntown.† The execution of Resby is the first example of persecution for religious opinions which is recorded in Scottish history, and, as has invariably been the case, this cruel attempt to quench the doctrines of the reformers served only to strengthen their hold on the popular mind. The blood of the martyr proved the seed of the church. His little treatises, explaining and —spread of his defending the opinions for which doctrines.

he suffered, were carefully preserved by his disciples, who held secret meetings for the discussion of those doctrines which they had been taught by their instructor, and which they resolutely maintained, although they were afraid openly to avow them. Bower tells us, that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom the writings of Resby were carefully preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text, that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." It is certain that the new opinions continued steadily to gain ground Statute against the Lollards. for their suppression by the parliament which assembled at Perth in 1424, after the return of James I. from England. This statute directed that the bishops should make strict inquisition within their respective dioceses for all Lollards and other heretics, in order that they might be punished according to the laws of the holy church; and that, if necessary, the civil power should be called in for that purpose, in aid of the ecclesiastical.‡

It does not appear, however, that any person was brought to the stake in Scotland, for heresy, after the death of Resby, till the year 1433, when Paul Crawler, a Bohemian, was burnt at St. Andrews, on the 23rd of July. Crawler, who is admitted by his enemies to have been a

Paul Crawler is condemned and burnt for heresy—

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

† "He was a constant Catholic, All Lollard he hated and heretic."

Vol. ii. p. 419

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 7.

person of great learning and of remarkable acuteness and dexterity in argument, had been sent by the reformers of Prague to open a communication with their brethren in Scotland. He was a physician by profession, and his recommendatory letters spoke highly of his eminence in the healing art; but he appears to have followed this profession principally for the purpose of obtaining a favourable opportunity to disseminate his religious opinions. There can be no doubt that he made many converts, and that the disciples of Wycliffe in Scotland had by this time greatly increased in number, for, in the account given of the trial of the Bohemian, he is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen. The zeal and success with which he propagated his doctrinal views excited the alarm and indignation of the clergy, and he was seized and brought before Laurence of Lindores, the same cruel and bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment upon Resby. From the exposition of his opinions

given by Bower, it is evident that

—his doctrines. Crawar held, on most points, the tenets of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He affirmed that purgatory was a cunningly-devised fable, the efficacy of pilgrimages an imposition, and that the doctrines of transubstantiation, the power of the "keys," and priestly absolution, were vain devices of human invention. He strenuously asserted the right of the laity to the free perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and, what was probably regarded as the most obnoxious of all his heretical opinions, he asserted, that, in temporal matters, the spiritual should be subordinate to the civil, and that magistrates had a right to try and punish ecclesiastics who had been guilty of criminal offences. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Crawar and his followers rejected the unauthorized rites of the Romish church, and closely followed the example of the primitive Christians. They commenced the service by the Lord's Prayer, after which they read the history of the institution of the ordinance, as contained in the New Testament, and then proceeded to distribute the elements, using common bread, and a common drinking cup or goblet.* When brought before the ecclesiastical court, the Bohemian reformer courageously avowed the opinions which he held, and supported them by the most cogent arguments, and by apposite quotations from the sacred volume. But his powerful reasoning and profound knowledge of the Holy Scriptures availed him nothing in his contest with his remorseless persecutors. He was condemned to the stake, and underwent the cruel sentence with a courage and composure which had a powerful influence on the minds of the people. The perpetrators of this atrocious act, and their apologists, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of their victim by imputing to him a denial of the resurrection of the dead, and affirming that his followers recommended a community of goods,

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 495, 496. Tytler, vol. iii. p. 244.

and lived gross and licentious lives,—the very calumnious accusation which the heathen writers brought against the disciples of Christ in the early ages of Christianity.

It may excite surprise that a sovereign so sagacious and enlightened as James, Policy of the king— should have countenanced or permitted these cruel proceedings; but the clergy were his most powerful auxiliaries in his deadly struggle with the feudal aristocracy, and he had been trained in a bad school for the acquirement of correct opinions respecting religious freedom and toleration. The sanguinary persecutions of the Lollards, which took place in England during the reigns of Henry IV. and his son,* who scrupled at nothing to gain the favour of the clergy, must have exercised a most injurious influence on the mind of the youthful monarch, accustoming him to witness scenes of suffering and cruelty, and to see human lives sacrificed without scruple, for the accomplishment of selfish objects. Accordingly, on his return to his own country, he appears to have adopted the policy of his instructors without any misgiving, and to have unhesitatingly lent himself to the support of the clergy in their unscrupulous attempt to exterminate the doctrines of the reformers. In other respects, James's love for the church was shown in a way more in accordance with his general character. Though he is said to have gruded the liberal donations which his predecessor David I.,—that "sore saint for the crown,"—bestowed upon the church, and his own income, in consequence of the dilapidation of the royal revenues during his captivity was too limited to permit him to become the founder or benefactor of religious houses, he clearly perceived that, amid prevailing ignorance and barbarism, the clergy were the best instruments he could

—his encourage-
employ in promoting the education ment of the
and civilization of the people. He clergy—
therefore sought to cultivate their friendship, and availed himself of their great influence in the prosecution of his plans for the diminution of the power of the nobility and the general improvement of the country. Immediately after his return from England, with the view of conciliating the clergy, an enactment was passed by the parliament, commanding all men to honour the church, declaring that the clergy should enjoy in all things their ancient freedom and established privileges, and strictly prohibiting any interference with their granting leases of their lands or tithes. In the

* Great numbers suffered for their religious opinions under these monarchs, who were determined persecutors, sparing no rank or age. Holinshed mentions a most shocking example of the cruelty of Henry V. while Prince of Wales. He was present at the execution of one Badby, who was burnt for his denial of transubstantiation. "When the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noise very pitifully, the prince caused the fire to be plucked back, and offered him his life and a pension if he would recant." But the intrepid martyr refused, choosing to die rather than to forsake his opinions. "Whereupon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun again, from thenceforth not to have any favour or pardon at all; and so it was done, and the fire put to him again, and he consumed to ashes."

following year (1425) James issued a commission to the primate, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, authorizing him to resume all the church lands which had been alienated during the regency of Albany; orders were given to the justiciars of the realm to assist in the recovery of the lost property, and the bishop was commissioned to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on all who should offer any resistance.* James also revived the custom of holding general councils, which had fallen into desuetude. He exercised a watchful control over the various religious establishments throughout the country, and the manners and morals of their inmates, and finding that the Benedictine and Augustine monks had become relaxed in their discipline, he wrote to them an affectionate letter of admonition and reproof.† James was

—and zeal in repressing ecclesiastical abuses which had crept into the ecclesiastical state of the country, from the purchase of pensions from the pope, and of the presentations to benefices and important clerical offices. Stringent enactments were passed, forbidding these disgraceful practices under heavy penalties; and with the view of preventing them, no clerk was allowed to pass beyond seas without an express licence from the king, and it was made incumbent on him, first to show good cause for his expedition, and to give security that he should not be guilty of any kind of simony or “barratry.”‡

It is gratifying to be able to turn for relief from the melancholy scenes of intestine feud and religious persecution, of St. Andrews— to the pleasing spectacle of the establishment of the University of St. Andrews, which was founded in the year 1410, under the auspices of Henry Wardlaw, the bishop of that see.§ Before the foundation of this institution, the Scottish youth were obliged to resort to the English and Continental universities for the opportunities of prosecuting their studies in the higher branches of education. In the year 1282, Devorguilla, the daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and wife of John Baliol,¶ established Baliol College in Oxford, which was no doubt intended for the reception of Scottish students; and in 1326, the Scotch College of Paris was founded by the liberality of David, Bishop of Moray. But to Bishop Wardlaw belongs the honour of erecting a temple to learning at home, and thus rendering it unnecessary for the

Scottish youth to resort to other lands in pursuit of knowledge. In the papal bull which sanctioned the new seminary, it is declared that the bishop and his associates had been stirred up to the undertaking by the consideration of the many dangers and inconveniences to which the clergy of Scotland, who desired to be instructed in theology, the canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal arts, were exposed from wars and other impediments in their journeys to foreign *studia generalia*, in consequence of there being no such institution to which they might resort in their own country. The origin of the new seminary was sufficiently simple. A few men of letters in the city of St. Andrews formed themselves into an association, under the auspices of the bishop, for the purpose of giving instruction in the higher branches of science and philosophy to all who chose to attend their lectures. Their names, as recorded by Fordun, were Laurence Lindores, an eminent doctor of theology, who undertook to explain —its first professors—

the fourth book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard; Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian; John Litster, Canon of St. Andrews; John Shevez, Official of St. Andrews; William Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, who lectured on the civil and canon laws; and John Gyll, William Foulis, and William Crosier, who taught logic and philosophy. The public lectures commenced in the year 1410, and in the charter or grant of privileges, which is dated 27th February, 1411, and addressed to the venerable doctors, masters, bachelors, and scholars dwelling in the city of St. Andrews, by whom the institution had been so laudably begun, the bishop formally endows the new seminary with all the rights and privileges of a university, in so far as his jurisdiction extended. But it was not until after the lapse of two years and a half that the establishment was sanctioned by the papal authority.

At this period there were no fewer than three rival popes, each claiming to be the head of the church. The king— it is sanctioned by the papal authority— of Scotland adhered to Benedict XII.; from him, therefore, the bulls of confirmation were obtained. These bulls, which are six in number, all dated the same day, the 25th of August, 1413, at Paniscola, in Arragon, where Benedict kept his court, profess to be granted at the request of the Scottish king, and of the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrews, whose project of establishing a university or *studium generale* in that city is expressly stated to have been formed with the counsel, consent, and common participation of the three Estates of the realm of Scotland.* On the 3rd of February, 1414, the papal bulls, which endowed the infant seminary with all the privileges of a university, were brought to St. Andrews by Henry Ogilvy, master of arts, and their arrival was welcomed by processions and the ringing of bells, and every demonstration

* See Evidence taken by the Scottish University Commissioners, vol. iii. p. 171.

* MS. in Harleian Coll., quoted in Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 116.

† Fordun, vol. ii. p. 508.

‡ The purchase of benefices for money.

§ This enlightened prelate was as highly celebrated for his munificence as for his love of learning. The story is told of him, that when the managers of his household complained to him of his unbounded hospitality, and proposed that he should draw out a scheme for its regulation and retrenchment, he called his secretary, and named as the first guests whom he would have always welcome, Pife and Angus—the two counties principally forming his diocese. “His servants,” adds Archbishop Spottiswoode, “hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house.” History of the Church of Scotland, p. 67.

¶ See ante, p. 108.

of public joy. On the following day, which was Sunday, the clergy assembled in solemn convocation in the refectory, and heard the papal bulls read in the presence of the bishop, the chancellor of the university. They then walked in procession to the high altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole of the vast assembly, consisting of the dignitaries of the church, arrayed in their richest robes, and of four hundred clerks, besides novices and lay-brothers, and an immense multitude of spectators. High mass was then celebrated, and after the conclusion of the service, the remainder of the day was spent in joyous festivity.*

"The University of St. Andrews was formed on

Constitution of the model of those of Paris and the University—Bologna, and enjoyed the same privileges. All its members, or supposts, as they are called, including the students who had attained the degree of bachelor, as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came. At a congregation, or general meeting, they elected four procurators, who had a right to act for them in all causes in which their interests were concerned; and four intrants, or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors, in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which incurred the highest punishment. He had a right to repledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical; and in certain cases, those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose, that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and accordingly, a concordat was entered into at an early period between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their jurisdictions were defined and adjusted. The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom within the city and the regality of the abbey. It was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the Estates, with the exception of what is called the *great custom*. Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices, with cure, were liberated by the papal

bull from obligation to personal residence, as long as they taught in the university. Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication. It may be mentioned, as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it was determined that the rector of the university should take precedence of the prior of the abbey in all public processions.

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty, for regulating the mode of study, and for examinations. The chancellor presided at meetings of the university for the conferring of degrees. It was long before medicine was taught as a separate science in our universities; and it does not appear that they were accustomed anciently to confer degrees in law. The branches taught were the arts, or philosophy, canon law, and divinity.

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge. The erection of the University of St. Andrews may be regarded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterized Scotchmen, students came to St. Andrews from every part of the kingdom.**

When King James returned from England, in 1424, he found the university —its privileges still flourishing under the protection of its venerable founder, James I. —his own early instructor. Besides granting it a charter, dated at Perth, 3rd March, 1432, confirming all its privileges and immunities, James assembled the most distinguished of the professors and students, and, after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them, according to their merit, with offices in the state or benefices in the church. According to Boece, the institution enjoyed such prosperity under his patronage, that it soon numbered among its teachers no fewer than thirteen doctors of divinity and eight doctors of laws, whose lectures were attended by a prodigious multitude of students.

* Scotichron. vol. ii. pp. 445, 446.

• M'Crie's Life of Melville, pp. 335—341.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE long wars with England, and the fierce domestic feuds of the nobles, not only retarded the social progress of Scotland, but threw it back a century in the career of civilization. There can be no doubt that the agriculture, trade, and commerce of the country were in a much more flourishing state, and that the inhabitants possessed a larger share of necessaries and comforts of life during the reign of Alexander III. than at the accession of James I. The social habits of the Scottish people in these unfavourable circumstances inevitably acquired a rudeness and ferocity corresponding to their external condition. According to Froissart, (whose visit to Scotland, about the year 1360, forms an epoch in the history of the national manners;) the French auxiliaries, who came over in the year 1385, shuddered at the penury and barbarism of the country. The city of Edinburgh, he tells us, was at this time not so large as Valenciennes or Tournay, and though it

Dwellings of the people— contained four thousand houses, these were merely small wooden cottages, covered with straw, which their owners abandoned and set on fire with little reluctance, whenever an enemy appeared.* Even so late as the reign of James I., we are informed by Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II.,) that the houses in the towns of Scotland, when constructed of stone at all, were built without lime, and in the villages they were roofed with turf, while a cow-hide supplied the place of a door.† Froissart states that the houses of the borderers, and those who inhabited the districts which were exposed to the incursions of the enemy, were of a still more wretched description, consisting merely of four or five poles, to support the turf walls and a roof of boughs, so that a man could erect a dwelling of this kind in three days. On the approach of the English they unroofed these temporary structures, and carrying off their flocks and herds and household stuff, retired into the mountain fastnesses and recesses of the forests, where they remained in security till the enemy was compelled to retreat in order to escape starvation, when the inhabitants emerged from their retreats, and with a few stakes and wattles rebuilt their ruined habitations. The indoor accommodations of such a people must have been of the most miserable kind. Æneas Sylvius mentions that the common people were poor and uneducated, and though they had abundance of flesh and fish, yet

—their food.

bread was regarded as an absolute dainty among them. The men, he adds, are small in stature, but bold; the women fair and comely.‡ Another

* Chronicles, vol. ii. chap. cix.
 † Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 149, 150.
 ‡ Ibid.

contemporary author states that Scotland is rich in fish, flesh, and milk, but the country is mountainous and strange, and the people rough and savage; and Froissart informs us that the French knights, who came over under John de Viemie, in the reign of Robert II., could obtain no wine in Scotland but at a great price, while the ale was weak and thin, and the bread made of barley or oats.* The state of the people "in the region where agriculture was not used" was still more wretched than that of their fellow countrymen in the "cultivated lowlands." The wild Scots, who speak a different language, we are told, were sometimes reduced to eat the bark of trees. Milk in its various modes of preparation formed a principal article of food among the common people. Meat boiled with oatmeal, or fish, formed their meals on more important occasions. Bread and vegetables were little used—a circumstance which may, probably, account for the prevalence of the cutaneous disease called leprosy.† Great quantities of salmon and other fish were taken in the rivers, and formed an important article both of diet and of export.

The immense forests which at one time covered the face of the country were now Dilapidation of the forests.
 greatly dilapidated. Æneas Syl-
 vius says, he found the country generally devoid of trees, but there was a sulphureous stone dug up which was used for firing: and again, that coals were given to the poor at the church-doors by way of alms, the country being denuded of wood.‡ The statement of this author is incidentally corroborated by the statute enacted by the parliament in 1424, regarding those defaulters who steal green wood, or strip the trees of their bark, under cover of the night. Unfortunately this decay of the forests was not owing to the progress of agriculture. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that many districts which had at one time been brought under cultivation were allowed to return to a state of nature, in consequence State of agriculture—
 of the unsettled condition of the country. The evils resulting from this neglect of agricultural operations, attracted the attention of James I. immediately on his return to his own kingdom; and various enactments were passed by the legislature for the protection and encouragement of husbandry. It was ordained, that every man of such a condition in life as made it proper that he should be a labourer or husbandman, should either become the half-proprietor of an ox and a plough, or dig every day a portion of land seven feet in length, and six feet in breadth. —enactments for its encouragement.
 It was also declared, that every farmer and husbandman who possessed a plough and eight oxen, should sow annu-

* Chronicles, vol. ii. chap. cix.

† Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 154. See ante, p. 265. By a previous statute, passed 1401, it was enacted, that if any unwholesome pork, or bacon, or spoilt and foul salmon, was brought to market, it was to be seized by the bailies, and sent immediately to the "lipper folk" (leprous folk)—a species of barbarous economy, it has been justly remarked which says little for the humanity of the age.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 150.

ally a firlof, or four Scottish pecks of wheat, half a firlof of pease, and forty beans, under a penalty of ten shillings, to be paid to the baron of the land; while the baron himself was commanded to sow the same quantity within his own demesnes under the penalty of forty shillings, to be paid to the king for each infringement of the law.* It has been justly remarked, that the small quantity of beans here mentioned renders it probable that this is the era of their earliest introduction into Scotland. Oats and barley, indeed, were almost the sole crops raised at this period in Scotland, and *pease-bannocks* were long esteemed by the Scottish peasantry a dainty little inferior to wheaten bread. The statutes concerning the destruction of rooks, because of the mischief which they occasioned to the corn;† the extirpation of wolves, and the burning of heath while the crops were on the ground, have been already referred to, and indicate the watchful care with which James sought to promote the improvement of the country.

The commerce of Scotland, like its agriculture, had suffered severely at this period from foreign war and internal dissensions, but, after the death of Edward III., and the abandonment of the designs which the English monarch had entertained upon the independence of the kingdom, it began slowly to revive and to return to its former channels. The greater part of the foreign trade of the country was confined to the Netherlands, though voyages were occasionally undertaken to Norway, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns, and to France for wine.‡ A considerable trade appears to have been also carried on with the Lombards, who were at this time reckoned among the most wealthy and enterprising merchants in Europe.§ It is difficult to give anything like an accurate or satisfactory account of the imports of Scotland at this period, as they appear to have been of the most miscellaneous character, and to have included most articles of necessity and convenience. The exports, according to Æneas Sylvius, consisted of hides, wool, salt fish, and pearls. In addition to these, the statutes make mention of horses, cattle, and sheep; the skins of martins, fumarts, rabbits, does, roes, otters, foxes, harts, and hinds; woollen cloths; and herrings, salted and cured. The numerous enactments framed by the legislature for the regulation of the fisheries, show that salmon constituted an important article of commerce. The customs on imports and exports amounted to about two shillings in the pound; but it is impossible now to ascertain the extent of

the trade. Stow mentions, that Sir Robert Umfraville, the English Vice-Admiral, in an expedition to Scotland in 1410, besides plundering the country on both coasts of the Frith of Forth, carried off as prizes fourteen "good ships" laden with woollen and linen cloth; pitch, tar; woad; meal, wheat and rye; in addition to many which he burned. It is probable, however, that some of the vessels taken by Umfraville might belong to foreigners. Domestic traffic was chiefly carried on at fairs, which were usually held on the day of the saint to whom the parish church was dedicated. Thither the merchant brought his goods, and the farmer and the husbandmen the produce of their lands; receiving in return the necessaries or luxuries imported from the continent. We learn incidentally, that at this period the richer nobles and gentry, and the higher clergy, and even the sovereign himself, not infrequently engaged in mercantile adventures. The Duke of Albany, for example, was the proprietor of a vessel which carried six hundred quarters of malt, and was navigated by a master and twenty-four sailors. In the year 1404, a richly-laden vessel, belonging to Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, was taken by the English. About the same time, the Earl of Douglas freighted a vessel to trade in Normandy and Rochelle; and at a later period, a ship named the *Mary of Leith*, belonging to King James I., obtained a safe conduct from the English monarch to unship her cargo in the port of London, and expose the merchandise for sale.* About the same time James imported from London the following articles, which it may, therefore, be presumed he either could not procure at home, or not of so good a quality: twenty tons of wine; twelve bows; four dozen yards of cloth, of different colours; twelve yards of scarlet; twenty yards of red worsted; eight dozen pewter vessels; twelve hundred wooden bowls, packed in four barrels; three dozen coversals; a basin and font; two summer saddles; one hackney saddle; a woman's saddle, with furniture; two portmanteaus; four yards of motley; five yards of morrey; five yards of black cloth of lyre; twelve yards of kersey, and twelve skins of red leather. These goods were shipped for Scotland, in a vessel belonging to London, accompanied by an order of king Henry, securing them from molestation by English cruisers.†

It appears that the merchants of Scotland frequently went abroad with their cargoes; but, in the mistaken spirit which characterized the commercial legislation of the age, it was enacted by the parliament in 1424, that no merchant was to be permitted to pass the sea for the purposes of trade, unless he possessed in property, or at least in commission, the value of three serplaiths of wool, each serplait being eighty stone weight, or about two sacks. The whole of the statutes, indeed, enacted during the reign of James I., for the regulation of the commerce of

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 13; Tytler, vol. iii. p. 224.

† The trees in which the rooks were suffered to build were forfeited to the king. Æneas Sylvius, who mentions this law, erroneously infers from it that rooks had been recently introduced into Scotland.

‡ The usual staple of the Scottish continental commerce was at Bruges, where James I. founded a Scottish chapel, to be supported by some duties on the ships belonging to his subjects. Campvere became the staple port, after the marriage of its lord to a daughter of James.

§ Bower speaks of an "enormous vessel," belonging to the Lombards, which was shipwrecked by a sudden storm on the Frith of Forth, and cast ashore at Granton.

* Rotuli Scotiæ, quoted in Tytler's History, vol. iii. p. 204.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 470.

the country, while they evince the unwearied attention of the king to the welfare of his dominions, are pervaded by the same unenlightened policy. The restrictions imposed upon the transportation of gold and silver out of the country, and on the sale and exportation of oxen, sheep, and horses, of skins and tallow; the compulsory regulations promulgated against merchant-strangers, by which they were compelled to lay out the money received for their goods in the purchase of Scottish merchandise; and the injunction to the exporters of wool, hides, and other articles, to bring home a certain quantity of bullion in exchange for their goods; the prohibition against the purchase of English cloth by Scottish merchants; and the repeated attempts made to fix the prices of the various kinds of manufactured articles, and the wages of the artificers, though, doubtless, intended to encourage, were in reality calculated seriously to impede and injure the trade and commerce of the country. This mistaken policy was evidently borrowed from the commercial regulations of the English monarchs, under whom James had received his legislative training; for, in the sister-country, almost every department of industry was impeded and fettered by legislative interference.

As might have been expected in these troublous times, the defence of the country occupied a large share of the attention of the king and parliament, and reiterated enactments were passed, enjoining the sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to hold "weapon-sehawings," or musters of all the fighting men in the country, four times in the year, for the inspection of their weapons, and the practice of their military exercises. In one of these statutes we have a minute account of the various kinds of armour and arms worn by the different classes of the community. All persons who were possessed of land yielding an annual rent of twenty pounds, or of moveable property to the value of a hundred pounds, were to be well mounted and armed, "from head to heel," doubtless in the plate armour which had now superseded the chain-mail formerly worn by knights and esquires. Their offensive weapons were the battle-axe, the two-handed sword, the iron-mace, or the spear. Persons of inferior rank, worth only ten pounds of yearly rent, or fifty pounds in goods, were commanded to provide themselves with a helmet and gorget, a rere-brace, vambrace, breastplate, and greaves, with plates to cover the front of the thighs and legs, and iron gauntlets, or gloves. Every yeoman possessing property amounting to twenty pounds in goods, was bound to arm himself with a habergeon, an iron hat, a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword-buckler, and dagger. The yeoman with ten pounds in property, was to provide himself with a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword-buckler, and dagger; while the lowest class were to have an iron hat, a doublet of fence, with sword and buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. Every burghs worth fifty pounds in goods

was bound to arm himself in the same manner as a gentleman; while the burghs or citizen possessing property to the value of twenty pounds, was enjoined to provide a doublet and habergeon, with a sword and buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, and a knife or dagger.* It appears that the greater part of the armour and weapons employed by the Scots at this period, was imported from the continent; for it was enacted by the parliament in 1425, that all merchants of the realm passing beyond seas should, along with their usual cargoes, bring home such a supply of harness and armour as could be stowed in the vessel, besides spears, spear-shafts, bows, and bow-strings.

The spear was the favourite weapon of the Scottish spearmen, and all attempts to supersede it by the bow completely failed, although the superiority of the latter, in the hands of the English, was manifested in many a bloody field. The few archers to be found in the ranks of the Scottish army were chiefly Highlanders and Islesmen, who were greatly inferior to the English bowmen, both in the size of their weapons and in their mode of handling them. The importance of training his subjects to the use of the long-bow, appears to have been deeply impressed on the mind of James I.; and in his first parliament, held immediately after his return from captivity, it was enacted, that all males above twelve years of age should provide themselves with the usual arms of an archer, that they might be taught the use of the bow. It was also required that butts should be erected upon every ten-pound land, especially in the vicinity of the parish churches, where every man was to shoot at least thrice about; while a fine of a wedder was to be paid to the lord of the land by those who failed to comply with this injunction. For the purpose of constraining the common people to devote the whole of their leisure time to the practice of archery, James prohibited, under a severe penalty, the pastimes of football and of golf, which appear to have been the favourite games of the Scots at that period, as they still continue to be at the present day.† Similar enactments were repeated at intervals throughout the reign of this wise and energetic sovereign; and, not satisfied with these legislative efforts to induce his subjects to cultivate this warlike accomplishment, he sought to enforce his orders by a little wholesome raillery on their unskilfulness in the use of the bow. In the poem called "Christ's Kirk on the Green," he ridicules, with much humour, the unskilfulness of the Scottish bowmen. One man draws his string with such fury that the bow breaks in shivers; a second shoots his arrow a whole acre's breadth wide of the mark; a third hits the man's body at whom he took aim, but with so little effect that he cannot pierce his leathern doublet; and a fourth, who discharges his arrow he knows not where, is persuaded that it

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 18.

† Ibid. pp. 5, 6.

has slaughtered a priest, "a mile beyond a mire," upon which, in a panic, he throws down his artillery and forthwith flies the country. But neither the shafts of ridicule nor the enactments of the legislature availed to change the national habits; and Bower informs us, that after the death of James, among a hundred followers of a baron scarcely six archers could be found, the remainder being armed, as before, with their long spears and heavy battle-axes.*

Cannon began now to be employed in the attack and defence of fortified places, instead of the battering ram, the sower, the balista, and other warlike engines of a similar description; but the Scots never attained to any great proficiency in the use of artillery. As heretofore, the chief force of the Scottish army consisted in infantry; but on the march they were nearly all mounted on small, hardy horses, for the sake of celerity and to save fatigue. In this way they often marched twenty or even twenty-four miles in a single day and night. Each soldier was required to bring with him provisions for forty days; consisting, however, merely of a small bag of oatmeal, trussed behind him on the saddle. The enemy's country supplied them with abundance of meat.†

Considerable light is thrown on the constitution of a Scottish army at this period, and on the military customs of the times, by the articles of agreement, drawn up in the year 1385, by the Earl of Carriek (afterwards Robert III.) and other nobles, and the Admiral of France and his knights, for the regulation of the combined movements of the Scottish forces, and their French allies, during their expedition into England. Pillage was forbidden during their march to the borders, under pain of death; the victuallers who resorted to the camp to sell provisions were to be protected, and to receive prompt payment; any soldier who killed another was to be instantly executed; if any common soldier struck a gentleman he was to lose his hand or ears; and if any gentleman defied another, he was to be put under arrest, and justice done by the officers. In the case of any riot arising between the French and Scots, the offenders were to be seized by the bystanders, and, if knights, they were to be deprived of their horses and armour,—if common soldiers, they were to be punished by the loss of a hand or ear. Whoever succeeded in unhorsing an Englishman was to have half his ransom; and a prisoner was to be the property of the captor who first received his plighted hand. The burning of churches, ravishing and slaughter of women and children, were forbidden under severe penalties; and every French and Scottish soldier was to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his back and breast, which, if his surcoat was white, was to be brodered on a square or a circle of black cloth.‡

With regard to the military tactics of the Scots, it is well known that the infantry ^{Military tactics of the Scots.} were drawn up in deep battalions, which were usually square, though they sometimes fought in an *eschele*, or circle, which they termed a *schiltrum*. Of this impenetrable phalanx of spearmen it is said, by an English historian, "that sooner shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, than any one encounter the brunt of their pikes." The command of the national array belonged to the king, and the most eminent or warlike of the nobles present were appointed to lead the grand divisions or battles of the army, usually four in number,—the right and left wings, the centre, and the reserve. Under these leaders, the smaller barons acted as inferior officers, and frequently held their offices by hereditary right. The soldiers were the vassals of their respective chiefs, and not of the sovereign; hence the strange anomaly, that the royal authority was diminished in war and augmented in peace; and it is well known that some of the most daring acts of interference with the prerogative of the monarch took place on the muster of the military array of the kingdom.

The weakness of the executive, indeed, and the exorbitant power of the feudal aristocracy, were the principal causes ^{Exorbitant power of the barons—} of all the miseries which Scotland suffered during this era. These haughty and turbulent barons assumed the state of independent kings,—made war upon each other at their pleasure,—oppressed the people,—trampled upon all law and order,—and, surrounded by their bands of retainers, who acknowledged no law but their masters' will, they laughed to scorn the mandates of a sovereign so lately their equal, and who had no standing army to enforce his impotent decrees. The powerful Earl of Douglas seldom went abroad with fewer than twelve hundred well armed horsemen; and the other nobles had followers in proportion to their rank and estates. The royal authority repeatedly endeavoured, though at no small hazard, to remedy this evil. In the reign of Robert III. it was ^{—abortive attempts to restrain their excesses—} enacted, that, in order to prevent the great and horrible ravages, depredations, fires and homicides which were daily committed in every part of the kingdom, no person in riding through the country should be attended by more persons than those for whom he makes full payment, under the penalty of loss of life and property.* It would appear from this singular statute, that many of these armed followers were not really the vassals of the baron in whose train they rode, but had merely assumed his livery in order that they might, with the greater impunity, rob and murder the defenceless inhabitants. It is evident that this judicious enactment had little or no effect in abating the evils which it was intended to remedy, for, twenty-three years later, on the return of king James from England, it was found

* Scotchchron. vol. ii. p. 488. † See ante, p. 137.
 ‡ Records of the Parliament, pp. 135, 136. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 165.

* Statutes of King Robert III. p. 57.

necessary to discharge all barons, under the highest penalties of the law, from "moving or making war against each other; from riding through the country with a more numerous following of horse than properly belonged to their estate, or for which, in their progress, due payment was not made to the king's lieges and hostlers."* But it was much easier to pass acts of parliament than to carry them into execution; and though for a time the vigour and resolution of James compelled the nobles to abridge their feudal state, and to yield obedience to the laws, no sooner was his hand withdrawn than they relapsed into their former state of lawlessness and insubordination.

The legislative enactments of this period bring to light various other modes of oppression on the part of the barons. It appears to have been customary, in these unquiet times, for the landlords, upon the most frivolous pretences, to dispossess the poor tenants of their farms, and to turn the labourers out of their cottages, whenever they thought fit to lease the lands to some more favoured tenant, or to dispose of them to a new proprietor. The legislature in vain sought to redress this gross abuse, which destroyed all security of property, by declaring, in the year 1401, that all such "gratuitous resumptions of lands by any over-lord were of none effect, unless due and lawful cause could be assigned for such having taken place."† But this benevolent attempt to protect the rights of the poor completely failed; and, nearly thirty years later, all that the wise and energetic James I. could do, to ameliorate the condition of the dispossessed tenants and labourers, was to make it a request to his prelates and barons that they would not summarily and suddenly remove the husbandmen from any lands of which they had granted new leases, for the space of a year after such a transaction, unless when the baron to whom the estate belonged proposed to occupy the lands himself, and keep them for his own private use.‡ To add to the hardships thus inflicted on the poor, it seems to have been a common practice for the landlord to take the execution of the law into his own hands, and by his own power and authority to expel a vassal from his farm. It appears, too, that in the event of a baron having a claim of debt against any unfortunate individual, it was customary for the creditor to proceed to the house or lands of his debtor and to appropriate whatever he thought proper, as payment of his claim. This practice was declared illegal by the parliament, "unless the seizure be made within his own dominions and for his own proper debt;"§ an exception, it has been justly said, proving the extreme feebleness of the government, and amounting almost to a total annulment of the law. It is not to be wondered at, that in such a state of society the possession of property

should have been in the highest degree precarious; that, to use the expressive language of the record itself, "divers and sundrie our soverane lordis lieges should be many ways unjustly troubled and vexed in their lands and heritage;" or that the weak and unprotected should have been trampled down by the strong, as is clearly shown by the decree—that all widows, who after the death of their husbands had been violently expelled from their dower lands, should be restored to their possession; and the strict injunction to the king's judges—that they should be bound and obliged to hear the complaints of all churchmen, widows, pupils, and orphans, regarding whatever injuries may have been committed against them, and that justice should be done to them speedily and without taking from them any pledges and securities.* These and other similar enactments, passed from time to time by the legislature, were in themselves wise and salutary, and well fitted to promote the peace and prosperity of the kingdom; but they remained on the statute-book a mere dead letter—a proof of the intelligence of the monarch and his advisers, rather than of the progress of the country. And the frequent repetition of the same laws affords convincing evidence, as Pinkerton remarks, that the statutes serve rather to indicate the existence of great evils in the country than to provide a remedy for them. In these days of violence, indeed, when "strongest might made strongest right," laws were binding only on the helpless. The royal authority was too feeble to compel the great feudal barons to submit to the restraints of the statutes which they had assisted to frame; and, instead of being the guardians of the laws and the protectors of the rights of the people, they were, in most cases, their worst oppressors, setting at defiance both the mandates of the crown and the enactments of the legislature.

A striking example of the utter impotence of the law to restrain or redress the acts of oppression and robbery perpetrated by the aristocracy at this period, is recorded in the proceedings of the parliament held at Edinburgh in the year 1385. It appears from a complaint made to the national council by William de Fenton, that the Baron of Dirleton, a member of the powerful Norman family of De Vaux, had deprived this unfortunate person of his manor of Fenton, by an unjust decree pronounced in his own feudal court. The case was brought by appeal before the Sheriff of Edinburgh, who reversed the judgment and restored Fenton to his estate, from which, however, he was again violently expelled. He then brought his cause before the privy council, who gave a decision in his favour, and ordered his lands to be once more restored to him. But Dirleton paid as little respect to this solemn award as he had done to that of the inferior court, and, in defiance of the king and his council, he retained possession of the property which by this

* Acts of the Parliament, vol. ii. p. 2.

† Ibid. pp. 17, 35.

‡ Statutes of King Robert III. p. 54.

* Statutes of King Robert III. p. 55.

flagrant act of oppression he had wrested from the rightful owner.*

The condition of the Highlands at this period appears to have been much more rude and uncivilized than that of the lowland districts of the country. The nobles of Norman and Saxon origin, who had settled in these remote provinces, were almost entirely independent of the authority both of the sovereign and the law, and waged incessant warfare with each other, and with the native chiefs, by whom they were regarded with the bitterest animosity as aliens in blood, in manners, and in language. The spoliations, ravages, and murders which were the result of these feuds, reduced the country to such a state of anarchy, that when James I. passed a law, making provision for the pardon of any injury committed upon person or property, where the offender had made reparation or "assythment" to the injured party, he found it necessary to exempt the Highlands or northern division of the country from the operation of this rule, because, as the statute expressly bears, the inhabitants of these wild districts had been so accustomed to rob and murder each other, that it was found impossible to ascertain correctly the extent of the loss, or the amount which should be paid as reparation.†

A curious feature in the manners of Scotland at this period, is exhibited by the laws against sturdy beggars—statutes enacted in the reign of James I. against *sorners*, or able-bodied mendicants. It appears that troops of these stout and idle vagabonds, who possessed the ability, but not the inclination to work for their living, roamed through the country, extorting charity from those who were not strong enough to refuse it, and living at free quarters in the abbeys or in the granges of the farmers. Some of these mendicants, possessing or pretending to gentle birth, are said to have followed their calling, not in poverty and rags, but with horses, hounds, and attendants. Peremptory injunctions were issued to these sturdy beggars, that they should betake themselves to some honest trade and no longer trouble and devour the country, under the penalty of burning on the cheek and banishment from the kingdom. But the operation of this law against "sorning and masterful beggary," was suspended in behalf of a privileged class called "royal beggars," who were directed to wear a certain token or badge, to be furnished them by the sheriff or magistrates of the burghs, as evidence that they were incapacitated from labour, and were duly authorized to support themselves by begging. "It is curious," says Mr. Tytler, "to discern in this primitive legislative enactment, the first institution of the king's blue coats or bedesmen, a venerable order of privileged mendicants, whose existence has only expired within these few years."‡

* Records of the Parliament of Scotland, sub anno 1385.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 2, 8. Tytler, vol. iii. p. 177.

In all probability, the erection of inns in burghs and on highways, enjoined by repeated enactments of the legislature, was intended to save the monasteries from the intrusion and oppressive exactions of unwelcome guests, as well as to provide accommodation for travellers. But so great was the voluntary hospitality of the period, that the hostellers received very inadequate support, and grievous complaints were made to the king by the hostellers or innkeepers against a villanous practice of the lieges, who, on their journeys, were in the habit of lodging with their acquaintances and friends, instead of repairing to the regular hostellers and inns. To remedy this grievance, all travellers on foot or horseback were prohibited from taking up their residence in any house except the established hostelry of the burgh or village; and all burgesses and villagers were interdicted from entertaining wayfarers, under the penalty of forty shillings. An exception, however, was made in favour of the nobles and gentry, who were accustomed to travel with a numerous retinue; they were permitted to repair to the houses of their friends, on condition that they sent their followers to lodge in the common inn.*

Previous to the War of Independence, the castles of the Scottish nobility were little, if at all, inferior to the baronial residences of the English. The strong and stately structures of Dunbar, Loelmaben, Caerlaverock, and other feudal fortresses which reared their formidable towers in every part of the kingdom, closely resembled, both in their dimensions and in the style of their architecture, the Norman castles on the other side of the border. The inner ward, called the donjon or keep, was invariably the strongest part of the fortress, and consisted of a large square tower, with walls of tremendous thickness, situated in the centre of the other buildings, from which, however, it was usually detached. The lower story was employed as a dungeon for the prisoners, and a receptacle for the stores; the second floor contained the guard-rooms for the garrison; and, on the third, were the great hall and other apartments which formed the residence of the baron or castellan and his family. In the uppermost rooms were deposited the warlike engines required for the defence of the castle during a siege. For the sake of security, the principal entrance to the keep was generally placed pretty far up the wall, and was protected by a strong gate of thick oak with iron knobs, a portcullis or grating usually composed of iron, and a drawbridge. The other defences consisted of one or two strong exterior walls with flanking towers; and beyond the outer wall was a broad breast-work or barbican, and a moat which encircled the whole building. But, during the protracted warfare with England, the greater part of these baronial castles were patriotically destroyed by the Scots themselves, in

* Acts, vol. ii. p. 10.

order that they might not be permanently garrisoned by the enemy. According to Fordun, within six years of the death of Edward I. a hundred and thirty-seven castles, fortalices, and towers, were taken and cast down by King Robert Bruce, who taught the Scottish people to regard the woods and hills of their country as their safest bulwarks. From this cause, as well as from the unsettled state of the country, the baronial residences erected in Scotland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were greatly inferior, both in extent and in architectural design, to those of an earlier date.

—and of the inferior barons— The inferior barons usually occupied a large square battlemented tower, called a peel, protected by an outer wall and some light fortifications. The walls of these fortalices, however, were of immense thickness, and, as the rooms were vaulted, and each story formed a separate lodgment, they were capable of making a considerable resistance to an enemy. But their greatest security was afforded by their situation, which was commonly on a precipice, or on the banks of a torrent, or in the midst of almost impassable morasses. In such structures as these, the Scottish chieftain exercised rude but abundant hospitality, and entertained his kinsmen, vassals, and followers in the best style his resources permit-

—their style of living— The higher nobility, however, endeavoured to add something of magnificence to their rude cheer, and the entertainments given by them on festive occasions were frequently on a large scale, and exceedingly extravagant and expensive. Several of the great Earls of Douglas, who rivalled their sovereigns in splendour, dined amidst the sounding of timbrels and trumpets. These feudal

—amusements. banquets were also enlivened by the lays of the harpers and minstrels, and the jests of the fool with his cap, bells, and bauble; and occasionally, by the feats of agility and sleight of hand performed by tumblers and jugglers. To these sources of amusement we may add, the reading of romances, the games of tables or draughts, and chess, and *paume* or tennis, which was a favourite pastime of James I. and his courtiers. The *coffie* or parting cup was the signal of retiring to rest.*

Hunting and hawking continued to be the favourite out-of-door amusements; and a proof of the interest taken in these sports is afforded by the punishments inflicted on deer-stealers, and the heavy penalties denounced against those who should slay partridges, plovers, blackcocks, gray hens, and snipe, by any kind of instrument or contrivance, between "lentryn and August;" or who should destroy hares during the time of snow. The Scottish knights enjoyed a high reputation for skill in the splendid exercises of chivalry, and in their thirst for renown they frequently repaired, during the intervals of peace or truce, to the tilts and tournaments of England, where their gallant

exploits added largely to the military reputation of their country.*

The sketch which is given by Lord Lindsay of the ordinary life of the Earls of Crawford in the fifteenth century, may be regarded as equally descriptive of the state maintained by all the great barons of Scotland during the times of feudalism.

The principal residence of this powerful family was at Finhaven, a stately structure situated in Angus, at the entrance of the great valley of Strathmore; but "at certain seasons this country residence was exchanged for the 'Palatium Comitatus,' the 'Earl's Palace,' in the provincial capital, Dundee. A chapel or oratory, dedicated to St. Michael the archangel, was attached to the palace, and served for the daily devotions of the family; but on great church festivals, and the anniversaries of their ancestors, when mass was celebrated for their souls at the altars founded by themselves or their children, they attended in the parish church of St. Mary, where Earl David had founded several chantries; or otherwise in that of the Franciscan convent, commonly called the 'Grey Friars,' where generation after generation of the Earls of Crawford were finally laid to rest, and where their tombs were still to be seen in Gothic magnificence, till the destruction both of convent and church at the Reformation.

"The inner life of the family, especially at Finhaven, was of an uniform but enjoyable character. Martial exercises, the chase, and the baronial banquet, enlivened by the songs of the minstrel, and the quips of the jester occupied the day; and the evening was whiled away in 'the playing of the chess, at the tables, in reading of romances, in singing and piping, in harping, and in other honest solaces of great pleasure and disport,'†—the ladies mingling in the scene throughout, whether in the sports and festivities of the morning, or the pastimes of the evening, though a portion of the day was always spent in their 'bowers,' with their attendant maidens, spinning or weaving tapestry. Occasionally, indeed, a higher responsibility devolved upon them,—during the absence of the earl, whether in attendance on the parliament, or in warfare, public or private, his wife became the *châtelaine* or keeper of his castle, with full authority to rule his vassals, guide his affairs, and defend his stronghold if attacked at disadvantage during his absence.‡

"The society of the castle consisted of the earl and his immediate family—any guests that might be resident with him—the ladies attendant upon his

* See ante, p. 240.

† Quoted from the Contemporary Account of the Death of James I. in 1437.

‡ No importance comparable to this, no position equally calculated to call forth the human faculties, had fallen to the lot of woman before, nor, it may be added, since. And the fruits are seen in the many examples of heroic women, which the feudal annals present to us,—women, who fully equalled in every masculine virtue the bravest of the men with whom they were associated—often greatly surpassed them in prudence, and fell short of them only in ferocity." Edinb. Rev. vol. lxxii. p. 409.

* Contemporary Account of the Death of James I.

wife and daughters—the pages of noble or gentle birth, trained up in the castle under his eye as aspirants for chivalry—his own domestic officers, most of them gentlemen of quality, the chaplain, the secretary, chamberlain, chief marshall, ‘familiar squire,’ armour-bearer, the last of which offices was hereditary, besides numerous attendant gentlemen cadets, generally of the younger branches of the family, who had attached themselves to him as ‘servitors’ or feudal followers.

“The property that supported this hospitality was extensive. The Earls of Crawford possessed above twenty great baronies and lordships, besides other lands of minor importance, in Forfarshire, Angus, Perthshire, the Mearns, Fife, Aberdeenshire, and the more distant sheriffdoms of Inverness, Banff, Lanark, Wigton, Dumfries, and the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright—those in Forfarshire alone extending over two-thirds of the county—besides hereditary revenues from the Great Customs of Dundee, Montrose, Forfar, Crail, Aberdeen, and Banff, amounting to above three hundred marks annually, equivalent to two thousand pounds sterling in the present day. Of these baronies, some were held in their own hands, others by the immediate cadets of the family, or by families of alien blood, not unfrequently of much older standing in the district, holding as vassals of the earldom; all or most of them were fortified by strong castles; and over those included in the family entails, as the ‘Comitatus,’ or ‘Earldom,’ of Crawford, the earl possessed rights of regality, which ensured him, in the words of a recent historian, ‘at least as many of the privileges of an independent prince, as a Margrave or Pfalzgrave. His courts were competent to try all questions, civil or criminal; that of high treason against the sovereign alone excepted. He appointed judges and executive officers, who had no responsibility to the imperial authority. He had within his territory a series of municipal systems, corporations with their municipal officers, privileged markets, harbours, and mills, with internally administered regulations of police, applicable to weights and measures, fishing privileges, and other like useful institutions. He could build prisons and coin money. When any of his subjects were put on trial before the king’s courts, he could “repledge” the accused to his own court, only finding recognizances to execute justice in the matter.’ He was thus a governor under the sovereign, and not a mere judge like a sheriff; while that nothing should be wanting to the feudal power of the family, the Earls of Crawford acquired, early in the fifteenth century, the sheriffdom of Aberdeenshire in hereditary right, and soon after the middle of the century that of Forfarshire, as the Lindsays of the Byres, the most powerful cadets of the house, did that of Fifeshire, after a long struggle with the Leslies, in the following century.

“The earldom of Crawford, therefore, like those of Douglas, of Moray, Ross, March, and others, of the earlier times of feudalism, formed a petty prin-

cipality, an ‘imperium in imperio.’ The earls affected a royal state, held their courts, had their heralds or pursuivants, and occasionally assumed the style of princes in the numeration of their ancestors and themselves, as David I., David II., Alexander I., Alexander II., of the name, Earls of Crawford, after a fashion more frequent on the continent than in Britain. They had also a ‘concilium,’ or petty parliament, consisting of the great vassals of the earldom, with whose advice they acted on great and important occasions.*

“Thus far the picture I have drawn bears a close resemblance to the feudalism of the continent. But, owing to the mixture of Celtic and Norman blood, a peculiar element mingled from the first in the feudality of Scotland, and has left its indelible impress on the manners and habits of thought of the country. Differently from what was the case in England, the Scoto-Norman races were peculiarly prolific, and population was encouraged as much as possible. The earl or baron bestowed a fief, for example, on each of his four sons, who paid him tribute in rent and service; each son subdivided his fief again among his own children, and they again among theirs, till the blood of the highest noble in the land was flowing in that of the working peasant at no remote interval. This was a subject of pride, not shame, in Scotland. Within three or four centuries after their settlement in the north, above one hundred different minor houses or families of Lindsays were flourishing in Scotland, many of them powerful, independent barons, holding, in capite, of the crown; many more vassals of the house of Crawford; the greater number settled in Angus, and the surrounding counties, yet others in districts more remote, and in the extremity of the kingdom, all of them, however, acknowledging the Earls of Crawford as the chiefs of their blood, and maintaining constant intercourse with them, either by assistance in their feuds, or by sending their sons to seek service either with them or their more powerful kinsmen; the whole clan thus forming collectively, more particularly during the fifteenth century, a great barrier and breakwater between the fertile eastern Lowlands and the lawless clans of the Highlands. This is no imaginary sketch. The charter of the Earls of Crawford, and of their principal cadets, through several centuries, bear witness to the constant intercourse maintained, even with branches settled for generations, in districts far removed from Angus, but whose claims of kindred were never forgotten by themselves, or overlooked by their chiefs, while a constant preference was given to priests,

* “The Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles,” says Mr. Riddell, “and perhaps one or two of our highest and noblest magnates—such as the Douglasses in the heyday of their glory, &c., especially when the right of a regality was annexed to their lands—had a ‘council,’ who advised and assisted the chief and over-lord in his deliberations, and gave their consent to the marriages and political alliances of the family, as can be proved by our records. The feudal system, as regarded the higher fields, involved a kind of ‘dominium in dominio,’ and hence induced something analogous to a parliament, or public council.”

notaries, pedagogues, tradesmen, and even domestic servants, of the name and blood of Lindsay. A principle of union and attachment thus reigned throughout the whole race; the tie of consanguinity was carefully acknowledged in each ascending stage; the meanest felt himself akin to the highest; the feudal bond was sweetened by blood, and the duty to the chief became the paramount principle of action; and it is to this mixture of feudalism and patriarchism, the result of the mingling of races above alluded to, and reigning throughout the whole social system, that much of that good faith, which a celebrated historian of France has recognized as the distinguishing and redeeming feature of feudal times in Scotland—passion and conviction bearing ever a stronger sway than selfish interest—is attributable.*

The sports of the common people of Scotland

Sports of the common people. were all of a manly and martial character. Wrestling and running, leaping and feneing, throwing the hammer, and "putting the stane," football, and golf, formed their favourite amusements. In the humorous poems ascribed to James I., there are some amusing and curious delineations of the games and manners of the people at this time. The poem called "Peables to the Play," describes what was probably an annual festival in honour of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, and which, beginning in humour and jollity, terminates in tumult and uproar. Mention is made of the music of the bagpipe, of the kerchiefs, hoods, and tippets of the women, and the hats of interwoven birch-twigs worn by the men; of a tavern with fair table-linen, and a regular score on the wall; of the reckoning which amounted to twopence-halfpenny each, and was collected in a wooden trencher. Notice is also taken of the cadger, or itinerant huckster, who carried fish and other articles through the country, on his little horse; of the salmon-dance, which required great exertion in leaping, and various other incidents illustrative of popular manners.†

The dress of the common people at this period

consisted chiefly of a doublet and cloak, and a kind of short trews; the head was covered with a hat of basket-work, or felt, or with a flat woollen bonnet, while the feet and legs remained bare, a practice which appears to have been prevalent even among the common people of England at this period.

With regard to the dress of the upper classes, it was composed of a doublet or vest, with long and jagged sleeves; the jacket or the gown, which supplied the place of the modern coat; the hose, or breeches, and stockings, in one piece; shoes of Spanish leather, with long peaks, fastened to the knees with chains of gold or silver; and the hood or the silken or velvet cap ornamented with jewels. The belt, or girdle, formed also a necessary article of dress; and the linen shirt be-

gan now to be used. The chaperon, or hood, now formed a sort of turban, called the roundlet, having a sort of "tippet," as it was called, which hung from one side of it, and was either tucked into the girdle, or wrapped round the neck, as circumstances required. The gown was generally made of silk velvet, or cloth of gold, adorned with costly furs, and embroidered with gold and pearls. Other articles of dress are mentioned in the Contemporary Account of the death of James I., where it is stated, that when the conspirators broke in upon him, he was "standing in his night-gown all undressed, save his shirt, his cap, his comb, his coverchief, his furred *pynysons*, or slippers, upon the form and the footsheer." The hair was usually worn long, or in natural curls, but for a short time, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, it was cropped quite close.

The female costume of this period consisted of the kirtle, or close gown and petticoat in one piece, and the mantle, the *wyliecoat*, or under-petticoat; the shift of fine linen from the Netherlands; hose, or high stockings, of linen or woollen cloth; high-laced shoes, of Morocco or Spanish leather; the girdle and the brooch, which fastened the mantle. The sleeves of the ladies' gowns, like those of the men, were preposterously long, and often trailed on the ground. The head-dress had undergone a great change; and the simple caul, and the elegant chaplet, of natural or artificial flowers, or of imitative goldsmith's work, were superseded by elaborate and fantastic monstrosities, termed the horned, the steeple, and the heart-shaped head-dresses, of which no description can give an adequate idea. Considerable light is thrown upon the costume and manners of this period

Sumptuary law of James I.

by a sumptuary law of James I., enacted in 1429.* It appears, that the increasing wealth of the commercial classes had stimulated them to vie with the nobles in the magnificence of their habiliments, and strict injunctions were issued, that clothes made of silk, or adorned with the finer furs, or with gold and pearls, should not be worn by any person under the rank of a knight, or whose annual income was less than two hundred marks. Aldermen, bailies, and town councillors, were permitted to wear furred gowns, while all other persons were enjoined to array themselves in such grave apparel as befitted their station; that is to say, in "serpis, beltis, uches and chenzies." The apparel of the women was also regulated by this statute, and merchants are enjoined to make their wives to be habited in a manner corresponding to their station; that is to say, on their head short "curehes," with little hoods, such as arc used in Flanders; England, and other countries; and gowns without purfed sleeves, or long trains, or fur-trimmings, except on holidays: all gentlemen's wives are also directed to take especial care that their array did not exceed the personal estate of their husband.

* Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. pp. 103—110.

† Fisher's Select Scottish Ballads, vol. ii. p. 1; and History, vol. i. p. 133.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DURING THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THAT the Gaelic was the language of the ancient Scots, is a fact resting on incontrovertible evidence; but there is great diversity of opinion respecting the manner in which the Saxon or English language was introduced into Scotland. The

Origin of the
Scottish
language.

supporters of the theory that the Picts were a Gothic tribe who spoke a dialect of the Teutonic, different from the Anglo-Saxon, and apparently more allied to the Belgic, affirm that the Scottish language is not the daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, but is "an independent stream, derived from the great fountain of the ancient Gothic, and coming to us in Scotland through purer channels than those wherein it flowed into England." On the other hand, those who maintain that the Picts were a tribe of Celtic origin, account for the general introduction of the Saxon language into the lowland districts of Scotland, from the conquest of the Lothians and Berwickshire, and ultimately, of the kingdom of Strathelyd by the Saxons; the extensive influx of Saxon and Norman nobles to the Scottish court after the marriage of Malcolm Canmore with a Saxon princess, and the multitude of English captives taken in war during the reign of that monarch.

In whatever way the fact may be accounted for, there can be no doubt that, as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, throughout the lowland districts of Scotland, the Saxon language had gradually displaced the ancient Celtic tongue, and was spoken by the king and nobles, and the more civilized portion of the people. It is, no doubt, true that Norman-French was also understood and spoken at the Scottish court, while Latin was the language of the clergy, and was employed in theological and scientific treatises, and in all civil and ecclesiastical contracts and legal proceedings; but Saxon, or English, was the ordinary language of the court and of the people, and was used by the minstrels and bards in the composition of their romances and legendary tales.

In the southern division of the island, the language now called English was formed under very different circumstances. "In England," says Sir Walter Scott, "it is now generally admitted, that after the Norman Conquest, while the Saxon language was abandoned to the lowest of the people, and while their conquerors only deigned to employ their native French, the mixed language now called English existed only as a kind of *lingua Franca* to conduct the necessary intercourse between the victors and the vanquished. It was not till the reign of Henry the Third that this dialect had assumed a shape fit for the purposes of the poet, and even then, it is most probable, that Eng-

lish poetry, if any such existed, was abandoned to the peasants and menials; while all who aspired above the vulgar, listened to the lays of Marie, the romances of Chretien de Troyes, or the interesting *faubliaux* of the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*. The only persons who ventured to use the native language of the country, in literary compositions, were certain monkish annalists, who usually think it necessary to inform us that they descended to so degrading a task out of pure charity, lowliness of spirit, and love to the 'lewed men,' meaning the lower classes, who could not understand the Latin of the cloister, or the Anglo-Norman of the court. Even when the language was gradually polished, and became fit for the purposes of the minstrels, the indolence or taste of that race of poets induced them to prefer translating the Anglo-Norman and French romances, which had stood the test of years, to the more precarious and laborious task of original composition. It is the united opinion of Wharton, Tyrwhytt, and Ritson, that there exists no English romance prior to the days of Chaucer, which is not a translation of some earlier French one. From these statements it follows, that while the king and nobles of England were amused by tales of chivalry composed in the French or Romance language, those which were chanted in the court of Scotland must have been written originally in 'Inglis.' The English did not begin to translate these French poems till about 1300, nor to compose original romances in their own language until or near a century later. But there is satisfactory evidence, that long before this period, several poets had already flourished in the court of Scotland.*

The peculiar circumstances under which the English language was formed in the Lowlands of Scotland and north of England, as Sir Walter remarks, may account for the superiority of the early Scottish over the early English poets, excepting always the unrivalled Chaucer, as well as for the remarkable excellence of the harpers and minstrels of the "North Countree," and the flow of romantic and poetical tradition which has distinguished the borders of Scotland almost down to the present time.

The earliest composition in the Scottish or "quaint Inglis" language which has survived to our day, is the romance of Sir Tristrem, by the celebrated Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas of Erildoune. The precise date of the birth of this venerable bard is unknown; but he was alive, and in the height of his reputation, at the death of Alexander III., in 1285. He is supposed to have received the appellation of Rhymer from his poetical works; while his territorial designation was derived from the village of Erildoune or Earlston, in Berwickshire, where, after the lapse of seven centuries, the ruins of the tower which formed the residence of the earliest Scottish

Romance of Sir
Tristrem, by
Thomas the
Rhymer.

* Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp. 49-51.

poet, are still shown. There is satisfactory evidence that Thomas of Ereildoune was a man of considerable rank, and enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of the great and noble of the time in —his reputation which he lived. He appears to as a prophet. have acquired, at a very early period, the reputation of a prophet, for in those days

"The hallowed name
Of poet and of seer was the same ;"

and many curious notices of his predictions are scattered through the works of our ancient writers. In Barbour's "Bruce," composed about 1375, there is a reference to a prophecy of Thomas, concerning the exploits and succession of Robert the First. After Bruce had slain Cumyn, in Dumfries, in 1300, Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, is introduced, saying :—

"I hope Thomas' prophecy
Of Heralldowne veredyf be
In him; for sa our Lord help me,
I have great hope he shall be king,
And have this land all in leading."

Wyntown, who died about 1420, also refers to the prophetic fame of the Rhymer. His words are these :—

"Of this fight whilum spak Thomas
Of Ereildoune, that sayd in derne,
Thare should meet stalwartly, stark, and sterne.
He sayd it in his prophecie,
But how he wist it was ferly" (a marvel).†

Bower, who flourished about the year 1430, has given a circumstantial account of the celebrated prediction of the Rhymer, respecting the untimely and disastrous fate of Alexander III.‡

Henry the Minstrel, who is supposed to have written his metrical life of Wallace in the early part of the fifteenth century, represents Thomas the Rhymer as alive in 1296, the year in which Wallace took up arms, and as predicting that, before the decease of the Scottish hero,

"Many thousand on field shall make their end,
Of this region he shall the Southron send;
And Scotland thris he shall bryng to the peuce,
So gud of hand agayne shall never be kend."§

Some metrical prophecies, vulgarly ascribed to Thomas of Ereildoune, seem to have been very current in the reigns of James V., Queen Mary, and James VI., and were collected and published, both in Latin and English. The authenticity of "The Prophecies of Thomas Learmount, yet extant in Scottish Rhyme," was firmly believed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who gravely says, "whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed, but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come."¶ We are informed by Birrel, that, at the period of the union with England, a time of great excitement in the northern kingdom, "all the haill commons of Scotland that

• The Bruce, p. 25.
• Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 202.
• See ante, p. 81.
• Wallace, book ii. chap. 8.
• See Introduction to the Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp.

had red or understanding wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rhymer, hes prophesie, and of uther prophesies quihlk wer prophesied in auld tymes."** And even at the present day many rhymes ascribed to Thomas of Ereildoune are current among the country people, especially in the border-districts of Scotland.†

It is the opinion of the great writer to whom we owe the publication of the Tale of Origin of the Tristrem, that this celebrated ro-Tale of Tristrem. mance was not invented by Thomas of Ereildoune, but owes its origin to the same source as those legendary tales which commemorate the famous exploits of Arthur and his knights, and the struggles of the aboriginal Britons against the Saxon invaders. Tristrem, as he observes, is uniformly represented as a native of the little kingdom of Cornwall, which was one of the last points of refuge to the indigenous natives of Britain;—the scene of the story is laid either in Cornwall or in the countries of Wales, Ireland, and Brittain, all inhabited by the Celtic race; and the names of all the important personages in the romance are of genuine British origin. He therefore concludes, on apparently valid grounds, that in Tristrem himself we are to recognise an actual British warrior who flourished during the stormy independence of Cornwall, and experienced some of those adventures which have been so long the subject of the bard and the minstrel.

The testimony of a contemporary writer, Robert of Brunne, establishes at once the fact, that Thomas of Ereildoune was the author of Sir Tristrem, and the high reputation which the romance had attained. This ancient author avers, that "it is the best geste ever was or ever would be made, if minstrels could recite as Thomas had composed it." But Style and language of the poem.
He adds, it is written in such "quaint Inglis," that those who repeated it were hardly able to understand it, or to make it intelligible to their hearers. He complains also that the author had employed such an intricate and complicated stanza, that it was difficult for the reciters to recollect the poem; and he avers that he never heard a perfect recital, because of some one "coppie," or stanza, a part was always omitted. But, while he argues that he himself, writing not for the minstrel or harper, but solely to instruct the

"symple men
That strange English cannot ken,"

does well in choosing a simple structure of verse, which they could easily understand and remember, he excuses Thomas of Ereildoune, and another poet, whom he calls Kendal, for using a more ambitious and ornate kind of poetry, because "they wrote for pride (fame), and for nobles, not such as these my ignorant hearers." It is evident from the testimony of this ancient writer, that "while the English minstrels had hardly ventured on the

• Birrel's Diary, p. 59.

† See Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

drudgery of translating the French romances, or, if they did so, were only listened to by the lowest of the people, our northern poets were writing original *gests*, 'for pride and nobleyc,' in a high style and complicated stanza, which the southern harpers marred in repeating, and which their plebeian audience were unable to comprehend.**

The modern copy of "Sir Tristrem" corresponds, both in diction and in structure, with the description of Robert de Brunne. The style of the composition is exceedingly brief, elliptical, and concise, even to obscurity, presenting a striking contrast to the circumstantial, diffuse, and prolix descriptions of later minstrels. The structure of the stanza in "Sir Tristrem" is also very peculiar and intricate, and the rhymes are multiplied and complicated to a most unusual extent; but it contains some natural touches of great beauty, as well as many curious and interesting pictures of ancient manners. As a specimen of the structure and language of this celebrated romance, we may take the description of the meeting of Sir Tristrem with a party of hunters.†

"The forest was fair and wide,
With wild bestes y sprad;
The court was ner beside,
The palmers thither him lad;
Tristrem hunters seigh † ride,
Les of houndes § thai ledde;
Thai token in that tide
Of fatte hartes y fedde,
In feld:
In blehand || s he cledde;
The hunters him beheld."

Tristrem is scandalized at the awkward and unsportsmanlike manner in which they break up the stags which they have slain, and expostulates with them:—

"Up stood a serjant ¶ bold,
And spak Tristrem oayn,**
—'We and our elders old
Thus then have we sain;
Others thou hast ous told;
Yond lith a beast unfain;
Atire ++ it as thou wold,
And we wil se full fain
In feld;
In lede †† is nought to lain,§§—
The hunters him beheld."

A minute account is then given of the scientific mode in which Tristrem breaks up the stag; how he gave the left shoulder to the forester as his rights, the numbles or inwards to the hunters and spectators, the quarré to the hounds, and the corbin bone to the raven, who sat expectant on the forked tree, and how he tied up the paunch with the grease, as also the gurgiloun, and lastly, recited the appropriate rhyme, and blew the tokening or death-note. The whole description is exceedingly curious, and shows the great importance attached to the "art of venery" in those early ages. ||

* Introduction to Sir Tristrem, p. 67.

† Fyete i. stanza 41 to 49, inclusive.

‡ Saw. § Leash of hounds. || Blue.

¶ Servant of the crown. ** Against. ++ Arrange.

†† In language. §§ Not to lie.

|| Sir Tristrem, a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century, with Introduction and Notes by Sir Walter Scott. Lives of the Scottish Poets, by Dr. Irving, vol. i. pp. 225—249.

Besides "Sir Tristrem," there exist two other Scottish romances, entitled "Gawen and Gologras," and "Galoran of Galoway," which Sir Walter Scott supposes were composed long before the conclusion of the thirteenth century. This opinion is founded upon their extreme rudeness and unintelligibility; the comparative absence of French words and French phraseology, so fashionable in Scotland after the time of Robert Bruce, when the intercourse of the countries became more intimate; and, above all, the evident allusions to the possession of part of Scotland by the British tribes.*

An interesting specimen of the Scottish language, at this period, is given in the following little song, or monody, composed on the death of Alexander III., in the year 1285, and fortunately preserved by Wyntown in his Chronicle.† It is probable, however, that the orthography may have undergone considerable alterations during the century and a half which elapsed between the death of Alexander and the time of Wyntown.

"Quhen Alysandr oure kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in lawe and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle;
Oure gold wes changyd in-to lede.
Cryst borne into virgynyté;
Succour Scotland and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte."‡

Mention is also made by Wyntown of a poet called "Huchown of the Awle Ryall," or "Hugh of the Royal Hall or Palace," who appears to have flourished about this period. Besides his great historical work, described as the "Gest Hystoryale," there are specified, among his writings, the "Gret Gest of Arthure," the "Pystyl of Swete Susan," and the "Awntere of Gawane." A poem in alliterative verse, founded on the story of "Susannah and the Elders," and supposed to be the "Pystyl" ascribed to Huchown, is still preserved; and the "Gret Gest of Arthure,"—in which he treats of the doughty deeds of that hero, of his worship and prowess, his conquests and royal estate, his round table and twelve peers,—was discovered a few years ago, by Sir Frederick Madden, among the ancient manuscripts in the Cottonian Library. Wyntown eulogizes Huchown as a poet who "was cunning in literature, curious in his style, eloquent and subtle, and who clothed his composition in appropriate metre, so as always to raise delyte and pleasure."§ But the specimens of his writing which have reached our times by no means bear out this high commendation.

By far the most celebrated Scottish writer of this age is JOHN BARBOUR, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of John Barbour. the metrical history of Robert Bruce. This delightful old author is supposed to have been born about the year 1316; but nothing is known of his

* Introduction to Sir Tristrem, pp. 57, 58.

† Vol. i. p. 401.

‡ See ante, p. 81, where a modernized copy of these verses is given.

§ Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 121.

family, or of the place of his birth or education. It appears, from safe-conducts granted to him by the English monarch, on the special request of David II., that he prosecuted his studies both at Oxford and in France, even after he had attained to mature years. He was promoted to the office of Archdeacon of Aberdeen about 1356; and in the following year the bishop of the diocese nominated him one of the commissioners who were to meet at Edinburgh to deliberate about the ransom of David II. About ten years later he was engaged in the composition of the great national poem which has perpetuated his name. He was rewarded by a pension from Robert II.,—which is expressly stated to have been bestowed as a reward for the compiling "The Book of the Deeds of Robert I."—and died, at an advanced age, in 1396.

The chronicles of this period were, for the most part, concealed from the unlearned part of the community, under the veil of a dead or a foreign language;* but it is to the honour of Barbour that he renounced this fatal practice, and boldly composed his patriotic and spirit-stirring strains in his own native tongue,—

"Till ilke man's undyrstanding."

His language has been pronounced, by a competent judge, remarkably good for the time, and far superior, in neatness and elegance, even to that of Gawin Douglas, who wrote more than a century after.

Barbour was the author of a metrical history or genealogy of the Kings of Scotland, entitled "The Brute," of which no manuscript is known to exist. But his reputation as a historian and poet rests upon his celebrated history of King Robert Bruce. The value of this noble work, both as a faithful narrative of the exploits of the great deliverer of Scotland, and a graphic delineation of the manners of his age, is very great. Wyntown, himself a historian of no mean value, speaks of Barbour as writing

"In metre far mair vertuously
Than I can think by my study:"

and the continuator of Fordun's "Scotichronicon" passed over the memorable events of the war of independence, because they had been already elegantly and copiously narrated by Barbour. The poetical historian has, indeed, given a spirit-stirring detail of the gallant exploits and dreadful sufferings of the noble patriots who fought, against all odds, in the high and holy cause of their country's freedom; and his narrative is equally valuable for its authenticity and its fresh and graphic descriptions. He delineates the nicer shades of character with great delicacy and discrimination; his portraits of Randolph and Douglas, of King Robert and his brave but rash and im-

petuous brother, are traced with the hand of a master; and he gives us charming pictures of these noble manners and modes of thinking of these noble patriots, under all the varieties of their romantic fortunes. Barbour's learning must have been great for the time; and he was evidently well read, both in the classical and in the romantic literature of the day. His descriptive powers were of a high order; and, in the opinion of a most competent judge, "he has adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical images far superior to the age."* His impassioned eulogium upon freedom shows, that the heart of a patriot and a soldier beat beneath the churchman's gown; and the manner in which he celebrates the feats of individual prowess and daring, on the part of the Scottish hero and his friends, leaves no doubt, that if he had lived a few years earlier he would not have hesitated to buckle on his armour and fight for the liberty and independence of his country.

The exordium explains the object of the poetical historian in clear and forcible language—

"Stories to read are delitabill,
Suppose that thai be nought but fabill:
Then suld stories that suthfast + were,
An thai were said on gud maner,
Have doubill plesance in hearing.
The first plesance is the carpyng; †
And the tothir the suthfastness §
That shews the thing rycht as it was
And such things that are lykand,
Till mans hearing are plesand.
Thairfor, I wald fain set my thairill,
Giff|| my wit myght suffice thairtill,
To put in writ a suthfast story,
That it last ay furth in memory,
Sa that na tyme of length it let,
Nor ger it haly ¶ be forget.
For auld stories that men redys
Represents to thaim the dedys
Of stalwart folk that lywyt are,
Rycht as thai then in presence were."

Tried by his own test, it must be admitted that Barbour has admirably succeeded in composing a poem, which is at once true or suthfast in its statements, and delectable in the perusal. His chronicle is valuable not only for the accuracy of its details, but for the remarkable freshness and vividness of its descriptions, both of natural scenery and of battles and sieges. To use his own expressive words, it represents the deeds of 'stalwart folk who are long since dead, who led their life in great travel, and oft in hard stour or tumult of battle, truly as if we were in their very presence:—King Robert of Scotland, that was hardy of heart and hand—the good Sir James of Douglas, who was so worthy in his time that his high price and bounty made his name renowned in foreign lands—the fiery, rash, and headstrong Edward, and the sagacious Randolph, whose 'trusty heart and loyal service were enhanced by his courteous and debonayr manners, and shone out in his fair, pleasant and broad countenance.' Of these noble patriots and their worthy compeers he says—

* It is hardly established was the custom of writing in Latin, that the David Lindsay, a century after Barbour, thought it necessary to apologize, in the beginning of his "History" for writing in his native language, by producing the examples of Moses, Aristotle, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, &c., who all wrote in their own language.

* Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 318.

† True. ‡ Speaking, talking. § Truth. ¶ If. ¶ Wholly.

"I think this book to ma,
Now God give grace that I may saw
Tret it and bring it till ending
That I say nocht but suthfast thing."

The first seven of the twenty books into which this historical poem has been divided by Dr. Jamieson, its latest editor, are occupied with the early adventures of King Robert Bruce, from the murder of Comyn down to the convention between Edward Bruce and Sir Philip Mowbray, the Governor of Stirling castle; and the various reverses of fortune in the eventful life of the Scottish monarch,—his defeat at Methven, and subsequent dangers and privations among the fastnesses of Argyle, his encounter with Lorn, and his devoted clansmen, his retreat to the isle of Rachrin, his return to the mainland, his romantic exploits among the mountains of Galloway and Carriek, and his victories over the English invaders, and their gradual expulsion from the country, are all narrated with great spirit, and in strains which came warm from the heart of the patriotic poet. The eighth and ninth books are devoted to an account of the memorable conflict which finally secured the independence of Scotland; and here the author puts forth the whole strength of his genius. After enumerating, with much skill, all the host which Edward assembled from England, Wales, and Ireland, and from his continental dominions in Gascony, Poitou, Provence, and Languedoc; and describing the mighty army divided into ten battles, and with its immense array of baggage-waggons and attendants, overspreading all the land far and wide, and forming a magnificent spectacle of martial pomp and splendour; he says, that on their march from Berwick—

"Baith hills and vallyes helyt thai (they hid)
As the battails that were braid
Departit, over the feldis raid,
The sone was brycht and shyning cler,
And armouris that burnyst wer,
Sa blomit with the sunnis beme,
That all the land was in a leme (blaze);
Banners rycht fairly flaming,
And pensils to the wind waving,
Sa fell ther wer of ser quentis,
(So many there were of great quaintness,
That it were gret slycht to devise."

On the other hand, Bruce reviews his troops, assigns to their leaders their different parts, explains to them his tactics, and finding his men "of hardy countenance," he who "knew him well" in such matters, rejoiced in their gallant bearing—

"And thought that men of sa gret will,
Giff thai wald set their will thartil,
Suld be full hard to win per-fay.
And as he met them in the way,
He welcumit thaim with gladsum fare,
Speking gud wordis here and there.
And thai that their lord so meekly
Saw welcum thaim and so hamely;
Joyful thai wer; and thought that thai
Aught weil to put thaim till assay,
Of hard fechtng or stalwart sture,
For to mayteynie his honour."

Bruce then explains to his men the plan he had formed for the battle, arranges them in their order,

* Make.

assigns to the leaders their several parts, and makes all necessary preparations for the reception of the enemy. On Sunday morning, soon after sun-rise, they heard mass, and many of them were shrived "full devoutly."

"That thought to die in that mellé,
Or then to mak their cuntre free;
To God for their rycht prayit thai,
Thar dynit name of thaim that day;
Bot for the vigil of Sanct John
Thai fastit water and breid upon."

The poet then proceeds to narrate, in appropriate strains, a number of spirit-stirring incidents, which served as a fitting prelude to the great battle;—the defeat of Clifford by Randolph; the chivalrous conduct of Douglas in hastening to the rescue of his friend when outnumbered and apparently overmatched by the enemy, but stopping when he saw him likely to discomfit his enemies by his own might, lest he should deprive him of some part of his well-merited praise; the encounter between King Robert Bruce and Sir Henry de Bohun; the crowding of the Scottish leaders around Randolph on his return from his successful conflict with Clifford, to gaze on him and do him honour "for his high worschip and gret valour;" the animating address of Bruce to his barons and knights, and their courageous response; the kneeling of the Scottish army as the conflict was about to begin; and the different inferences of the English monarch and his veteran attendant Sir Ingram de Umfraville—

"The Scottis men commounaly,
Knelyt all doune to God to pray;
And a short prayer thar made they
To God to help them in that fycht.
And when the Inglis king had sycht
Of thaim kneeling he said in hy (haste),
'Yon folk kneel to ask mercy.'
Sir Ingraham said 'Ye say suth now,
Thai ask mercy, but name at you;
For their trespes to God thai cry.
I tell you a thing sekyrly (surely),
That yon men will all wyn or die."

After this solemn note of preparation the opposing hosts join battle, and the poet describes with great power the impetuous assault of the English cavalry upon the dense ranks of the Scottish spearmen—the comparatively small body of the Scots lost amid the multitude of the English, as if they had been plunged into the sea—the din of blows—the clang of arms—the shoutings of the war-cries—the crash of lances—the flight of arrows darkening the light—horses, maddened by their wounds, running masterless—the alternate sinking and rising of the banners—the grass red with blood, and covered with shreds of armour and broken weapons—the confusion and slaughter, the panic and the flight. The conduct of Edward, who, according to Barbour, with a company of five hundred men,

"armed all at rycht,
In till a frusch all took the fycht,"

is skilfully contrasted with the chivalry of Sir Giles de Argentine, who "chose rather to stay and

die than to live shamefully and flee," and shouting his war-cry, "Do Argenté," met his death by the Scottish spears.

But, perhaps, the most interesting portions of this "fine old Scotch Odyssey" are the delightful sketches which it contains of manners and customs, and the striking pictures of the confidence and affection that existed between King Robert and his followers. After the fatal defeat at Methven, Bruce and his little band of faithful friends were driven to take refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they were joined by their ladies—

"That for leal luff and lawtē
Wald partneris of thair painis be."

During their wanderings among the hills of Breadalbane they were reduced to the greatest privations from the want of the necessaries of life; and Barbour describes "the worthy James of Douglas" as very active in procuring food for the ladies, sometimes venison, sometimes "geddis (pikes), salmonys, and troutis," which he caught with "gynnes," and sometimes making a foray into the low country for cattle.

"And the kyng oft comfort was
Through his wyt and his besynes" (cheerfulness),

The personal character of Bruce himself shines out with peculiar lustre in the adverse tide of his fortunes; and many traits of his gentle and affectionate disposition are recorded by his biographer. He strove to sustain the courage of his followers by the example of his own patience and indomitable resolution, and to cheer their sinking spirits with stories from history and romance.

"And fained to mak better cheer,
Than he had matter to, by far
For his cause gæd fra ill to war" (worse).

At length, on the approach of winter, the Earl of Athole's heart began to fail,

"With canil, and hungir, and wakin,"

and he requested the king to leave him to his fate. It became necessary also to provide for the safety of the ladies, who were no longer able to bear the privations and dangers of a wandering life amid these barren wilds; and it was resolved to send them to Kildrumny castle under the charge of the Earl of Athole and Nigel Bruce. The king gave up all the horses of his party for the service of the ladies and their escort, and resolved that he and his followers should henceforth "tak on foot balth weill and wae."

"The quene and all hyr company
Lap on thair horse and furth thair fare.
Men mycht have sene wha had bene there
At leve takyng the ladyis grette (weep)
And mak thair face with tears wet;
And knightis for thair luffis sake
Hath sigh and weep, and murning make;
Thai kisit thair luffis at thair partyng."

The poet then proceeds to describe the tedious and perilous passage of the king and his followers across Loch Lomond, in a little boat, fit to carry only

three at a time; and tells us, that during the time which was consumed in crossing the lake, Bruce entertained those who had passed over, by relating to them the romance of Ferembrace,* who was overcome by the "rycht douchty Oliver," together with an account of the siege of the "Douse pairs," in the tower of Egrymor, by King Lawyn.

"The gud king upon this maner
Comfortit thaim that war him ner,
And maid thaim gamyn and solace
Till that his folk all passit was."

While the fugitives were traversing the hills and woods in search of food, they were joined by the Earl of Lennox, who was also under hiding, and had received no tidings of the fate of his royal master since the disastrous defeat at Methven.

"The king him welcomit rycht blythly,
And askyt him full tendyrly;
And all the lordis that war there
Rycht joyful of thair meeting wer,
And kyssit him in gret dayntē.
It was gret pitē for till se
How thai for joy and pitē gret,
When that thai with thair fellow met,
That thai wend (thought) had been dede: forthi
Thai welcomit him mar hartfully;
And he for pitē gret agayn,
That never of meeting was sa fayne."

With such touches of gentleness and tender affection does the old chronicler relieve his stern story of hardship and battle. So also in noticing the death of Sir Walter Ross.

"That Sir Edward, the king's brother,
Luffit and had in sic dayntē,
That as himself him luffit he.
And when he wyst that he was ded,
He was sa wa and will of reide,
That he said, makand evil cher,
That him war rather that jonrnay wer
Undone, than he sa ded had bene.
Out-taken him men has nocht sene,
When he for ony man maid moanyng."

Such are some of the nicer traits of character which ordinary historians are too much in the habit of overlooking.

The story of King Robert and the lavender (or laundress), though better known, deserves to be quoted as an example, both of the thoughtful kindness and humanity of the monarch, and of the manner of his affectionate biographer. The Scottish army was about to commence its march from Limerick.

"And when that thai all redy wer,
The king has hard a woman cry:
He askit what that was in hy.
'It is the lavender, Sir,' said a ne,
'That her chyld-ill rycht now has tane,
And mon leve now behind us here;
Tharfor she makis yone evil cher.'
The king said, 'Certis it wer pitē
That she in that poynt left suld be;
For certis, I trow thar is na man
That he ne will rew a woman than.
His host all than arrestit he,
And gert a tent soon stentit be,
And gert her gang in hastily,
And othyr women to be hyr by;
Till she was delivered he badē (stayed),
And syne furth on his wayis raid."

* See Appendix, Note xiv.

And how she furth suld caried be,
Or iver he furth fur orlanyt he.
This was a full gret curtesy,
That sic a king, and sa mychlyt,
Gert his men dwell on this maner
But for a poor lavender."

As a specimen of Barbour's descriptive powers we may give the following verses on Spring, which, as Dr. Irving justly observes, suffer little in comparison even with Chaucer's description of the same sweet season:—

"This was in Ver, when wynter tide,
With his blasts hidyous to bide,
Was our drywyn,* and birllys small
As turturis,+ and the nychtyngeale,
Began rycht sariely to syng,
And for to mak in thair singyng
Swete notis and soandis ser,
And melodys pleasand to her.
And the treis began to ma †
Burgeans,§ and brycht blomis alswa,
To win the helyng of thair bewid,
That wykkit winter had thaim revid,
And all grassys began to spryng."

It is a proud thing, it has been justly said, to have given a subject for such an Odyssey, and to have had a poet worthy to celebrate it.

Another of the metrical histories of this age is Wyntown's the "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," composed by Andrew Wyntown, Prior of St. Serf's monastery, situated on an island in Lochleven. || The precise date of his birth is unknown; but he held the office of Prior in 1395; and his life must, at least, have been prolonged till 1420, for, at the close of his work, he mentions the death of Robert, Duke of Albany, which took place in the course of that year, and offers up a prayer for the prosperity of his children. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Barbour, to whose merit as an accurate historian he has, on various occasions, paid a just tribute. His chronicle, which he tells us was undertaken at the request of Sir John Wemyss, ¶ the ancestor of the present noble family of that name, is valuable both as a picture of ancient manners and as a repository of historical anecdotes. Like other chroniclers of his age, Wyntown commences his work with a general history of the world, and treats of the nature of angels; the creation of the world; the death of Abel; the generations of Cain and Seth; the primeval race of giants; the ark of Noah and the deluge; the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, Europe, Britain, and Ireland; the confusion of tongues; the origin of poetry and of Mahometanism; the lives of the patriarchs; the siege of Troy; the Judges of Israel, and the arrival

of Brutus in Britain. Of the nine books into which his chronicle is divided,

"In honoure of the ordyrs nyne
Of holy angelys,"

five are almost entirely occupied with these heterogeneous topics, till at length, in the commencement of the sixth book, he comes to speak of the "War betwen the Scottis and the Pechtis," and gradually limits his dissertations to his own proper subject. "Perhaps," says Mr. Ellis, "the ablest modern versifier who should undertake to enumerate in metre the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes throughout such a formidable chronological series as he has ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferior to that of his predecessor, Barbour; but, at least, his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated. As a historian he is highly valuable."* While Wyntown was engaged in the composition of his work, some person of kindred taste and pursuits, whose name he has unfortunately neglected to mention, sent him a narrative of affairs in Scotland from the birth of David II. to the death of Robert II., which he has incorporated into his own work. He has also included in his chronicle, about three hundred verses of Barbour's "Life of Bruce," as well as various fragments of a Latin elegiac chronicle. The composition of the "Orygynale Cronykil," though unpolished, is often spirited; but the descriptions are not unfrequently unnecessarily minute and diffuse. It must be admitted, however, that the digressions in which the work abounds, are exceedingly valuable and interesting, in consequence of the light which they cast upon the state of society at that early period. Wyntown was inferior to Barbour, not only in genius, but in sound judgment. He was a zealous churchman, and avails himself of every opportunity to advance the power and dignity of the clergy, and to maintain that superiority over the civil power which they claimed as a divine right. He was much more under the influence of superstitious feeling than his predecessor, and his chronicle contains a considerable number of fabulous legends, which convey a curious idea of the credulity of the age. The following specimen of these monastic tales may serve to show the orthography and style of the venerable chronicler:—

ST. SERF'S RAM.

"This holy man had a ram
That he had fed up of a lam,
And oysit him til folow ay,
Quhervir he passit in his way.
A theyf this scheppe in Achren stal,
And et him up in pecis smalle.
Quhen Sanct Serf his ram had myst,
Quha that it stal was few that wist:
On presumpcion nevirtheles
He that it stal areyst was:
And til Sanct Serf syne was he brought:
That scheippe, he said, that he stal noucht,

* Ellis's Historical Sketch of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 247.

* Driven away, past and gone. + Turtle-doves.

† Make. § Sprouts, buds.

|| St. Serf's priory was originally a religious house belonging to the Culdees. David I. bestowed it upon the Canons Regular of St. Andrews.

¶ Sir John Wemyss was the proprietor of Reres and Kincaldrum in Fife. He lived under the reigns of Robert II. and III. and James I., and was employed as ambassador to treat concerning the release of this monarch from his captivity in England. "He was," says Wyntown, "an honest knight and of good fame, and had a full claim to my service."

And tharfor for to swer ane athe,
He said that he wald nocht be laythe.
Nes sone he worthit rede for schayme,
The scheype thar bletyt in his wayne!
Swa was he taincyt schamfully,
And at Sanct Serf askyt mercy."

The reputation of Wyntown as an accurate historian stands deservedly high, and his simple and unadorned and trustworthy narrative of events presents a striking contrast to the preposterous fictions of Hector Boece and his followers. "In Wyntown's Chronicle," says Mr. Macpherson, "the historian may find what for want of more ancient records, which have long ago perished, we must now consider the original accounts of many transactions, and also many events related from his own knowledge, or the reports of eye-witnesses. His faithful adherence to his authorities appears from comparing his accounts with unquestionable vouchers such as the *Fœdera Angliæ*, and the existing remains of the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, that venerable monument of ancient Scottish history and antiquities, generally coeval with the facts recorded in it, whence he has given large extracts, almost literally translated."* Historical records, however, were at this period exceedingly scanty, as Wyntown himself informs us in the introduction to his Chronicle, when he bespeaks the reader's indulgence for his work. "For," says he, "I found few writings at hand that I could draw to my warand. I had part, indeed, of the book which Peter Comestor compiled in his day, the Chronicle also of Orasius and of Frère Martyne, besides English and Scottish stories, and various other incidents which I deemed accordant to my matter. When these were exhausted I found my wit grown dry, and without either flower or fruit; yet not the less for this do I pursue my purpose, seeking the savour of that rose which spreads its full-blown flowers, and for ever springs for the pleasure of the King of kings."†

The account of the return of David II. from his captivity in England, may be taken as a fair example of Wyntown's mode of narration, and affords a curious illustration of the manners of the age. The historian, it will be observed, justifies the manner in which the king sought to repress the troublesome and intrusive loyalty of his people. The original spelling of this extract has been modernized.

"Yet in prison was King Dary,
And when a lang time was gane by,
Froo prison and perplestie,
To Berwick Castle brought was he
With the Earl of Northampton,
For to treat there for his ransoun.
Some lords of Scotland come there,
And als prelates that wisest were.
Four days or five there treated they,
But they accorded by nae way;
For English folk all angry were,
And ay speak rudely mair and mair,
While at the last the Scots party,
That dred their faces' fellony,

* Preface to Wyntown's Chronicle, p. 3.
† Chronicle, vol. 1, p. 6.

All privly went hame their way;
At that time there nae mair did they
The king to London then was bad,
That there a lang time after bade.

"After syne, with mediatioun
Of messengers, of his ransoun
Was treated, while a set day
Till Berwick him again brought they.
And there was treated sae, that he
Should of prison delivered be,
And freely till his lands found,
To pay ane hundred thousand pound
Of silver, intil fourteen year.
And [while] the payment [payit] were,
To make sae lang truce took they,
And affirmed with seal and fay
Great hostage there leved* he
That on their awn dispense should be.
Therefore, while they hostage were,
Expense but number made they there.
The king was then delivered free,
And held his way till his countrie,
With him of English brought he nane,
Without a chamber-boy alane.

"The whether, upon the morn, when he
Should wend till his counsel privy,
The folk, as they were wont to do,
Pressed right rudely in thereto:
But he right suddenly can arrace†
Out of a mace's hand a mace,
And said rudely, 'How do we now?
Stand still, or the proudest of you
Shall on the head have with this mace!'
Then there was nane in all this place!
But all they gave him room in by;‡
Durst nane press further that were by;
His council door might open stand,
That nane durst till it be pressand.

"Radure§ in prince is a good thing;
For, but radure|| all governing
Shall all time but despised be:
And where that men may radure see
They shall dread to trespass, and sae
Peaceable a king his land may ma'¶
Thus radure dred that gart him be.
Of England but a page brought he,
And by his sturdy 'ginning
He gart them all have sic dreading,
That there was nane durst nigh him near,
But wha by name that called were.
He led with radure sae his land,
In all time that he was regnand,
That nane durst well withstand his will,
All winning bowsome to be him till."

The pages of Wyntown abound in fresh and curious pictures of the manners and superstitious of the age; and throw much light upon the progress of the country in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. It has been objected to him, indeed, to use the words of his learned editor, that he sometimes runs into descriptions more minute and diffuse than are consistent with the rules of writing history; in answer to which, it is sufficient to say, that these rules were unknown in his age. Such descriptions were the defect, perhaps, more properly speaking, the beauty of several early historians: by them Snorro, the venerable Herodotus of the north, and Froissart, the history-painter of France, England, and Scotland, who, like our own Wyntown, had the courage to write history in their native languages, bring us home to

* Left. † Reached. ‡ Haste.
§ Rigour. || Without rigour. ¶ Make.

the scenes they describe, and make us take an interest in the characters they draw. If the succession of kings and the relation of their battles be the body of history, the progress of the human mind in arts and knowledge, and a true delineation of manners, unquestionably constitute the very soul of it.*

The materials which Wyntown has collected are indeed of the most heterogeneous character, and comprehend all classes of subjects, from the barbarous bead-roll of Pictish monarchs to the spirit-stirring description of "a heady fight, or the moving picture of a tournament or a hunting party." His chronicle, therefore, bears no resemblance to the historical works of modern times. To use the felicitous comparison of Mr. Tytler, "We have, instead of a building of correct taste and Grecian proportion, an extraordinary and rambling edifice, somewhat resembling the ancient castles or picturesque monasteries of the times in which the author lived, where, in defiance of all rules and orders, a chamber or a chapter was added according to the exigency or the fancy of the moment. The language, too, or materials with which his work is constructed, is as rude and venerable as the ivy-covered walls or weather-beaten pinnacles upon which the waves of successive centuries have left the traces of their progress. Yet what spectator of taste has not often preferred the ancient castle, with all its romantic disproportion, to the symmetrical beauty of the modern edifice? And where is the student, who is an enthusiast in the history and antiquities of his country, who would not rather read the quaint and homely descriptions of the Prior of Locheven, than the pages of modern writers, where vigour, freshness, and originality are so often sacrificed to insipid elegance?"

The chronicle must have been completed between the 3rd of September, 1420, and the return of King James from England in 1424; and it is probable that the author did not long survive the conclusion of his work, for in the prologue of his last book he mentions that increasing years and infirmities warned him that he "must shortly put off this tabernacle;" and he represents age or eld as daily sending him many painful "brevis" or letters, admonishing him to be looking for a speedy conclusion of his mortal term, when the debt which all must discharge would be claimed on short delay.

"Oft I find impediment,
With sudane and fierce maladis,
That me cumbris on mony wis,
And elde me masteris with hir brevis,
Ilke day me sare aggrevis;
She has me maid monition
To see for a conclusion
The quhilk behovis to be of debt,
Quhat term or tyne of that be set
I can wyt it be na way,
But weil I wate on short delay
At a court I mon appear,
Fell accusations thare til heir,
Quhare na help thare is but grace." †

* Wyntown's Chronicle, Preface, p. 27

† Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 300.

The oldest prose history of Scotland is the Scotch chronicon, written in Latin, the joint production of two ecclesiastical The Scotch chronicon. ties, JOHN FORDUN and WALTER BOWER, to whose praiseworthy industry succeeding historians are deeply indebted. Fordun, who is supposed to have derived his surname from the place of his nativity, a small village in Mearns,* held the office of Canon of Aberdeen. The precise date of his birth is unknown; but he appears to have flourished about the year 1380. Fordun—according to his continuator, Bower, was a simple man, who never graduated in the schools; but he is understood to have derived the materials for his chronicle from the celebrated Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, who acted so conspicuous a part in the war of independence.† The first five books of the Scotch chronicon, and twenty-three chapters of the sixth book are the composition of the venerable canon; the remainder of the work, which extends in all to sixteen books, was compiled by Walter Bower, or Bowermaker, principally from the materials collected by his predecessor. Bower was a native of Haddington, and was born in the year 1385. Like many other Scottish youths of that age, after completing his philosophical and theological studies in the schools of his native country, he visited Paris, in order to study the laws. On his return to Scotland, in the year 1418, he was elected Abbot of St. Colm, a religious house, erected by Alexander I., on Inch-Colm, a small island in the Frith of Forth, and dedicated to St. Columba.‡ In this secluded retreat Bower occupied his leisure in transcribing the Chronicle of Fordun, which, up to this date, was little known; and, besides enlarging the work, he brought down the narrative to the death of James I.

Like Wyntown, the authors of the Scotch chronicon laboured under great disadvantages in the composition of their work, from the want of written materials. The ancient chronicles of the kingdom were, for the most part, the production of the monkish annalists of the age, and were usually deposited in the religious houses to which these clerical students belonged. But many of the histories and chronicles must have perished during the frequent incursions of the Norwegian or Danish pirates, by whom the Scottish monasteries were repeatedly plundered. The monastery of Icolmkill, where, previously to the union of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms, the sovereigns of Scotland were solemnly crowned and interred, was burnt and ravaged by these marauders no less than six times during the course of the tenth century, and the gesta and annals of the Scots and Picts, and other important records, deposited in that venerable establishment,

* Lord Monbodo, one of the judges of the Court of Session, and the eccentric author of some writings on metaphysics and the origin and progress of language, was a native of the parish of Fordoun, (see Boswell's Journal of his Tour to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, chap. iv.;) and Dr. Beattie, the author of "The Minstrel" and other works, was at one time its schoolmaster.

† See ante, p. 115, and note.

‡ See ante, p. 166, and note.

must, in all probability, have perished at the same time. But the ambition of Edward I. proved a more formidable enemy to the ancient historical records of Scotland, than either the ravages of the Danes, or the corroding tooth of time. Under the pretext of deciding the competition for the crown between Bruce and Baliol, in accordance with the precedents of former reigns, and the ancient laws and usages of Scotland, Edward collected from the libraries of the monasteries and the repositories of the public records, the chronicles, charters, writs, and other documents, which treated of the ancient history of Scotland, and either destroyed or carried them into England.* Attempts have been made of late to call in question this statement, but the most satisfactory evidence of its truth is to be found in the celebrated document presented in the name of the Estates of Scotland to Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1301:—"As to all these points," it is said, "and with regard to the other defences which may be brought forward, or the liberties which may be claimed, or the rights which may be found existing in the kingdom of Scotland, the King of England has abstracted the existing muniments and the public records from the treasury, which could have illustrated them: and when he had the custody of this kingdom, he, by force and fear, caused the same, along with many other bulls, charters, and muniments which confirmed the liberties of the same kingdom, to be abstracted from the treasury, and carried with him into England."† This explicit statement is completely corroborated by the testimony of the English historian, Knighton,‡ and of the author of the Preface to the ancient Chronicle of Cupar; and especially by a precept or order which still remains addressed by Edward I. to the keepers of Edinburgh castle, enjoining them to deliver up all the charters, and other documents in their possession, which concerned the rights of the competitors for the Scottish crown, or related in any way to the kingdom of Scotland, to be carried off, and placed wherever the king should appoint.§

It is highly to the credit of Fordun, that, in spite of these disadvantages, he undertook the compilation of a chronicle of Scottish affairs; and he appears to have spared neither expense nor labour in the prosecution of his praiseworthy design. The extraordinary exertions which he made to collect materials for his history, are commemorated by the author of the Preface to the ancient Chronicle of Cupar, in the following quaint and bombastic terms:—"After the loss of these chronicles (the national monuments destroyed and carried off by Edward I.) a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his

hand boldly to the work; nor did he desist from his undertaking until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled the 'Scotichronicon.' In this undertaking, it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise on the industry of the author. For, advertent to the fact, that to commit all the record of past ages to the memory is the attribute of God, rather than man, he upon this consideration travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadow of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets all that most pleased him: in this manner, and by pursuing such indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and, collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in a historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted King David."*

Like the other monkish annalists, Fordun endeavours to trace the origin of his own people to a period of the most remote antiquity; and he has embodied in his history all the preposterous fictions respecting the rise of the Scots, which were current in Scotland at the time when he began his collections. The first of the five books into which he has divided his work, includes a period of eleven hundred and seventy-five years, from the first emigration of the Scots, in the days of Moses, under Gathelus, son of Neolus, King of Greece, down to the commencement of the Scottish monarchy in Britain, which Fordun supposes to have taken place in the year of the world 4864, under Fergus, the son of Ferchard. Following the absurd fashion of his age, the venerable canon presents his reader with a general history of the world, and descant upon such subjects as the form of the universe; the position of the earth in the centre of the system and equidistant from every part of the circle of the heavens; the four principal points of the compass; the four cardinal winds; the division of the world into Asia, Africa, and Europe; its partition among the three sons of Noah; the exact situation of paradise; the history of Europe, and its great islands; and thus winding his way through these heterogeneous topics, he comes at last to the origin of the Scots, the journey of Gathelus from Greece

* Innes, Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 202.
 † Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iii. pp. 835—876.
 ‡ Knighton apud X. Scriptores, p. 2490.
 § It has been clearly proved, that the charters which were carried into England were altered or garbled to favour the English claim of superiority. See Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland.

* Innes, Critical Essay, vol. i. pp. 205—207.

to Egypt, his marriage to Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, his voyage to Spain, the three emigrations of the Scots from Spain to Ireland, and their settlement in Britain about 330 years before Christ.

The second book of the *Scotichronicon* embraces the history of seven centuries, from the year 330 A.C., to the alleged restoration of the Scottish monarchy by Fergus II., in the year of our Lord 403. The third book contains the history of the Scots from the time of Fergus II., down to the year 830, which marks the reign of Alpin, the father of Kenneth, who united the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms. The fourth book extends over a period of two hundred and thirty-six years, from the time of Alpin, down to the reign of Malcolm Canmore; and the fifth book occupies the space of ninety-six years, from A.D. 1056, to the death of David I., A.D. 1153.

The continuation of the *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, was composed partly from the notes which Fordun had collected, and which he committed to Bower when he found himself too infirm to carry on his historical labours; partly from the chronicles and papers communicated to him by Sir David Stewart, of Rosyth, his patron, who urged him to undertake the work; and partly from the additional information which his own researches had discovered. From these various sources Bower has continued the narrative, from the death of David I., down to the murder of James I., in 1437. In spite of the credulity and superstition often manifested by the authors of the *Scotichronicon*, and the lengthened digressions in which it abounds, it is a work of great value to the historian, and contains much important and authentic information, as well as many striking notices of contemporary manners. In style and arrangement it has been pronounced equal, and in fidelity and accuracy even superior to the chronicles of the contemporary English annalists, Trivet, Higden, Knighton, and Matthew of Westminster. Fordun appears to have enjoyed high reputation, even in his own day, and his Chronicle was held in such esteem by the clergy, who possessed a monopoly of the learning of this age, that the various monasteries and religious houses, which had been robbed of their ancient records by Edward I., adopted the *Scotichronicon* as their conventual history, making only a few inconsiderable additions, and giving it the name of the monastery by whose superiors it had been adopted, transcribed, and continued.*

The age which was adorned by the genius of

James I.

Gower and Chaucer, produced in

JAMES I. a Scottish poet not unworthy to be ranked with these fathers of English verse. "James belongs," says Washington Irving, "to one of the most brilliant eras of our literary history, and establishes the claims of his country to a participation in its primitive honours. While a small cluster of English writers are constantly cited as the fathers of our verse,

* See "Liber Paslatensis," "Liber Seonensis," "Liber de Cupro," &c. Innes, *Critical Essay*, vol. i. pp. 210, 233.

the name of their great Scottish compeer is apt to be passed over in silence; but he is evidently worthy of being enrolled in that little constellation of remote, but never-failing luminaries, who shine in the highest firmament of literature, and who, like moving stars, sang together at the bright dawning of British poesy."

"James was evidently an admirer and studier of the writings of Chaucer and Gower. Indeed, in one of his stanzas, he acknowledges them as his masters; and in some parts of his poem we find traces of similarity to their productions, more especially to those of Chaucer. There are always, however, general features of resemblance in the works of contemporary authors, which are not so much borrowed from each other as from the times. Writers, like bees, toll their sweets in the wide world: they incorporate with their own conceptions the anecdotes and thoughts which are current in society; and thus each generation has some features in common, characteristic of the age in which it lived."

The most important production of this accomplished monarch, is a long poem, called, "The King's Quair," or Book, in which he describes the circumstances of the attachment which he formed, while a prisoner in Windsor Castle, to Lady Jane Beaufort, who subsequently became his queen. It is in various respects a remarkable work, and derives peculiar interest from the fact, that it may be considered a transcript of the royal bard's true feelings, and the story of his real loves and fortunes. It has been pronounced by Mr. Ellis to be full of simplicity and feeling, and not inferior in poetical merit to any similar production of Chaucer. The introduction to the poem is remarkably spirited and beautiful. It was, he says, the still mid-watch of a clear moonlight night, the stars Plan of "The King's Quair." were twinkling as the fire in the high vault of heaven, and "Cynthia viewing her golden locks in Aquarius." He lay in bed wakeful and restless, and sought to beguile the tedious hours by the perusal of "Boethius's Consolations of Philosophy," a work highly popular at that period, and which had been translated by his great prototype Chaucer. After closing the volume, he is naturally led to reflect on the general instability of human affairs, the vicissitudes of his own life, and the misfortunes that had overtaken him even in his tender youth. Suddenly he hears the bell ringing to matins, but its sound seems to him like a voice exhorting him to write his story. As he had in his time, he says, spent some ink and paper to little effect, he determines to comply with the intimation, and to write something new. He therefore takes the pen in hand, makes with it the sign of the cross, to implore a benediction on his work, and forthwith begins his poem. He describes, in very affecting terms, his departure from his native country, his cruel and unjust capture during his voyage to France; and bewails his long captivity in a foreign land, and his lonely and inactive life, shut out, in the vigour of youth, from all the enter-

prise and delights of the world, while even the lower animals live in freedom, every one after his kind. He had risen at day-break, he tells us, according to custom, to escape from the dreary meditations of a sleepless pillow. Bemoaning in his chamber thus alone, despairing of all joy and remedy, "fortired of thought, and woe-begone," he turned to the window,

"To see the world and folk that went forbye."

He informs us that the window looked forth upon a small garden, which lay at the foot of the tower, and was adorned with a green arbour and trellised walk, protected from the passing gaze by trees and hawthorn hedges.

"Now was there made fast by the towris wall
A garden fair; and in the corners set
Ane arbour green, with wandis long and small
Hailed about, and so with trees be set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,
That lyf* was none walking there forbye,
That might within scarce any wight espy.

"So thick the boughis and the leavis green
Beshaded all the alleys that there were,
And mids of every arbour might be seen
The sharpe greene sweete juniper,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That as it seemed to a lyf* without,
The boughis spread the arbour all about.

"And on the smalle greene† twistis sat,
The little sweete nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear, the hymnis consecrat
Of lovis use, now soft, now loud among,
That all the gardens and the wallis rung
Right of their song."

It was the month of May, when everything was in bloom, and he imagines that the hymn of the feathered choristers, with which all the gardens and the walls rang, is a welcome to this delightful season.

¶ Worship all ye that lovers be this May,
For of your bliss the kalends are begun,
And sing with us—away Winter! away!
Come Summer! come the sweet season and sunn;
Awake! for shame! that have your heavenis won †
And amorously lift up your heads all;
Thank Love, that list you to his mercy call.

"When they this song had sung a little thrave, §
They stumt awhile, and therewith unafraid,
As I beheld and cast mine eyes alawe,
From bough to bough they hoppit and they played,
And freshly in their birdis kind arrayed
Their feathers new, and fret them in the sun, ||
And thanked Love they had their mates won."

As he gazes on the scene and listens to the notes of the birds singing the praises of their mates, the captive prince wonders what this love may be, which seems to confer, even on the irrational creation, such perfect enjoyment. Is it not, after all, a fantasy, a mere counterfeited bliss? And if it be a boon thus generally dispensed, even to the beasts of the earth and the birds of the air, why is he alone cut off from its enjoyments?

* Person. † Twigs or small boughs.
‡ Attained your highest bliss.
§ A short space.
|| Raised or spread them in the sun.

"Oft would I think, O Lord, what may this be,
That love is of such noble myght and kynde?
Loving his folk and such prosperitee;
Is it of him as we in books do find?
May he our hertes setten* and unbynd?
Hath he upon our hertes such maistraye?
Or is this all but feynit fantasye?

"For gif he be of so grete excellence,
That he of every wight hath care and charge,
What have I gilt † to him or done offence,
That I am thral'd and birdis go at large?"

As he thus muses, he accidentally casts his eyes from the latticed window of his tower upon the garden below, and there beholds "the fairest and the freshest young flower" that ever he had seen. It was the Lady Jane Beaufort, walking in the garden, to enjoy the beauty of that "fresh May morrowe."

"And therewith kest I down mine eye ageyne,
Where, as I saw walking under the toure,
Full secretly new comyn her to playne ‡
The fairest and the freshest younge flower
That ere I saw, methought, before that hour,
For which sudden abate, § anon a stert, ||
The blood of all my body to my heart.

"And tho' I stood abaysit there a lite, ¶
No wonder was; for why?—my wittis all
Were so o'ercome with plesance and delyte,
Only thro' lettin of mine eyen fall,
That suddenly my heart became her thral
For ever, of free-will: for of menace **
There was no token seen in her sweet face."

Thus slightly modernized by Mr. Tytler,

"Then as it hapt, mine eyes I cast below,
And there I spied, beneath my prison tower,
Telling her beads, in walking to and fro,
The fairest and the freshest youthful flower
That ever I beheld before that hour;
Entranced I gazed, and with the sudden start
Rushed instant all my blood into my heart.

"Awile I stood, abased and speechless quite,
Nor wonder was; for why?—my senses all
Were so o'ercome with pleasure and delight
Only with letting thus my eyes to fall,
That instantly mine heart became her thral
For ever of free will: for nought was seen
But gentleness in her soft looks serene."

"In the prince's situation," says the excellent critic †† to whom we are indebted for the publication of this poem, "viewing from his prison window the beautiful Jane walking below in the palace garden, he could not, with propriety or verisimilitude have given a minute description of her features; but it will be difficult for imagination to form a more lovely idea of beauty than what the poet has drawn under the figurative description of

"The fairest and the freshest young flower
That ever I saw——"

a picture expressive of beauty, health, and blooming youth. He describes the sweetness of her countenance untinged by the slightest expression of pride or haughtiness; her beauty, health and blooming youth, and the sudden and irresistible passion with which these had inspired him

* Incline.
† What injury have I done him.
‡ To petition, to make her morning orisons.
§ Sinking down. || Started.
¶ A little. ** Pride.
†† Poetical Remains of James I. p. 80.

The paints also her rich attire, and, as the portrait is evidently taken from the life, it may be considered as an accurate description of the female costume of that day. He dwells with the fondness of a lover on the various articles of her dress; the net of pearl, splendent with emeralds and sapphires, that confined her golden tresses; the chaplet of waving plumes; the 'goodly chain of small orfeverye' about her neck, from which hung a ruby in shape of a heart that seemed like a spark of fire burning upon her white bosom; her robe, loosely thrown over her shoulders, and her dress of white tissue, looped up to enable her to walk with more freedom.

"Of her array the form if I shall write,
Toward her golden hair and rich attire,
In fretwise couchit with perlais white,*
And great balas † leaming as the fire,
With mony ane emerant and fair sapphire;
And on her head a chaplet fresh of hue,
Of plumis parted, red and white, and blue.

"Full of quaking spangis bright as gold,
Forged of shape like to the amoretis, ‡
So new, so fresh, so pleasant to behold;
The plumis eke like to the flower jonets, §
And other of shape like to the flower jonquettes; ¶
And above all this there was, well I wot,
Beauty enough to make a world to dote.

"About her neck, white as the fine amaille, ¶¶
A goodly chain of small orfeverye,**
Whereby there hung a ruby without fail,
Like to ane heart shapen, verily,
That as a spark of love †† so wantonly
Seemed burning upon her white throat,
Now if there was good party ‡‡ God is wot.

"And for to walk that fresh May's morrow,
Ane hook she had upon her tissue white,
That goodlier had not been seen to forow, §§
As I suppose: and girt she was alite ||||
Thus halfings loose for haste, to such delight
It was to see her youth in goodlihed,
That for rudeness to speak thereof I dread.

"In her was youth, beauty, with humble port,
Bounty, riches, and womanly feature;
God better wot than can my pen report;
Wisdom, largess, estate, and cunning ¶¶¶ sure,
In every point so guided her measure,
In word, in deed, in shape, in countenance,
That Nature might no more her child advance."

"It is not difficult," says Mr. Tytler, "giving almost line for line, to present the English reader with a transcript of these sweet verses."

"Write I of her array and rich attire—
A net of pearl enclosed her tresses round,
Wherein a balas flamed as bright as fire;
And midst the golden curls an emerant bound,
Painted with greeny light the flowery ground.
Upon her head a chaplet fresh of hue,
Of plumes divided, red, and white, and blue.

"Which, waving, showed their spangles carved in gold,
Formed by nice art like amorous love-knots all;
Glancing most bright, and pleasant to behold,
And shaped like that sweet flower, that on the wall
Grows fragrant, which young lovers jonquil call;
Yet still above all this, she had, I wote,
Beauty enough to make a world to dote.

* Covered with a net, or fret-work of pearls.

† Precious stones sparkling as fire. Balas, a kind of ruby, so called from Balassia in India.

‡ Love knots. § A kind of lily. ¶ Jonquils.

¶¶ Enamel. ** Goldsmith's work. †† Flame.

‡‡ Match. §§ Before. ||| Slightly. ¶¶ Knowledge.

"About her neck, that whiter was than snow,
She wore a chain of rich orfeverye;
Where pendent hung a ruby, formed, I trow,
Like to a heart—so seemed its shape to me;
Which bright as spark of fire danced wantonly
Whene'er she moved, upon her throat so white,
That I did wish myself that jewel bright.

"Early astir to taste the morn of May,
Her robe was loosely o'er her shoulders thrown,
Half open, as in haste, yet maidenly,
And clasped, but slightly, with a beauteous zone,
Through which a world of such sweet youthhead
shone,
That it did move in me intense delight,
Most beauteous,—yet whereof I may not write.

"In her did beauty, youth, and bounty dwell,
A virgin port, and features feminine;
Far better than my feeble pen can tell,
Did meek-eyed wisdom in her gestures shine;
She seemed, perfoy—a thing almost divine
In word, in deed, in shape, in countenance,
That Nature could no more her child advance."

The poet then, in his extremity, implores assistance from Venus; and, in strains of exquisite beauty and tenderness, expresses his envy of the little dog which sported about his mistress, and expostulates with the nightingale, who is silent at the very time when she ought to pour forth her most joyous notes.

"When I with gude intent this orison
Thus endit had, I stynt a little stound,*
And of mine eye full piteously adoun
I cast, beholding there her little hound,
That with his bellis playit on the ground; †
Then woud I say and sigh therewith a lyte, ‡
Ah well were him that now were in that plyte. §

"An other while the little nightingale
That sat upon the twiggis wold I chide,
And say richt thus—Where are thy notis small
That thou of love hast sung this morowe tyde?
Sees thou not her that fittis thee beyle,
For Venus' sake the blissful goddesse cleare,
Sing on agane, and make my ladye chere."

The departure of Lady Jane from the garden, puts an end to his transports. The day seemed turned into night, and he relapses into loneliness, now rendered tenfold more insupportable by the passing gleam of sunshine which, for a brief space, had illuminated the scene of his captivity. Through the long and weary day he repines at his unhappy lot, locked up within his prison-walls, and cut off from all hope of intercourse or acquaintance, and when evening approaches, and Phœbus had 'bade farewell to every leaf and flower,' then 'Hesperus gan light his lamp on high,' and as darkness deepens around him, he leans his head upon the cold stone, and, overcome with weariness, falls 'half-sleeping, half-swoon,' into a trance. Suddenly a bright ray of light pierces the window where he leaned, illuminating the whole apartment; a voice addresses him in words of comfort and encouragement, he is seized by the arms, and lifted into the air, and enclosed in a crystal cloud,

* Stayed a little while.

† This was, in all probability, the Italian hound, of exquisite symmetry, which was a pet among the fashionable ladies of ancient times.

‡ Little.

§ Collar or chain.

he ascends upwards from sphere to sphere, till he reaches

" the glad empire
Of blissful Venus."

On entering the palace of Love, he finds it crowded with all descriptions of lovers;—the successful, the hypocritical, the unfortunate, the constant, and faithful, the worldly-minded and selfish, accompanied by Prudence, Courage, Benevolence, Repentance, and other allegorical personages, which abound in the poetry of this period. The description of the various groupes of the votaries of Love is extremely picturesque, and shows great powers of fancy and imagination; and there is a striking portrait of Cupid seated in a chair of state, his bright yellow locks bound with a chaplet of green leaves, with his bended bow in his hand, and his fatal quiver by his side. The Queen of Love herself is found reclining upon a bed, with a mantle cast over her white shoulders, and a fair fresh chaplet of red roses on her head. To her the poet makes his complaint, and earnestly implores her aid. The reply of Venus is somewhat tedious and discursive, though containing some beautiful poetry. She addresses her votary in the language of encouragement, assures him of her benevolent assistance, and sends him, under the guidance of Good Hope, to seek counsel of Minerva. This sage goddess, having first ascertained that her petitioner is influenced by a pure and virtuous attachment, and is not one of those

" That feynis truth in love but for a while,
The silly innocent woman to beguile,"

and whom she denounces as having the hearts of wolves, under the guise of lambs,—bestows upon him a good deal of judicious, but rather tiresome advice, mingled with some discussions respecting free will and necessity, which show that the poet was sufficiently versant in the metaphysical learning of his age. The votary of love is then dismissed from the court of Minerva, and, like Milton's Uriel, straightway descends upon a sunbeam to the earth.

The fifth canto is occupied with the poet's journey in quest of Fortune. The opening verses are singularly beautiful:—

" Where in a lussy plain • I took my way
Flowing a river • pleasant to behold,
Embroider'd all with fresh flowers gay,
Where thro' the gravel, bright as ony gold,
The crystal water ran so clere and cold,
That in mine ear it made continually
A manner soon meltit with harmony. †

" That fall of little fishes by the brym,
Now here, now there, with backs blue as lead,
Lap and playit, and in a rout gan awym
So prettily, and dresst thaim to spread
Their erual fins as the ruby red
That in the sun upon their scales bright
As gesserant ‡ § glitterit in my sight."

Beside this pleasant river he finds an avenue of trees covered with delicious fruit, and under their

• Pleasant, delightful.
† Along the brink of a river.
‡ A pleasant sound mingled with harmony.
§ Jactath.

umbrageous covert are seen 'beasts of mony divers kynd,' of whom he gives a most picturesque, and characteristic description, equal, it has been justly said, to anything of the kind in Chaucer or Spenser.

" The lion king and his fierce lioness;
The panther, spotted like the smaragdine; *
The little squirrel, full of business; †
The patient ass that drudgeth still in pine;
The cunning ape; the warlike porcupine;
The piercing lynx; the stately unicorn,
That voideth venom from his ivory horn.

" There I saw dress him new out of his haunt; ‡
The fierce tiger full of felony;
The dromydare and stander elephant; §
The wily fox, the widow's enemy;
The climbing goat; the elk for arblastrye; ||
The harking boar; the holsum ¶ grey for sportis;
The hare also that oft goeth to the hortis." **

Under the guidance of Good Hope the poet proceeds in search of the goddess Fortune, whom he at length finds sitting on the ground, clothed in a surcoat of divers hues, with a large and long mantle, furred with ermine, and right before her feet a wheel, on which a multitude of people were clambering, whose alternations of fortune are described in lively strains. She inquires into his story; and on his earnest appeal to her for sympathy and assistance, she places him upon the wheel, admonishing him to maintain his balance there for half an hour, and after assuring him that he will be fortunate in his love, bids him farewell. In departing she seizes him so firmly by the ear, that he suddenly awakes, and addresses his soul in the following solemn and striking lines:—

" Oh besy ghost! ay flickering to and fro,
That never art in quiet nor in rest,
Till thou come to that place where thou come fro,
Which is thy first and very proper nest;
From day to day so sore here art thou drest,
That with thy flesh ay waking art in trouble,
And sleeping eke, of pyne so hast thou double."

He anxiously inquires whether all that had passed before his dreaming fancy has been conjured up by preceding circumstances, or whether it is a vision sent from heaven to comfort him in his despondency. If the latter, he prays that some further token may be sent to confirm the assurance of success given him in his slumbers. Suddenly a turtle dove as 'white as chalk,' comes flying in at the window, and alights upon his hand, bearing in her bill a stalk of red gilliflowers, on the leaves of which was written, in letters of gold, the glad news that it is decreed he is to be successful in his love.

" This fair bird rycht into her bill gan hold,
Of red gillyflowers with stalkis green,
A fair branch, where, written was with gold,
On every leaf with letters brycht and shene,
In compass fair, full pleasantly to sene, ††
A plain sentence which, as I can devise
And have in mind, said rycht upon this wise.

* A precious stone. † Always in motion.
‡ New prepared to sally out of his den.
§ The elephant that always stands.
|| The strings of the arblast or cross-bow were probably formed out of the tough sinews of the elk.
¶ Greyhound. ** Gardens. †† See.

"Awake, awake! I bring, lover, I bring
Most gladsome news, that blissful are and sure
Of thy comfort; now laugh, and play, and sing.
Full soon shalt thou achieve thine adventure,
For in the heaven decretit* is thy cure;
And unto me the flowers did present,
With wyngis spread, her ways furth then she went."

He receives the branch with mingled hope and dread, reads it with rapture, and this, he says, was the first token of his succeeding happiness. He concludes the poem by intimating, with thankful heart, that the promise conveyed in the vision, and by the flower, has been amply fulfilled, and that the possession of his lovely princess has proved a remedy for all his sorrows.

Such are the outlines of a poem, which, in the judgment of a distinguished writer,† is not inferior in fancy, elegance of diction, and tender delicacy of feeling, to any similar work of the same period produced either in England or in his own country. It may, no doubt, be objected, that its allegorical descriptions are tedious and uninteresting, and that it exhibits an incongruous mixture of classical mythology and Christian theology. But these were the faults rather of the age than of the poet, and they are redeemed by the genuine feeling, the delightful artlessness and urbanity, and the fresh and vivid descriptions of nature, with which the poem abounds. "As an amatory poem," says Washington Irving, "it is edifying in these days of coarser thinking to notice the nature, refinement, and exquisite delicacy which pervade it, banishing every gross thought, or immodest expression, and presenting female loveliness, clothed in all its chivalrous attributes of almost supernatural purity and grace."

The "King's Quair" is the principal work of this accomplished prince, but he wrote many other poems, some of which, unfortunately for the fulness of his fame, are now lost to the world. One of his minor productions, which is still preserved, called "Christ's Kirk of the Green,"‡ describes in humorous and graphic strains a rural fair, or merry-making, where the rustics danced, revelled, trunk, and, finally, quarrelled and fought. It shows how diligently James had made himself acquainted with the rural sports and pastimes of the Scottish peasantry, and with what humour he could enter into their enjoyments. The scene of his poem is traditionally said to be a village, called Christ's Kirk, in the parish of Kennethmont, in Aberdeenshire, where a fair was formerly held during the night. The opening stanzas describe with great spirit the flocking of country lads and lasses, wooers and their sweethearts, to the lay, or fair, at Christ's Kirk on the Green. The language, however, is a good deal antiquated, and the humour is occasionally somewhat coarse.

* Deceit.

† Tyler's Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 67.

‡ Bishops Gibson and Tanner and some other writers ascribe this poem to James V., but their arguments have been most satisfactorily refuted by the elder Mr. Tyler in his "Dissertation on the Life of James I."

"Was never in Scotland heard nor seen
Sic dancing nor dery,*
Nouthir at Falkland on the Grene,†
Nor Pellis at the Play,
As was of wooers as I wene
At Christ's Kirk on a day
There came our Kitties; washen clene,
In their new kirtles gray,
Full gay
At Christ Kirk of the Grene that day.

"To dance thir damysels thame dicht,‡
Thir lasses light of laitis, §
Thair gloves were of the raffel richt, ¶
Thair shune were of the Straits, **
Thair kirtles were of the Lynkome light, ††
Weil prest with many plaits
They were so nice when men them nicht, ††
They squeilt like ony gaitis, §§
Sa loud,
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

Gillie, a rural beauty, with slender waist, red cheeks, white bosom, and yellow locks, has sworn that in spite of 'kith and kin,' she will have none but 'sweet Willie.' Her scorn of his rival is given in very graphic terms:—

"She seornit Jock, and serapit at him, ††
And murgeonit him ¶¶ with mocks;
He wald have luvit, she wald not let him,
For all his yellow locks:
He cherish'd her, she bade gae chat him, ***
She compt him not twa clockis, †††
Sae shamefully his short gown set him,
His limbs were like twa rokkis, †††
She said,
At Christ's Kirk on the Grene," &c.

The spirited playing and sweet singing of Tam Lutar the minstrel; the dancing of Tousy, who scorns Scotch reels and apes the French fashion; the vigorous leaping and high capering of Steven, which ends in his downfall and misbehaviour; and the riotous revelling of Robin Roy, and his quarrel with Jock, which leads to a general battle, are all described with great force and happiness of humour. Among other weapons the combatants make use of the bow, and the poet ridicules their awkwardness in the mode of handling it, and the ludicrous failure with which their attempts are invariably accompanied. One doughty archer bends his bow with great vehemence, not doubting that he would do deadly execution upon his opponent, who, in great terror bawls out, "Confusion, blood and murder!" but he misses his mark by a whole acre's breadth.

"With that a friend of his cried fy!
And up ane arrow drew:
He forgit §§§ it sa furiously,
The bow in fenderis †††† flew;

* Merriment. † Palace of Falkland in Fifeshire.

‡ Country lasses. § Dressed or prepared.

¶ Frolicsome in their manners.

¶¶ Gloves of the roe-deer skin.

** Thin shoes made of Turkey or Morocco leather from the Straits.

†† Of Lincoln manufacture. ††† Came near them.

‡‡ Shrieked like wild goats. ††† Mocked him.

§ Made mouths at him. *** Go to the gallows.

††† She valued him not the worth of two beetles.

††† His legs were like two distaffs.

§§§ He drew his bow with such fury. †††† Splinters.

So was the will of God trow I,
For had the troe been trew,*
Men said that kend his archery,
That he had slain enow
That day,
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

Lourie's misadventure is perhaps the best.

"Than Lowrie as ane Lyon lap,
And soon ane flane gan felder,†
He hecht † to pierce him at the pap,
Thereon to wad a wedder; ‡
He hit him on the wame a wap,||
It buft like only bledder, ¶
But as his fortune was and hap
His doublet was of ledder,**
And saved him,
At Christ's Kirk on the Grene, &c

"The buff so boisterously abaitt him ††
He to the eard dusht down, †††
The other man for dead then left him,
And fled out of the town.
The wifes cam furth, and up they heft him
And fand lyfe in the loun, §§
Then with three routtis ||| up they reft him,
And cur'd him of his soune,
Fra hand that day, ¶¶
At Christ's Kirk of the Grene," &c.

'Peblis to the Play,' is another humorous poem by James I., descriptive of a great annual festival, or fair, which was held near that ancient town, on Beltane-day, or the first of May.*** "The anniversary games, or plays, at Peebles," says the author of the 'Dissertation on the Life of James I.,' "are of so high antiquity, that at this day it is only from tradition, joined to a few remains of antiquity, we can form any conjecture of the age of their institution, or even trace the vestiges, what these games were. . . . That this town, situated on the banks of the Tweed, in a pastoral country, abounding with game, was much resorted to by our ancient Scottish princes is certain. King Alexander III. is said to have had a hunting-seat here; the place where it stood is still pointed out. We are told by Boetius that the monastery of Cross Church, now in ruins, was built by that prince, and anciently our monarchs occasionally took up their residence in religious houses.††† Contiguous to it is a piece of ground, of old surrounded by walls, and still called the King's Orchard, and on the opposite side of the river is the King's Green. The plays were, probably, the golf, a game peculiar to the Scots; football, and shooting for prizes with bow and arrow. The shooting butts still remain; and an ancient silver prize-arrow,

* Had the wood been true; had the bow been proof.
† Seen feathered an arrow. † Meant.
‡ To wager or pledge a sheep. † A blow on the belly.
¶ Made a sound like a bladder. † Leather.
** Stunned him. †† Fell down suddenly to the earth.
†† Found life in the rogue. †† Loud bellows like an ox.
‡‡ Out of hand; instantly.
*** Beltane was a festival of the aborigines of this country, who celebrated it by lighting fires on the tops of hills and other places in honour of their deity, Baal, from whom the festival took its name, Beltane, or Beltein, signifying the fire of Baal.

††† James I. granted to his confessor, David Rat, an hospital, called St Leonard's, about a mile and a half eastward of the town.

with several old medallions appended to it is, as I am informed, still preserved in the town-house of Peebles." The 'Beltain Fair' of Peebles, which is still held regularly upon the first Wednesday of May, must be considered, though very inferior in every respect, as the descendant of the ancient 'Play.' Indeed, till about the middle of the last century this fair was distinguished by a horse-race, and other festivities; but of late years it has degenerated into a mere tryst.

The poem commences with a description of the gathering of the people from all parts of the neighbouring country to attend the fair:

"At Beltane when each body bowms
To Peblis at the Play,
To hear the singing and the sownis,
The solace sooth to say.
By firth and forest furth they found,
They graithit* them full gay,
God wot, 'that would they do that s'ound,'
For it was their feast-day,
They said,
Of Peblis to the Play.
* * * *

"All the wenches of the west
Were up ere the cock crew,
For reeling there might no man rest
For garay† and for glew.‡
One said my curches are not prest,
Then answered Meg, full blue,
To get a hood I hold it best,
I vow but that is true,
Quoth she,
Of Peblis to the Play

"Hope, Cayle, and Cardronow, §
Gather'd out thick fold,
With heigh-how-rumbelow,
The young fools were full bold.
The bagpipe blew, and they outthrew
Out of the towns untold,
Lord, such a shouting was them among
When they were o'er the wold,
There west,
To Peblis at the Play."

Among the Scottish poets who flourished during the fifteenth century, a conspicuous place is due to ROBERT HENRYSOUN, the author of the 'Testament of Creseide,' the beautiful pastoral ballad of 'Robene and Makynne,' and several other fables and poems of a high order of excellence. Of this delightful writer hardly anything is known, except what is contained in the following brief statement of Urry, the editor of Chaucer:—"The author of the 'Testament of Creseide,' which might pass for the sixth book of this story, I have been informed by Sir James Erskine, late Earl of Kelly, and divers aged scholars of the Scottish nation, was one Mr. Robert Henrysoun, chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, a little time before Chaucer was first printed, and dedicated to Henry VIII., by Mr. Thynne, which was near the end of his reign. Mr. Henrysoun wittily observing that Chaucer in his fifth book had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseide, learnedly takes upon him in a fine poetical way to express the punishment and end due to a false inconstant woman, which commonly term

* Clothed themselves. † Preparation.
‡ Glee. § The names of villages on the Tweed.

mates in extreme misery. Henrysoun was in all probability born during the reign of James II.; but the exact period is unknown; his life is a mere blank, and the time of his death is involved in equal obscurity. In one of his works he describes himself as "one man of age," and it is stated by Sir Francis Kinaston, that "being very old he died of a diarrhœa, or flux." It is certain that he died before Dunbar wrote his Lament for the Death of the Makars, for he commemorates him among other departed poets:—

"In Dunfermling death has tane Broun,
With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun."

"Of the works of this remarkable man," says a distinguished writer, "it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."* The greatest work of this sweet, but neglected poet, is that

His "Testament to which allusion has already been of Creseide." made,—the completion of Chaucer's beautiful poem of Troilus and Creseide. "Henrysoun," says the biographer of Chaucer, "perceived what was defective in the close of the story of Troilus and Creseide, as Chaucer had left it. The inconstant and unfeeling Creseide, as she appears in the last book, is the just object of aversion, and no reader can be satisfied that Troilus, the loyal and heroic lover, should suffer all the consequences of her crime, whilst she escapes with impunity. The poem of Henrysoun," he continues, "has a degree of merit, calculated to make us regret that it is not a performance standing by itself, instead of thus serving merely as an appendage to the work of another. The author has conceived, in a very poetical manner, his description of the season in which he supposes himself to have written this dolorous tragedy. The sun was in Aries—his setting was ushered in with furious storms of hail; the cold was biting and intense, and the poet sat in a little solitary building, which he calls his 'oratoire.' The sun has just set, and the beautiful evening-star shows her golden face in the west—the air has cleared up to an intense frost, and the aged bard for awhile contemplates the scene with delight, but warned by the increasing cold, he closes his shutters, stirs his fire, wheels in his chair, and, after warming his sluggish blood with a cup of generous wine, takes up a volume of Chaucer, and happens to light upon the story of Creseide fair, and lusty Troilus.

"A doly season till a careful ditte †
Should correspond and be equivalent;
Right so it was, when I began to write
This tragedy; the weather right fervent,
When Aries in middis of the Lent,

* Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 77.

† A sad season for a melancholy story.

Showers of hail gan fro the north descende,
That scantly from the cold I mighten me defende.

"Yet ne'ertheless within mine oratoire
I stood, when Titan had his beams bright
Withdrawn down and sealed under cure;
And fair Venus, the beaute of the night,
Upraise and sette unto the weste full right
Her golden face, in oppositioun
Of God Phoebus, directe descending down.

"Throughout the glasse her heama brast* so faire,
That I might see on every side me by;
The northern wind had purified the aire
And shed his misty clouds fro the skie;
The frost freezed, the blasts bitterly
From Pole Artick came whisking loud and shrill,
And caused me remove against my will.

"For I trusted that Venus, lover's Quene,
To whom sometime I hight obedience,
My faded heart of love she wald make green;
And thereupon, with humble reverence,
I thought to praise her hie magnificence;
But for great cold as then I lettid † was,
I in my chambre to the fire gan pass.

"Though love be hot, yet in a man of age
It kindleth not so soon as in youthheid,
Of whom the blood is flowing in a rage,
And in the old the courage dull and dede,
Of which the fire outward is best reined;
To help by physick where that nature failed
I am expert, for both I have assailed.

"I made the fire and beeked me about, ‡
Then took I drink, my spirits to comfort,
And armed me well fro the cold therout;
To cut the winter night, and make it short,
I took a quair, § and left all other sport,
Written by worthy Chaucer glorious,
Of fair Creseide and lusty Troilus."

In the poem, to use the words of the author already quoted, "Creseide is represented as deserted by Diomed; filled with discontent, and venting her rage in bitter revilings against Venus and Cupid. Her ingratitude is resented by these deities, who call a council of the seven planets, in which it is decreed that Creseido shall be punished with leprosy. Cynthia is deputed, in a vision, to inform her of her fate; she wakes, and finds that the dream is true. She then entreats her father to conduct her to a hospital for lepers, by the governor of which she is compelled to go as a beggar on the highway. Among the passers by, comes Troilus, who, in spite of the dreadful disfigurement of her person, finds something in her that he had seen before, and even draws from a glance of her horrible countenance, a confused recollection of the sweet visage and amorous glances of his beloved Creseide. His instinct leads him no further. He does not suspect that his mistress is actually before him; yet,

'For knightly pitie and memorial
Of faire Creseide,'

he takes a girdle, a purse of gold, and many a gaie jewell, and shakes them down in the skirt of the miserable beggar.

'Then rode away, and not a worde he spake.'

No sooner is he gone, than Creseide becomes aware that her benefactor is no other than Troilus him-

* Pierced.

† Warmd myself on every side.

‡ Pierced.

† Hindered.

§ A book.

self. Affected by this unexpected occurrence, she falls into a frenzy, betrays her real name and condition, bequeaths to Troilus a ring which he had given her in dowry—and dies. Troilus laments her fate, and builds her a monument.”*

Henryson's knowledge of astronomy, as exhibited in his description of the planets, appears to have been extremely imperfect, and his personification of these heavenly bodies is by no means carefully preserved. But his description of Saturn shivering with cold; his hoary matted locks falling down his shoulders, glittering and fretted with hoar frosts; the wind whistling through his gray and weather-beaten garments, and a sheaf of arrows feathered with ice, and headed with hailstones, stuck under his girdle, is drawn with the hand of a master.

“ His face frowned, his skin was like the lead,
His teeth chattered and shivered with the chin,
His eye droop'd, whole sunken in his head;
Out at his nose the midrop fast gan rin,
With lippis blue, and cheeks lean and thin;
The icicles that from his hair down honge,
Were wonder great, and as a spear was longe.

“ Althou his belt his lyart + locks lay,
Fetrid; unfair, or fret with frostis hore,
His garment and his gite § full gay of gray,
His withered wede fro him the wind out wore;
A boustess bow within his hand he bore;
Under his girdle a flashe of felon flains,||
Feather'd with ice and headed with hailstones.”

The treatment of Creseide when she is smitten with leprosy, as a punishment for her inconstancy, affords some interesting information respecting the treatment, in the days of Henryson, of the unhappy creatures who were afflicted with this loathsome disease. “Want of cleanliness,” says the editor of Sir Tristrem,¶ “of linen, of vegetables, of fresh meat in winter, but, above all, sloth and hardship, concurred to render the leprosy as common in Europe, during the middle ages, as it is in some eastern countries at this day. Various hospitals were founded by the pious for the reception of those miserable objects, whose disease being infectious, required their seclusion from society.** When they legged through the streets they usually carried a cup to receive alms, and a clapper or bell to warn the passenger to keep aloof, even while bestowing his charity. In allusion to this custom, Saturn, when he announces to Creseide the punishment to which she was condemned, says,

“ Thus shalt thou go, begging from house to house,
With cuppe and clapper, like a lazarous.”

Her father conveys her to the receptacle for such miserable objects,

“ When in a mantel and a berri hat,
With cuppe and clapper wonder privily,
He opened a secret gate, and out therat
Conveyed her, that no man should espie,
Ther to a village half a mile therobie,
Delivered her in at the spital house,
And daily sent her part of his almous.”

* Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, vol. i. p. 403.

† Henry. ‡ Matted. § Fashion of his clothing.

¶ A sheaf of arrows.

‡ Fytte Third, st. 89; Notes, p. 362.

** See ante, p. 360.

A leper woman cuts short Creseide's long lamentation at this dismal change, and exhorts her to practise the trade which was now to support her—

“ Go learn to clappe thy clapper to and fro
And learn after the lawe of leper's lede.”

Again,—while she is begging with her miserable associates, Troilus, the lover whom she had betrayed, returns victorious from a skirmish against the Greeks. The lepers

“ Seeing that companie come with osteven,
They gave a crie and shook cuppis; God spede,
Worthie lords! for Goddis love in heaven,
To us lepers part of your almon dede!”

To a different class belong the poems entitled ‘The Abbey Walk;’ ‘The Praise of Age;’ ‘The Reasoning betwixt Death and Men;’ and ‘The Reasoning betwixt Age and Youth;’ which are pervaded by a fine moral strain, and a tone of solemn and impressive thought. A few stanzas from the ‘Praise of Age,’ slightly modernized, may serve to show the high order of excellence to which Henryson has attained in didactic poetry.

“ Within ane garth,* under a red rosier,†
Ane auld man and decrepit heard I sing;
Gay was the note, sweet was the voice and clear,
It was great joy to hear of sic a thing.
And thus he sung: ‘I would not be to king;
Of all this world live o'er a life like this.
Oh, Youth! thy sweetest flowers have sharpest sting:
The more of age the nearer heavenly bliss.

“ False is this world and full of variance,‡
O'errun with sin, and penury, and pain;
Truth is all fled,—guile has the governance,—
Fell coward treason hath high honour slain,
And freedom languisheth in iron chain;
And covetice § is all the cause of this.
I am content that youth is on the wane:
The more of age the nearer heaven's bliss.

“ Trust then no more this wretched world—for why?
Of earthly joy ay sorrow is the end,
The state of it can no man certify:
This day a king,—to morne|| na gude to spend;
What have we here but grace us to defend?
The quihik God grant us, till amend our miss,¶
That to his glour** he may our souls send:
The more of age the nearer heaven's bliss.”

‘The Bludy Serk’ (Bloody Shirt) is an allegorical poem, typifying the sacred mysteries of the Christian faith. The beautiful daughter of a great monarch is represented as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a loathsome dungeon, where she was doomed to remain until rescued by some valiant knight. Her cause is at length espoused by a noble prince, who vanquishes the giant, but is himself mortally wounded in the encounter. He restores the damsel to her father and feeling that his end is approaching, he bequeaths to her his ‘Bludy Serk,’ and solemnly enjoins her to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself.

“ This king is like the Trinitie,
Baith in hevin and heir;
The man's saul to the lady;
The giant to Lucifer;

* Garden.

† Rose tree.

‡ Covetousness.

|| To-morrow

** Glory.

† Changes.

‡ Amiss.

The knyght to Christ that died on tree
And ooft our sins deir;
The pit to hell, with pains fell;
The sin to the woer."

The poem entitled 'Robene and Makyne,' is the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language, and, in the opinion of Dr. Irving, is not only the most beautiful of Henryson's productions, but is superior, in many respects, to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne. It is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of the more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The story is skillfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction exhibits remarkable terseness and suavity.*

In addition to these poems, Henryson wrote a series of fables, thirteen in number, which are characterised by an arch simplicity, a quiet vein of humour, and a felicitous adaptation of the sentiments to the circumstances of the actors. One of these, the 'Tale of the Lion and the Mouse,' he feigns himself to have received from Æsop in one of his day-dreams. The prologue to this fable is remarkably beautiful.

"In the middis of June, that jolly sweet season,
When that fair Phœbus with his beams bright
Had dried up the dew from dale and downe,
And all the land made with his leyms + light,
In a morning, betwixt midday and night
I raise and put all sloth and sleepe aside,
On till a wood I want alone but guide.‡

"Sweete was the smell of flouris white and reid,
The noise of birdis right delicious,
The bewis braid bloomed about mine head,
The ground growand with grasses gracious;
Of all pleasance that place was plenteous,
With sweete odours and birdis harmony,
The morning myld my mirth was maer forthy.

"The roses red arrayed, the rone and ryss,§
The primrose and the purple viola,
To hear, it was a point of paradys,
Sic mirth, the mavis and the merle|| could ma; ¶
The blossoms blythe brak up on bank and brae,**
The smell of herbis, and of fowls the cry
Contending who should have the victory."

To shelter himself from the heat of the sun, the poet lies down 'among the flowers sweet,' under the shade of a green hawthorn, and straightway falls asleep. In his dream his venerable master, Æsop, appears to him, carrying a roll of paper in his hand, a swan-pen behind his ear, with an ink-horn, a 'pretty gilt pennare,' and a bag of silk at his belt—probably the dress and implements of a notary public at that day.

"His gown was of ane elaiht as white as milke;
His chemeis was of camblet purple brown;
His hood of searlet, broidered well with silke,
Or heeked wise until his girdle down;
His bonnet round, after the olde fashioun,

* Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. i. p. 388. Robene and Makyne' is published in Campbell's 'Selections from the English Poets;' and also, together with the Testament of Creseide,' in one of the volumes of the Bannatyne Club. A beautiful edition of the 'Moral Fables' has been published by the Maitland Club.

+ Beams.

‡ Without guide.

§ The brambles and bushes.

|| The thrush and blackbird.

** A hill side.

¶ Make.

His head was white, his eene great and gray,
With locker hair whilke ouer his shoulders lay." *

The sage addresses the poet in affectionate terms as his son, and gives him the novel information that he was a native of Rome, and first went to the schools in that city, and studied civil law 'full many a day.' Encouraged by his affability, the poet ventures to beseech 'Father Æsop' to tell him 'ane prettie Fable coneluding with ane gude Morality.' The sage at first declines, on the ground that a 'fairie tale' was certain to be disregarded, since 'holy preaching' was so little esteemed by the untoward generation of that day. Like other moralists, Æsop complains that the world grew worse daily:—

"Now in this world me think right few or none
To God's word that has devotion:
The ear is deaf, and heart as cauld as stane,
Now open sinne withouten correction.
The ear inclinand to the earth ay down,
So rusty is the world with canker blaek,
That now my tales may little succour make."

On the poet's reiterating his request, however, Æsop at length consents, and repeats to him the well-known tale of the 'Lion and the Mouse,' concluding with a somewhat lengthy moral, in which there is an evident allusion to that treasonable combination of the nobles which cost James III. his crown and life:—

"Thir cruel men that stentit has the net,†
In which the lion suddenly was tane,
Waited allway that they amends might get;
For hurt, men write with steel on marble stane,
Mair till expone as now I let alane;
Bnt king and lord may well wote what I mean,
The figure hereof aftymes has been seen.

"When this was said, quoth Æsop, my fair child,
Persuade the Kirkmen eydentlie ‡ to pray
That treason fra this cuntrie be exil'd;
That justice ring and nobles keep their fay
Unto their sovereign lord, baith night and day;
And at that word he vanish'd, and I woke,
Sine thro' the schaw hameward my journey toke."

The fable of the 'Sheep and the Dog,' contains all the particulars of an action before the Consistory Court, in which the wolf sat as judge, the corbie raven, 'who pyked had full many a sheep's eye,' was apparitor, and the fox, clerk and noter in the cause. The action terminates, as might be expected, in the fleecing of the poor friendless sheep. Although the poet speaks cautiously, like one who felt that he was on unsafe ground, it is evident that the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, which subsequently drew forth the indignant denunciations of Sir David Lindsay, must, even at this period, have been generally felt as a great grievance.

One of the happiest of these tales is the well-

* It has been conjectured, with some probability, that Henryson himself was a notary public as well as schoolmaster. A charter granted by the Abbot of Dunfermline, in 1478, is subscribed by Robert Henryson as a notary public, and the same person is a witness to two other charters in the Chartulary of Dunfermline. As he is designated Magister, it is supposed that he had taken the degree of Master of Arts.

† Stretched have the net.

‡ Constantly and with earnestness.

known apologue of the 'Town and Country,' or, as Henryson terms it, 'The Uponland and the Burgess Mouse,' which, if inferior in elegance to the versions of Pope and La Fontaine, excels them in humour and in characteristic and natural description. The introduction to the story is remarkably spirited and graphic:—

"Easop relates a tale, weil worth renown,
Of twa wee mice, and they were sisters dear,
Of whom the elder dwelt in a borrow land;
The younger she wonned upon town near,
Solitaire whiles under bns, whiles under breir,
Whiles on the oorn, and wraith * of labouring men,
As outlaws do, she made an easy fen. †

"This rural mouse unto the winter tyde
Thol'd cauld and hunger oft, and great distress:
The other mouse, that in the burgh gan bide,
Waa gild-brother, and made a free burgess,
Toll-free, and without custom mair or less,
And freedom had to go wherever she list,
Among the cheese in ark, and meal in chest."

The burgh mouse is seized with a strong desire to pay her sister a visit; barefooted, and with staff in hand:—

"As pilgrim poor she past out of the town
To seek her sister baith o'er dale and down.
Thro' moss and muir, thro' banks, balk, and brier,
Fra fur to fur, ‡ cryand, fra balk to balk,
Come forth to me, mine ain good sister dear,
Cry 'peep' ance. With that the mouse could hear,
And knew her voice, as kindly kinsman will,
She heard with joy, and forth came she her till."

The meeting of the two relatives is described with much tenderness and simplicity:—

"Whiles they lough, and whiles for joy they grat,
Whiles kissed sweet, and whiles in arms plet."

The country mouse forthwith conducts her sister into her cosy bield, constructed of 'fog and ferns':—

"Withouten fire or candle burning bright,
For commonly such pykers loves not light."

The entertainment which follows, the coarseness of the viands, and the affectation and dainty stomach of the city mouse, are very graphically described:—

"When they were lodged thus thir illie mice,
The youngest sister to her buttery hied,
And brought forth nuts and candle, instead of spice,
And sic plain cheer as she had her beside.
The burgess mouse, see dynt † and full of pride,
Said, sister mine, is this your daily food?—
Why not, quoth she, think ye this mess not good?"

"My sister fair, quoth she, have me excused,
This diet rude and I can not accord,
To tender meats my stomach is aye used,
For whiles I fare as well as any lord,
This wither'd nuts and pease, ere they be bored,
Will break my chafts ‡ and mak my teeth full slender,
Which have been us'd before to meat more tender."

The city dame enlarges upon her own domestic comforts, declares that her 'Good Friday is better than her sister's Pace,' and ends by entreating the

* Waste. † A comfortable life.
‡ Furrow to furrow. § Nice.
¶ Jaw.

rural to quit her rural retreat, and taste the enjoyments of her city mansion. The invitation is accepted; and, after a perilous journey, they reach the town, and take up their quarters:—

"Intil a spence where victual was plenty,
Baith cheese and butter on lang shelves richt hie,
With fish and flesh enough, baith fresh and salt,
And pockis full of groats, baith meal and malt.

"After, when they were disposit to dine,
Withouten grace they wuish and went to meat,
On every dish that cookmen can divine,
Mutton and beef stricken out in telyies grit,
Ane lordis fare thus as they counterfeit,
Except ane thing—they drank the water clear
Instead of wine, but yet they made good cheer.

"With blyth upcast, and merry countenance,
The elder sister then spier'd at her guest
Gif that she thocht by reason difference
Betwix that chalmir and her sorry nest.
'Yea, dame,' quoth she, 'but how lang will this last?'
'For evermair, I wait, and langer too.'
'Gif that be true ye are at ease,' quoth she.

"To eik the cheer in plenty furth they broucht
A plate of groatis and a dish of meal,
A threif * of cakes, I trow, she spared them noucht,
Abundantly about her for to deal,
Furmage full fine she broucht instead of jeil,
A white candle out of a coffer staw,
Instead of spice to creish their teeth witha'."

But, as the poet sagely remarks:—

"—After joy oftentimes comes care,
And trouble after great prosperity."

In the midst of their delicious meal, the revellers are suddenly surprised by the portentous appearance of Hunter Gib, the jolly cat. The burgess mouse fled to her hole, 'as fire of flint,' but her luckless sister fell into the remorseless clutches of bawdrons. The description of the treatment which the unfortunate rural citizen receives from Hunter Gib, is exceedingly true to nature:—

"From foot to foot he cast her to and frae,
Whiles up, whiles down, as tait † as any kid,
Whiles would he let her run beneath the strae, ‡
Whiles would he wink and play with her buhhid; §
Thus to the silly mons great harm he did,
Till at the last thro' fortune fair and hap,
Betwix the dresser and the wall she crap. ||

"Syne up in haste beside the panaling,
Sae high she clam ¶ that Gibby might not get her,
And by the cleeks ** sae crafty gan hing,
Till he was gone; her cheer was all the better,
Syne down she lap when there was name to let her.
Then on the burgess mouse aloud did cry,
Sister, farewell, thy feast I here defy.

"—she passit to her den,
A warm as woo' snippe it was not grit,
Full beinly stufft was baith butt and ben,
With peas, and nuts, and beans, and rye, and wheat; †
Whene'er she liked, she had enough of meat,
In quiet and ease withouten ony dread,
But till her sister's feast nae mair she gaed."

The tale concludes with a beautifully-expressed moral, in which the blessings of simple life are depicted in the following sweet lines:—

* A set of twenty-four. † Tenderly. ‡ Straw.
§ Hide and seek. || Crept. ¶ Climbed
** Hooks or pins.

"Blessit be symple life withouten dreid ;
 Blessit be sober feast in quietie ;
 Wha has enouch of nae mair ; has he neid,
 Though it be little into quantitie.
 Abundance great and blind prosperie
 Mak aftentimes a very ill conclusion ;
 The sweetest lyfe therefore in this countrie
 Is sickness § and peace with small possession.

"Friend, thy awin|| fire, though it be but ane gleid, ¶
 Will warm thee weill and is worth gold to thee ;
 And Solomon the sage says, (gif ye reid,**)
 Under the hevin I can nocht better see
 Then ay be blyth and live in honestie.
 Wherefore, I may conclude me with this reason—
 Of early bliss it bears the best degree,
 Blythness of heart in peace with small possession."

Nearly coeval with Henrysoun, there flourished Holland and two poets of some note. The one Hay, was a priest of the name of HOLLAND, who was the author of a curious allegorical poem called 'The Buke of the Howlat' (or Owl); the other was SIR GILBERT HAY, Chamberlain to Charles the Sixth, King of France, who translated from the French the voluminous but popular romance of 'Alexander the Great.' Dunbar, in his 'Lament for the Makars,' makes mention of Clerk of Tranent, 'that maid the Awnteris of Gawanc.' The poem here referred to is supposed to be the romance of 'Gawan and Gologras,' which was published at Edinburgh in the year 1508, but was probably composed as early at least as the middle of the fifteenth century. Another poem, of the same description, entitled 'Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran of Galloway,' is supposed to be the composition of the same author.

About the same period flourished another poet, the well-known HENRY THE MINSTREL,—or BLIND HARRY, as he was familiarly termed,—whose 'Life of Sir William Wallace' has enjoyed unbounded popularity among the common people of Scotland down to the present day. Of the life of this venerable bard scarcely anything is known, beyond what is contained in the following statement in 'Major's History of Scotland.' "The book of William Wallace," says this author, "was composed during my infancy, by Henry, a man blind from his birth. He wrote in popular rhymes,—a species of composition in which he was no mean proficient,—such stories as were then current among the common people. From these compilations I must not be blamed if I withhold an implicit belief, as the author was one who, by reciting them to the great, earned his food and raiment, of which, indeed, he was worthy."†† Dempster asserts, that Henry was living in the year 1361; but this assertion is not supported by any trustworthy evidence, and can scarcely be reconciled with the statement of Major, who is believed to have been born about the year 1446. As the Minstrel must have been acquainted with the Latin language,—the knowledge of which was at that time almost exclusively confined to ecclesiastics,—it has been conjectured by Dr. Irving that

he belonged to some religious order. But this hypothesis, which appears sufficiently improbable in itself, is contradicted by the poet's own explicit statement—

"I can nocht speak of sic divinitie,
 To clerks I will let all sic matters be."

The uninterrupted and almost unequalled popularity of 'The Life of Wallace,' for upwards of three centuries, has no doubt been owing in no small degree to the affectionate reverence with which the character of its patriotic hero has been regarded by the Scottish people; but the poetical genius which has been honoured by the praise of Warton and Ellis must have been of no mean order. "That a man born blind," says the latter, "should excel in any science is sufficiently extraordinary, though by no means without example; but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous, because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be safely assumed, that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer; but it is our present business to estimate the merit of the work, rather than the genius of the author.

"The similarity of the subject will naturally induce every reader to compare the 'Life of Wallace' with Barbour's 'Life of Bruce;' and on such a comparison it will probably be found, that Henry excels his competitor in correctness of versification, and perhaps in perspicuity of language,—for both of which he was indebted to the gradual improvements which had taken place during near a century,—but that in every other particular he is greatly inferior to his predecessor."

The inaccuracies into which Henry has fallen were pointed out by Lord Hailes more than half a century ago, in no friendly spirit, and since that time the 'Life of Wallace' has generally been regarded as wholly a work of fiction. Recent and more careful investigations, however, have shown, that though the poem abounds with confusion and error, it contains a valuable vein of historic truth; and that important facts are related in it, which were formerly denounced as fabulous, because unnoticed by other Scottish historians, but are now corroborated by authentic documents, only published within these few years, and to which the author of the 'Life of Wallace' cannot have had access. The character and vocation of the Minstrel, the mode in which his narrative was composed and recited, and the mistakes which may be traced to the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers, will easily account for the errors in names and chronology with which the poem now abounds. "But is it a fair inference," says a learned and candid writer, "because some errors are found in a poem containing several thousands of lines, written by a blind and ignorant versifier; and in a poem, too, handed down for a long period by recitation, that the whole is utterly worthless? The present collection of documents (the 'Wallace Papers') places this

• Dread. † Enough. ‡ More. § Security.
 || Own. ¶ Spark. ** If you read.

†† Major de Gestis Scotorum, p. 169.

• Ellis's Hist. Sketch of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 349.

subject in a new and interesting position; for it shows us, that those very particulars which, from their romantic character, were supposed to be fictitious, and which contributed to throw discredit on the whole production, are in reality genuine and authentic history.* There can be but little doubt, that though the Minstrel himself was an ignorant man,—a 'rural man,' as he expresses it,—he was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials, which form the main groundwork of his narrative. Throughout his poem he makes frequent references to original authorities, which have perished, and represents himself as little else than the transcriber from another author. In one passage he tells us who this author was,—

"Maister Johne Blair was oft in that message,
A worthy clerk, baith wise and rych sawage,
Leryt before he was in Paris town. . . .
He was the man that principall durtuk,
That first compylit in dyte the LATYNE BUK
OF WALLACE'S LYT; richt famous of renouue,
And Thomas Gray, parsoun of Libertoun;
With him that war, and put in story all,
Of aue or baith; meikle of his travaiill."

We are elsewhere informed, that Master John Blair, the worthy ecclesiastic here referred to, officiated as the chaplain of Wallace. After the death of the hero, he is believed to have retired to the Abbey of Dunfermline. It is worthy of notice, that, as Dr. Irving remarks, Henry appears to have been less ambitious of being considered as a great poet, than as a faithful recorder of the exploits of that renowned warrior whose history he has undertaken to delineate; and he seems to have been persuaded, that the splendour of his subject would preserve his work from oblivion.

"Ge, nobill bak! fullillyt of gud sentens,
Suppose you be barren of eloquence;
Ge, worthi bak! fullillyt of suthfast; deid;
But in language of help you has gret neid.
Whan gud makars; rang weill into Scotland,
Gret harm was it that name of thaim ye fand.
Yet thar is part that can ye weill awance.
Now byd ye time and be a remembrance.
I ye besook of you benevolence.
Wha will nocht low, lack nocht my eloquence.
It is weill knowin I am a rural man;
For here is said as gully as I can."

Notwithstanding the homeliness of the language, however, and the rudeness of the versification, the 'Life of Wallace' contains many passages of great poetical merit. One of the best of these is the highly picturesque description of Wallace's encounter with the ghost of Fawdon. After a successful attack upon the strong fortress of Kinclaven, situate near the confluence of the rivers Tay and Isla,† the Scottish patriot and his followers had retreated with their plunder to the Short-

wood Shaws, an extensive forest in the neighbourhood. Here they were suddenly attacked by an immensely superior body of the English, and after a desperate resistance, in which a great portion of his men were slain, Wallace and a few of his followers were compelled to fly towards the neighbouring wood of Gask, closely pursued by the enemy, who had let loose a bloodhound upon their traces. At this critical moment, one of the fugitives, named Fawdon, a man of a fierce and sullen temper, and of somewhat doubtful fidelity, declared that he was exhausted, and refused to proceed farther. Wallace, after a fruitless attempt to induce him, by entreaty and remonstrance, to resume his flight, in a paroxysm of apprehension, fury and suspicion, struck him on the neck with his sword, and at one blow severed his head from his body. The whole scene,—the murder of the unhappy wretch—the immediate revulsion of remorse and pity in the breast of the chief—the escape of the fugitives to the ruined castle in the forest of Gask—the loud blast of a horn at midnight, startling the soldiers from their slumbers—the ghastly figure of Fawdon, holding his own head by the hair and hurling the gory missile at his murderer—the flight of the terror-stricken chief into the wood, and his violent paroxysms of remorse and anguish—the appearance of the deserted castle, blazing in one wide conflagration, and the figure of Fawdon, with a beam or rafter in his hand, standing on the wall and superintending the work of destruction,—are all described with great spirit and power. It is not difficult to account for this singular adventure on natural causes, in the morbid state of excitement to which Wallace's mind seems to have worked up, under the combined influence of remorse and superstition, increased by danger and exhaustion, the stillness and awful solemnity of midnight, and the lonely situation in which he was placed.

"As they were best arrayand Butler's route,
Betwix parties than Wallace ischet out;
Sixteen with him they graithit them to gae,
Of all his men he had leavit no mae.
The Englishmen has missit him, in hy*
The bound they took, and followed hastily.
At the Gask Wood full fain he wald have been;
But this sloth-brach, whilk sicker was and keen,
On Wallace foot followed so fellon fast,
While in their sight they 'proachit at the last.
Their horse were wight, had sojourned weel and lang
To the next wood twa mile they had to gang,
Of upwith yird,† they yede with all their might,
Gude hope they had, for it was near the night.
Fawdon tirit, and said he might not gang.
Wallace was wae to leave him in that thrang.
He bade him gae and said the strength was near,
But he tharefore wald not faster him steir.
Wallace, in ire, on the craig' can him ta',
With his gude sword, and strak the head him frae.
Dreidless to ground derfly he dushit deid,
Frae him he lap, and left him in that stede.
Som deemis it to ill; and other some to gude;
And I say here, into thir termis rude,
Better it was he did, as thinkis me;
First to the hound it might gret stoppin be;
Als,† Fawdon was halden at suspision,
For he was of bruckil complexion §—

* Introductory Notice to the 'Wallace Papers,' by Mr. Joseph Stevenson, p. 13.

† True.

‡ Poets.

§ The Minstrel asserts, that out of a garrison of ninety men, sixty, with Butler, their captain, were slain; and it is stated, in the "Retail Scotim," vol. i. p. 33, that Sir James Butler was then keeper of Kinclaven. Many other similar corroborations of Henry's statement might be adduced from authentic contemporary documents. See Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iv. pp. 39—41.

* Haste.
† Neck.

‡ Ascending ground.
§ Broken reputation.

Right stark he was, and had bnt little gane.
 Thus Wallace wist: had he been left alane,
 An he were false, to enemies he wald gae;
 Gif he were true the sonthron wald him slay.
 Might he do oucht but tyne him as it was?
 Frae this question now shortly will I pass.
 Deem as ye list, ye that best can and may,
 I but rehearse as my antour will say.

" Sternis, by than began for till appear,
 The Englishmen were comand wonder near—
 Five hundred hail was in their chivalry.
 To the next strength than Wallace couth him hy.
 Stephen of Ireland, unwitting of Wallace,
 And gude Kerly bade still near hand that place;
 At the muir side, until a seroggy slaid,
 By east Dupplin, where they this tarry made.

" Fawdon was left beside them on the land,
 The power came, and suddenly him fand,
 For their sloth-hound the straight gait* till him yede,
 Of other trade she took as than no heed.
 Englishmen deemit for als they could not tell,
 But that the Scots had fouchten among themself,
 Richt wae they were that losit was their scent.
 Wallace twa men among the host in went,
 Dissemblit weel that no man sould them ken,
 Richt in effeir as they were Englishmen.
 Kerly beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
 Upon Fawdon, as he was lookand down,
 A subtle straik upward him took that tide;
 Under the cheeks the grounden swerd gart glide,
 By the gude mail, baith halse and his craig bane,
 In snnder strak; thus endit that chieftain.
 To ground he fell, feil folk about him thrang:
 Treason! they cried, traitors was them among!
 Kerly with that fled ont soon at a side;
 His fallow Stephen than thought no time to bide:
 The fray was great, and fast away they yede
 Laigh † toward Earn; thns scapit they of dreid.
 Buder for woe of weeping nicht not stint,
 Thus recklessly this gude knight they tynt.
 They deemit all that it was Wallace men,
 Or else himself, though they could not him ken.
 'He is richt near, we shall him have but ‡ fail,
 This feeble wood may him little avail.'
 Forty were passed again to Sanct-Johnstoun,
 With this dead corse to burying made it boune;
 Parted their men syne diverse ways raid;
 A gret power at Dupplin still there baid,
 Till Dareoch the Bntler passed but let; §
 At sundry furids the gait they unbeset;
 To keep the wood till it was day they thocht.
 As Wallace thus in the thick forest soucht
 For his twa men, in mind he had great pain;
 He wist not weel if they were ta'en or slain,
 Or scapit hail by ony jeopardy:
 Threteen were left him; no mae had he.
 In the Gask hall their lodging had they ta'en,
 Fire gat they soon, but meat than had they nane.
 Twa sheep they took beside them off a fauld.
 Ordained to sup into that seemly hauld,
 Graithit in haste some food for them to dicht:
 So heard they blaw rude hornis upon heicht.
 Twa sent he forth to look what it might be;
 They baid richt lang, and no tidings heard he,
 But boustous noise so brimly blew and fast,
 So other twa into the wood furth passed.
 Nane come again, but boustously can blaw;
 Into great ire he sent them furth on raw.
 When that alane Wallace was leavit there,
 The awful blast aboundit mickle mair.
 Thau trowit he weel they had his lodging seen;
 His swerd he drew of noble metal keen;
 Syne furth he went where that he heard the horn,
 Without the door Fawdon was him befor,
 As till his sicht his awn heid in his hand:
 A cross he made when he saw him so stand,
 At Wallace in the heid he swakit || there,
 And he in haste soon hynt ¶ it by the hair;
 Syne out at him again he couth it cast—
 Intill his heart he was greatly aghast.

Richt weel he trowit that was nae spreit of man,
 It was some devil at sic malice began.
 He wist no weel there langer for to bide;
 Up through the Hall this wicht Wallace can glide,
 Till a close stair the buirdia rave in tywne,
 Fifteen foot large he lap out of that inn.
 Up the water suddenly he couth frae,
 Again he blent what 'psurance he saw there;
 He thocht he saw Fawdon, that ugly sir,
 That hail hall he had set in a fire;
 A great rafter he had intill his hand,
 Wallace as than no langer wald he stand,
 Of his gude men full great marvel had he,
 How they were tint through his feil fantasy.
 Traists richt weel all this was sooth indeed,
 Suppose that it no point be of the creed.
 Power they had with Lucifer that fell,
 The time when he parted frae heaven to hell.
 By sic mischief gif his men might be lost,
 Drownit or slain among the English host;
 Or what it was in likeness of Fawdon,
 Whilk broucht his men to sudden confusion;
 Or gif the man ended in evil intent,
 Some wicked spreit again for him present,
 I can not speak of sic divinity;
 To clerks I will let all sic matters be.
 Bnt of Wallace furth I will you tell,
 When he was went of that peril fell,
 Richt glad was he that he had scapit sae,
 But for his men great murning can he ma.
 Flayt by himself to the Maker of love,
 Why he sufferit he sould sic painis prove.
 He wist not weel if it was Goddis will,
 Richt or wrang his fortune to fulfil.
 Had he pleased GOD, he trowit it micht not be,
 He sould him thole in sic perplexity,*
 But great courage in his mind ever drave
 Of Englishmen thinkand emends to have.
 As he was thus walkand by him alane,
 Upon Earnside, makand a piteous mane,
 Sir John Bntler, to watch the furids richt,
 Out frae his men of Wallace had a sight.
 The mist was went to the mountains again:
 Till him he rade, where that he made his mane.
 On loud he speirt, 'What art you walks this gate?'
 'A true man sir, though my voyage be late;
 Errand I pass frae Doune unto my lord;
 Sir John Stewart the richt for to record,
 In Doune is now, new command frae the king.'
 Than Bntler said, 'This is a selceonth thing,
 You ree'd' all out, you have been with Wallace,
 I shall you know, or you come off this place.'
 Till him he stert the courser wonder wicht,
 Drew out a swerd, so made him for to licht.
 Aboon the knee gude Wallace has him ta'en
 Through thie and brawn, in sunder strak the bane,
 Derfy to deid the knight fell on the land.
 Wallace the horse soon seizit in his hand;
 Ane backward straik syne took him, in that steid,
 His craig in twa; thns was the Butler deid.
 Ane Englishman saw their chieftain was slain
 A spear in rest he cast with all his main,
 On Wallace drave, frae the horse him to beir;
 Warly he wroucht, as worthy man in weir;
 The spear he wan withouten mair absaid,
 On horse he lap, and through a great rout raid
 To Dareoch; he knew the fords full weel;
 Before him came feil † stnfit in fine steel;
 He strak the first bnt baid in the blasoun, ‡
 While horse and man baith flet the water dou.
 Ane other syne donn frae his horse he bare,
 Stampit to ground, and drownit withouten mair.
 The third he hit in his harness of steel
 Through out the cost, the spear it brak some deal.
 The great power than after him can ride,
 He saw na weel nae langer there to bide.
 His burnist brand bravely in hand he bare;
 Wham he hit richt they followit him nae mair.
 To stuff the chase feil frekis followit fast,
 But Wallace made the gayest aye agast.
 The muir he took, and through their power yede."

* Road. † Low. ‡ Without.
 § Without hindrance. | Threw. ¶ Caught.

* That God would allow him to be in such perplexity.
 † Many. ‡ Without sword.

The following account of the cruel execution of the great Scottish hero bears internal evidence of its truth, and is fully corroborated by the statements of contemporary historians, and by important documents which recent investigation has brought to light.*

* On Wednesday the false Sonthron furth brocht
To martyr him, as they before had wrocht.
Of men in arms led him a full great rout;
With a bauld sprite guid Wallace blent about;
A priest he asked, for GOD that died on tree.
King Edward then commanded his clergy,
And said, 'I charge yon upon loss of life,
Name be soe bauld yon tyrant for to shrive.
He has reigned long in contrar my highness.'
A lylth bishop soon, present in that place;
Of Canterbury he then was righteous lord;
Again' the king he made this richt record,
And said, 'Myself shall hear his confession,
If I have might in contrar thy crown.
An thou through force will stop me of this thing,
I vow to God, who is my righteous king,
That all England I shall her interdie,
And make it known thon art a heretic.
The sacrament of kirk I shall him give:
Synn take thy choise, to starve † or let him live.
It were mair weil in worship thy crown,
To keep sic ane in life in thy bandoun,
Than all the land and good that thou hast reived,
But cowardice thee ay fra honour drieved.
Thou has thy life rougin † in wrangoous deed;
That shall be seen on thee or on thy seed.'
The king gart ‡ charge they should the bishop ta,
But sad lords counsellit to let him gae.
All Englishmen said that his desire was richt.
To Wallace then he rakit in their sight,
And sadly heard his confession till ane end:
Humbly to God his sprite he there commend.
Lowly him served with hearty devotion
Upon his knees, and said ane orison.
A psalter-book Wallace had on him ever,
Fra his childheid fra it wald nocht dissever.
Better he trowit in wyage † for to speed.
But then he was dyspalyd of his weed. ‡
This grace he asked at Lord Clifford, that knight,
To let him have his psalter-book in sight.
He gart a priest it open before him hald,
While they till him had done all that they wald.
Stedfast he read for ought they did him there;
Fell** Southrons said that Wallace felt nae sair.
Guid devotion, sae, was his beginning,
Conteined therewith, and fair was his ending.
While speech and sprite at anis all can fare,
To lasting bliss, we trow, for evermair."

Blind Harry may be regarded as a specimen of the early Scotch class of errant minstrels who abounded in Scotland from an early period, and combining the character of bard and musician, "wandered with their harp from castle to castle, and sang to the assembled lords and dames those romantic ballads of love and war which formed the popular poetry of the day." The Saxons, Normans, Scandinavians, and other ancient races who peopled Scotland, were all passionately attached to poetry and music, and there can be no doubt that at a remote period, "the country maintained a privileged race of wandering minstrels, who eagerly seized on the prevailing superstitions and romantic legends, and wove them in a rude, but sometimes expressive, versification into

* See ante, pp. 110, 111.

† The necessary consequence of an interdiction.

‡ Spent. § Caused.

† Expedition, his journey to the other world.

§ Clothes.

** Many.

their stories and ballads; who were welcome guests at the gate of every feudal castle, and beloved by the great body of the people." The most ancient existing specimen of the compositions of these primitive bards is the elegiac poem, already given,* on the death of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse, in the year 1286. Another rhyme of the same period is quoted by Ritson, from an old Harleian MS. It appears to have been composed by the Scots at the siege of Berwick, in 1296, when the garrison at first succeeded in repelling the assaults of Edward I., though they were ultimately overcome and cruelly massacred by that ruthless monarch. It runs as follows:—

"Wend Kyng Edeward with his lange shankes
To have gete Berwyke all our unthankes
Gas pikes hym and after gas dikes him."

'The grand old ballad of Sir Patriek Spens,' as it is styled by Coleridge, has been generally referred to the time of Alexander III., and is supposed by some writers to allude to the bringing home of the Maiden of Norway, and by others, to commemorate the disastrous shipwreck which awaited the return of those noblemen who formed the retinue of Margaret when she was married to Eric of Norway. If, however, the poem be contemporaneous with either of these events, it is evident that the orthography and language must have been considerably modernised. The disastrous period between the death of Alexander III. and the decisive battle of Bannockburn, must have been peculiarly fertile in heroic stories and ballads, commemorating the daring exploits of the gallant assertors of their country's independence. The great Scottish patriot, Wallace, became the hero of a large series of such poems. One of his earliest adventures, which still exists in the shape of a ballad, is recorded by Wyntown, who closes his notice of 'the ill-requited chief,' by alluding to the 'Gret gestis' to which his illustrious actions had given rise.

"Of his gud dedis and manheid
Gret gestis I heard say are made,
Bnt sa mony I trow noucht
As he until hys dayis wroucht.
Wha all hys dedis of prys wald dyte
Hym worthy a gret Buk to wryte;
And all thait to wryte in here
I want both wyt and gud layser." †

This resolution of the worthy chronicler is greatly to be regretted. As Mr. Tytler has justly remarked, "a single ballad on the death of Wallace, or the glory of Bruce, preserved as it then fell from the lips of a Scottish minstrel, or a Scottish maiden, were now worth half the proud volumes of those pedantic schoolmen," who preserved with affectionate care many a monkish Latin rhyme, composed in the miserable taste of the age, while the historic tales and ballads of this early period of our history have been consigned to what was then deemed a just and merited oblivion. It has been supposed, with considerable probability

* See ante, p. 81.

† Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. 102.

lity, that in the heroic poem of 'Henry the Minstrel' will be found incorporated the substance of many of the detached songs founded on real or fabulous incidents which were living on the breath of tradition, regarding the hero at the time his metrical biographer lived, and that the disappearance of these detached songs may be ascribed to the extreme popularity which the work of Henry has acquired. We learn from Barbour, that the good King Robert had a very lively relish for tales of romance, and

"Auld stories of men that wer
Set intyll hard assayis ser" (sore);

and there can be no doubt that the exploits of the great restorer of Scottish independence were commemorated in the songs of the minstrels and maidens of the country which his valour and sagacity had saved from ruin. Ballads of this kind must have been common when Barbour wrote, for the poet, in speaking of 'Thre worthi poyntis of war,' which occurred during the struggle of the patriots to expel the English invaders, omits the particulars of the 'Thrid which fell into Esdail,' being a victory gained by 'Schyr Johne the Soullis' over 'Schyr Andrew Hardclay,' for this reason—

"I will nocht rehers the maner,
For wha sa likes thai may hear
Young women when thai will play
Syng it amang thaim ilk day."

All these songs respecting Bruce and his chivalrous compatriots have unfortunately perished; but a single stanza of a Scottish ballad, composed after the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, has been preserved in the St. Alban's Chronicle.

"Maidens of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye have lost at Bannockysborne
With hevelogh.
What! weneth the King of England
So soon to have wone Scotland?
With rombelogh."

"This song," says Fabian, "was, after many daies sung in daunces, in the carols of the maidens and mynstrelles of Scotland, to the reprofe and disdayne of Englychemen with dyvers others which I overpasse."* At a later period, in 1328, when the daughter of Edward II. was given in marriage to David, the son of Robert Bruce, and a treaty of peace was entered into at York, between the two countries, on terms which were regarded as humiliating to the English; we are informed by the same historian, that the contempt of the Scots broke out in "diverso truffes, rounds, and songes, of the which one is specially remembered, as foloweth:—

"Long beirdis hartlis,
Painted hoods wytleess,
Gay cottes graceless,
Maketh England thryfteless."

* Dr. Jamieson's Notes on Barbour's Bruce, p. 437. Dauney's Preliminary Dissertation to 'Ancient Scottish Melodies,' published by the Maitland Club, p. 43.

A somewhat different account of the origin of this rhyme is given by Godscroft, who says, "The English soldiers of this army were cloathed in coats and hoods embroydered with flowers and branches, and did use to nourish their beards, wherefore the Scots, in derision thereof, made this rime and fastened it upon the church doore of St. Peter in the Canongate."* A similar account is given in the Book of St. Alban's. It is obvious, however, as Mr. Dauney remarks, that these lines partake much more of the character of an epigram or *jeu d'esprit*, than a song; and that they were regarded as such is apparent, from the circumstance that they were inscribed on a placard and fastened to the church doors.† Another of these Scottish ballads, of an early date, is referred to by Hume of Godscroft, in his history of the family of Douglas, in these words: "The Lord of Liddesdale being at his pastyme, hunting in Attrick Forest, is beset by William, Earle of Douglas, and such as he had ordained for that purpose, and there assailed, wounded, and slain, besides Galeswood, in the year 1353, upon a jealousy that the earle had conceived of him with his lady, as the report goeth, for so sayes the old song—

"The Countesse of Douglass out of her bowre she came,
And loudly there that she did call:
It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let all these teares downe fall.

"The song also declareth how she did write her love letters to Liddesdale, to dissuade him from that hunting. It tells likewise the manner of the taking of his men and his own killing at Galeswood; and how he was carried the first night to Linden kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose."‡

To the beginning of the fifteenth century has been referred the well-known ballad, entitled 'The Battle of Harlaw,' probably the most ancient Scottish historical ballad of any length now in existence. The event on which it is founded occurred in 1411, and it may safely be concluded that the poem was written soon afterwards. From this period down to the time of James I. no fragments or traces of Scottish song have survived to the present day; but in the poem of 'Peblis to the Play,' ascribed to that monarch, and probably written about the year 1430, we are furnished with the names of two compositions of this class—'Thero fure ane Man to the Holt;' i. e., there went a man to the wood; and 'Thair shall be Mirth at our Meeting.' The first is alluded to in the sixth stanza of the poem.

"Ane young man stert into that steid
Als cant as ony colt;
Ane birken hat upon his heid,
With ane bow and ane bolt;

* Dr. Jamieson's Notes to Barbour's Bruce, p. 470. Dauney's Introduction, &c., p. 44.

† The attaching of placards to church doors is a practice which has descended to the present time. It was the principal method of publication at this time, and for many years afterwards.

‡ Godscroft, vol. i. p. 144.

"Said, merry maidens think nocht lang
The wedder is fair and smolt:
He cleikit up ane high ruf sang,
'Thair fare ane man to the holt,'
Quoth he
Of Peblis to the Play."

The other is referred to in the twenty-fifth stanza:—

"He spallit like ane fatherless fole,
And said, Be still my sweet thing:
By the haly rood of Peblis,
I may nocht rest for greiting.
He whissilit and he pypt baith
To mak her blythe that meeting;
My honey hart how sayis the sang,
'Thair sall be mirth at our meeting,'
Yet
Of Peblis to the Play."

Another tune, called 'The Salmon's Dance,' is also spoken of in this poem.

Bower, who wrote about the year 1441, speaks of tragedies, comedies, ballads, and romances, founded on the story of Robin Hood and Little John, which the bards and minstrels used to sing in preference to all others of the same kind of compositions, and which were highly popular among all classes of the community; but every trace of these ancient ballads has now perished. The names, however, of a number of ballads, songs, and dances, which were popular at this period, have been preserved in a ludicrous vernacular poem, called 'Cockelbie Sow,' written rather before the middle of the fifteenth century.

"And his cousin, Copyn Cull,
Ful of bellis, ful ful,*
Led the dance and began,
Play us 'Joly Lemmane.'
Sum trottet 'Tras and Trenass,'
Sum balterit 'The Bass,'
Sum 'Perdolly,' sum 'Trolly lolly,' †
Sum 'Cock-craw thou till day,'
Sum 'Twybank and Terway,'
Sum 'Lincolne,' sum 'Lindsay,'
Sum 'Jolly Lemman, dawis it not day.'
Sum 'Be yon woodsyd' singis,
Sum 'Lait, lait, in evinyngis,'
Sum 'Joly Martene, with a mok,'
Sum 'Lalulow lute cok,'
Sum bakkit, sum bingit,
Sum crakkit, sum cringit,
Sum morit, most mak revell,
Sum 'Symon Souis, of Quhynefell,'
Sum 'Maister Peir de Cougate,'
And uthir sum 'in Cousate,'
At lesser drest to dance.
Sum 'Ourfute,' sum 'Orilance,'
Sum 'Rusty Bully with a bek,
And every note in vyeris nek,
Sum seit the dancis to dance,
Of Cipres and Boheme:
Sum the falsis ful yarne,
Of Portugal and Nerverne;
Sum counterfuitt the gyis of Spayne,
Sum Italy, sum Almaine,
Sum noicit Napillis anone,
And uthir sum, of Arragone.

* 'Ful of bellis ful ful,' that is to say, All hung round with bells. In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts for 1513, we observe the following entry: "Item. To thirty dancis of Helle, for danaris, delivryt to Thomas Boswell, by h. 12s."

† 'Trolly, Lolly,' were probably the chorus or burden of particular songs.

"Sum 'The Cane of Tartary,'
Sum 'The Soldane of Surry,'*
Then all arrayit in a ring,
Dansit 'My deir Darling.'"

There can be little doubt that the greater part of these ballads, songs, and tunes, The minstrels. were the composition of the minstrels, who, in many instances, were not only harpers or musicians, who sang and recited the verses composed by others, but were also poets, who framed extemporaneous effusions suited to the tastes and feelings of their audience. At a very early period in Scottish history those who subsisted by the arts of poetry and music were held in high honour, and were indeed to be found among the officers who composed the personal state of the sovereign. At the coronation of Malcolm III. and Alexander III. we are informed that a bard or sennachie recited a Gaelic poem, containing a recital of the king's ancestors, from the reign of Fergus I. Aldred mentions that minstrels accompanied the army of David I., at the battle of the Standard, which was fought in 1138; and it appears to have been a custom, as old at least as the reign of Alexander III. that when the sovereign made a progress through the country he was serenaded by minstrels and singers, both on his entrance into the towns, and when he took his departure. Mention is made of the minstrels kept at the court of King Robert Bruce, and liberal donations were bestowed upon the professors of 'the gay science,' both at the marriage and the coronation of David his son. The monarchs of the Stewart family appear to have been passionately attached to poetry and music, and down to the sixteenth century large sums of money appear in the Chamberlain's accounts, as paid to 'divers menstrales, schawmens, trumpets, taubroners, luters, harpers, pipers,' and other musical performers, Italians, French, English, and Irish, as well as Scots.

According to Dr. Percy these minstrels not only sang to the harp, verses composed by themselves and others, but "they also appear to have accompanied their songs with mimicry and action, and to have practised such various means of diverting as were much admired in those rude times, and supplied the want of more refined entertainment. These arts rendered them extremely popular and acceptable in this and all the neighbouring countries, where no high scene of festivity was esteemed complete that was not set off with the exercise of their talents, and where so long as the spirit of chivalry subsisted, they were protected and caressed, because their songs tended to do honour to the ruling passion of the times, and to encourage and foment a martial spirit."† In the course of time, however, a gradual change took place in their character and position; and vagrants of every description were at all times ready to assume the character of the minstrel as a passport to hospitality and attention, and thus contributed to bring

* Syria.

† Percy's Essay on the Ancient Minstrels, p. 21.

the profession into discredit. They came at length to be stigmatized as rogues and vagabonds, and to appear in the statute book in juxta position with the very dregs and refuse of society. Dr. Percy admits that towards the end of the sixteenth century the minstrels had lost all credit, and were sinking into contempt and neglect. At length the popular companion of knights and dames, the welcome guest in the halls of the nobles, as well as in the cottages of the poor, degenerated into "the poor and wandering gleeman, glad to purchase his bread by singing his ballads at the ale-house, wearing a fantastic habit, and latterly sinking into a mere crowder on an untuned fiddle, accompanying his rude strains with a ruder ditty, the helpless associate of drunken revellers, and marvellously afraid of the constable and parish beadle."* So early as 1449, severe penalties are denounced against 'bardis, or other sik like rinnars about;' and in 1579, it was ordained that "all idle persons ganging about in any countrie of this realme, using subtil, craftie, and unlawful playes, as ginglarie, fast and loose, and sik others, all vagabond scholars of the Universities of St. Andrew, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, not licensed by the Rector and Deane of Facultie of the Universitie to ask alms, and all minstrelles, sangsters, and tale-tellers, not avowed in speciall service be some of the Lords of Parliament, or great burrows and cities for their

common minstrelles," upon conviction, are to be "scourged and burnt throw the eare with an hote iron." In spite of these cruel enactments some slight traces of this ancient and once honourable profession existed till about the commencement of last century. "To our fathers' time and ours," says Martine in his "*Reliquiæ Divi Andree*," written about the year 1683, "something remained, and still does, of this ancient order. And they are called by others and by themselves 'Jockies,' who go about begging, and use still to recite the slug-gornes of most of the true ancient summaries of Scotland from old experience and observation. Some of them I have discovered and found to have reason and discretion. One of them told me there were not now twelve of them in the whole isle; but he remembered when they abounded, so as at one time he was one of five that usuallie met at St. Andrews."* Down to the close of last century there was attached to each town of note on the borders, a piper, whose office was often hereditary, and who was the great depository of the poetical traditions of the district. These musicians received a living and a salary from the community to which they belonged, and in some burghs they had a small allotment of land, called the Piper's Croft. Sir Walter Scott is of opinion, that these town-pipers were certainly the last remains of the minstrel race.†

* Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 60. Edit. 1849.

* Page 3.

† *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 225.

CHAPTER XIX.

JAMES THE SECOND.

1436—1460.

THE assassination of James I. exposed the kingdom to the evils of a long minority, which the position of the different parties in the state rendered unusually perilous. To the nobles, the administration of the late king had been highly obnoxious, and his death was therefore viewed with secret satisfaction. During the feeble reigns of his predecessors, and the regencies of Albany and his son, the rights of the crown had been gradually invaded, until, shorn of its power, little remained to the wearer but the name of king. It had been the aim of James to reduce within constitutional limits the over-grown pretensions of the nobility; and such was the wisdom of his plans, combined with stern inflexibility of purpose, that his efforts had been crowned with a large measure of success. His proud barons saw, with ill-concealed hatred and fear, their insolence crushed, their crimes brought within the range of wholesome law, the possessions of the crown which they had appropriated, torn from their grasp, and the highest offices in the state, which prescriptive right had enabled them hitherto to monopolize, filled by persons belonging to the inferior barons, gentry, and clergy, whose talents compelled respect, while their hopes of advancement induced them to make common cause with the king. The sudden removal of James freed them not only from a stringent rule, but afforded them the gratifying prospect of regaining their consequence. During the minority of the young king, and the feeble government of a regency, it seemed by no means difficult to undo all that the late monarch had accomplished; and already the leading nobles were seen merging their fruds, and combining to humble the crown, and restore the splendour of their order. To these selfish schemes there existed no adequate check. The policy of James I. had, indeed, developed the popular element in the constitution, and set limits to the license of the nobles; but his plans, besides being in advance of the age, had not been in operation for a length of time sufficient to evince their value, and obtain for them the support of prescriptive right, while the few whom he had imbued with his views, terrified by his death, shrunk from the dangerous attempt to enforce them. So menacing was the aspect of affairs, that the queen, after having pursued the murderers of her husband with summary vengeance, influenced by her maternal fears, hastened to Edinburgh with the young king, then a boy six years of age, and found shelter within the walls of the castle. The

Retreat of the
queen-mother to
Edinburgh
castle.

governor of that important fortress was Sir William Crichton, on whose fidelity, as the friend of the late king and the master of his household, she could fully rely; and there, secure from immediate danger, she anxiously waited the approaching meeting of the Estates. On the 25th of March, the Scottish parliament assembled at Edinburgh, and adopted immediate measures for the government of the country. Their first act was the coronation of the young prince, who was conducted in procession from the castle to Holyrood Abbey, and solemnly inaugurated in presence of a great concourse of the nobility, clergy, and representatives of the towns, and amid the usual testimonies of popular devotion and loyalty. It was agreed that, during the minority of the king, the care of his person and education should be entrusted to the queen-mother † and Sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar; while Sir William Crichton was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, and charged with the general administration of its affairs. So scanty and meagre are the records of the times, that it is impossible to determine whether these appointments originated with the parliament, or were made in accordance with the provisions contained in the will of the late sovereign. The evidence, however, preponderates in favour of the latter conclusion. Livingston and Crichton, though men of acknowledged talents, and descended from ancient families, belonged to the inferior class of barons, and had been elevated by James I. to a high place in his council, with the view of arresting the dangerous encroachments of the nobles. It was commonly believed that with them originated some of the most stringent measures of the late administration directed against the great barons; and it seems unlikely that anything but a desire to escape the suspicion of disloyalty, by carrying out the intentions of the murdered king, could have induced the nobles to sanction the appointment of such men to offices which conferred on them so great a measure of power, and so many opportunities for increasing it. The fears of the nobility may have been partly allayed, and their scruples removed, by the rivalry which had already sprung up between Crichton and Livingston, who, jealous of each other, and eager for personal aggrandizement, were disposed, as events subsequently proved, to sacrifice the revenues and power of the crown in order to promote their selfish schemes. The appointment, also, of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was a sufficient concession to the pride of the nobles, and an ample guarantee for the protection of their privileges. Amid the convulsions of the kingdom, which had curtailed the prerogatives of the sovereign, and extinguished some of the noblest families, the house of Douglas continued to flourish, and had now risen

Coronation of
James II.

The Earl of Douglas appointed
lieutenant-general
of the kingdom.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 38.
† Ibid. p. 54.

to a height of power which rivalled that of the crown itself. In addition to the extensive districts of Galloway and Annandale, and some of the fairest portions of the south of Scotland, the dignity of the earldom had been increased by the possession of the duchy of Touraine, and the lordship of Longueville, in France. Its retainers were numerous, and thoroughly disciplined

Power of the Douglases. by the incessant raids of border warfare, while the marriages of many of its members with the nobility, who coveted alliances with so princely a house, rendered its influence on the government immediate and powerful. The present earl, on whom devolved the lieutenancy of the kingdom, inherited the characteristic virtues and vices of his family. His military talents were of a high order, and fitted him, in an eminent degree, for the duties of his office; but he was fierce, and intolerably arrogant, jealous of the honour of his house, and his immunities as a noble; quick to revenge an injury, and by no means scrupulous as to the mode of gratifying his resentment. During the late reign, he had maintained the state of an independent sovereign, and met the measures of James with a haughty defiance, which threatened the kingdom with a civil war. From a government so constructed, unity of action could scarcely be expected. Crichton and Livingston viewed with suspicion and fear the vast power of Douglas, while the earl regarded them with scorn as his inferiors in birth, and hated them as the enemies of his order. Besides these important appointments, the

Enactments of attention of parliament was directed to the possessions of the crown, and the foreign relations of the kingdom. An inventory was ordered to be taken of the personal property of the monarch, while an act was passed revoking all alienations of lands, or other property belonging to the crown, since the death of the late king, unless granted with consent of the Three Estates; and declaring all future alienations void, save those warranted in a similar manner, until the king should have attained his twenty-first year.* A short time before the death of James I., hostilities had been resumed between Scotland and England. The temper of that monarch, and the many grounds of complaint against the English government, would have secured, had he lived, the vigorous prosecution of the war; but the Scottish parliament were not indisposed during the minority of their sovereign, to cultivate peace with the sister kingdom, and after some negotiations, a safe conduct was granted by Henry VI. to commissioners empowered to arrange with the English envoys the terms of a treaty between the two countries.† The English regency, involved in a contest with France, and struggling to retain the conquests of Henry V., dreaded the prosecution of a war with Scotland, and listened with favour to an arrangement which secured the neutrality of a dangerous neighbour. A truce between the two

kingdoms was accordingly concluded for a period of nine years, dating from the 1st of May, 1438. The treaty embraced also a series of wise laws, regulating the commercial intercourse of the two countries during the truce, and anxiously guarding against the interruption of those friendly relations which had thus been established. On the part of England, the Dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, with the Earls of Salisbury, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, and on that of Scotland, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, with the Earls of Angus, Crawford, and Avondale, and the Lords Gordon, Maxwell, Montgomery, and Crichton, bound themselves to maintain the provisions of the truce, and to punish those who presumed to violate them.*

While these friendly negotiations were in progress, the spirit of faction, which had slumbered for a little after the death of the late king, became suddenly active, and filled Scotland with misrule and crime. Sir William Crichton, the chancellor, from whom, before the meeting of parliament, the queen-mother had solicited protection for her son, continued to retain possession of the young king, though the estates had appointed Joanna and Livingston of Callendar his guardians during his minority. The wily and unprincipled statesman seems to have employed his custody of the monarch as a pretence for large demands on the public treasury, and the unscrupulous appropriation of the royal revenues, while, in addition to these immediate advantages, he was desirous of gaining the affections of the young sovereign, with a view to the maintenance and increase of his own power. He not only refused, therefore, to permit James to leave Edinburgh, but resisted the right of Livingston to the charge of his pupil, and made the intercourse of the queen-mother with her son both vexatious and difficult. Remonstrances having proved in vain, Joanna determined to effect the freedom of her son by a stratagem, which her access to the castle enabled her without difficulty to execute. At the close of a visit of a few days, during which

she managed to lull the suspicions of Crichton, she left the castle with two coffers or chests, containing, as was affirmed, her wardrobe and ornaments; but in one of the chests she had dexterously contrived to conceal the young prince. On reaching Leith, she set sail for Stirling castle, at that time commanded by Livingston, who received her with joy, and took immediate measures for the retention of his charge, as well as for the punishment of the chancellor. At a meeting of the queen's friends, and those favourable to the views of Livingston, it was resolved to besiege Crichton in his stronghold, and to compel him either to resign his office, or to recognize the rights of the queen-mother and guardian. Joanna promised to supply the soldiers composing the expedition with provisions from her own storehouses

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 31.

† Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. x. pp. 679, 680, 684.

* Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. x. p. 605.

while the aid of the Earl of Douglas was confidently anticipated in the attempt to reduce the refractory chancellor. Emboldened by these prospects, Livingston left Stirling castle for Edinburgh, at the head of a considerable force, among

Livingston lays siege to Edinburgh castle.

whom were many barons and gentry belonging to his faction. The situation of Crichton was alike

mortifying and perilous. Besides the disgrace, which he keenly felt, of having been outwitted by the queen, he was justly alarmed at the prospect of the speedy overthrow of his power, the surrender of his ill-gotten wealth, the vengeance of the factions whom his violence had exasperated, and, above all, the elevation of his rival, Livingston, whom he bitterly hated. Driven to extremities, he resolved at last

Crichton in vain solicits the aid of the Earl of Douglas.

to solicit the aid of the Earl of Douglas, and for this purpose despatched messengers to that noble, representing the peril to which

the government was exposed, by the traitorous designs of Livingston, and offering his constant friendship in return for assistance in his present difficulties. The reply of Douglas was fierce and contemptuous. Besides rejecting the proffered friendship of the chancellor, he declared both Livingston and Crichton to be "mischievous traitors," whom it became not "the honourable state of noblemen" in any way to help, and concluded by expressing, in no equivocal terms, his desire for their speedy destruction. "As to myself, there is nothing more pleasant than to hear of war and discord between these two unhappy tyrants; and namely, when the beginning of their dissension is not founded upon a good cause, but upon a shameful and wicked ground. Would God I might see a miserable mischief to befall them both, seeing they have both deserved the same condignly, through their own ambition, falsehood, pride, and height: for I know it is the very just judgment of God that deceitful tyrants, setting their whole purpose and intent upon mischief and wreck upon others, according to their demerits, shall be punished in the sight of the world, and, specially, seeing they have so oft offended both noblemen and simple men of good condition."* Thus scornfully repulsed by Douglas, and beleaguered by the force of Livingston, which had vigorously commenced the siege of the castle, Crichton determined to arrange his differences with the opposite faction, by timely concessions. Having solicited, and obtained from Livingston a truce for two days, the rival statesmen met before the gates of the castle, each being attended by a company of friends. At the conference,

Reconciliation between Livingston and the chancellor.

Crichton repeated the words of Douglas, urged the necessity of immediate reconciliation as the

only safeguard against their common enemy; and, in proof of his sincerity, offered to surrender the castle on the promise of honourable treatment. Livingston listened to these overtures with favour,

and, after receiving the keys of the castle, entered it in triumph. A number of banquets followed, during which the rivals vied with each other in expressions of friendship, and Crichton, in return for his submission, having been reinstated in his chancellorship, harmony was restored for a time to the distracted government.*

Meanwhile, the country was brought to the verge of ruin by the feuds of the nobles, which were greatly encouraged by the weakness of the executive. The stern administration of James I. had awed, into something like quietness, the fierce spirit of strife which had for many years disgraced and enfeebled the kingdom; but now that the government was conducted by men whom the haughty barons despised, and whose factious struggles seemed to countenance every enormity of aristocratic license, they hastened to renew the scenes of private war, and the whole south and east of Scotland were filled with "theft, reif, and slaughter." Alan Stewart, Lord of Darnley, who had obtained from the late king

Distracted state of the country.

the superiority over Lennox, was

Feuds of the nobles.

treacherously slain at Polmais-thorn, between Falkirk and Linlithgow, by Sir Thomas Boyd, in consequence of an old feud which existed between their families.† To revenge the death of his brother, Alexander Stewart mustered a strong body of his friends and vassals, with whom he encountered the Boyds in a pitched battle, near Neilston, in Renfrewshire. The engagement was not only protracted and bloody, but marked by a savage determination, unusual even in those times. "It was foughten that day so manfully, that both the parties would retire and rest themselves diverse and sundry times, and reconter again at the sound of the trumpet."‡ Victory at last declared in favour of the Stewarts, and Sir Thomas Boyd and many of his friends were left on the field of battle. Besides these deadly conflicts, which the rank of the parties has rescued from oblivion, scenes of outrage and revenge were daily occurring among their vassals, or those who, connected with them, however remotely, by paction or by blood, were disposed to maintain their feuds. Crichton and Livingston either felt themselves unable to check these deplorable outrages, or secure in the possession of the chief power of the state, they seem to have regarded them with indifference. They have been accused even of fostering the spirit of faction, in order to prevent that union among the barons by which their own authority would have been endangered; while the bribes offered by rivals factions to the government, and the outlawries, which were frequently occurring, furnished opportunities for increasing their wealth, of which, it was affirmed, they unscrupulously availed themselves. The vast power and chivalrous

* Lindsay of Pitcottie's Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 13-15.

† Ibid. p. 16.

‡ Ibid.

* Lindsay of Pitcottie's Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. p. 11.

character of Douglas might have restrained, had he lived, this savage spirit; but the Death of the Earl of Douglas. he was suddenly seized with malignant fever, at Restalrig, and died there on the 26th of June, 1439.* His great possessions and titles descended to his son William, a boy only seventeen years old, whose youth and inexperience rendered him totally unfit to wield the power and dignity which had descended to him, and who speedily added to the national troubles by his arrogant pretensions, and provoked the cruel vengeance to which, shortly afterwards, he fell a victim.

Crichton and Livingston were now, by the death of Douglas, sole rulers of the kingdom, and conducted affairs with an insolence and lust of power which made their administration both hated and feared. Joanna, the queen-mother, though ostensibly restored, on the reconciliation

of the statesmen, to her office as guardian of the prince, found herself so jealously watched by Livingston, that, dreading the dangers of her defenceless position, she contracted a second marriage with Sir James Stewart, commonly called "The Black Knight of Lorn," a man of high rank and approved valour.† To the ambitious designs of Livingston, the marriage of the queen was eminently favourable, as, by placing her under tutelage, she was thus disqualified, by the laws of Scotland, from taking any part in the administration. But her husband was the friend of the Douglasses; and the governor, alarmed at this accession of power to that great family, resolved to take advantage of the marriage to consolidate his own authority. His measures were speedily taken, and partook largely of his characteristic craft and cunning. Sir James Stewart and his elder brother,

—she and her husband are seized and imprisoned by Livingston— then residing at Sterling, were seized and thrown into prison, on pretence that they had conspired against the state;‡ and scarcely had the queen received intelligence of the fate of her husband, when, by orders of Livingston, her own private apartments were entered, and herself hurried to confinement on a similar charge, after a brave but unsuccessful resistance by her servants.§ These insolent acts were immediately followed by a convention at Stirling, summoned in name of the Three Estates, but composed entirely of persons in the interest of the governor. Before this assembly the unhappy queen was conducted, trembling for her own and her husband's safety; and there, affecting to yield to the necessities of the state, she surrendered, by solemn deed, the person of her son into the hands of Sir Alexander

Livingston, of Callendar, resigning at the same time the royal residence of Stirling castle, and the annual allowance made to her by parliament as queen-mother. The last clauses of the deed were worded with a cautious duplicity which indicated the conscious tyranny of its framers, and their anxiety to save themselves from its probable consequences. Joanna is made to profess her cordial concurrence in the measures of the faction, as dictated by motives purely patriotic; and it was distinctly stated, that their conduct in the matter should at no future period be the subject either of revision or blame.* The deed of transference having been solemnly ratified, the queen and her husband were set at liberty, while the young king was delivered to Livingston, who forthwith retained him in a kind of honourable captivity.

By the proceedings of the Stirling convention, the influence of Livingston became paramount in the state; and Crichton, who had calculated on an equitable division of power, saw, with surprise and dismay, the functions of government monopolized by his rival. He determined, therefore, with all speed, to restore the balance, and his measures were taken with great cunning, and were attended with complete success. Having consulted with his friends, and secured their co-operation, he rode, on a dark night, with a hundred chosen men, to the park of Stirling, where he placed his followers in small parties, to avoid suspicion and discovery. Fortunately for the success of his enterprise Livingston was at this time absent. At the break of day the king left the castle, as was his custom, to enjoy the pastime of hunting, attended

The king is carried off by Crichton to Edinburgh castle.

by a small body of horsemen, and found himself suddenly surrounded by groups of armed men, who hailed him with every demonstration of loyalty. At the same time Crichton advanced, and kneeling before him, protested his devotion to his person, condemned the ungenerous captivity to which the jealousy and ambition of Livingston had consigned him, and offered the services of himself and his friends in securing to him immediate freedom from a state of undignified restriction. The young monarch, in spite of the opposition of his retinue, lent a willing ear to the solicitations of Crichton, with whom he hastened to Edinburgh, and made his entrance into that city, accompanied by an additional escort of four thousand men, before Livingston had received any intelligence of his movements.† The escape of the king, and the treachery of Crichton, filled the governor with mingled rage and fear, and had his power equalled his desire for vengeance, the authors of the plot would speedily have felt the weight of his vengeance. But he was in no condition to risk an appeal to force. The party of the queen, exasperated by late events, eagerly desired his downfall, and the aid of Douglas was hopeless, except on terms which must have placed him at the feet of that arrogant noble. Yielding, therefore,

* Finkerton's History, vol. i. p. 191, and note.

† Duncan Stewart's History of the Royal Family of Stewart, p. 171.

‡ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 34.

§ Royal Charter, by James II., March 7th., 1440-50, to Alexander Napier, of the lands of Philde. Finkerton, vol. i. p. 191, and note

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 54.

† Lesley's History, p. 15.

to the necessities of his position he skilfully dissembled his mortification, and, hastening to Edinburgh, sent a message to Crichton, deploring their alienation, and expressing his willingness to submit their disputes to the arbitration of mutual friends. The exertions of Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Winchester, Bishop of Moray, aided by the dread of Douglas, speedily brought the rival statesmen to their reconciliation. They accordingly met in the church of St. Giles, and sealed their reconciliation by mutual concessions. The young king was restored to the custody of Livingston, and Crichton resumed, with increased power, his office of chancellor.

The internal condition of the kingdom, during these disgraceful feuds, deepened its miseries. Availing themselves of the distraction of the government, a large body of marauders from the Western Isles, led by Lauchlan McLeod and Murdoch Gibson, two noted robbers, invaded many parts of the mainland, and especially the extensive district of Lennox, which they ravaged with fire and sword. The progress of the invaders was for a moment arrested by John Colquhoun of Luss, who, with his armed vassals, offered a gallant resistance near Inch-murrain, on Loch Lomond; but, overwhelmed by numbers, they were quickly defeated, with the loss of their leader.* "After that victory," says an old chronicler, "traitors became so proud and insolent that they burnt and herried the country wherever they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairn nor wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together, if they made any obstacle; or else, if they made no debate, without consideration and pity would cut their throats, and thereafter carry away their gear and wares, with their wives and bairns, who, not witting of such incursions, were cruelly murdered and sticked in their beds without any regard of old or young. Thus they raged through the realm without any respect to God or man."†

The country was next visited by a grievous famine, the result chiefly of an ungenial season, but aggravated by the interruptions to which husbandry was subjected amid the troubles of the times.‡ Great numbers of the poorer classes perished of hunger, and many who contrived to prolong life, enfeebled by insufficient or unwholesome food, fell victims to a virulent disease, which followed the dearth. "There reigned also a horrible pest at that time in the country," says Pitseottie, "for all men that were infected with it died the same day they took it, without any remedy."§ Appalled by these fearful visitations, and roused from their selfish inaction by the dangers which menaced the nation, the government convened a parliament

at Stirling, and proceeded to consider the best means of healing the distractions of the realm. With this view various enactments were passed by the legislature, among which two deserve special notice, viz., "that the justiears on the northern and southern sides of the Forth should hold their sessions twice a year, and that whenever intelligence was received of the occurrence of any rebellion, slaughters, burning, robbery, outrage, or theft, the king should instantly proceed in person to the spot, and summoning before him the sheriff of the shire wherein the crime was committed, see immediate justice done upon the offender before he left the district, in the execution of which ordinance all the barons, with one assent, were obliged to assist, "with their persons, vassals, and property."* These enactments, though framed in general terms, have special reference to the power of the house of Douglas, which had risen to a height that threatened the independence of the throne. William, sixth Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, succeeded on the death of his father Archibald to the titles and vast possessions of his family. The princely inheritance which thus passed to him, would have been dangerous to one of mature age and experience, but in the earl, who was scarcely seventeen years of age, it rapidly developed all the vices which youth and irresponsible power are almost certain to produce. Proud of his ancestry, the owner of extensive domains, which included the richest and most important tracts of Scotland, connected with many of the first families in the kingdom, possessed of wealth equal, if not superior, to that of the sovereign himself, and able at any time to bring into the field a numerous following of highly disciplined soldiers, Douglas, instigated by his own haughty ambition, and the adulation of his friends, assumed all the state and independence of a king. Shortly after the death of his father, he despatched Malcolm Fleming, of Biggar, and Alan Lauder, of the Bass, to the court of France with his oath of fealty for the duchy of Touraine. His envoys were received with distinguished respect by the French monarch, and his rights as lord of that extensive principality solemnly confirmed.† Flattered by the countenance of France, and despising the government at home, the arrogance of the young noble prompted him to imprudent displays of power, which could not fail to excite the indignation of Livingston and Crichton. His personal attendance, when he rode out, consisted of a thousand horse; his household was conducted on a scale of dazzling magnificence; he is said to have held within his own dominion courts which rivalled the solemnity of parliaments, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. To the commands of the sovereign requiring attendance and service, he

* Archibald's Chronicle, p. 34.
 † Pitseottie's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 23.
 ‡ Ibid.
 § Ibid. vol. i. p. 24.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 32, 33.
 † Pitseottie, vol. i. p. 22.

either gave no heed, or returned a contemptuous refusal; while he spoke in scornful terms of the government as administered by traitors, who had ^{—his factions and turbulent conduct.} usurped its functions and enslaved the king for their own selfish ends. Meanwhile his followers, secure in his countenance and protection, filled the country with pillage and bloodshed. The worst spirits of the time hastened to enroll themselves among his dependants, and employed the sanction of his name in defence of their brutal outrages. The laws furnished no protection to the victims, as the authority of Douglas within his own jurisdiction was supreme, and beyond it, the number and strength of his dependants enabled him to defy the ordinary administrators of justice. There can be no doubt, that it is to the acts of grievous oppression, perpetrated by the followers of this baron, that Lindsay of Pitseottie refers when, speaking of the complaints made to parliament respecting the abuses which prevailed in the country, he says, "Many and innumerable complaints were given in whercof the like were never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody murderers; sicklike many for herschip, theft, and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly murder, theft, and slaughter, were come in such dalliance among the people; and the king's acts had fallen into such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer, or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary to the invasion of others, or else had given him largely of his gear to save his life, and afford him peace and rest."* Irritated at last by the constant insults which the proud noble offered to the government, and convinced that so long as he lived their own power must continue insecure, Livingston and Crichton resolved to destroy him on a charge of high treason. A more cautious adversary would have detected and avoided the snare thus laid for him, but arrogant and full of the careless confidence of power, Douglas, both by his words and actions, furnished abundant materials for impeachment, which, being reported by the spies of the governor, were carefully treasured up in the prospect of his trial and doom. Besides openly defying the laws and maintaining a state dangerous to the throne, it has been conjectured that Douglas had subjected himself even to a graver charge by impugning the title of James II. to the throne, and preferring the claim of his uncle Malise, Earl of Strathearn, who as the descendant of Euphemia Ross, the second queen of Robert II., was supposed by some to have a better right to the crown than its present possessor. Though the ambition of the earl, and the interest he may be supposed to have taken in his kinsman's pretensions, render the conjecture far from improbable, no evidence has been furnished of its truth. His conduct

in other respects afforded his enemies sufficient grounds to give at least the appearance of justice to their subsequent proceedings, and as soon as their plans were matured they took immediate measures to secure his person. The progress of the tragedy was marked by a baseness and cruelty worthy of its chief actors. Crichton, in his own name and that of Livingston, despatched a message to Douglas, in which, after professing the highest esteem for his character, and regret at the misunderstanding which existed between them, he anxiously solicited his presence at the court, that the earl might cultivate the friendship of the young sovereign, and lend the aid of his great talents and influence to the administration. Douglas was easily inveigled into the snare, and along with his brother David, his friend Malcolm Fleming, and a small retinue, set out for Edinburgh. On the way he halted for the night at Crichton castle, the residence of the chancellor, where a splendid entertainment tended still further to flatter his pride and remove suspicion. Attended by Crichton he proceeded to Edinburgh on the following day. But before he entered the town, some of his retinue observing that there were too many private messages passing between the chancellor and the governor, reminded the earl of the injunction of his father, that he and his brother should never go together where there was any appearance of danger, and urgently entreated them both to return, or if the earl persisted in going forward that he should at least send home his brother.* This prudent counsel was unfortunately rejected, and confidently relying on the honour of the chancellor and governor, Douglas rode fearlessly to the castle, where he was received in state by Livingston, who conducted him to the apartments of the king. The young monarch became speedily attached to the Douglasses, whose high rank and youthful accomplishments qualified them in an eminent degree for his society, and some days were spent in unrestrained and pleasing intercourse. The gaiety of the young friends, however, was destined to be quickly and terribly broken. During a banquet at the royal table Crichton and Livingston dropped the mask and assailed their unsuspecting guests with loud and fierce charges of treason.† The astonished youths, rendered defenceless by the absence of their attendants, who had been carefully removed, and surrounded by armed men, who barred escape, were quickly bound and hurried to a neighbouring apartment, to undergo the formality of a mock

* Pitseottie, vol. i. pp. 40, 41.

† Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 16. The story which represents a bull's head,—the signal of death,—as having been introduced, towards the close of the entertainment, and placed before the Douglasses, is now generally rejected, and placed before the Douglasses, is now generally rejected. No traces of any such custom are to be found in the records of authentic Scottish history. The fertile fancy of Hector Boece seems responsible for this and other embellishments which, carelessly adopted by succeeding writers came ultimately to be regarded as indubitable facts.—See Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 104.

* Pitseottie's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 35.

trial. It is said that the youthful monarch, alarmed at these violent proceedings and the impending fate of the young noblemen, entreated the chancellor with tears to spare their lives.* His interference, however, was sternly rejected by Crichton, who reprimanded him in no measured terms for his desire to save the lives of the traitors who sought to overturn his throne. No record exists of the investigation which followed: even the nature of the charges brought against the unfortunate youths is only matter of conjecture; but as it has been well observed, "The extent of their power and the lawless character of their followers must have afforded enough of pretexts for condemnation when the sentence rested with judges who were determined to make no allowance for the youth and inexperience of the accused parties, for the artifices by which they had been brought within the danger of the law, and for their being totally deprived of constitutional or legal defenders." The proceedings

—his execution
in Edinburgh
castle along
with his brother
David.

terminated by a sentence of death on the brothers, who were hurried to the back court of the castle, and there beheaded. Three days afterwards Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, their friend and counsellor, was brought to trial, as accessory to their crime, and shared the same fate.†

The murder of the Douglasses was a deed equally cruel and impolitic. It not only excited the fierce indignation of their numerous and powerful friends and followers throughout the country,

The immediate
consequences of
this detestable
deed.

but the youth of the victims, and the cold-blooded treachery with which they had been entrapped and murdered, called forth a general expression of sympathy, in which their grave crimes were overlooked or forgotten. From causes, however, which are now unknown, those, on whom what was then deemed the sacred duty of revenge devolved, seem to have taken no immediate steps to revenge the death of their relatives. The French title and possessions of the earl reverted to the crown of France. The earldom of Douglas proper, devolved upon his uncle James, Lord of Abercorn, surnamed the Gross, who quietly assumed the title and estates of his nephew without opposition;‡ and the large unencultivated property of the late earl, comprehending Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, descended to his only sister Margaret, who, from her great beauty, was commonly called the Fair Maiden of Galloway. Thus far the calculations of Crichton and Livingston, as to the probable consequences of Douglas's death, were justified by the removal of a

dangerous enemy, the dismemberment of a princely house, and the consolidation of their own power. A course of unforeseen events, however, baffled their expectations and restored the house of Douglas to more than its former splendour. James the Gross died after two years' inglorious possession of his honours, and was succeeded by his son William, who inherited all the courage and ambition of his family. Eager to regain the lost appen-

William, eighth
earl, reunites
the vast estates
of the family.

dages and power of his earldom, he hastily espoused his cousin Margaret of Galloway; and, by this union, the vast possessions of the family were once more united in his person. The indifference which Crichton and Livingston exhibited during the progress of this important alliance, has never been sufficiently explained. Policy dictated determined opposition to a union so fraught with danger to the government, and objections existed, which, if skilfully urged, must have prevented its formation. Margaret, besides being a ward of the crown, was a child scarcely twelve years old at the period of her brother's death. Earl William and herself were within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, while the former was already married, and his countess was still living, so that a dispensation from Rome was necessary to procure a release from existing ties, and the sanction of the church to the contemplated marriage.* Some light is thrown on the supineness of the government by a conjecture, to which subsequent events give countenance, that Livingston had already formed a secret coalition with Douglas, in order to secure his own power, and ruin his rival, Crichton, who, though alive to the dangers of the alliance, was compelled to preserve a prudent neutrality. If so, the selfish policy of the governor recoiled on himself, and he lived bitterly to deplore the consequences of his baseness.

Happily for Scotland, during these distractions, her relations with foreign powers were uniformly of the most friendly character. At this period an embassy arrived from Bretagne, proposing a marriage between Francis, Count de Montfort, son and heir of John V., surnamed the Good, and the princess Isabella, sister of the king. These overtures were favourably entertained by the Scottish court, commissioners were despatched to Bretagne, with the view of completing the arrangements, and, in the following year, Isabella left Scotland for France, where she was formally united to her betrothed husband.† The truce with England continued to be sacredly observed, and the friendly intercourse between the two countries exercised the most beneficial influence on their mutual prosperity. A war at this time broke out between England and the Netherlands; but the trade so long carried on by Scotland with the latter country does not appear to have suffered any material interruption.

Friendly relations
between
Scotland and
other countries.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of the king-

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 43.
† *Annals of the Chronicle*, p. 35. See Appendix, Note XV. According to the historian of the house of Douglas, the remarkable obesity of the new earl extinguished in him those quick feelings of honour which should have stimulated him to revenge. It has been conjectured, with more probability, that the trial and execution of the young earl was undertaken with the connivance, if not the assistance, of the countess.

‡ See Pinkerton's History, vol. i. pp. 194, 195.
† *Ibid.* p. 195, and ante.

dom, rent by faction, and groaning under all the distracted state miseries of a feeble and vicious administration, was, in every respect, deplorable. The laws ceased to be respected, and occasional attempts to vindicate their authority served only to provoke resistance. Sir William Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, while conducting a Highland freebooter to the gallows, was attacked by John Gorme Stewart, of Athole, with a party of his associates, who endeavoured to rescue the criminal from the grasp of justice. Ruthven, a man of high spirit and determined courage, collected his followers, and gave battle to the assailants on the North Inch of Perth. The aggressors were defeated, but not until thirty men had been slain, including the leaders on both sides, Ruthven and Stewart.*

Feuds of the nobles. Erskine, whose claims on the earldom of Mar had been factiously resisted by the chancellor, stormed the castle of Kildrummie, and took possession of the extensive estates connected with it. In retaliation, Livingston and Crichton seized the castle of Alloa, the property of Erskine.

During the progress of these savage feuds, William, Earl of Douglas, was silently maturing his plans to restore the political influence of his house. Already affianced to his cousin, and virtual possessor of her extensive estates, he bent the whole energies of his subtle and ambitious nature to secure that place in the administration, which he considered due to his ancient family and great power. The existing state of parties favoured his designs, and he skilfully turned to his advantage the jealousies and contentions of his rivals. To the nation at large, the government of Livingston and Crichton had long been odious, and a general desire existed for some change which seemed likely to remedy the evils under which the nation was groaning. James cherished a natural dislike to those who, for years, had made him their puppet, and sometimes cruelly wounded his feelings; while he had now reached an age when the restraints of a state of pupilage excite strong irritation and an ardent desire of independence. He was thus prepared to welcome the services of any party who could secure his good opinion, and relieve him from the indignities of his position. Douglas was no stranger to the feelings of the young monarch, and awaited only a favourable opportunity to render them subservient to his purpose. An incident, characteristic of the times, furnished him with the occasion for which he sought. Dumbarton castle was at this period commanded by Sir Robert Semple, as sheriff-depute to Sir Robert Erskine. Patrick Galbraith, a partisan of Douglas, in revenge of some injury done him by Semple, or, as some affirm, incited by Douglas himself, sealed the walls with a party of his followers, and took possession of the fortress,

after killing the captain and some of the garrison. When the news of this outrage reached the court, suspicion naturally turned on Douglas as its chief instigator, and the earl, affecting deep concern for his honour as a noble, and his fidelity as a subject, hastened to Stirling with a few followers, and obtaining an audience of the king, denounced the conduct of Galbraith, placed his own life and estates at the disposal of the sovereign, and professed unbounded attachment to his person and crown. The manœuvre of the earl was completely successful. Prepossessed by the skilful address of Douglas, and agreeably surprised to discover a devoted adherent in one whom he had been taught to regard as a dangerous rival, the young and unsuspecting monarch lavished on his visitor every mark of kindness, made him a member of the privy council, and soon after elevated him to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The course pursued by the persons chiefly affected by this sudden change in the administration indicated, with sufficient clearness, the part they had taken in promoting it. Livingston remained quietly at Stirling, though, on the plea of age, he surrendered his office as governor into the hands of his eldest son, Sir James, thus giving strong probability to the supposition that the veteran statesman had entered into a coalition with Douglas; while Crichton fled from the court, and threw himself into the castle of Edinburgh, where he proceeded to lay in provisions, and to strengthen the fortifications in the evident expectation of a siege. The proceedings of Douglas speedily justified —his hostility to the alarm of the chancellor. Armed with the royal authority, and accompanied by a portion of the household troops, besides his own retainers, the earl marched against Barnton castle, which belonged to Crichton, and demanded its immediate surrender. The governor, a near kinsman of the chancellor, at first resolved on resistance, but daunted by the display of the royal banner, and the prospect of a long siege, ultimately capitulated, and the fortalice, by the orders of Douglas, was immediately dismantled. This decisive movement was followed by a summons to Crichton requiring him, in the name of the king, to appear at Stirling, and answer for his many acts of treason against the state; but the proud baron, undismayed by the danger to which he was exposed, and confident in the strength of his fortress, replied only by an incursion into the lands in Lothian belonging to Douglas and his adherent, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, which he wasted with fire and sword.† In a parliament subsequently convened at Stirling, he was proclaimed a traitor, his estates confiscated, and his friends outlawed.‡

The influence of Douglas was now paramount,

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 35. Pitcottie, vol. ii. pp. 47, 48.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 36, 37. Pitcottie, vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

‡ Pitcottie, vol. i. pp. 49, 450.

* Pitcottie, vol. i. pp. 46, 47. Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 35. Stewart was the person who apprehended Sir Robert Graham, the murderer of James I.

and his subsequent conduct left no doubt as to his daring designs on the independence of the crown. The members of the late administration were quickly displaced, and the vacant offices filled by persons devoted to his interests. Three of his brothers, Archibald, Hugh, and John, were raised to the peerage. Archibald, who had married the youngest daughter of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray, succeeded on the death of his father-in-law to the title, in spite of the preferable claim of Sir James Crichton, son of the chancellor, who was the husband of the eldest daughter of the deceased earl. Hugh was created Earl of Ormond and John Lord of Balveny. To these grounds of alarm others were soon added of a more serious nature. Instigated by Douglas, the chief nobles determined to make common cause for the recovery of those privileges of their order, which, conceded by the weakness of former sovereigns, had been abolished by James I. as dangerous to the throne. The lieutenant-general became thus the centre of a powerful combination, including not a few of the great barons, who having suffered under the former reign, remembered with fear and hatred the restraints imposed upon them by the crown, and exulted in the prospect of curtailing and humbling the royal power. Though artfully veiled, the treasonable intentions of Douglas were too apparent to escape notice, and, in spite of his overgrown power, which rendered opposition most perilous, the nation found a leader, whose pure patriotism and unsullied virtues enabled him to vindicate its menaced rights. Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, a prelate of great wisdom and integrity, had been raised to the chancellorship on the disgrace of Crichton. His high talents, incorruptible honesty, and distinguished ecclesiastical position as head of the Scottish church, while they fitted him in an eminent degree for the office, rendered him the more formidable to Douglas, nor is it easy to account for the acquiescence of the latter in the appointment of the prelate, except on the supposition that the relation of Kennedy to the sovereign as the sister's son of the late king, combined with his known qualifications, rendered opposition for the time alike futile and impolitic. The sagacity of Kennedy speedily divined the intentions of the lieutenant-general, and took prompt and vigorous measures to defeat his insidious and traitorous machinations. In spite of the defection of the Livingstons there still remained a large party in the kingdom, composed chiefly of the minor barons, who viewed with dread the restoration of feudal supremacy, and were eager to defend the throne from the dangers which menaced it. The ablest of these nobles were sought out by Kennedy, who succeeded in imbuing them with his own resolute and patriotic spirit, and rallying them round the youthful sovereign. In this attempt to counterbalance the traitorous confederacy of Douglas, it

was impossible to overlook Crichton, who, in spite of his vices, possessed not a few of the qualities of an eminent statesman, and by his determined resistance to the Douglas faction, was now assisting to maintain the cause of national order and independence. The sympathies of the bishop were therefore strongly attracted towards his predecessor, and having opened a correspondence with the besieged baron, he hesitated not to support him with the whole weight of his powerful influence. The manner in which Douglas resented the interference of Kennedy was in keeping both with his own character and the spirit of the times. The person of the prelate was sacred, but his lands in Fife and Angus were immediately invaded by the partisans of Douglas, headed by the Earl of Crawford, Alexander Ogilvy, Livingston, governor of Stirling, Lord Hamilton, and other partisans of the earl, who wasted them with fire and sword, thus converting the most peaceful and industrious portions of Scotland into a smoking desert. Kennedy, indignant at this savage raid, demanded instant reparation; and on receiving only contemptuous defiance, proceeded to visit Crawford and his adherents with the thunders of the church, and solemnly excommunicated them with book, bell, and candle.* Meanwhile Douglas had already commenced the siege of Edinburgh castle, which Crichton, in anticipation of attack, had stored with provisions, and now stood prepared to defend to the last extremity. After the lapse of nine weeks, however, the besiegers either finding that they were making little progress in the reduction of the fortress, or that the friends of Crichton were more numerous and powerful than they had at first supposed, entered into negotiations for peace, and the stout old baron capitulated on terms every way advantageous. His titles, honours, and possessions were restored to him, and at the solicitation of Douglas and Livingston he was induced to join the administration.† The results of this sudden coalition, in spite of the suspicious motives which led to it, were most important and beneficial to the country. Douglas, checked by a colleague so sagacious and powerful, found it necessary to dissemble, if not to abandon his treasonable designs, while the friends of the king, encouraged by the restoration of Crichton, determined to watch and defeat the plots of their enemies.

These faint indications of returning prosperity speedily passed away amid the fierce and bloody feuds which continued to convulse the kingdom. One of these, from the number and power of the parties engaged in it, as well as from its disastrous results, has been rescued from the oblivion to which other events of a similar kind, from their appalling frequency, have been consigned. The

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 39. Pitseottie, vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 37.

monks of Arbroath had made choice of the Master of Crawford as their feudal protector, but were induced, from causes not clearly explained, to dis-

pense with his services, and to confer the bailiwick on Ogilvie, of Inverquharity, chief of that ancient sept. Crawford, whose ferocity afterwards procured for him the appellation of the "Tiger Earl,"* collected his vassals for the double purpose of revenging the insult which had been offered to him, and recovering the authority of which he had been deprived. On the other hand, the Ogilvies, who were greatly outnumbered by their opponents, were accidentally reinforced by Sir Alexander Seton, of Gordon, afterwards Earl of Huntley, who, on his return from the court, happening to lodge for the night at the Castle of Inverquharity, was compelled to take part in the fray by an ancient custom, which bound the guest to fight in the quarrels of his host, so long as the food eaten under his roof remained in his stomach.† The

Its disastrous results. hostile armies were drawn up near the gates of the town of Arbroath, and the conflict was to commence, when the Earl of Crawford, who, on receiving information of the intended combat, had hastened from Dundee for the purpose of averting it, suddenly arrived on the field, and commanded his son to halt, while he rode forward between the two lines, in order to propose terms. But a private soldier of the Ogilvies, unacquainted with his person, and mistaking his purpose, struck him in the mouth with his spear, and mortally wounded him. The hostile armies immediately joined battle with the utmost fury, and after a fierce and stubborn conflict the Ogilvies were defeated and driven from the field. Inverquharity himself was mortally wounded in the action, along with five hundred of his followers, among whom were John Forbes, of Pitsligo, a retainer of Huntley; Alexander Barclay, of Gartley; James Maxwell, of Teiling, and many others of the gentry of Angus. Huntley himself with great difficulty made his escape to the castle of Inverquharity, and was afterwards taken prisoner and conducted to the castle of Finhaven, the seat of the victor.‡ The Master of Crawford followed up his victory with characteristic ferocity, and assailed by a party of the Douglasses, plundered and wasted the estates of the Ogilvies and their allies with fire and sword, burnt their castles, slew their vassals, and carried their wives and children into captivity. The earl his father, after lingering for a few days, died of his wound, and his body lay for some time unburied, on account of the sentence of excommunication.

The death of the queen mother, which occurred (A. D. 1445) in the midst of these fierce commotions, deserves notice, but as an

* He was also called "Earl Beardy," from the length and bushiness of his beard.

† Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 18.

‡ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 38. Pitcottie, vol. i. pp.

affecting example of fallen greatness, and the sad insecurity of the times. From the period of her marriage with Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn,—an alliance formed mainly from the desire to secure a protection in her defenceless condition,—she sunk into obscurity; but the peace and safety which she sought to purchase by the abdication of rank do not seem to have followed her in her retirement. Stewart, who doubtless calculated that his connection with the royal family would improve his position, on discovering his mistake, and finding himself the victim of suspicion and persecution, became gradually alienated from his wife, and ultimately treated her with utter neglect. Compelled at last to flee from Scotland, in consequence of some incautious reflections on the despotism of Douglas, he deprived her even of the slender protection which his presence afforded. Thus abandoned by her husband, and pursued by the relentless malice of her enemies, the health of the unhappy princess gave way under her manifold griefs, and she closed her chequered life in Dunbar castle, then held by Patrick Hepburn, of Hailes, a fierce free-booter and partisan of Douglas. It is impossible to determine with certainty, whether she had sought a sanctuary in the fortress, or had been violently seized by its possessor; but the lawless character of Hepburn and his connection with Douglas render it highly probable that he had made her a prisoner to serve some sinister or selfish purpose. So great, however, was the power of his patron and the weakness of the government, that he not only escaped punishment, but received a pardon in the name of the king himself, who was thus made to sanction the unmanly cruelty which had been inflicted upon his own mother.*

Misfortune continued to pursue the other members of the royal family. In the distracted condition of the kingdom, and to secure Departure of the princesses Jane and Eleanor to France, and death of the dauphiness. them from the ambitious designs of Douglas, the princesses Jane and Eleanor, on the death of the queen-mother, were sent to France on a visit to their sister the dauphiness. On their arrival they were greeted with the sad news of her early death in circumstances peculiarly painful. The marriage of Isabella had proved eminently unhappy. Her husband, afterwards the infamous Louis XI., treated her from the first with marked neglect. In despair of securing his affection her gentle spirit sought solace in the composition of poetry and in the society of literary men. But the charges of Jamet de Tilloy, who, with the connivance, if not at the instigation of the dauphin, accused her of conjugal infidelity, destroyed a constitution enfeebled by a course of harshness and neglect. She died protesting her innocence; and the equivocations of her base accuser, with the deep grief of her father-in-law, Charles VII., who, after her death, sought, but without effect, to obtain a dispensation from the pope for the marriage of

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 37.

her sister Jane with the danphin, leave no reason to doubt the truth of her solemn declaration.* The mourning princesses were received by the king with every mark of kindness and respect, and after a brief sojourn at the court of France, Jane returned to her own country, where she wedded the Earl of Angus; Eleanor was some years after espoused to Sigismund, Duke of Austria.

In Scotland meanwhile matters were gradually assuming a more favourable aspect. The influence of Douglas, indeed, was still paramount, and a treasonable treaty formed between that noble, the new Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ross, Lord of the Isles, threatened not only to disturb the peace of the country, but to destroy the independence of the crown. But the king, who was now

seventeen years of age, began to take an important share in the administration of the affairs of the country, and by his prudence and sagacity excited the warmest hopes of his friends. No longer deceived by the professions of Douglas, he penetrated his dangerous designs, and cautiously, though firmly, took measures to defeat them. An open rupture with this powerful and arrogant noble would have hastened a crisis for which he was as yet unprepared. He sought, therefore, gradually, but steadily, to reduce the overgrown power of his turbulent subject, and selected as his confidential advisers Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, and the veteran Crichton, who was about this time reinstated in his office as chancellor. With the assistance of these ex-

perienced and sagacious councillors the friends of the reigning family rallied in support of the royal authority; while some of the nobles, who had been expatriated by Douglas and his faction, returned home at the solicitation of the king, and eagerly contributed to the downfall of a party, from which they had suffered so many wrongs. Among these were Sir James Stewart, the husband of the queen-mother, and Robert Fleming, son of Sir Malcolm Fleming, who burned to revenge on the Livingstons the murder of his father. Measures were also taken at this time by James to maintain the existing friendly relations with the courts of France and England, in order that he might give his undivided attention to the improvement of his own kingdom.

The diplomacy of Crichton, to which these movements were mainly to be traced, was farther displayed in a matter deeply affecting the happiness of the sovereign. In company with John Railston, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Otterburn, Official of Lothian, he left Scotland for France, in order to choose from among the ladies of that friendly court a proper bride for the Scottish king. France at that time offered no suitable match, but, by the advice of Charles VII., the ambassadors proceeded to Burgundy, and, with the

cordial concurrence of Duke Philip the Good, made their proposals to his kinswoman, Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres. In the succeeding year the engagement was formally concluded at Brussels, in the presence of envoys from France. Philip promised to pay, in the course of two years, sixty thousand pounds of gold as the portion of the bride; and James, on the other hand, settled upon the princess the sum of ten thousand crowns, secured upon land in Strathern, Athole, Methven, and Linlithgow, as her jointure in the event of his own death, while he relinquished all claims on the Duchy of Gueldres in the event of a male heir being born to the present duke.* Besides effecting the main object of the embassy, Crichton succeeded not only in renewing the ancient league between France and Scotland, but in concluding a treaty of mutual defence between the latter country and Burgundy, in which Gueldres was also comprehended.†

These symptoms of returning prosperity received a temporary check by the renewal of hostilities upon the Borders. The truce between Scotland and England had just expired, and though there existed, on the part of both nations, a desire to maintain peace, their common distractions afforded tempting opportunities for incursion and plunder, of which the border chiefs were not slow to avail themselves. England was convulsed by three factions, which, under the Duke of Gloucester, the queen, and the able but ambitious Richard of York, Hostilities commenced on the Borders.

were contending for supremacy; while the mal-administration of Douglas had weakened the authority of the government among the rude and turbulent inhabitants of the border districts. Incited, accordingly, by the hope of large spoil, the English, under the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, warden of the Marches, poured in two great divisions into Scotland, and burned the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. In revenge for this outrage, Douglas of Balveny, a brother of the earl, invaded Cumberland, and, after wasting that district, gave the town of Alwick to the flames. The spirit of border warfare was now again exhibited in all its ancient ferocity. A force of six thousand men, led by the younger Percy and Sir John Pennington, crossed the river Sark at low water, and found themselves in front of the Scottish army, under the command of Hugh, Earl of Ormond, another brother of the Earl of Douglas. The details of the battle which followed are involved in much obscurity, though the engagement was the only one of importance which occurred on the borders during the interval between the conflicts of Homildon Hill and Flodden Field. Douglas, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, immediately attacked the English, Battle of Sark, and defeat of the English. and after a brief but fierce struggle, in which he was ably seconded by Sir Thomas Wallace, the Sheriff of Ayr, he succeeded in breaking their ranks, and putting them to flight. Fifteen

* Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 199—201, and note.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 206. note.

† Ibid. p. 207.

hundred men were slain, and five hundred were drowned while attempting to cross the Sark, now swollen by the returning tide. Many prisoners were taken, including the young Lord Percy and Sir John Pennington. The loss of the Scots was trifling, amounting only to sixty men; but their triumph was damped by the death of their gallant leader, Wallace of Craigie, whose bravery and skill had mainly contributed to the victory.* With the battle of Sark hostilities terminated for a time between the two nations. Both disclaimed being the aggressors, and professed equal anxiety for peace, which was happily restored, in the following year, by the conclusion of a permanent truce.

The Scottish court was now ingrossed in preparations for the reception of Mary, the intended consort of James. The parliament met at Stirling resolved that the royal nuptials should be conducted on a scale of splendour suited to the occasion. At length, on the eighteenth of June,

Arrival of Mary
of Gueldres in
Scotland.

the vessels containing the bride cast anchor in the Forth; and the princess, accompanied by a splendid train of knights from France and Burgundy, including the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Brittany, and the Lord of Campvere, the brothers-in-law of James, along with the Dukes of Savoy and of Burgundy, landed at Leith. Here she was met by a great concourse of all classes of the people; and accompanied by an imposing body-guard of three hundred men-at-arms, she proceeded, amid the acclamations of the people, to Holyrood palace, where she was received and warmly welcomed by her future husband.† The week which intervened between her arrival and marriage was spent in a series of magnificent entertainments, during which, from her great beauty and amiable manners, she won the devoted affection of the attendant nobles and people. In accordance with the chivalrous spirit of the age, various tournaments were held, at which knights displayed their prowess. A contemporary chronicler has given a minute account of one encounter, which was rendered memorable by the high rank and distinguished valour of the combatants. Three nobles of Burgundy, two of them brothers, named Lelain, and the third Hervé Meriadet, challenged

Joustings and
public rejoicings
at the marriage
of the king.

an equal number of the Scottish chivalry to a joust with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger. The challenge of the foreign knights was immediately accepted by Sir John Ross of Halket, and two Douglasses, James, brother of the Earl of Douglas, and another James, brother to the Lord of Lochleven. A space near the castle rock of Stirling was selected for the lists, galleries were erected for the king and nobles, and an adjoining crag afforded accommodation for the ladies of the court, who were expected to grace the scene. On the day appointed for the encounter, the combatants appeared in the lists clothed in rich velvet

dresses; the Scottish champions being attended by the Earl of Douglas himself, with a retinue of five thousand men. Having made their obeisance to the sovereign, they retired to their pavilions to arm. They were then knighted by the king, and at the sound of the trumpet the conflict began. Their lances were almost instantly shivered, and a fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued, which was maintained with equal fortune by the brothers Lelain against James Douglas and Sir John Ross. Meriadet, however, who was engaged with Douglas of Lochleven, parried the thrust of his opponent, and, before the Scottish knight could use his battle-axe, struck him to the ground, on which the king threw down his truncheon, and terminated the conflict.* The foreign knights were afterwards entertained by James, who bestowed on them the meed of praise due to their valour and courtesy. The royal marriage, which took place at the conclusion of these stirring scenes, was celebrated at Holyrood, amid expressions of universal joy.

From the period of his marriage, James prosecuted with vigour his plans for the overthrow of those factions which had so long usurped the royal authority, and filled the kingdom with confusion and bloodshed. The counsels of Kennedy and Crichton had urged the necessity of some decisive measures for this end; and to these was now added the influence of the queen, a woman not only of great beauty, but of strong sense, who, alive to the honour of the crown, confirmed her husband in his resolution to restore and defend its authority. Douglas, from his tyranny and arrogance, was the most obnoxious of the confederated nobles, and had lately given new cause of offence, by an act of lawless revenge and insolent cruelty. Sir Richard Colville, of Ochiltree, having received some injuries from Sir John Auchinleck, a friend and follower of Douglas, seized the opportunity, while his enemy was on his road to wait upon the earl, to intercept and slay him. The crime of Colville certainly deserved punishment, but Douglas, without waiting for any formal trial of the criminal, treated the matter as an insult to himself, demanding prompt and summary vengeance. He immediately ravaged the lands of Colville, stormed his castle, and put that baron and his whole garrison to the sword.† This daring outrage filled James with the highest indignation. But as the vast power of the earl rendered a collision with him at that time eminently hazardous, the king prudently concealed his wrath, and awaited a more favourable opportunity for vengeance. In the meantime, he resolved to weaken the confederacy of which Douglas was the acknowledged head, by destroying its members in detail, and thus pave the way for the fall of the earl himself. The Livingstons were the first to feel the effects of his prompt and vigorous measures. Having received information of a pro-

Cautious policy
of the king.

Lawless conduct
of the Earl of
Douglas.

Fall of the
Livingstons.

* Pitseottie, vol. i. pp. 76—80.
† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 41.

* De Concy, p. 567. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 207.
† Pitseottie, vol. i. p. 84.

posed meeting of that faction, at the Bridge of Inchbilly, near Kirkintilloch, James took instant steps for the capture of their leaders, who, on reaching the place of rendezvous, were suddenly surrounded by the king at the head of his household troops, and committed to prison. By this bold step, Sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar, the chief of his name, and now an aged man; James Livingston, his eldest son; Robyn, of Callendar, Captain of Dunbarton; David Livingston, of Greenyards; John Livingston, Captain of Doune castle; Robert Livingston, of Lullithgow; with James Dundas, of Dundas; and Robert Bruce, of Clackmannan, relatives and allies of the Livingstons, were entirely in the royal power; and in the brief space of forty days their whole estates were seized, their subordinates expelled from all places of trust, and every castle and fortalice held by them fell into the king's hand.* The interval between the arrest and trial of the culprits was wisely employed by James in securing the friendship of those foreign powers whose hostility would have embarrassed him in the resolute course which he determined to prosecute. The Bishop of Brechin,

and the Abbot of Melrose, in company with Lords Montgomery and Grey, were despatched to England, with the view of arranging the terms of a truce between that country and Scotland, and succeeded in concluding a peace for an indefinite period; the treaty providing that, in the event of hostilities being resumed by either country, warning should be given six months before. The previous treaty with France, and the league with Brittany, were also confirmed by separate embassies.

Immediately after the adoption of these vigorous and prudent measures, James summoned a meeting of his parliament in Edinburgh, on the nineteenth of January, for the trial of the Livingstons. No record of the proceedings has been preserved; but the principal charge brought against them appears to have been their forcible seizure of the queen's person, on the third of August, 1439. As the facts could not be denied, they were all found guilty. Livingston himself, the aged head of the family, had his life spared; but he was deprived of his estates, and, along with his kinsmen, James Dundas, of Dundas, and Robert Bruce, brother to Bruce of Clackmannan, was imprisoned in Dunbarton castle, while his younger son, Alexander, and Robert Livingston, comptroller, were hanged, and afterwards beheaded, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.†

After inflicting this signal punishment upon the Livingstons and their allies, the legislature proceeded to take into consideration the state of the country, and to provide a remedy for those grievous abuses which had grown up during the minority of the monarch. It was first of all declared, in the usual form, that the

freedom of the holy church should be maintained, and that the civil power should carry into execution the sentences pronounced against heretics and others who had incurred the censures of the clergy. It was next provided that a general peace should be proclaimed throughout the realm, so that all men might travel in security, for mercantile or other purposes, in every part of the country, without any protection, save that of the king's peace, or the necessity of 'having assurance one of the other.' If any person, in spite of this enactment, should stand in fear of another, he was directed to repair to the sheriff, or nearest magistrate, and take oath that he was in mortal fear of his enemy; on which the officer was to exact pledges for the maintenance of the peace, according to the ancient estates of the realm. It was enacted that just and able judges, learned in the law, should be appointed to administer justice impartially, to the small as well as to the great, and that the justiciar should pass through the country twice in the year, as ordered by the old law.* It was declared, that rebellion against the king's person and authority should be punished according to the judgment of the Three Estates, who were to take into consideration 'the quality, and the quantity of the rebellion,' and that those who were guilty of open and 'notour' rebellion against the sovereign, or who should presume to make war upon the king's subjects, or to give encouragement or protection to such criminals, should be proceeded against by the sovereign in person, with the whole force of the country, and punished according to their deserts. An attempt was made, as we have seen, by James I.,‡ to secure to the tenants of the feudal barons protection from summary ejection from the lands which they held on lease; and it was now 'declared to be ordained, for the safety and favour of the poor people who labour the ground, that they, and all others, who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come, from lords, according to a lease, which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiry of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale or by alienation into different hands from those by whom they were first given in lease to the tenant; †—a most important provision for the security of property, and the improvement of the country. Severe enactments were passed against spoilers and marauders, and the sheriffs were peremptorily enjoined to make immediate inquiry into all outrages on property, and to compel the offenders to make instant restoration, and, in addition, to pay all expenses, and a fine to the king. It was provided, that the justiciaries, along with the justices, chamberlains, coroners, and other officers, in their progresses through the country, should travel with a moderate train, and not oppress the people by the number of their attendants.

* Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 42.

† Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 60.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 35.

† See ante, p. 258.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36.

It appears that, at this period, numbers of 'sorners, outlyers, masterful beggars, fools, bards, and runners about,' were in the habit of travelling through the country with their horses and hounds, and grievously oppressing the people by their exactions. For the remedying of this grievance, it was enacted, that all sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and bailies, should make inquiry into this matter at every court which they held, and all such rude and vexatious persons, on being discovered, should be put in prison till such time as the king 'had his will of them,' and their horses and hounds immediately confiscated to the crown. A similar enactment was passed against those that followed the profession of 'fools,' or such like runners about, who did not belong to the class of bards. On being discovered, they were to be put in prison or in irons, as long as they had any goods or substance of their own to live upon. If they had nothing to live upon, it was directed, that "their ears be nailed to the Tron, or to any other tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which, if they returned again, they were, upon their first apprehension, to be hanged."*

A committee, consisting of four persons, chosen from each of the Three Estates, was appointed to examine the acts of parliament passed during the reign of James I., and to select such as were calculated to promote the welfare of the realm, that they might be revised and submitted for approval to the parliament which was to be assembled at Perth. Stringent regulations were enacted for the prevention of forestalling in corn, and it was ordained, that all persons who were in the practice of buying victual or corn, and hoarding it up till the occurrence of a dearth, should be sought out and punished, and that the provisions which they had thus hoarded up should be forfeited to the king. The keeping old stacks of corn in the farmyard later than Christmas was strictly prohibited, and it was enjoined, that dealers in corn and other victual, should not be allowed to lay up a great store of grain, and keep it out of the market till the ripening of the next harvest; but at Christmas they were only to have so much grain in their possession as was required for the support of themselves and their families.†

A statute was passed, denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should make war against the king's majesty, or lay violent hands upon his person, or who should aid or supply with help or counsel, those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king should happen to be at the time;—an enactment evidently directed against a repetition of the lawless and disgraceful practices of Livingston, Crichton, and Douglas, who had each in turn sought to govern the kingdom by taking violent possession

of the person of the sovereign. It was further ordained, that when those who had been guilty of theft or robbery were so powerful that the justiciar could not put down by legal measures their 'great and masterful theft,' information should be instantly sent to the king, that with the assistance of the privy council he might provide a remedy. But, with a lamentable perversion of justice and infringement of the rights of the people, the justice clerk was enjoined not to reveal to the offenders that a legal process was in preparation against them, or to alter the process in any way from the form in which it was given him '*except for the king's advantage.*' It was further ordained, that all the regalities belonging to the crown should be judged by the king's justiciary, and that the freeholders of such regalities should appear in parliament equally with those of the royal domains. Regulations were also made respecting the importation of bullion by the merchants, the circulation of the money then current, and the new coinage and its issue; and strict injunctions were issued for the apprehension of those carrying money out of the kingdom, and for the punishment of all false strikers of gold and silver, and all forgers of false groats and pennies. And, finally, several important privileges were bestowed upon the clergy, whose influence had been most beneficially exerted in counteracting the exorbitant power of the barons, and in promoting the social welfare of the people. In a charter, dated on the 24th January, 1449, the king declared that, "for the salvation of his own soul, and that of Queen Mary, his consort, with consent of the Three Estates, and in terms of a schedule then presented to him, he conferred upon all bishops of cathedral churches in Scotland, the privilege of making their testaments, of levying the fruits of vacant sees, and converting them to their use, the vicars-general of the cathedrals rendering a true account of the same." These laws, which show the grievous abuses that had prevailed in the kingdom during the minority of the sovereign, were, for the most part, wise and just; but there is reason to fear that, owing to the weakness of the government, they were, like former enactments of a similar kind, neglected, or openly violated, by the very persons who had assisted in framing them.

The young king having now assumed the reins of government, displayed great ^{Vigorous and prudent conduct} intelligence, prudence, and vigour ^{of the king.} in the management of public affairs. In order that he might give his undivided attention to the improvement of his own kingdom, he was careful to maintain amicable relations with England, and to encourage by every method in his power the friendly intercourse which subsisted between the two countries. He cautiously carried out a systematic plan for the reduction of the overgrown power of the Earl of Douglas, and without attempting at once, and by any arbitrary measure, to deprive this haughty chief of his high office as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, he gradually

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 36.

† Ibid.

withdrew from him his countenance, and entrusted the management of public affairs to able and prudent councillors, on whose fidelity and attachment he could rely. This conduct was attended with the best results. Douglas, finding his consequence decreasing, and his power on the wane, retired for a season from the country, and attended by a splendid retinue, consisting of six knights, with their own suites, fourteen gentlemen of the best families in Scotland, with their servants and a body of eighty men-at-arms, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.* At Paris he was joined by his brother, afterwards Earl of Douglas, who appears to have been at this time prosecuting his studies at the university there.† He was received by the French court with the distinction due to his rank, and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Verneuil, in the service of France; and even at Rome, which he reached during the season of the jubilee, his reputation and rude magnificence seem to have attracted attention and regard. During his absence, however, the disorderly and turbulent conduct of his vassals disturbed the peace of the country, and drew down upon them the vengeance of the government. His brother, the Lord of Balveny, on whom he had conferred the office of administrator of his estates, excited universal discontent by his insolent and tyrannical abuse of his authority. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglasdale, when cited to answer for the conduct of his retainers, contumaciously refused to obey; and when the Earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to make inquiry into these complaints, and to distrain the rents and goods of the earl, in order to compensate those who had received injury from his tenants, he met with open resistance and

insult. The king, justly provoked at this contumacious opposition offered to the highest law officer of the realm, marched in person into the territories of Douglas, made himself master of the castles of Lochmaben and Douglas, razed the latter to the ground, and inflicted summary punishment on the marauders who had carried on their depredations under the protection of their powerful chief.‡

When the tidings of these vigorous measures reached Rome, the Earl of Douglas set out immediately on his return to his own country. On reaching Scotland he found that the royal authority had gained ground so rapidly during his absence, that he must for the present, at least, act a subordinate part to his sovereign. He, therefore, sent a submissive message to the king, expressing his indignation at the excesses committed by his vassals during his absence, and his resolution to observe the laws and to maintain order among his

dependents, on which he was again received into favour. Soon after his submission to the royal authority, Douglas was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the continuation of the truce with England; but there is too much reason to suspect, that, along with the Earl of Crawford, another of the commissioners, and several other disaffected barons, he used his influence rather to disturb than to confirm the friendly relations existing between the two countries, and that in concert with the Yorkist faction, he entered into a secret intrigue against the authority of his sovereign and the peace of the kingdom. In the following month he obtained from the English court a protection to visit England for himself, his three brothers, twenty-six gentlemen, and sixty-seven attendants. And as the chief persons mentioned in this safe conduct afterwards followed the house of Douglas in their rebellion, there can be little doubt that their journey to England was closely connected with their treasonable designs against their sovereign. On his return to Scotland, Douglas took up his residence on his extensive estates in Annandale. Although he had now been deprived of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the youthful monarch, unwilling to come to an open rupture with his too powerful subject, had invested him with the office of warden of the west and middle marches, and had besides confirmed by a deed of entail the earldoms of Wigton and Douglas to the earl and his descendants. But the arrogant noble, instead of exhibiting any symptoms of gratitude for the kindness shown to him by his sovereign, was only the more emboldened to set at defiance both the restraints of law and the authority of the king. He had the audacity even to attempt the life of the king's chief minister, the Chancellor Crichton, who, while he was passing through the southern suburb of Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked by an armed band of ruffians, hired and placed in ambush for the purpose by Douglas. But encouraged by the presence of his son, a young man of great spirit and bravery, the veteran statesman courageously defended himself, and after killing one and wounding another of his assailants, succeeded in effecting his escape to Crichton castle, Indignant at this unprovoked outrage, and resolved upon revenge, the chancellor immediately collected a strong body of friends and adherents, marched rapidly to Edinburgh, and attacking Douglas, who lay there with a small retinue, unsuspecting of danger, compelled him in his turn to flee from the metropolis.

When such an outrageous attack was openly made upon the person of the chief minister of the crown, it may readily be supposed that Douglas was not slow to evince his total contempt of the royal authority; and that the minor barons who refused to join his faction and promote his designs

—he resumes his treasonable practices—

—his attack on the Chancellor Crichton.

Outrages on the loyal barons.

* Contin. of Bowler, p. 519. Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 85.
 † Lesley, p. 22.
 ‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 86—89.

• Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 90—91.

were, in one way or other, made to feel his vengeance. Sir John Herries of Terreagles, a gentleman of ancient family in Nithsdale, and of eminent loyalty, having refused to become an ally and follower of Douglas, had his estates repeatedly ravaged and plundered by a lawless banditti from Douglasdale. Having frequently sought redress from the earl, but without effect, Herries at length retaliated by invading the lands belonging to the vassals of Douglas, and attempting to recover by force of arms the property of which he had been robbed. But he was unfortunately defeated and made prisoner by his powerful enemy, who cast him into irons, and soon after caused him to be ignominiously hanged, in contempt of a positive injunction of the king requiring his release.* Shortly after this, Sir John Sandilands of Calder, a kinsman of James, was murdered by Sir Patrick Thornton, a follower of Douglas; and two other knights, Sir James and Sir Allan Stewart, lost their lives at the same time.†

It had now become evident to all men that a crisis was at hand, and the conduct of Douglas speedily brought matters to an extremity. With an evident view to an open insurrection against the royal authority, he sought to compel not only his own vassals, but the gentry in all the neighbouring districts, to join in his treasonable association with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and to execute leagues and bonds, by which they engaged to support each other, and to make common cause with Douglas against all persons whatsoever, 'within or without the realm.' In the words of an old chronicler, he "sought and persuaded all men under his opinion and servitude, and in special the gentlemen of Galloway, with Coile, Carriek, and Cunninghame, and all other parties that were near adjacent unto him, desyring them daylie to ride and goe with him as his own household men and servantis, and to assist him in all thingis whosomevir he had to doe, whether it was ryght or wrong, with the king or against him." The treasonable character of his proceedings had now, however, become apparent, and a few of the men of influence in Galloway defied the threats of the formidable chief, and refused to join in his designs against the independence of the crown and the peace of the country. "Therefore they would not assist him, nor take part with him, nor ride, nor gang with him, nor be his men."

Cruel murder of the tutor of Bomby. Among the most prominent of these was a gentleman named Maclellan, tutor or guardian of the young Lord of Bomby, ancestor of the Earls of Kirkcudbright, and sister's son to Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's guard. Enraged at his opposition to his schemes, Douglas suddenly besieged the residence of the family, took Maclellan prisoner, and threw him into a dungeon in the castle of Douglas. Intelligence of this outrage having reached the court, Sir Patrick Gray, anxious to avert the too probable fate of his nephew, obtained

from the king a letter to Douglas under the royal seal, entreating rather than commanding the immediate release of his prisoner. Sir Patrick proceeded with the utmost speed to Douglas castle, where he was received by the earl with great apparent courtesy and respect. He inquired if his visitor had dined, and receiving an answer in the negative, he declined entering upon business until Gray had partaken of some refreshment, remarking that there was 'no talk to be had between ane full man and ane fasting.' He accordingly pressed Sir Patrick, with an affectation of great hospitality, to partake of the cheer which was presently set before him. But well aware of the object of Gray's errand, and determined to defeat it, he gave private orders that Maclellan should be immediately led out into the courtyard of the castle, and there beheaded. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick, having concluded his meal, presented the king's letter to the earl, who received it with affected reverence, and seemed much gratified by the contents. He thanked Sir Patrick, and declared that he was much beholden to him for bringing so gracious a letter from his sovereign, especially considering their mutual relation at that time; and as to the request contained in the royal epistle, it should be thankfully granted to the king, and the rather for Sir Patrick's sake. Thus saying, the ruthless savage took Gray by the hand and led him to the castle green, where the bleeding trunk of his poor kinsman lay covered with a cloth. "Yonder, Sir Patrick," said he, "lies your sister's son; unfortunately he wants the head, but you may take his body and do with it what you will." "My lord," said Gray,—who was compelled by a sense of danger to conceal his indignation at the atrocious deed, and the heartless mocking of the murderer,—“Since you have taken the head you may dispose of the body as you will,” and instantly calling for his horse, he mounted him, and with a sad heart rode across the drawbridge. But unable any longer to suppress his burning resentment at the insult and injury with which he had been treated, in spite of the dangerous situation in which he was placed, he sternly said to the earl, "My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded according to your demerits for this day's work." Douglas, incensed at this ebullition of natural indignation, instantly called to horse; and though Sir Patrick, seeing the fury of the earl, rode off with the utmost speed, he was closely pursued by the followers of Douglas till near Edinburgh, and would have been taken but for the uncommon fleetness of his led horse.*

This wicked and cruel deed, which manifested an utter contempt both for the person of the sovereign, and the authority of the law, appears to have filled up the cup of the king's resentment against the Earl of Douglas. It had now become evident that either the overgrown power of this arrogant and sanguinary noble must be diminished or the royal authority would be reduced to a mere shadow. His treasonable league with Ross

* Pitseottie, vol. i. p. 95.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 45.

+ Pitseottie, vol. i. pp. 96—100.

and Crawford, which had now been discovered, as well as his intrigues with the Yorkist faction in England, against the peace of his own country, had exposed him to the highest penalty of the law. But James was well aware, that if open war was declared, the combined power of the three earls could bring into the field a force superior to that of the crown, and he therefore prudently hesitated to bring matters to such an extremity. It was finally

Douglas invited resolved, by the advice of Crichton and other experienced counsellors, that the earl should be invited to court, in order that the king might try the effect of a personal remonstrance with him respecting the flagrant outrages he had committed, and offer to forgive his past offences on condition that he should make reparation to the relations of those whom he had injured, and abstain in future from such aggressions against the royal authority. James accordingly sent a message to Douglas by his friend Sir William Lauder, of Hatton, inviting him to a personal conference in the castle of Stirling, and assuring him of his forgiveness and restoration to the royal favour, provided only that the earl would express his regret for the offences which he had committed. It appears that, about the same time, Crichton and Sir Patrick Gray had proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother James, with Lord Hamilton, his faithful ally, three bishops, and various other nobles, upon a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and that a safe conduct was granted by the English king to permit this strangely-mixed party to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket.*

In the absence of all historical documents, it is impossible to say how far the invitation and promises of the king and his ministers were sincere. Be this as it may, the earl was induced, by the representations made to him, to visit the court about the beginning of Lent, 1452. It is asserted by a contemporary chronicler, that before venturing himself within the king's power he was furnished with a letter of safe-conduct under the great seal, and signed by the principal nobles of the court. Trusting to this security, Douglas, who was naturally rash and fearless, repaired to Stirling, with a small retinue, and, upon Shrove Tuesday, he received an invitation to dine at the royal table, which he accepted without hesitation or suspicion. The earl was kindly received by the king, and not only dined but supped with the court. After the royal feast, James led his guest apart into an inner room, where there were none present but Sir Patrick Gray and a few of the privy councillors, and introducing the subject of the bond or league in which Douglas had engaged with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, remonstrated with him on his illegal conduct, and the lawless outrages which he had committed upon the loyal subjects of the king, and condescended to entreat him to renounce this treasonable confederacy, as inconsistent with his allegiance, and dangerous to the state. Douglas, however, declined to comply with the entreaties

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xi. p. 308.

addressed to him. The king urged him more earnestly, and assured him of his pardon and favour if he would return to his allegiance. The earl not only gave a haughty and positive refusal, but upbraided the king with his conduct towards him, in depriving him of the office of lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, and declared that he could not, with his honour, renounce the solemn engagement which he had made with Ross and Crawford, nor would he do so for the words of any living man. The king, whose temper was naturally fiery and impetuous, lost all self-command at this insolent defiance, and passionately exclaiming, "By heaven, if you will not break the league, —his assassination by the king. I shall!" drew his dagger, and stabbed the earl, first in the throat, and then in the lower part of the body.* Upon this, Sir Patrick Gray, who had sworn revenge upon Douglas for the murder of his nephew, struck him with his battle-axe, and the rest of the nobles who were present, showed their zeal by stabbing the dying man with their knives and daggers. The dead body of the murdered noble, pierced by twenty-six wounds, was then cast out into an open court adjoining the royal apartments, and was afterwards ignominiously buried upon the spot.

The atrocious murder of Douglas by the hand of his sovereign, and while under the protection of the public faith, was utterly indefensible, and set a most pernicious example to the turbulent and lawless barons whom it was the object of James to subject to the authority of the government and of the law. But very little sympathy can be felt for his victim, whose ambitious, treasonable, and cruel conduct merited the most condign punishment, and whose death can be regarded in no other light than as a public benefit. There is no reason to believe that the death of Douglas was a premeditated action, for, to say nothing of other considerations, the designs of the king and his counsellors were likely to be injured rather than promoted by a deed which was calculated to shock public feeling, and to precipitate that struggle between the crown and the aristocracy, which it was the interest of the crown to delay till some more favourable opportunity. It was evident that the overgrown power of the house of Douglas would not be diminished by taking the life of its chief, when he had four surviving brothers, men of courage and ability, to inherit his vast influence and estates, and to lead his followers and vassals. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this lamentable deed was the result of sudden passion, not of preconcerted treachery and bad faith; though it is by no means improbable that the king and his councillors had determined, if Douglas proved intractable, to detain him a prisoner, and perhaps even to bring him to trial for his manifold crimes against the state.

The murder of Douglas was immediately followed

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 100—103. *Achinleck Chronicle*, p. 47.

by a fierce struggle between the royal party and the friends and vassals of the unfortunate baron. The four brothers, who were then in the town of Stirling, on learning the fate of the earl, instantly assembled themselves along with Lord Hamilton and other friends of their family, and recognized James, the eldest of the four, as his successor in the earldom. The new earl exhorted the assembly to attack the castle of Stirling and revenge the blood of his murdered brother.* But his retainers and followers were of opinion that the fortress was too strong to be assaulted at that moment with any hope of success, and they agreed to meet in arms at Stirling on the 25th day of March. They accordingly collected their vassals and returned to Stirling on the day appointed, accompanied by six hundred barons and gentlemen, the supporters of the house of Douglas, and with the sound of horns and trumpets proclaimed King James a false and perjured man. They then took the letter of safe conduct which had been granted to Earl William, and after exhibiting it publicly at the cross proceeded to nail it to a board and dragged it in scorn through the streets, at the tail of a miserable cart horse. After this bravado they pillaged and burnt the town of Stirling, but finding themselves still unable to attempt the siege of the castle they drew off their forces and retired to their own estates. †

Guided by the counsel of the experienced Bishop Kennedy, James endeavoured to separate Douglas from his adherents; and, by liberal promises of lands and honours, succeeded in inducing many, who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance, to give their strenuous support in this struggle to the royal authority, and the cause of order and good government. The king's most powerful adherent was the Earl of Huntley, the chief of the great family of Gordon, whom he promoted to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and entrusted with the task of putting down the rebellion of Crawford and Ross. Huntley immediately collected a numerous army, including the greater part of the northern barons, whom the promise of reward, or the hope of indemnity for past offences, attracted to the royal standard, and marching towards Stirling, he encountered the Earl of Crawford, who, at the head of his retainers and vassals, had taken post near Brechin, for the purpose of intercepting the royalist forces. The battle was fought on the 18th of May, 1452, at the Hair Cairn on the moor about two miles north-east of the town. The most determined

Battle of
Brechin, and
defeat of Crawford.

courage was displayed on both sides, and though the royalists far outnumbered their opponents, at one period the royal standard was in danger, and Crawford was on the point of gaining the victory. At this critical moment, providentially for the welfare of the country, the desertion of one of his most trusted vassals

turned the tide of battle, and caused the signal defeat of the Tiger Earl. This was John Collace of Balnamoon or Bonnymoon, the commander of the left wing of the Angus billmen, who, before the engagement, had requested Crawford to put his son in fee of the lands of Ferne, which lay near his house, and convenient for him. "The time is short," replied the earl; "stand bravely by me to-day, and prove yourself a valiant man, and you shall have all and more than you desire." Balnamoon, dissatisfied with this answer, which he regarded as an evasion of his claims, and, perhaps, also, as the historian of the Lindsays conjectures, having had some prior pique against the earl, during the heat of the conflict deserted to the enemy with his whole division, consisting of three hundred men, armed with bills, broad-swords, battle-axes, and long spears, on whom the earl chiefly relied, and in 'whose hands the hail hope of victory stood that day.' The centre of Crawford's army was thus left exposed and unprotected, and Huntley, seizing the opportunity, made a vigorous assault on the troops thus laid open, and put them to flight in spite of the frantic efforts of the Tiger Earl to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Sir John Lindsay of Brechin, and Pitcairle, brother of Crawford, Dundas of Dundas, with sixty other lords and gentlemen, were among the slain; while Huntley lost his two brothers, Sir William and Sir Henry Seton, and Gordon of Methlic, ancestor of the Earl of Aberdeen. The Tiger and his discomfited followers fled to his castle of Finhaven. A son of Donald, Thane of Cawdor, pursued the fugitives so fiercely that he became involved among the personal attendants of the earl, and found it necessary for his safety to pass for one of their number. On reaching the castle he heard with horror the oaths and blasphemies which poured from the lips of the savage baron, who, rendered furious by defeat, called for a cup of wine on alighting from his horse, and declared that he would willingly pass seven years in hell to gain the honour of such a victory as had that day fallen to Huntley.* The intruder sat at supper among the crowd in the great hall of the castle, when a false alarm was given that Huntley was upon them. In the terror and confusion caused by this announcement he effected his escape, carrying off with him Crawford's silver goblet, which he presented to Huntley at Brechin as a voucher for his strange adventure. †

The king lost no time in inflicting the penalties of treason upon the insurgent baron, and in reward-

* According to tradition the words used were, "He wd be content to hing seven years in hell by the breers o' the ee" (eyelashes).—Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 137.

† This adventurous youth is said to have been the ancestor of the Caldors of Assuanlee, an estate which the historian of the Gordons asserts to have been given him by Huntley, in reward of his daring—though it is probable that a former grant was only confirmed upon this occasion. He adds that "George, Duke of Gordon, had a cup made of silver and gold, and embossed as like to the original as a work could be, and gave it to this Mr. Calder of Assuanlee, to be kept in his family by him and his successors."—Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, vol. i. p. 71.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 103.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 47.

ing his victorious lieutenant-general for his important services on this occasion. The 'life, lands, and goods,' of Crawford 'were declared forfeit' to the state; his lordship of Brechin, with the hereditary sheriffdom of Aberdeen, were conferred upon Huntley; and while the armorial coat of the victor was honourably augmented, that of the rebel was torn, and his bearings abolished and 'scrapit out of the Book of Arms for ever.'*

Meanwhile the civil war between the royalists, and the partisans of the Douglas family, raged fiercely in other parts of the country. The Earl of Angus, though himself a chief of a younger branch of that house, espoused the cause of the king against his own kinsman. A similar course was followed by Sir John Douglas, of Dalkeith, who became on that account exceedingly obnoxious to the partisans of the head of the family. His castle of Dalkeith, a place of great strength, was besieged by them, and the adjacent town and villages ravaged and burned. But the garrison defended themselves with so much courage and resolution, that the assailants were ultimately compelled to raise the siege.† In other districts of the country, the operations of husbandry and the pursuits of trade and commerce, were completely interrupted by these bloody feuds, and life and property were alike rendered insecure. In the north, the Earl of Moray, one of the brothers of Douglas, sought to take vengeance on Huntley, for his overthrow of the Earl of Crawford, by burning his castle of Strathbogie and ravaging his estates. Huntley himself, who was recalled to the north by this disastrous intelligence, was afterwards surprised by Moray, and lost a considerable number of his followers in a morass, called Dunkinty.‡ In revenge for this outrage the Gordons invaded the fertile district of Moray, and after laying it waste with fire and sword, razed to the ground that half of the city of Elgin which belonged to the friends of the Earl of Moray;§ while the Tiger Earl of Crawford, exasperated by his defeat at Brechin, spoiled the lands and destroyed the houses of the king's friends in Angus, taking terrible revenge on all who had either refused to support him, or had deserted his banner in the recent engagement.

The Earl of Douglas meanwhile, not contented with having inflicted upon the country all the miseries of civil war, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the English government, then in the hands of the faction of the Yorkists, and promised to swear homage to the

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 100—107.

† Ibid. p. 104.

‡ This repulse gave rise to a jeering song, which ran thus:—

"Where did you leave your men,
Thou Gordon so gay?
In the bog of Dunkinty,
Mowing the hay."

§ Hence the proverb, when a thing is imperfectly finished, that it is 'Half done, as Elgin was burned.'

English king as his lawful sovereign.* On receiving intelligence of these intrigues, the king, by the advice of the sagacious Kennedy, resolved to adopt prompt and vigorous measures for the punishment of Douglas and his accomplices, and for this purpose a meeting of the Three Estates was assembled at Edinburgh on the twelfth of June, 1452. In this parliament the sentence of forfeiture against the Earl of Crawford was ratified and confirmed, 'his gudis and gear confiscat, his landis dealt, and his name abolished and blotted out of the buik of arms for evir.' The Earls of Douglas, Moray, and Ross; James, Lord Hamilton; and John, Lord Balveny, were summoned to appear before the parliament on a certain day to answer for the crimes laid to their charge. During the night, however, previous to the day appointed for their appearance, a paper, signed with the names of the Earl of Douglas, his brothers, and Lord Hamilton, was affixed to the church doors, declaring that they would not obey the summons; and renouncing their allegiance to the king as a murderer, a perjured prince, a violator of the laws of hospitality, and an 'ungodly thirster after innocent blood, without just quarrel or occasion.†

James was highly incensed at this gross insult, and took immediate and vigorous measures to inflict condign punishment on those who had thus openly defied his authority. A solemn deed was unanimously passed by the parliament, declaring that the late Earl of Douglas was at the time of his death an avowed enemy to his sovereign, and in a state of open rebellion, and that, in such circumstances, it was lawful for the king to put him to death.‡ The earldom of Moray, forfeited by Archibald Douglas, was bestowed upon Sir James Crichton, the eldest son of the chancellor, who had claims upon it by marriage. Lord Hay, Constable of Scotland, a zealous supporter of the king in his struggle with the Douglasses, was rewarded with the earldom of Errol. Sir George Crichton, of Cairnes, was created Earl of Caithness; the dignity of lords of parliament was bestowed upon Hepburn of Hailes, Boyd, Fleming, and other loyal barons and Lord Campbell, and his son, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir David Hume, Sir Alexander Home, and Sir James Keir, were rewarded with grants from the crown lands, and the forfeited estates of the rebel barons. After taking these steps to encourage his friends, and to intimidate and weaken his enemies, the king proceeded to issue a summons for the assembling of an army on the moor of Pentland, near Edinburgh, with the intention of invading the estates of the insurgents, and compelling their submission. The summons was cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and their retainers, that in a short time the king found him

Meeting of parliament at Edinburgh.

Douglas renounces his allegiance.

Vigorous measures adopted by the king.

* Lesley, pp. 23, 24.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 109.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 73.

self at the head of an army of thirty thousand men.

Accompanied by this powerful force James ^{Submission of} marched in person against the Douglas. Earl of Douglas, through Ettrick forest, Annandale, and Galloway, 'burning the corns and harrying the countrie' of this arch-rebel, who did not venture to meet his sovereign in the field.* At length, when the royal army appeared before Douglas castle, the earl, by the advice of his chief vassals and supporters, laid down his arms, and implored the clemency of the king. James, who was fiery and impetuous in his temper, but not vindictive, readily extended his forgiveness to the insurgent chief and his retainers, upon certain conditions, which were formally specified in a written bond. In this deed, which was subscribed by the earl with his own hand, and solemnly sworn to on the holy gospels, he bound and obliged himself to abstain from any attempt, direct or indirect, by law or any other manner of way, to obtain possession of the earldom of Wigton, or the lordship of Stewarton, forfeited by the late earl; and in his own name and in that of his brother and Lord Hamilton, he engaged to remit and forgive all manner of rancour of heart, feud, malice, and envy, which they had entertained against any of the king's subjects, and more especially against those who were art and part in the slaughter of William Earl of Douglas, his brother, and promised, 'at the ordinance and advyce of his sovereigne lord,' to take such persons 'in heartlines and friendship.' He next obliged himself 'to allow his tenants and rentallers to remain unmolested in their farms till Whitsunday come a year,' except those tenants who occupied the granges and farm 'steadings,' which were in the hands of Earl William at the time of his decease, for his own proper use; but even these were to be permitted to remain upon their farms till the ensuing Whitsunday. The earl also became bound to dissolve all the leagues and bonds into which he had entered against his sovereign, and to enter into no more illegal confederacies in time to come; he engaged to bring no claim against the king for any rents which he or the queen might have levied in Douglasdale or Galloway, and to make reparation for all the injuries which had been done to the persons who enjoyed letters of protection; and, finally, he bound himself to maintain and defend the Borders, to keep the truce between England and Scotland to the best of his ability, and to pay to his sovereign lord the king all honour and worship, 'he having such surety as was reasonable for safety of his life.†

Having thus succeeded in restoring the southern districts of the country to a state of comparative quiet and security, the king undertook an expedition to the north, accompanied by his privy councillors and a strong body of troops. As the royal procession advanced through Angus, the Tiger

Earl of Crawford suddenly presented himself before the king, bareheaded and bare-footed, and clad in miserable apparel, and throwing himself at his sovereign's feet, confessed his treasons, and implored the royal forgiveness. His earnest petition for mercy was powerfully supported by Bishop Kennedy and the Chancellor Crichton, by whose advice Crawford had made his submission in this humble guise, and the king moved by the penitence of the offender and their intercession in his behalf, granted him a full pardon. He assured the earl that he desired neither 'lands, lives, goods, nor gear' of his barons, but their hearts and friendship, and that he wished no other vengeance for his repeated treasons than the sight of his penitence and submission. He, therefore, freely forgave him and his associates all their offences against the royal authority, and restored them to their honours and estates.* The stubborn heart of the rude chief seems to have been powerfully affected by the wise and generous conduct of his sovereign. At the head of a chosen company of the barons and gentry of Angus, he accompanied the king in his future progress to the north, and on his return in the following month, he entertained him with great magnificence at his castle of Finhaven. It is said that James had sworn to make the highest stone of the earl's castle the lowest; and that on the occasion of his visit to Finhaven, he climbed to the top of the battlements, and throwing a stone, which was lying loose there, down into the moat, thus accomplished his vow, if not in the spirit, strictly in the letter.† The king had no reason to regret his clemency to the Tiger Earl, for from this time till the period of his decease he continued a loyal subject and a firm supporter of the cause of order and good government. On this account, his death, which took place from fever, six months after his restoration to the royal favour, was regretted both by the king and the nation.

Meanwhile, it soon became apparent that the submission of the Earl of Douglas had not been sincere, and that the peace which had been patched up between the king and that factious and turbulent chief was not likely to be of long continuance. The power of Douglas was already too great for a subject, and he had recently obtained from the pope a dispensation for his marriage with the heiress of Galloway, the widow of his deceased brother, and had thus united in his person the immense entailed and unentailed estates of the family. He had also renewed his treasonable negotiations with the Yorkist party, who had now obtained the supremacy in the government of England, and received from them the promise of an immediate supply of money and of troops, on

^{Submission of}
the Earl of
Crawford.

^{Renewal of the}
contest between
the king and
the Douglasses.

* Pitseottie, vol. i. p. 113—123.

† In Goodcroft's time, nearly two hundred years afterwards, this stone was still preserved at Finhaven, secured with an iron chain.

* Pitseottie, vol. i. p. 109.

† Tytler, vol. iv. Illustration E.

condition that he and his associates should take the oath of homage to the English crown. At this critical emergency, the royal cause received a severe blow from the death of the sagacious and experienced Crichton, who died at the castle of Dunbar in the end of the year 1454; and the aspect of affairs was so threatening, that it is said to have been a question in the king's mind whether he should abide the conflict or retire to France.

On hearing of the formidable army which the Douglasses were assembling, and the number and power of the barons who had espoused their cause, James, in great perplexity and alarm, repaired with all speed to St. Andrews to ask counsel of Bishop Kennedy in this hour of need. The prudent counsel of mode in which the prudent prelate Bishop Kennedy tendered his advice to his youthful sovereign is related by the venerable Pitscottie in the following simple and graphic terms:—"The bishop was ane wyse and godlie man and answered the king in this manner as after follows, saying, 'Sir, I beseech your grace that ye take a little meat to refresh your and I will pass to my orature and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realme and countrie.' This being spoken the king passed to his disjoine and the bishop to his orature to make his prayer to Almighty God to open his mouth, to give him knowledge and utterance, to give that noble prince who was destitute and comfortless of all good counsel, that he might give him instruction and learning how he should escape that great perrel and danger apparentlie to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace be the hand and led him to his orature, beseeiking him to make his earnest prayers to the Almighty that he would strengthen him with his Holy Spirit, that he might with ane bold courage resist his enemies who were risen against him contrair the commandement of God and commonwealth of the countrie, beseeiking God of his mighty power and grace that he would grant him victorie of these conspirators and rebellors who were risen against him, but (without) any cause made be him, and speciallie that he would grant him the upper hand of the Earle of Douglas, and his complices, like as he had done before against him and his oppressors when they oppressed the commonwealth of the countrie. This being done, the king passed in this manner to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop seeing the king desolate of good counsel and dispaired of good hope or success of any victorie to fall to him contrair his enemies, caused him to pass into his studie, or secret house, where his bowes and arrowes lay, with other sundrie jewels of the said bishop's. Then the bishop let this noble prince see ane similitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might invade against the uproar of the conspirators, and speciallie against the Earle of Douglas and the leave (rest) of his complices. The said bishope pulled out ane great sheaffe of arrows,

knit together in ane quhange of leather and delyvered them to the king in his hand and bade him set them to his knee and break them. The king answered, 'It is impossible, because thair is so manie together of the said arrowes, and knit so fast with leather that no man can break them at once.' The bishop answered and said, 'That is true, but yet he would let the king see that he could breake them,' and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all, and said unto the king, 'Sir, ye must evin doe in this manner with your barons that have risen against you, which are so many in number, and knit so fast together against you in conspiracy, that ye on no ways can get them broken. But be this practick that I have shoven you be the similitude of thir arrowes, that is to say, ye must conquer and break by lord and lord be himsele, for ye may not deal with them all at once: and farder, make ane proclamatioun out through your realme to all theiffes and traitouris, and all them that have offendit against you, to grant them free remissione to be good men in time coming, and now to serve your grace at this instant time in your necessitie. The which being done, I trust your grace shall get more favour, nor shall your contrair partie.' The king hearing this wyse counsel took courage, and maid his proclamatiounes as forsaid is in all pairts of his realme to the effect forsaid."*

Acting upon this sagacious advice, James caused private representations to be made to some of the most powerful of the adverse party, pointing out the danger which must arise, not only to the independence of the crown, but to the peace and welfare of the country and to their own interests, from the ambition and overgrown power of the Douglas family; and made liberal promises to those who, in this moment of extremity, should abandon their cause, and join the party of the sovereign. Induced by these promises and expectations, as well as by the dread of the overwhelming predominance of the Douglasses, many of the most powerful of the barons rallied round the crown, and the king soon found himself at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. With this force he marched into Douglasdale and Avondale, laying waste, with fire and sword, the estates of the Earl of Douglas and Lord Hamilton, and, by threats of immediate and condign punishment, compelled the barons and gentry of the disaffected districts to renew their allegiance and join his banner. His lieutenants, the Earls of Orkney and Angus, then laid siege to the strong castle of Abercorn, on the Frith of Forth, belonging to the Earl of Douglas. For a whole month this fortress resisted the utmost efforts of the besiegers, though battered by powerful engines, and especially by a large cannon, which was directed by a French engineer; but, at length, it was taken by assault, and the leaders of the garrison hanged. Meanwhile, Douglas, and his kinsman and ally Lord Hamilton, having collected a numerous and highly-disciplined army,

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 123—130, note.

advanced to the relief of the beleaguered fortress. A battle appeared to be inevitable, and the situation and character of the two parties left no doubt that it would be desperately contested, and that the result would be decisive. But the Bishop of St. Andrews had already opened a secret negotiation with the allies and vassals of Douglas, and addressed himself so successfully to their hopes and fears, that some of the most powerful of their number were gained over to the royal cause.

The representations of the sagacious prelate produced a deep impression upon the mind of his kinsman, Lord Hamilton, who commanded a chosen body of three hundred horse, and as many infantry, in the army of Douglas. But although this powerful baron returned a favourable answer to the overtures of the prelate, he was sincerely attached to the cause of Douglas, and hesitated to abandon him at this critical conjuncture. Meanwhile, the king sent a herald to the rebel army, charging them to disperse, under the pains of treason; but at the same time promising pardon to all who should lay down their arms. To this message Douglas returned a scornful answer, and immediately caused his trumpets to sound; and placing his troops in battle array, marched forward to encounter the royal army. Imagining, however, that the proclamation of the king had produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of his followers, and made them waver in their adherence to his cause, he resolved to delay the engagement till next day, and accordingly led his troops back into his camp, hoping to re-animate their drooping courage, and to inspire them with greater confidence and zeal. But this injudicious movement had a most unfavourable effect on his most powerful adherents, who saw in this wavering and undecided conduct a proof of the unfitness of the earl to conduct so perilous an enterprise. Douglas had no sooner entered his tent, than Hamilton came to expostulate with him, and inquired whether it was his intention to fight, or not; assuring him that every day's delay would augment the royal forces, and diminish the number of his own adherents. Douglas contemptuously answered, 'If you are tired, you may depart when you please.' Hamilton straightway took the earl at his word, and that very night passed over to the king, with all the troops under his command. His example was so generally followed by the other insurgent chiefs, who had a high opinion of Hamilton's prudence and sagacity, that before morning the camp of Douglas was almost entirely deserted, and scarcely one hundred men remained in it, besides his own household troops and immediate dependents.* The unfortunate baron, thus abandoned by his friends, and exposed to the unmitigated vengeance of the king, hastily broke up his encampment, and fled to the wilds of Annandale, where, for a time, he eluded the pur-

suit of his enemies. Hamilton, whose desertion of Douglas had mainly contributed to his overthrow, for the sake of appearances, was committed to prison for a short time at Roslin, and was put under the charge of the Earl of Orkney; but he was soon released, and rewarded for his services to the royal cause with large grants from the forfeited estates.

James followed up his success by vigorous measures for the complete overthrow of the house of Douglas, and the establishment of the royal authority throughout the kingdom. At the head of a powerful army, he marched through the western and southern districts of the country, and, after a slight resistance, reduced the various strongholds which Douglas and his adherents had fortified against the government. Douglas castle itself, with the strong fortresses of Strathavon, Thrieve, Lochendorb, and Tarnaway, were in this way successively taken and dismantled. Douglas had in the meantime fled into England, but his three brothers, the Earls of Ormond and Moray, and Lord Balveny, remained on the borders, and succeeded in collecting a numerous army of their own retainers, and other lawless marauders, with which they plundered and laid waste the country. They were encountered at Arkinholme, on the river Esk, by the Earl of Angus, at the head of a powerful force, composed of the Scotts, Maxwells, Johnstons, and other borderers, who had been lately numbered among the vassals of Douglas, but now abandoned his sinking cause, and hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of the victorious party.† After a desperate conflict, the insurgents were totally routed. The Earl of Moray was slain in the action; Ormond was wounded and taken prisoner, and shortly after executed; and of the brothers of Douglas, Balveny alone made his escape into England. James, who at the time this action was fought was prosecuting the siege of Abercorn, received the first intimation of this signal victory from a soldier, who laid at his feet the bleeding head of the Earl of Moray. 'He was received by the king,' says Pitscottie, 'with very great thanks.'

James having thus triumphed over the formidable rebellion, which had menaced not merely the independence, but the very existence of his throne, returned to the capital to meet his parliament, * The prominent part taken by the Earl of Angus in the overthrow of the elder branch of his family, gave rise to a popular saying, founded on the different complexion of the two branches of the house of Douglas, 'That the Red Douglas had put down the Black.'

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† Various charters exist conferring grants of land on Sir Walter Scott, the ancestor of the Duke of Buccleuch, and on the Beattisons, and other clans, for their services in the battle of Arkinholme.

‡ Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. p. 136. According to Pitscottie, the earl himself was present at the battle of Arkinholme, and, along with his brother, very narrowly escaped through a wood; but in the letter of James to Charles VII. of France, giving an account of the overthrow of the rebels, it is stated, that Douglas had shortly before fled to England with only four or five attendants.—See Pinkerton, vol. i.—Appendix, p. 486.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 131—133, note.

which had been summoned to assemble there in the month of June, 1455. In this meeting of the national council, the Earl of Douglas, his mother, Beatrice, Countess of Douglas, and his

brothers, Archibald, Earl of Moray, who had fallen at Arkinholme, and John Douglas of Balveny were declared traitors, and their estates and offices were forfeited to the crown. The seals of the bishops, earls, and barons who sat in the parliament, and of the burgh of Haddington, in the name of the whole body of the commissioners of the burghs, were appended to the instrument of forfeiture, in order to give additional weight and solemnity to the sentence. After having thus directed the vengeance of the laws against the arch-rebel and his family, the parliament proceeded, on the fourth of August, to adopt measures for strengthening the authority of the crown, and providing for the defence of the kingdom, with the view of preventing the dilapidation of

the royal revenues. It was first of all declared that "since the poverty of the crown is oftentimes the cause of the poverty of the realm, and of many other inconveniences which it would be tedious to enumerate, it had been ordained, by the advice of the full council of parliament, that there should be from this time appointed certain lordships and castles in every part of the realm, where, at different periods of the year, the sovereign may be likely to take up his residence; which were to belong, in perpetuity, to the crown, never to be settled or bestowed, either in fee or franctenure upon any person whatever, however high his rank or estate, except by the solemn advice and decree of the whole parliament, and under circumstances which affected the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom." As an additional security against the alienation of the crown lands, it was further declared, "that, even if the present monarch or any of his successors should alienate or convey away to any person the lordships and castles which were the property of the crown, such a transaction, being contrary to the will of parliament, should not stand good in law; but that it should be permitted to the king for the time being to resume these lands into his own hands without the solemnity of any intervening process of law; and not only to resume them, but to insist that those who had unjustly occupied those royal estates should refund the whole rents and profits which they had received, till the period of their resumption by the crown." And that every possible precaution might be taken to prevent the violation of this solemn demand, it was finally enacted, "that the present king and his successors should be obliged to take an oath that they shall keep this statute and duly observe it in every particular."

After this enactment, a particular account is given of the lands and revenues belonging to the crown. Mention is first of all made of the customs of the kingdom, as they stood at the death of James I. Then follows a specific enumeration of the crown lands, among which we find the lordship of Etrick

Forest and the principality of Galloway, which had formed part of the extensive domains of the family of Douglas; the remainder of the forfeited estates of that formidable house having been divided among the nobles who assisted in suppressing the rebellion. The other chief territories recorded as belonging to the crown are the castle of Edinburgh, with the lands of Ballincrieff and Gosford, and all the other estates pertaining to the king within the sheriffdom of Lothian—the castle of Stirling, with the lands connected with it—the castle of Dunbarton, with the lands of Cardross, Roseneath and the pension from Cadyow, with the pension of the "ferme meill" of Kilpatrick—the whole earldom of Fife, with the palace of Falkland—the earldom of Strathern, with the rights belonging to it—the house and lordship of Brechin, with the services and superiority of Cortachy—the castles and lordships of Inverness and Urquhart, with the water mails, or rents, due for the fishings of Inverness—the lordship of Abernethy and the several baronies of Urquhart, Glenorchane, Bonnechen, Bonochar, Annache, Edderdail, Peety, Brachly and Strathern; and lastly, Redcastle, in the south-east of Rosshire, with the appended lordship of Ross.

It was also provided by the parliament, that all the regalities which at this time belonged to the king should be inalienably annexed to the royalty; and that in future no regalities should be granted without the sanction of the parliament. It was decreed that the important office of warden of the Borders, which had long been held by the house of Douglas, should henceforth cease to be hereditary; and that the wardens should have no jurisdiction in cases of treason, except where these were out of breach of the truce. It was also ordained that in future "no office should be given in fee or heritage, whilst such as had been so disposed of since the death of the late king were revoked and abolished; due care being taken that any price or consideration which had been advanced by the possessor should be restored"—a judicious and most important statute, which struck at the root of a grievous abuse, and was calculated to diminish the exorbitant power of the nobility. An exception, however, was made in favour of the wardenship of the march, bestowed upon the second son of the king, Alexander, Earl of March, and Lord of Annandale.* Various enactments were also passed for the arrest of false coiners and *sorners*, or sturdy vagrants, who were to be punished as thieves or robbers; and it was provided that for the settlement of petty suits a council of eight or twelve persons, according to the size of the town, should be appointed by the privy council. A curious sumptuary statute followed, prescribing with great minuteness of detail the particular dresses to be worn respectively by earls, lords of parliament commissaries of burghs, and advocates, or 'fore-speakers' at all meetings of parliament and general councils, under a heavy penalty to the king.†

At an adjourned meeting of the parliament, held

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 43. † Ibid

Forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas and his mother and brothers.

Enumeration of the crown lands and revenues.

at Stirling, on the 13th of October, preparations were made for the defence of the kingdom against any sudden invasion 'of their auld enemies of England,' and it was directed that watchmen should be stationed at all the fords of the Tweed between Roxburgh and Berwick, whose duty it was to give notice of the enemy, by lighting a beacon. Regulations were also enacted regarding the number of beacon-fires that were to be kindled, to make known the strength of the invading force, and the certainty or uncertainty of its approach. And minute arrangements were made, prescribing

Regulations for the defence of the Borders.

the manner in which the inhabitants, not only of the border-districts and of Lothian, but also of

Fife and Stirling, should be warned of the invasion. A subsequent statute ordered a guard of two hundred bowmen, and an equal number of spearmen, to be maintained on the east and west marches, at the expense of the Border lords; and a force of one hundred bows and one hundred spears, to be kept up for the defence of the west marches; while strict injunctions were issued to the Border barons to have their castles well garrisoned and provisioned, and their vassals in readiness to join the force under the command of the warden. The abstraction of any part of the general booty captured during a warden march, or invasion of England by the warden in person, or any theft of the plunder, or the prisoners belonging to the leaders or their men, was forbidden under the severest penalties; and it was declared that any person who should furnish supplies to the English garrisons of Roxburgh or Berwick, or give warning to the English of an intended invasion of the Scots, or undertake a private journey into England, without the king's or the warden's safe conduct, should be punished as a traitor, with the loss of life and estate.*

Meanwhile the tranquillity of the country was again threatened by the Earl of Douglas, who, after the battle of Arkinholme, had renewed his alliance with John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. This ocean prince, in consequence of the remoteness and inaccessibility of his territories, had hitherto escaped the vengeance which had fallen so heavily on his confederates, and he was now induced by Douglas to make another attempt to overturn the Scottish throne. Having collected a force of five thousand men, he embarked them on board a fleet of a hundred galleys, and gave the command of the whole to his near kinsman, Donald Balloch, Lord of Isla. This powerful chief, who had

Donald Balloch invades the western coast of Scotland.

great influence not only in Scotland but in the north of Ireland, entered readily into the projects of Douglas, and, animated by hereditary antipathy against the royal family, he

undertook a predatory incursion against the western coast of Scotland, and laid waste the country from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumrays, and the is-

land of Arran. But, owing to the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders, the main object of the expedition was frustrated, and the loss sustained was by no means so great as might have been expected. In the words of a contemporary chronicler, "There was slain of good men, fifteen; of women, two or three; of children, three or four. The plunder included five or six hundred horse, ten thousand oxen and kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats. At the same time they burned down several mansions in Innerkip around the church, harried all Arran, stormed and levelled with the ground the castle of Brodick, and wasted with fire and sword the islands of the Cumrays. They also levied tribute upon Bute, carrying away a hundred bolls of malt, a hundred marts,* and a hundred marks of silver.† The expedition concluded by a fierce attack on Lauder, Bishop of Lismore, a son of the baron of Balcomy, in Fife, who was obnoxious to the rude islanders, both as a stranger and as a supporter of the royal cause. The unfortunate prelate, who had three years before been plundered and maltreated by the rude inhabitants of his diocese, on the present occasion narrowly escaped with his life, while the greater part of his attendants were savagely murdered.‡

After the failure of the expedition of Donald Balloch, the Earl of Douglas returned to England, where he was cordially welcomed by his ally, the Duke of York, who, in consequence of the imbecility of Henry VI., was at this time regent of the kingdom, and received from him, as the reward of his services, the grant of an annual pension of five hundred pounds, "to be continued to him until he should be restored to his possessions, or to the greater part of them, by the person who then called himself the King of the Scots."§ Justly indignant at the gross insult, James sent a spirited remonstrance to the English monarch, complaining of the encouragement given by his government to a convicted traitor like Douglas, and warning him of the danger which he incurred by this attempt to foster rebellion, and to disturb the tranquillity of a friendly state.||

These representations, however, seem only to have had the effect of provoking the Yorkist faction to offer still farther indignities to the Scottish king; and, in reply to his letter, they transmitted to him the following foolish and insolent epistle:—"The king, to an illustrious prince, James, calling himself King of Scotland, sends greeting. We presume it to be equally acknowledged and notorious, that fealty and homage are due by the King of Scots to the King of England, upon the principle that it becomes a vassal to pay such homage

The Earl of Douglas protected and encouraged by the Yorkists.

Extraordinary letter to the King of Scotland.

* Cattle intended for winter consumption.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 51.

§ Rymer, Foed. vol. xi. p. 367.

|| Ibid. vol. xi. p. 383.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, pp. 44, 45.

to his superior and overlord; and that from times of so remote antiquity that they exceed the memory of man, even to the present day, we and our progenitors, kings of England, have possessed such rights, and you and your ancestors have acknowledged such a dependence. Wherefore, such being the case, whence comes it that the subject hath not scrupled insolently to erect his neck against his master? And what, think ye, ought to be his punishment, when he spurns the condition, and endeavours to compass the destruction of his person? With what sentence is treason generally visited? Or have you been so ignorant of all things as not to be aware of the penalties which await the rebel, and him who is so hardy as to deny his homage to his liege superior? If so, we would exhort you speedily to inform yourself upon the matter, lest the lesson should be communicated by the experience of your own person, rather than by the information of others. To the letters which have been presented to us by a certain person calling himself your lion-herald and king-at-arms, and which are replete with all manner of folly, insolence, and boasting, we make this brief reply:— It hath ever been the custom of those who fight rather by deceit than with open arms, to commit an outrageous attack, in the first instance, and then to declare war; to affect innocence, and shift their own guilt upon their neighbours, to cover themselves with the shadow of peace, and the protection of truces; whilst beneath this veil they are fraudulently plotting the ruin of those they call their friends. To such persons, whose machinations we cordially despise, it seems to us best to reply by actions. The repeated breaches of faith, therefore, which we have suffered at your hands; the injury, rapine, robbery, and insolence, which have been inflicted upon us, contrary to the rights of nations, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, shall be passed over in silence, rather than committed to writing; for we esteem it unworthy of our dignity to attempt to reply to you in your own fashion, by slanders and reproaches. We would desire, however, that in the mean season you should not be ignorant that, instead of its having the intended effect of inspiring us with terror, we do most cordially despise this vain confidence and insolent boasting, in which we have observed the weakest and most pusillanimous persons are generally the greatest adepts; and that you should be aware that it is our firm purpose, with the assistance of the Almighty, to put down and severely chastise all such insolent, rebellious, and arrogant attempts, which it hath been your practice contumeliously to direct against us. Wishing, nevertheless, with that charity which becomes a Christian prince, that it may please our Lord Jesus Christ to reclaim you from error, into the paths of justice and truth, and to inspire you for the future with a spirit of more enlightened judgment and counsel, we bid you farewell.*

This extraordinary letter, which furnishes an

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xi. p. 383.

amusing specimen of the boasting which it professes to condemn, was followed by the renewal of hostilities on the Borders; and a desolating warfare was carried on between the two countries, which inflicted severe injuries upon both, and led to no important results. The Scottish monarch having received information from the borderers, that the important town of Berwick was weakly garrisoned, and might easily be taken by surprise, collected a numerous army, and made a rapid and secret march to the frontier. But an English fugitive, who had come into Scotland protected by a safe conduct, and had bound himself by an oath not to retire without the royal permission, broke faith with the king, and contrived to make his escape and to give the alarm. So that when James appeared before the town, he found the English on their guard, and was constrained to abandon the enterprise.*

About this period, Margaret, Countess of Douglas, widow of Earl William, who fell by the king's hand in Stirling castle, and wife of his successor, the banished earl, fled for protection to the Scottish court, and threw herself on the royal mercy, complaining of the misery which she had suffered from her forced and unnatural union with the brother of her first husband.† James, moved by her beauty and misfortunes, welcomed her with the utmost kindness and sympathy, and married her to his uterine brother, Sir John Stewart, on whom he soon afterwards conferred the earldom of Athol, and the forfeited barony of Balveny. The example of Margaret was followed by the Countess of Ross, the wife of the rebel earl of that name, and a daughter of Sir James Livingston, who implored the protection of the sovereign, against the harshness and cruelty of her husband, whom she had married through the persuasion of the king himself, in the hope that her influence might soften the disposition of the savage chief, and retain him in the royal interest. James received her with the courtesy due to her rank and claims, and assigned her an ample revenue for her maintenance.‡ About the same time, the Princess Annabella, sister to the king, whose intended marriage with Louis, the second son of the Duke of Savoy, had been broken off, returned to the Scottish court and was provided with a husband in George, second Earl of Huntley.

Meanwhile, the house of Lancaster having regained a temporary ascendancy in England, the warfare on the Borders began to languish, and the Scottish monarch, anxious to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to re-establish peace be-

* Letter of James to Charles VII. of France. Appendix to Pinkerton's History, vol. I. pp. 487, 488.

† She was the only sister of Earl William and his brother, who were murdered in Edinburgh castle, and inherited their immense estates. Before her marriage she was known by the name of the Fair Maiden of Galloway.

‡ Buchanan, book xi. chap. xiv.

Renewal of hostilities with England.

The Countesses of Douglas and Ross throw themselves on the king's mercy.

tween the two countries, sent the Abbot of Inchure, Lord Graham; Vaux, Dean of Glasgow, and Mr. George Fala, burghess of Edinburgh, as his commissioners, to the English government, to negotiate

A truce concluded between England and Scotland.

a truce, which was ultimately concluded for two years, terminating on the sixth of July, 1459. But notwithstanding this termination

of hostilities between the two kingdoms, the banished Earl of Douglas succeeded in assembling a considerable force, and, along with the Earl of Northumberland, made an inroad into the Merse of Berwickshire, and laid waste that fertile district

Defeat of the Earl of Douglas.

with fire and sword. He was at length encountered, and totally defeated by the Earl of Angus; a

thousand of the English were left on the field, and seven hundred were taken prisoners, and the merciless renegade was again compelled to take refuge in England. The Earl of Angus was rewarded for the important services he had rendered to the crown, by a grant of the lordship of Douglas, and the extensive estates appended to this dignity; and the numerous and powerful vassals of the Douglasses immediately recognized this rising noble as their chief. The imprudent liberality of the king thus

Extensive grants made to the Earl of Angus.

rendered the house of Angus nearly as powerful and as formidable as the elder branch of the family had long been to the inde-

pendence of the crown and the tranquillity of the kingdom. But probably the blame of this impolitic measure must be attributed not so much to the sovereign, as to the feudal constitution of the country, which left him no other way of securing the assistance and rewarding the services of the loyal barons, in the frequent struggles which took place between the aristocracy and the crown.

About this period, the tranquillity of the country was threatened by a dispute with the Norwegian

Dispute with Norway.

court, respecting the payment of the money due by the Scottish

king, for the Western Isles, and the little kingdom of Man. These islands had been purchased by Alexander III. in 1266, for the sum of five thousand marks, and in 1426, the treaty was renewed by James I., who agreed to continue the annual payment of a hundred marks to the Norwegian monarch. A complaint was now made by Christian, King of Norway, not only that a large amount of arrears was due, but that the Scottish authorities had violated the treaties between the two countries, by seizing and casting into prison the Lieutenant of Iceland, with his wife, and his attendants, who had been compelled by a storm to take refuge in one of the Orkney islands.* Fortunately for the welfare of both kingdoms, it was ultimately agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of their mutual friend and ally, Charles VII., of France; but his final decision was not pronounced till the year 1460.

The Scottish king thus freed from foreign quarrels and hostilities, devoted his attention to the important work of providing for the security of his kingdom, by cultivating the warlike character of his people, and carrying into effect various

Parliamentary enactments regarding the defence of the country, arms, the pestilence, &c.

parliamentary enactments for the defence of the Borders against the attacks of England. In a meeting of the national council held at Edinburgh, on the 19th of October, 1456, various enactments were passed respecting the defence of the country, the value of the current coin, the administration of justice, and the 'governance of the pestilence,' which it appears was now for the fifth time desolating the kingdom. It was ordained, that all the subjects of the realm, possessed of lands or goods, should provide themselves with armour and weapons, according to the value of their property, and that on the first intelligence of an invasion, all the males between the ages of sixteen and sixty should hasten to join the muster, except those who were unable from extreme poverty to furnish themselves with weapons. It was also ordered, that every man worth twenty marks should furnish himself at least with a jack and sleeves, close to the wrist, or a pair of splints, together with a prickit-hat, a sword and a buckler, a bow and a sheaf of arrows, if he can procure them; if not, he was to have an axe and a targe, made either of leather or of wood, with two straps in the inside. The proper officers were instructed to warn the inhabitants of every county to provide themselves with the proper weapons, and to attend the 'weapon-schawing,' or armed muster before the sheriffs, bailies, or stewards of regalities, on the morrow after the 'lawe days of Christmas.' A curious enactment followed, which we give in the words of the statute. "It is thought speedful that the king make request to certane of the great burrowis of the land, that are of ony might, that they make carts of war, and in ilk cart twa guns, and ilk ane to have twa chambers with the remanent of the graith (tackling), that afferis thairto, and ane cunning man to shoot them; and gif they have no craft (skill) in the shooting of them, they may learn or the tyme come that will be needful to them."* It was declared to be the opinion of the parliament, that the defence of the Borders did not require to be provided for this season at the public expense, as the inhabitants of these districts were better able to defend themselves than at any former time, while their enemies were worse provided than before, having suffered great losses in the war during this summer, and will, it is hoped, experience the same cost and labour in the summer which is approaching.† With regard to the pestilence which was now committing its fearful ravages in the kingdom, an attempt was made to prevent the spread of this dreadful scourge, by shutting up the people for a season within their houses. It was declared, that no person who had

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 45.

† Ibid.

* Torfæi Orcades, p. 184.

provision enough to maintain himself and his servants should be expelled from his own residence, unless he will not remain in it; but should he refuse to keep himself in his own dwelling, he was to be expelled from the town. Those who were too poor to maintain themselves, or to remove their families from the town, were to be supported at the expense of the citizens, so that they might not wander through the kingdom, and carry infection, or 'fyle the countre about thame.' It was also directed, that those who attempted to escape from the station where they had been shut up, should be brought back and punished, and compelled to remain in durance. The houses which had been deserted as infected, or in which the whole inhabitants had died, were not to be burned, unless this could be done without injury to the neighbouring tenements; and finally, the bishops were directed to make general processions throughout their dioceses twice in the week, for the stanching of the pestilence, and to grant indulgences to the priests who exposed themselves by walking in these processions.*

The parliament then proceeded to take into consideration the important subject of the money and coinage of the kingdom. A previous meeting of the Three Estates, held at Stirling, in the year 1451, had passed an act fixing the value of the coins, both foreign and domestic, then current in Scotland, but it appears that this value had been found to be too low, so that the merchants and traders, discovering that the coins were worth more than the price fixed by parliament, had kept them up and exported them to other countries. To put a stop to this exportation of the precious metals, which seems to have been viewed with great alarm by the statesmen of this period, an act was now passed raising considerably the value of the current coins both of foreign countries and of home coinage.† It was also provided that in time of fairs and public markets goods and wares of so small a bulk as to be carried to the fair, either in the arms or on the backs of men, or on barrows and sledges, should be exempted from imposts, but that a temporary tax should be levied upon the proprietors of merchandise of a larger quantity and value; which however was to be restored to them, provided they had committed no trespass, nor excited any disturbance during the continuance of the fair.‡

Soon after this, the clemency of the king was implored by John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, the associate of the Earls of Douglas and Crawford in their formidable conspiracy against the throne. This turbulent chief, now finding himself alone in rebellion, became alarmed for the consequences, and sent a submissive message to his sovereign, entreating forgiveness, and promising the most devoted loyalty and obedience for the future. To this application James returned an ambiguous answer, neither wholly forgiving the

suppliant nor yet shutting out all hope of pardon. "The Earl of Ross," he said, "did not deserve remission at his hands, for his many and aggravated offences against the state, but, as it became all men, especially kings and princes, to show mercy to the penitent, he was willing to extend forgiveness to the humbled rebel. It was the prerogative of God alone, however, to discern the inward thoughts and hearts of men; these could be made known to their fellow men only by outward tokens and signs. Now Ross had as yet given no proof of any change in his disposition. If therefore he wished his professions of penitence to be believed, he must evince his sincerity by repairing the injury done to the fortalices, villages, and towns which he had burned and destroyed, restoring the 'goods and gear' which he had plundered, and performing some notable exploit which might obliterate the memory of his former crimes." On these conditions he was to be absolved from the consequences of his rebellion, and reinstated in the royal favour.* By what 'notable exploit' the earl evinced the reality of his repentance has not been recorded, but his appointment, in 1457, to the important office of Warden of the Marches, and his presence in the royal army, three years later, at the siege of Roxburgh, with a body of three thousand of his vassals, sufficiently show that he had by some means or other succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the king.

A meeting of the national council was held at Edinburgh, on the sixth of March, 1458, and, after lengthened deliberation, enacted a considerable number of judicious and important laws. The regulations adopted by the previous parliament, respecting the supreme court of judicature, were revised, and it was decreed that the committees of parliament for the administration of justice should consist of nine members, three being chosen from each Estate, and that they should sit three times in the year, for forty days at a time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen; but it was unwisely and unjustly ordered that the judges should defray their own expenses.† The parliament next proceeded to take measures for the defence of the country, and ordered 'weapon-sehawings,' or military musters of the whole fighting population of a district, to be held four times in the year. In order to encourage the practice of archery, the games of foot-ball and golf were peremptorily forbidden, and strict injunctions were issued, that, adjoining to each parish church a pair of butts should be erected, where shooting should be practised every Sunday; that every man was to shoot six shots at the least, and that if any person refused to attend he was to be amerced in the fine of two pence, to be given to those who came to the bow-marks, for drinking. In every head town of the shire there were to be a good bow

The money and coinage of the kingdom.

consideration the important subject of the money and coinage of the realm.

Conditions of his pardon.

Regulations of parliament regarding the administration of justice, military musters, &c.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 46.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 47.

* Fittscottie, vol. i. pp. 142—144.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 48.

maker, and 'a fledger,' or arrow-maker, who were to be furnished by the town with the requisite materials for their trade, so that every man within the parish, between the ages of twelve and fifty, should be furnished with his weapons, and practise shooting. The next subject to which the estates directed their attention, was the alleged impoverishment of the realm, by the sumptuous dresses of men and women, and the necessity of a revision of the laws against immoderate costliness in apparel. A curious sumptuary law was passed, regulating the dresses which ought to be worn by the different classes of the community, and enjoining all men within burghs, that lived by merchandise, to take especial care to make their wives and daughters to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate.* Several praiseworthy statutes were enacted for the promotion of agriculture, and it was ordained that with regard to 'feu-farms' and other leases, the king should begin and set a good example to the rest of his barons, so that the tenants on estates in the hands of the crown, upon which leases had been granted, should not be removed, but remain upon the land, paying to the king the rent which had been stipulated during the currency of the lease. It was declared that all rights and privileges belonging to 'regalities' should be interpreted by the strictest law, and that every lord of regality, who abused his privileges, to the breaking of the king's laws and the injury of the country, should be rigorously punished.†

The parliament then proceeded to take into consideration the grievances arising out of the manner in which the itinerant chamberlain courts of the king were held, and peremptorily forbade the king's constables and other officers to levy any tax upon the merchants and tradesmen who brought their goods to market during the sitting of parliament, and of the session unless, the right of exaction belonged to the constable 'of fee,' for which he must show his charter.‡ The custom of entering into 'bands or leagues,' which had been productive of the most pernicious consequences to the prosperity of the country, was forbidden under the penalty of forfeiture of life and property. Lawless and 'wasteful persons' who seized other men's lands by force of arms were to be summarily expelled from the ground by the sheriff, or committed to the king's ward, on their refusal to obey his summons. All persons who attended the justice ayres or sheriff courts, whether barons, lords spiritual, or simple freeholders, were enjoined to come with their ordinary attendants, and to take care that on entering their inn or lodging they laid aside their harness and warlike weapons, using for the time nothing but their knives. When any persons at deadly feud happened to meet at such assemblies, —an incident which must have been of very frequent occurrence, the sheriff was directed to take pledges of both, binding them to keep the peace, and for the better maintenance of order among

the great and mixed multitude which assembled at the period when the courts were held, the king's justice was commanded to seek out and apprehend all wasteful beggars, all idle sorners, all itinerant bards, and feigned fools, and either to banish them from the country, or commit them to the common prison. Dyers were forbidden to buy or sell cloth; and for the purpose of restricting the multitude of sailors, it was decreed that no persons should be allowed to sail or trade in ships but such as were of good reputation and ability, who should have at least three serplaits of goods, either belonging to themselves, or entrusted to them by others; and that those who traded by sea in merchandise ought to be freemen and indwellers within burghs.*

It appears that the operations of husbandry were neglected amid the almost incessant feuds by which the kingdom was distracted; hence the parliament found it necessary to issue injunctions that certain quantities of wheat, pease, and beans should be regularly sown by every tenant possessed of a plough and of eight oxen, and by every baron in his own domain, under the penalty of ten shillings for each offence. In consequence of the disappearance of the woods and forests of the country, all freeholders, both spiritual and temporal, were recommended to make it a provision in their leases, that their tenants should plant woods and trees, make hedges, and sow broom in places best adapted for these purposes.† Stringent regulations were made for the preservation of partridges, plovers, wild ducks, and such other birds and wild fowls as 'are gainful for the sustentation of man;' while, on the other hand, encouragement was given to all manner of persons utterly to extirpate all 'fowls of reiff,' such as erns, buzzards, gleds, mytalls, rooks, crows, wherever they might be found to build and harbour, and the whole population of each district were commanded to assemble three times in the year to hunt the wolf and the fox. The well-known statute of James I. against leasing-making, or the crime of propagating false reports between the king and the people—an enactment which afterwards became in the hands of the government an instrument of great oppression, was re-enacted and confirmed; as were also the statutes of the same monarch respecting the non-attendance of the smaller freeholders in parliament; the use of one common measure throughout the kingdom; the restriction of 'muir-burning' after the month of March, till the corn had been cut down; and the publicity to be given to the acts of the legislature by the sheriffs and commissaries of burghs.

The enactments of this important meeting of the Estates concluded with a peroration remarkable for the affectionate spirit, and the tone of honest freedom by which it is pervaded. "Since," it declared, "God of his grace had sent our sovereign lord such progress and prosperity that all

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 50.

• Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 51.

his rebels and breakers of justice were removed out of his realm, and no potent or masterful party remained there to cause any disturbance, provided his highness was inclined himself to promote the peace and common profit of the realm, and to see equal justice distributed among his subjects; his Three Estates with all humility solicited and required his highness so diligently to devote himself to the execution of these acts and statutes above written that God may be pleased with him, and that all his subjects may address their prayers for him to God, and give thanks to their heavenly Father for his goodness in sending them such a prince to be their governor and defender.* It has been conjectured with great probability that in this solemn exhortation and prayer there is an allusion to the unjustifiable proceedings of James regarding the earldom of Mar, which had occasioned some unquiet surmisings in the minds of his nobility, that he possibly intended to imitate the designs of his father in seeking to augment the power of the crown at the expense of the rights and privileges of the aristocracy.†

In the short space of two years, the hopes so earnestly expressed by the estates were unhappily blighted, and Scotland was once more subjected to all the evils of a long minority. Amid his exertions to promote the peace and prosperity of his kingdom, James unwisely suffered himself to be entangled in the contests between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The faction of the Yorkists had exhibited, throughout, an inveterate antipathy to the Scottish king, and by their intrigues with the Douglasses, and other rebel barons, had done everything in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the country. On the other hand, the Lancastrians had shown the utmost anxiety to cultivate the friendship of James, and to maintain the peace between the two kingdoms. In the year 1459,

Secret treaty with Henry VI. Henry the Sixth, for a brief period, regained the ascendancy, and succeeded in expelling his enemy, the Duke of York, from the kingdom. Shortly before this event James had despatched an embassy to England for the purpose of conferring with the English monarch upon certain 'secret matters' affecting their mutual interest, and at a private conference between the English and Scottish commissioners, it was agreed that the counties of Northumberland and

Durham, along with some adjoining districts which were anciently the property of the Scottish crown, should be transferred to James, on condition that he should assist the English monarch in his contest with his domestic foes.* In fulfilment of the terms of this secret treaty, the Scottish king assembled a numerous army in James invades the, month of August, 1459, and England. breaking across the English frontier, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and in the short space of a week destroyed seventeen towns and fortalices.† Henry soon found that the presence of the Scottish army in England was calculated to injure rather than to assist his cause, and sent a message to the camp of James, to inform him that he trusted to be able, in a short time, to put down his enemies without requiring the assistance of his ally, and requesting him therefore to withdraw his forces into his own kingdom; a request with which James readily complied. ‡

On the retreat of the Scottish army, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury, Abortive expedition with other English nobles, led to the Duke of York. borders a body of more than forty thousand men; but owing to the dissensions amongst the leaders, they returned home without performing a single exploit.§ In the course of a few months, the civil war between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians broke out again with redoubled fury, and the desertion of the Duke of York by his army, at Ludlow, on the 14th of October, 1459, gave a temporary triumph to the party of the king. James lost no time in despatching the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, with the Abbots of Holyrood, Melrose, and Dunfermline, and the Lords Livingston and Avondale, as his ambassadors to the English court, to congratulate his ally on his success, and to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. But within the course of a few weeks the Yorkists gained a complete victory over their opponents, at Northampton, the unfortunate Henry was a second time taken prisoner, and the queen, with her son, Prince Edward, after many adventures, found refuge in Scotland.

James received the royal fugitives with the greatest cordiality, and treated them James prepares again to invade England. with the consideration due to their misfortunes and their rank. He immediately proceeded, in accordance with the terms of the recent treaty, to take measures for the assistance of his friend and ally, and with this view he issued writs for the assembling of an army, and commanded the Earl of Huntley, his lieutenant-general, to superintend the organization of the troops. The Scottish barons promptly obeyed the summons of a prince whom they respected and loved. Even John, the Lord of the Isles, eager to atone for his former crimes, and to prove himself worthy of the clemency and favour of his sovereign,

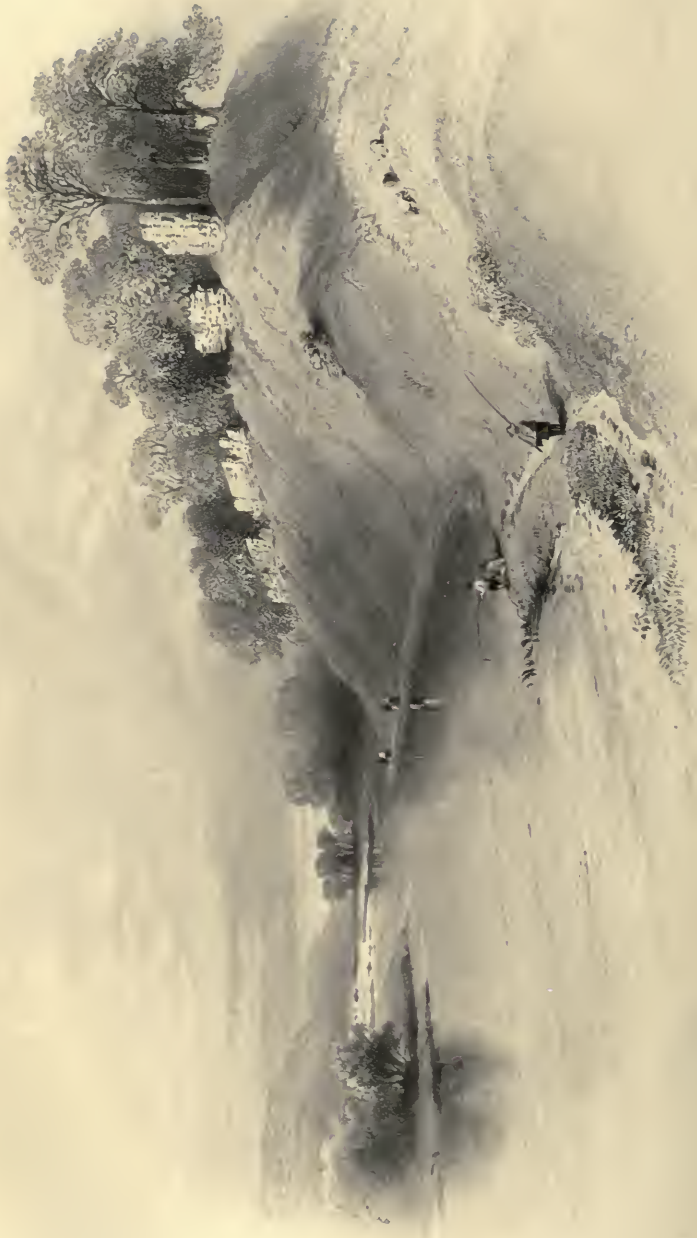
* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 52.
 † Tyler, vol. iv. p. 148. Since the death, in 1435, of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, this wealthy earldom had been made the subject of litigation, being claimed by the crown as *ultimus heres*, and by Robert Lord Erskine, the descendant of Lady Elyne Mar, sister of Donald, twelfth Earl of Mar, who was slain at the battle of Dupplin Moor (see ante, p. 193). There can be no doubt that the claim of Erskine was just and legal, but by a verdict given in 1457, which was founded upon a gross perversion both of the facts of the case and of the ancient law of the country, the earldom was wrested from the hands of its lawful possessor and awarded to the king. The Erskines did not regain their rights till the reign of Queen Mary, after the lapse of 130 years, during which the earldom had been enjoyed by four earls of different families. Douglas's Peerage, p. 467. See ante, p. 263.

* Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 20.

† Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 57.

‡ Tyler, vol. iv. p. 136.

§ Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 57.



ROXBURGH CASTLE.

appeared in the royal camp with a powerful body of his vassals, armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, and offered to take the vanguard of the army, and to march a mile before the main body, in their intended invasion of England, so as to encounter the danger of the first onset.* James, finding himself at the head of a powerful force, well provided with cannon and other warlike machinery, resolved to commence his campaign by attempting the reduction of the

Lays siege to Roxburgh castle.

important border fortress of Roxburgh, which had remained in the hands of the English since the

disastrous battle of Durham, and was now commanded by Lord Fauconberg, a relative of the famous Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, and the main pillar of the cause of the Yorkists.† This castle was strongly situated on an eminence, near the junction of the Teviot and the Tweed; and James, finding that the garrison, confiding in the strength of the fortress, were determined to offer a most strenuous resistance, resolved to proceed by a regular siege. He therefore established, on the north bank of the river Tweed, a battery of such rude pieces of ordnance as were constructed at that time, and caused them to play upon the castle. After the siege had lasted some time the Earl of Huntley arrived, with a gallant body of fresh troops, and the king, who entertained a peculiar regard for his faithful adherent, in company with the Earl of Angus and others of the nobility, conducted him to see the battery. One of the pieces of artillery was a huge gun of Flemish manufacture, rudely constructed of iron bars, girded with metal hoops, which were made fast by strong oak wedges, and as the king was standing in its vicinity, watching the effect of the discharges, the clumsy piece, which through the ignorance of the engineer had been overcharged, suddenly burst, and one of the wooden wedges unfortunately striking the king

His death.

on the groin, broke his thigh, and killed him on the spot. The Earl

of Angus, who was standing by, was severely wounded at the same time.‡

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 158. + Pinkerton vol. i. p. 243.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 150. Lesley's Hist. p. 31.

Thus perished James II., in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. This calamitous event, which deprived the country of a sovereign

His character.

of remarkable talent and energy, in the prime of life, and exposed it to all the confusion and perils of a long minority, was deeply bewailed by all classes of the community. The combined wisdom and vigour which James displayed in the administration of public affairs—his zealous efforts to promote the agriculture and commerce of the country, and to protect the middle and lower classes of his subjects against the oppressions of the nobles—the success with which he had crushed the formidable rebellions that threatened the very existence of his throne,—the good sense which he displayed in choosing wise councillors, and in following their advice—the kindness of his disposition and the affability of his manners, gained him both the respect and esteem of his people, and entitled him to an eminent place on the roll of wise and good princes. That his natural temper was hasty and violent, was lamentably proved by his unjustifiable assassination of the Earl of Douglas; but his disposition was by no means implacable, and his clemency to the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles, in spite of their aggravated offences against his authority, sufficiently shows that he knew how to temper justice with mercy, and does equal honour to his judgment and to his heart. The person of James was vigorous and robust, and he is said to have excelled in manly and warlike exercises. His countenance was handsome and intelligent, but partly disfigured by a red spot which procured him among his contemporaries the name of 'James with the fiery face.' He left three sons—James, his successor; Alexander, Duke of Albany; and John, Earl of Mar; with two daughters—Mary, wedded to Lord Boyd, and subsequently to Lord Hamilton, and Margaret, who married Sir William Crichton, son of the Chancellor. Another son, named David, and a daughter, died in early infancy.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES THE THIRD.

1460—1488.

JAMES the Third was only seven years of age when the death of his father called him to the throne. His coronation, however, took place without delay. His mother, stifling her grief, to meet the sudden emergency in the spirit of the age, hastened with him to Roxburgh, where her chivalrous appeal to the troops, aided by the presence of their youthful sovereign, produced such an impression, that the siege was immediately renewed with enthusiasm; and the fortress surrendered, it is said, on the very day of her arrival in the camp. In the

Coronation of James III. crowned at Kelso* with the usual solemnities. The court then returned to Holyrood, to perform the funeral rites of the late king; and the army taking the field again, reduced Wark castle, and terminated with honour a campaign which had opened so disastrously. Soon after, the parliament met, and was numerously attended, both by the loyal and by the turbulent of the nobility; the former desirous to provide against, and the latter eager to profit by, the evils consequent on the tender age of the king. The administration of the government during his minority was the principal matter requiring attention; and it was not settled without controversies which nearly terminated in violence and bloodshed. The claim of the queen-mother to the regency, and the tutelage of her son, received the support of a considerable party; but many of the proud barons could not brook the idea of submitting to the sway of a woman, though high-born, energetic, and able, as Mary of Gueldres was. The dispute was ultimately

Appointment of a regency. Bishop of St. Andrews, with her in the guardianship of the young monarch, investing the Earl of Angus with supreme military power as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and adding a small cabinet council, selected from among the partisans on both sides.† This arrangement was probably the best that could have been adopted in the existing circumstances of the country. At all events it wrought well: and harmony being restored, the vigour of the queen, the wisdom of the prelate, and the high martial reputation of Angus, made the commencement of the new reign fair and promising.

It may be questioned whether peace with neighbouring countries conduces to the stability of the throne during a minority, when the elements of intestine discord in a nation are so numerous and active as they then

were in Scotland. But the rulers, at times, have scarcely the liberty of a choice. The wars of the Roses were still raging among the English with unabated virulence, and varying success. The late king had espoused the cause of the Lancastrians, and bound himself by a secret treaty to aid them against the house of York. The expedition in which he fell had been undertaken with this view, and his death drew the hearts of his mourning kinsmen and subjects with quickened sympathy towards Henry the Sixth. Nor had that feeble and unfortunate prince ever been in greater need of prompt and energetic assistance. The battle of Towton had terminated in the total defeat of his army, and compelled him to take refuge within the Scottish territories; where the spectacle of his misfortunes, and the influence of his high-spirited consort, Margaret of Anjou, made a powerful appeal in his favour, which he was prepared to confirm, by ceding to James the valuable frontier-towns of Berwick and Carlisle. Besides, Edward of York had been tampering with the loyalty of some of the Scottish nobles. By the aid of the exiled Douglas, he had induced the Earl of Ross, and others, to conclude a treaty with him, which contemplated the subjugation of Scotland under the English sceptre, and the investiture of the traitorous chiefs with the feudal sovereignty of the greater part of the realm.* In the face of all these considerations, Bishop Kennedy stood forward as the zealous advocate of peace. Convinced that the cause of Henry was well-nigh hopeless, and deprecating the expenditure of the national resources on a foreign war, when the authority of the new administration called loudly for support and enlargement at home, he urged his pacific counsels on his coadjutors in the government, and would gladly have persuaded them to seek a cessation of hostilities. But the position of affairs, and the martial temper of the nobility, proved too strong for him. The queen and Angus cast the weight of their influence into the preponderating scale, and it was resolved that the struggling house of Lancaster should continue to receive the countenance of the Scottish court, and, if occasion was presented, the succour of a Scottish army. Animated by this prospect, Margaret of Anjou, whose courage and energy had so often compensated for the imbecility of her husband, passed over to the continent, and after visiting her father, the King of Sicily, carried the tale of her calamities to the Duke of Bretagne, and Louis the Eleventh, at the court of France. Successful in her appeal to these potentates, she made her appearance again on the coast of Durham, with her exchequer replenished, and accompanied by an army of two thousand men, under the command of Sieur de Breze, the Seneschal of Normandy. Her landing was unopposed, and the principal strongholds of the district surrendered to her arms. But her rival was neither unprepared

The Scottish government resolve to assist the Lancastrian party.

* Anechinleek Chronicle, p. 58.

† Lesley, p. 311. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 247, note.

* Rymer, vol. xi. pp. 483, 484, 492. Rotuli Scotie, vol. ii. p. 407.

nor inactive. Hastening northwards with a large body of troops, Edward turned the tide of victory; and Margaret was compelled to take refuge in her ships, leaving the greater part of her adherents to defend themselves behind the fortifications of Bambergh and Alnwick. All this passed so rapidly, that the issue was decided before the Scottish auxiliaries could reach the scene of conflict. But Angus was not the man to retire and disband his army without attempting to strike a blow for the honour of his country, and in support of a cause which he had zealously advocated. His wardenship of the Marches had made him familiar with the tactics of border-warfare: and there were many under his command who loved nothing better than a *raid* into the lands of the Southron. With a chosen company, he swept across the country, appeared unexpectedly before the walls of Alnwick, and brought off the French troops, who had been left to garrison the town, from under the eyes of the astonished Yorkists.* This brilliant exploit seems

to have been the last triumph of Earl of Angus. The doughty earl, who died soon after, leaving a son too young to succeed him in his military rank and influence.

The death of Angus was a serious loss to the war-party in Scotland; and other events occurred about the same time still more unfavourable to the interests of Henry. The reputation of Mary of Gueldres, the queen-mother, who was still in the prime of life, and possessed of great personal attractions, began to suffer in connexion with the names of the Duke of Somerset,† and Hepburn, of Hailes,‡ ancestor to that Earl of Bothwell who brought so dark a cloud over the good name of another more beautiful and more unfortunate Mary. Her partiality for the house of Lancaster also was weakened by the intrigues of the celebrated Earl of Warwick, who came as the ambassador of the victorious Edward, to flatter her with a proposal of marriage from that accomplished prince. At length her sudden death, on the sixteenth of November, 1463,§ threw the whole power into the hands of Bishop Kennedy, who found it an easy matter, after the departure of Henry, and his disastrous defeat at Hexham, to carry out the pacific policy for which he had constantly laboured. Negotiations were opened without delay, and a truce was concluded between commissioners from the two kingdoms. The capture of the Duke of Albany, the eldest brother of James, by an English vessel, while he was on his way to Guelderland, under a safe conduct from Edward, threatened to interrupt the friendly compact almost as soon as it was established. But the danger passed by. Kennedy assumed an attitude of resolute resistance, his peremptory demands procured the speedy release of the prince, and the truce was finally ratified for a period of fifteen years.||

Meanwhile the seditious spirit, fomented by Edward in the wild north-western districts of the country, had broken out in a revolt, which, after assuming a serious aspect, had terminated without shaking the stability of the government. Donald, Earl of Ross—Rebellion of the Earl of Ross— and Lord of the Isles, obtaining possession of Inverness by stratagem, had assumed the state as well as the title of an independent sovereign, and marching southwards with a considerable army, had ravaged the lands of the Earl of Athole as far as Blair castle, which he attacked and stormed. If he had been seconded by an invasion on the side of England, under the conduct of the Earl of Douglas, as had been stipulated in their secret treaty with the Yorkist prince, the throne of James would have been in imminent danger. But Douglas had not the means in his own hand; and Edward failed to supply them, either because his affairs at home required all his attention and forces, or because he had resolved to try the effect on the mind of the queen-mother of a more wily and less hazardous policy. The insurgent islander was left to his own resources, and speedily lost the advantage which his rapid and merciless inroad had gained. His downfall is said to have been accompanied by tokens of the wrath of heaven, consequent upon a sacrilegious act, which he committed in the pride and power of conquest. The chapel of St. Bride, in the neighbourhood of Blair, then enjoyed the reputation of distinguished sanctity. Thither Athole had fled when his castle was taken; but the excited passions of the victor were as deaf to the terrors of superstition, as to the dictates of humanity. Violating the sanctuary, he seized the persons of the earl and his countess, transported them to a dungeon in one of the Hebrides,* and even attempted to destroy the sacred edifice in which they had vainly sought shelter. From that time forward misfortune tracked his footsteps, notwithstanding a humiliating and painful penance performed by him at the shrine which he had outraged. His fleet was shattered by a fearful tempest; the greater part of his booty —his overthrow and miserable fate. went down into the depths of the sea; he was compelled to liberate his prisoners without ransom; distraction and remorse unhinged his reason, and he retreated to spend a few miserable years at Inverness, and to perish there by the dagger of an assassin.†

In 1466, died James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews; and Scotland mourned the loss of her ablest and most upright counsellor. Death of Bishop Kennedy. The great influence which he had so long exercised in the kingdom may have been owing, in some degree, to his high birth, and the magnificence which he exhibited on all public occasions. But it had a better and more stable basis in the simplicity of his private life, his unquestionable probity and patriotism, and his distinguished reputation as an ecclesiastic, a scholar,

* Lesley, p. 313. Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 169.

† Wyrcestre, p. 405. ‡ Mair, p. 327.

§ Lesley, p. 38. Bannatyne edition.

|| Abercromby, vol. ii. p. 390.

* Gregory's History of the Western Islands, p. 48.

† Lesley, p. 34.

and a statesman. An old chronicler calls him 'vondrous godlie and wyse, weill learned in divine sciences, and in the civill lawis,'—an encomium not unmerited by one who seems to have outshone in learning and piety his brethren of the episcopate, as much as he excelled in integrity and prudence his coadjutors in the government. Sensible of the abuses which had crept into the church, he ruled his diocese with resolute fidelity; visiting regularly the various parishes under his inspection, and urging upon the inferior clergy the conscientious discharge of all their pastoral functions. Nor was he less anxious to promote other interests nearly connected with the national prosperity. The story of a wonderful ship, which he caused to be constructed for trading purposes, and on which he is said to have expended an immense sum, may be taken as an indication of his desire to foster the industrial arts and commerce of the country; while the College of St. Salvador's, which he founded at St. Andrews, and richly endowed out of his episcopal revenues, furnished a more lasting memorial of his zeal in the patronage of education and literature. But it was chiefly as a statesman that he rendered important service to his king and country. Gifted with a strong intellect, which he had improved by study, and furnished with stores of useful knowledge, he brought to the conduct of political affairs other qualifications, then more rare and always more valuable. Moderate in his views, firm of purpose, upright, public-spirited, zealous for peace, averse to intrigue and faction, he had effectually aided James II. in many a critical conjuncture; and he did more than any other man in the realm to benefit the throne and the nation during the minority of his successor.*

For some time previous to the death of Bishop Rize of the Boyd Kennedy, Robert, Lord Boyd, family. High Justiciar of Scotland, had been secretly working his way to prominence and power in the state. Taking advantage of his frequent access to the royal presence in the discharge of his official duties, and aided by the address of his brother, Sir Alexander Boyd, of Duchol, whose knightly reputation and skill in military exercises had preferred him to the superintendence of that department of the young king's education, the ambitious baron had insinuated himself into the good graces of James, whose disposition was peculiarly susceptible of flattery and favouritism. Having further strengthened his family influence by a close alliance with some of the leading members of the nobility, he was on the watch for a suitable opportunity of seizing the supreme administrative authority, when the death of the bishop removed the only remaining obstacle from his path. He at once determined to get possession of the royal person; and this he speedily effected, by an act in unison with the rude and lawless temper of the times. The king was at Linlithgow, presiding in a session of his Exchequer Court, when Boyd, with a

strong band of his confederates and retainers, appeared before the palace, entered the council-chamber in the middle of the deliberations, and broke up the assembly, by carrying off James to Edinburgh. There seems to have been no remonstrance or opposition to this outrage, except on the part of Lord Kennedy, elder brother of the deceased bishop; but his interposition was in all likelihood merely to save appearances, for he, as well as Lord Livingston, the chamberlain, whose office devolved upon him the guarding of the Exchequer Court, was bound to the interests of the Boyds by a previous compact of mutual aid and advancement.* The audacity of the deed, however, and its treasonable character, were too flagrant to be passed over without some semblance of reparation. At an early meeting of the parliament, the offender, kneeling before the throne, intreated an indemnity, which he easily obtained.† The king having declared that he left Linlithgow with his own free will, a formal pardon was made out under the great seal; and by a further enactment of the assembly, Boyd was legally confirmed in the power which he had usurped, being appointed governor of the king and his two brothers. Not long after, he also obtained the control of the public revenues, by procuring his investiture with the office of lord chamberlain, and put the copestone on his family honours by marrying his son and heir to the Princess Mary, the king's eldest sister; the bridegroom being created Earl of Arran, and gifted with large estates in several of the western and midland counties.

The meeting of parliament in October, 1466, which proved so lenient to the crime of Lord Boyd, and so subservient to his ambitious designs, passed various enactments for the regulation of the trade and commerce of the country. With reference to the church, while its general privileges were ratified, the old law, forbidding Englishmen to hold livings in Scotland, was revived, and some regulations were adopted to restrict pluralities, and the purchase of benefices. On account of the scarcity of coin, it was decreed, that no money should be taken out of the kingdom, except in the case of travellers, who were permitted to carry with them what was sufficient for their necessary expenses. Merchants who exported hides and wool, were enjoined to bring to the mint a proportionate amount of silver, for which a certain price would be allowed; and it was resolved that a new coinage of copper farthings should be issued, to supersede the rude old custom of cutting the silver penny into quarters. For the repression of feuds and outrages in the land, it was ordered, that castles held against the king, or his eldest brother, the Duke of Albany, should be reduced by force, unless immediately surrendered on

The king is carried off by Lord Boyd and his confederates—

—they obtain a pardon from the king and parliament.

Parliamentary enactments.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 71. Mair, p. 328. Buchanan's History, book xii. chap. 23.

* Crawford's Officers of State, p. 316. Buchanan's History, book xii. chap. 22.

† Appendix to Crawford's Officers of State, p. 473.

a royal summons; and that heavy fines should be exacted from guarantees, if assault were committed on person or property by those for whom they had given pledge. At a subsequent meeting, in January, 1467, some laws were added for the regulation of commerce. None but freemen of burghs were to have the right of engaging in foreign trade,—an exception being made however in favour of the nobility and clergy, who might sell abroad the produce of their own lands. Artisans were excluded from mercantile pursuits, unless they had previously and wholly abandoned their handicraft. Shipmasters were forbidden to put to sea during winter, or to take a freight without a written agreement; by which they bound themselves to have their vessels properly manned, to make good all loss resulting from careless or insufficient stowage, to supply their merchant-passengers with water, fire, and salt, while at sea, and to refer all cases of dispute with their employers to the burgh-court of the town to which the vessel was chartered. The ports of France and Norway were declared open to the Scottish traders, but those of the Netherlands were interdicted, with the exception of Middleburgh. It would appear from this last-mentioned enactment, that an unfriendly feeling existed at the time between the Scottish court and Charles of Burgundy, who then held the sovereignty of the Low Countries. The cause and extent of the misunderstanding are not exactly known; but it cannot have been very serious, as the act of parliament refers to intended negotiations for the purpose of putting the trade between the two kingdoms on a better footing.*

James was now approaching an age, which drew the serious attention of the state-councillors to the question of his marriage; and a chain of previous events clearly indicated with which of the royal families of Europe a matrimonial alliance might be most advantageously formed.

Christiern, King of Denmark and Norway, had been insisting for many years on the payment of a sum due to him from Scotland on account of the Hebrides, the sovereignty of which had been ceded by one of his predecessors to the Scottish crown for an annual quit-rent of one hundred marks. In 1456 the matter had been referred to the arbitration of the King of France; the arrears and fines being estimated by Christiern at more than four hundred thousand marks; while it was urged on the part of James II. that the debt was proscribed and the claim void by desuetude. Various delays having occurred, it was not till 1460 that the umpire, unable to obtain a sight of the original documents, recommended an amicable adjustment of the dispute by a marriage between the heir of the Scottish crown and Margaret, daughter to the King of Norway. The proposition was favourably entertained by the commissioners on both sides; and although the sudden death of James II. before Roxburgh prevented a formal ratification

of the compact, enough had been done to preserve a friendly understanding between the two courts, till the prince and princess reached a marriageable age. Such was the position of affairs in 1468, when the chancellor, Lord Evandale; the grand almoner, Martin Vans, and Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, with the Bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, were appointed by the parliament to repair to Norway, and renew the suspended negotiations respecting the proposed alliance. They found Christiern ready to give the hand of his daughter to their king; nor did he make any objection to renounce at the same time all claim to past arrears and future tribute for the Hebrides. Their commission, however, included another matter, which required more delicate and careful management. Orkney and Shetland belonged to Norway, but the earldom of these isles had passed by marriage into the Scottish family of St. Clair, or Sinclair. Occasional disputes could hardly be avoided under this arrangement; and it may have been doubtful at times whether the feudal baron, in the event of a war, would choose to endanger his possessions and honours in his native land, by rendering military service to the Norwegian crown, or prefer to risk the loss of his Northern earldom by marshalling his retainers under the opposite banner. Peace, however, had been maintained between the two countries, and had proved highly beneficial to Scottish interests. The Sinclairs clung firmly to their national partialities; many of their countrymen were induced by their influence to settle in their insular domains, and the population there had generally acquired a strong bias in favour of the Scottish kingdom, with which they seemed to be also naturally connected by local proximity. Accordingly the commissioners entrusted with the settlement of the royal marriage were instructed to negotiate with the Danish monarch respecting these islands, that the cession of them might be included in his daughter's dowry. Christiern, with all his liberality of spirit and desire for the proposed union, hesitated to part with territories of such extent and value; but the terms to which he ultimately agreed issued in the annexation of these islands to the Scottish crown. The portion of the bride was fixed at sixty thousand florins, in addition to the relinquishment of the long-pending claim on the Hebrides; and as the exhausted state of the Danish exchequer could only furnish two thousand florins, the Orkneys and Shetland were pledged for the remainder, which was never paid, so that the islands have thenceforward belonged to Scotland.* Meanwhile the winter had come on, and as it was not thought proper to expose the princess to the perils of a voyage during the stormy months, the ambassadors returned alone. But the following spring saw the Earl of Arran again at the Danish court, with a gallant retinue of Scottish nobles, to do honour to their future queen; and in the month of July, 1469, the 'Maiden of Norway' landed at Leith in the

Proposals for the marriage of the king.

The Orkney and Shetland islands ceded to Scotland.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 85—87.

* Torfæi Orcaedes, p. 188.

presence of an immense crowd of spectators, and amid the general rejoicings of the nation. The

The marriage of the king followed, and gave occasion to prolonged festivities in the metropolis, and plentiful congratulations throughout the kingdom. Nor was the flattering welcome undeserved by the queen; in the bloom of youth and beauty, amiable and virtuous, educated in all the feminine accomplishments of the age, and so richly dowered, she brought as valuable an accession of lustre to the court, as of territory to the kingdom.*

The influence of the Boyds was now in the last stage of its decline. Their ambition and arrogance had rendered them objects of dislike to many of the nobles, and they had found the favour of the inexperienced and capricious monarch too feeble a prop to sustain their overgrown power. During the absence of the Earl of Arran in Denmark, his father and uncle had been unable to stem the tide of opposition which then set in with increased force against their ascendancy,—and when he arrived in the Frith of Forth with the royal bride, the prejudices awakened against him had become so obvious and powerful that he did not venture to land. Warned of his danger by his wife, the Princess Mary, he escaped with her to the continent, and avoided by a voluntary exile the personal injury to which he was exposed. His flight only hastened the downfall of his relatives. The aged lord justiciar, after a vain attempt to retrieve his fortune by arms, took refuge in England, where he soon afterwards died. Sir Alexander Boyd was brought to trial on a charge of treason, for the part which he had taken in the seizure of the king's person at Linlithgow, and, notwithstanding the formal pardon granted under the great seal, was found guilty and executed.† The fate of Arran is not so well known. He seems to have attacked himself to the Duke of Burgundy, and to have acquired considerable distinction in the service of that prince. But he did not long survive his banishment from his native country. His large estates and numerous titles were transferred to the eldest sons of the Scottish monarchs; and his wife, recalled from the continent by her royal brother, and compelled to submit to a divorce, was re-married to Lord Hamilton, whose descendants became by this alliance the nearest heirs to the crown of Scotland.‡

The parliament which was convened, 20th Nov. Laws enacted by 1469, to give a legal sanction to the parliament. the proceedings against the Boyds, made some additions to the statute-book of the kingdom. The following were the principal laws passed in this and in the following parliament, held on the 6th of May, 1471.—The officers of justice were empowered to seize manslayers, who had fled to sanctuary, that they might be brought to trial before a jury and punished according to their guilt.

* Mair, p. 323. Lesley, p. 36. Ferrerius, p. 339.

† Crawford's Officers of State, p. 316. Ferrerius, p. 387.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 270, note.

Insolvent debtors, whose lands had been brought to a judicial sale, were to have the right of redeeming them within seven years. The property of a tenant was not to be liable for his landlord's debts, except to the amount of the rent due by him at the time. The provosts, baillies, and councillors of burghs were to continue in office for a year, and to have the privilege of nominating and appointing their successors. The church was empowered to elect its dignitaries, but the clergy were forbidden to collect for the papal treasury more than the usual statutory tax, or to seek from the papal court the gift of any benefice which had not been previously at its disposal. Judges were enjoined to be considerate of the poor, and to grant them in all cases an impartial measure of protection and justice. An attempt was also made to encourage and improve the fisheries, by ordering certain of the nobles and wealthy ecclesiastics, together with some towns, to equip efficient vessels for that important branch of the national resources—but this act was left incomplete, and speedily sank into oblivion. One part also of the enactments respecting the church soon became a dead letter: within two or three years the monks at Dunfermline having exercised their privilege of choosing a successor to their deceased abbot, the king, instigated it is said by a pecuniary bribe, annulled the election, made another appointment, obtained its ratification from the pope, and thenceforward claimed the prerogative of nominating all the superior ecclesiastical dignitaries.*

Freed from a control which he had latterly felt to be irksome, and roused to manlier thoughts by his happy marriage, the young king, though he had not yet reached his majority, began to assume a more prominent position in the government, and to discharge in his own person many of the functions of royalty. But elegance of form and a refined taste, both of which he possessed, were very inadequate qualifications for the rule of a martial nation in unsettled times. He had no proper conception of the regal prerogatives and responsibilities, no wise discernment of the national wants and dangers; and even if his political plans had been formed on sounder and more comprehensive principles, he would in all likelihood have sadly failed in the execution of them, for his facile and fickle temper, joined to his avarice and love of pleasure, were destructive of that energy and perseverance, without which no great and arduous enterprise succeeds. Patrick Graham, the successor of Kennedy in the bishopric of St. Andrews, was one of the first who had bitter reason to lament these serious defects in the character of his sovereign. This learned and virtuous prelate, anxious to vindicate the independence of the Scottish church, which, having no primate of its own, was claimed by the Archbishop of York as subject to his jurisdiction

Character of the king.

Shameful per-
cution of
Bishop Graham.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 96.

in matters ecclesiastical, had visited Rome and procured from the pope a bull, erecting his see into an archbishopric, and constituting him metropolitan, papal nuncio, and legate *a latere* in Scotland. His character and position marked him out as the fittest person to enjoy these prerogatives, which he had sought not less on public than on private grounds; but he could not help feeling that he occupied an insecure position, and he had lingered for some time on the continent, hesitating to make known the results of his mission in his native country. The event justified his apprehensions; no sooner had he returned home and assumed his honours, than a spirit of bitter envy and opposition broke out violently against him. Though the inferior clergy rejoiced in his advancement, the dignitaries of the church became his inveterate enemies, and they found a clever and unscrupulous partizan in William Schevez, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, who had a private pique against his diocesan, and was prepared to push the matter to the most violent extremities. The dispute being ere long brought under the king's cognisance, the course adopted by James was neither a wise nor an honourable one. Accepting a bribe from the discontented bishops, and giving way to the resentment which they excited in his bosom, by charging Graham with an infringement of the royal prerogative, in having applied to the papal court without his license, he drove the archbishop into a state of degradation and indignity, which rapidly shortened the days of the unfortunate prelate, and bestowed his honours upon the able, but unprincipled and profligate Schevez.*

At this period, proposals were made for the renewal of pacific relations with the English court, which, fortunately for the interests of both countries, were ultimately brought to a successful termination. The battle of Tewkesbury had seated Edward

the Fourth firmly on the English throne; and his designs with respect to France made it important for him to secure the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of James in the anticipated struggle. This object at first threatened to be difficult of attainment, for the politic Louis had anticipated him by the mission of the Sieur Conersault to Scotland, for the purpose of persuading James to invade the county of Brittany, which he promised to assign to the Scottish crown;† and a levy of six thousand men was already ordered there for the conquest and occupation of that province, to which the ambitious views of the English monarch were particularly directed. But an influential party among the Scottish barons and prelates threw impediments in the way of the projected expedition;‡ and Edward, taking advantage of the consequent delay, stepped in with an offer which appealed not less powerfully to the cupidity of James than to his patriotism. The proposal of

the English king was, that his youngest daughter Cecilia, then in her fourth year, should be betrothed to the Prince Royal of Scotland, an infant only two years old; and that her dowry of twenty thousand marks should be paid by annual instalments, commencing from the date of the contract. On this basis a peace was concluded, the ceremony of its ratification being performed, along with that of the betrothal, in the church of the Gray Friars, at Edinburgh, where the Earl of Lindsay and Lord Scrope appeared as the representatives of their respective sovereigns.

Meanwhile, John Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, undeterred by the miserable fate of his father, and by his own solemn promise of submission to the authority of the crown, thinking this a favourable opportunity to pursue his ambitious schemes, had renewed his confederacy with the banished Earl of Douglas, and entered into a treasonable league with the English court, by which he became the sworn vassal of Edward, and agreed to assist him in all his wars. As soon as the terms of this nefarious treaty came to light, it was determined by the Scottish government to proceed against Ross, as an avowed traitor and rebel. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the parliament to be held in Edinburgh, in December, 1475, to answer for his numerous acts of rebellion committed in 1455 and 1461, as well as for his more recent intrigues with the enemies of his country. Having failed to obey the summons, a sentence of forfeiture was immediately passed against him, and an order issued for the equipment of a strong naval and military force under the Earls of Crawford and Athole, for the purpose of assailing the rebel chief, both by sea and land, in his insular and mountainous strongholds. He had sufficient prudence however to avoid the hopeless contest; and by a timely submission he saved the lordship of the Isles, but not the earldom of Ross; which, with his other dignities and estates on the mainland, was taken from him and annexed to the crown.

This was almost the last act that reflected any honour and advantage on the administration of James III. In 1477, he attained his full majority of twenty-five, and the whole of the regal authority passed into his own hands. But the defects of his character were of a kind which commonly increase with the augmentation of liberty and influence. Sacrificing to his taste for the fine arts, and his love of adulation, the time and attention which he owed to the responsibilities of his office and the interests of his kingdom, he withdrew himself more and more, not only from the stirring exercises of the chase and the tilting-yard, but also from the graver duties of the cabinet and the council-room, to spend his time in the society of ignoble favourites, who speedily acquired an influence in the realm, to which they had no title by hereditary rank, and as little claim on the ground of personal merit.

* Ferrerius, p. 389. Lesley, p. 317. Buchanan, book xii. chap. xxxiii.—xxxv.

† Duclou, History of Louis XI., vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 102.

Cochrane, an architect; Rogers, a musician; Torphichen, a fencing-master; Andrews, an astrologer; Hommil, a tailor; and Leonard, a smith, were the principal persons on whom he bestowed such an injudicious and dangerous preference. A high-spirited and arrogant nobility could not but feel the slight thus put upon them: alienated from their sovereign, they attached themselves to his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar,

who were distinguished by their brave and active disposition, their delight and skill in military exercises, their open-handed generosity, and the splendid array of friends and retainers with which they surrounded themselves. Hence arose jealousies and contentions in the royal family, which issued ere long in the exile of Albany, the death of Mar, and the bitter mortification which James experienced at Lauder. For some time, however, the kindled spark smouldered among the embers without awakening any anxiety, or indeed, attracting much attention. Various measures were adopted for composing the feuds which still existed among the leading families of the nobility and gentry; and an attempt was also made to strengthen the foreign relations of the kingdom by marrying the Duke of Clarence, brother of the English king, to the Princess Margaret, James' youngest sister, and the Duke of Albany to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose husband had recently fallen at Nancy. At length, the king's jealousy of the popularity acquired by his brothers, and his fear of the treasonable designs which he suspected them of cherishing, became so strong, that he ordered their

arrest. Albany was put in ward in the castle of Edinburgh, and Mar found a prison in the castle of Craigmillar. There is no evidence that these princes had as yet entertained designs inconsistent with their allegiance. Certainly they had not, up to this period, been guilty of any overt act of rebellion. The intrigues of the Homes and Hepburns, who were dissatisfied with some of Albany's proceedings in his wardenship of the eastern Marches, the illwill of the royal favorites towards the powerful princes, who were known to be strongly dissatisfied with their influence at court; and the predictions of an astrologer, who had practised upon the superstitious credulity of James by foretelling that the lion would be devoured by his whelps, seem to have precipitated a measure of imprudent and unjustifiable severity, which afterwards bore bitter fruits of disquietude and danger.

Albany effected his escape from his prison in a manner highly characteristic of his daring spirit. The captain of a small trading vessel, laden with French wines, cast anchor in the Frith of Forth, near the quiet port of Newhaven, and landed two casks of Malmsey as a present to the imprisoned duke. These being admitted into his chambers without examination were found to contain a coil of rope, and a paper of instructions, enclosed in a cake of wax,

exhorting him to lose no time in making his escape, as his enemies were resolved to put him to death. The duke did not hesitate to avail himself of the mode of escape thus pointed out to him, though surrounded with considerable difficulty and danger. Inviting the captain of the guard to sup with him, he and his chamberlain succeeded in reducing both the officer and the three soldiers, who kept watch in the outer room, to a helpless state of intoxication, in which they were easily overpowered and secured, or, according to some accounts, slain. The fugitives then made their way, unnoticed, to a sequestered part of the outer wall, and prepared for their descent. The darkness, however, prevented them from seeing that the rope was too short; and the trusty attendant, claiming the first trial, slid down to the lower end, and letting himself drop to the ground, had his leg broken by the fall. With wonderful self-possession and hardihood, Albany at once returned to his sleeping apartment, took the sheets from his bed, and knotting them to the end of the rope, effected his descent in safety. His first care was to convey his disabled chamberlain to a friendly shelter; after which he hastened to the shore, and on making the preconcerted signal, was taken on board the vessel which had brought him the means of deliverance, and set sail for the castle of Dunbar. This fortress, however, had been invested by the royal troops; and as there was no probability of its long resisting the siege, the duke was speedily compelled to flee to France, where he was hospitably received at the court of Louis, and treated with the distinction due to his rank. A different fate befel his younger brother, the Earl of Mar, who was accused of having employed magical arts to accomplish the king's destruction. He was not brought to a public trial, and some uncertainty has been cast on the closing scene of his brief career. It is asserted by Lesley and Buchanan, that he mysteriously death was secretly removed from Craigmillar to a house in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and placed in a hot bath with his veins opened, where he bled to death—this unusual mode of execution being, it is said, the result of his own choice.* But a different and more probable account is given by Drummond of Hawthornden, on the authority of Bishop Elphinstone. According to his version of this mysterious transaction, Mar, being attacked with fever, was removed to Edinburgh, and placed under the care of a physician, who prescribed bleeding and the hot-bath for the disease; and the unfortunate earl, being neglected by the attendants, tore off the bandages from the lancet-wounds, in his delirium, and expired from loss of blood before the fatal act was detected.†

Shortly after these unhappy events war broke out with England, the causes of which are in-

* Ferreris, p. 398. Buchanan, book xii. chap. xxxvii. Lesley's History, pp. 43—44.

† Drummond's History of the James's, p. 48; see, also, Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 294, 503.

volved in considerable obscurity. It will be readily imagined that the French monarch was far from unwilling to see the strife rekindled, for he had reason to fear that the peace which he had concluded with Edward a short time before, stood on no secure basis, and would be readily overthrown by the latter, at the first favourable opportunity. To divert the thoughts of the English prince from foreign conquest, by the necessity of defending himself against the incursions of a less distant foe, accorded with the line of policy which Louis loved to pursue; and it seems that the mission to Scotland (A.D. 1479), of Dr. Ireland, a learned ecclesiastic, of Scottish extraction, who had been educated in France, was designed, not only to plead for the pardon of the Duke of Albany, but also to sow the seeds of renewed hostility between James and his southern neighbour. The ambassador was courteously received, but it may be doubted whether the influence of France, so soon after the honourable treatment of the refugee duke in that country, would have been sufficiently powerful with the Scottish court to produce another war with England, if the way had not been paved for a rupture by the conduct of the English monarch himself. He had ceased to remit the annual instalments of the dowry which he had promised with his daughter Cecilia, on her betrothal to the Prince Royal of Scotland; he had also returned an evasive answer to the proposal of marrying his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, to the Duke of Albany, and his brother Clarence to the Princess Margaret; nor was a subsequent project for the union of this princess with the Earl of Rivers likely to reach a more favourable termination, although the negotiations had gone so far that the passports of the bride were made out, and a sum of money voted by the Scottish parliament, to defray the expenses of the nuptials. The cordiality of the friendship between the two governments being thus shaken, the immediate occasion of hostilities was probably furnished by disputes among the borderers, whose restless national antipathies, and inveterate habits of marauding, made them ever ready to break through the restraint of treaties, and eagerly to welcome every opportunity of resuming their favorite pursuits of war and plunder. It is more certain that the first ostensible military movements were on the Scottish side: in 1480, the Earl of Angus crossed the Marches, attacked and burnt Bamfborough, ravaged hastily the adjacent districts, and carried off a large spoil of prisoners and property from the surprised and unresisting Northumbrians.

The die was now cast, and James prepared for the consequences. At a meeting of parliament, held in the month of April, 1481, instructions were issued, ordering that all lieges liable to military duty should hold themselves in readiness for immediate service; directing the wardens of the marches and the

commandants of fortresses, without delay to put the frontier and the sea-board into an efficient state of defence; and making particular provision, by a tax of seven thousand marks, for the security of the town of Berwick, which was likely to be one of the first and most important points of attack.* But the Scottish forces did not take the field in earnest until an envoy had been sent to Edward, to remonstrate with him on account of the aid which he was granting to Burgundy against France, and to offer an adjustment of the border grievances on the principle of mutual acknowledgment and redress. This overture was treated by the English monarch with frigid and insulting indifference. Having appointed his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, his lieutenant-general, in the north, and taken measures to weaken the hands of the enemy at home, by opening negotiations with the Lord of the Isles and the Duke of Albany, Edward was willing to try once more the fortune of war: and his army was already under marching orders, with a special view, in the first instance, to the capture of Berwick. The collision being thus inevitable, both parties prepared for the conflict with considerable spirit; but the season passed without important successes on either side. The Scottish army as it entered Eng-
land, was met by the papal legate resident in that country, who denounced and forbade, on pain of excommunication, the infringement of the European peace, at a time when Christendom was threatened by the impetuous Turkish hordes, whose shouts of triumph over the fall of Otranto had already wakened ominous echoes in the Vatican.† It was the obvious interest of James to disregard this mandate. If he had pushed on resolutely he might have secured important advantages before the forces of his adversary could traverse the longer distance which separated them from the scene of conflict. But both he and his followers were too much under Romish influence to venture on such a step; and he consented to disband his troops, expecting that the English would find themselves similarly constrained to abandon for the time their hostile intentions. Edward, however, had no such design: the interposition of the papal legate is said to have been merely a stratagem of his, for the purpose of gaining time and disconcerting the measures of the enemy. At all events, his army continued to advance, and entering the Scottish territories, committed some devastations, though not of a very important character; while a fleet of English ships appeared in the Frith of Forth, burned the village of Blackness, captured a few vessels, and would have inflicted more serious injuries on the shipping and the coast, if it had not been defeated and driven off by Andrew Wood, of Leith, a rising officer, whose name,

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 132.

† Rotuli Scotie, vol. ii. p. 458. Ferrerius, p. 304. Lesley's Hist. p. 321.

better known under the subsequent title of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, is associated with many daring and gallant exploits in the naval warfare of his country.

In the following year the intrigues of Edward effected more for him than his arms. The Scottish parliament indeed, which met in March, displayed a zealous spirit of loyalty, designating the English monarch a usurper and a robber, recording their resolution to stand by their own sovereign to the death, and enlarging their former ordinances to call forth the military resources of the nation in full efficiency. But the attachment of some of the leading barons to James was far from strong; and his rival hazarded little by making their lingering attachment to the Duke of Albany the means of alienating their zeal for the prosecution of the war. That nobleman, having married in his exile a daughter of the Count D'Auvergne, had at first built his hopes on the good offices of the French monarch; but the early death of his wife, and the obvious interest of Louis to maintain friendly relations with the Scottish court, speedily convinced him of the vanity of expecting effective aid from that quarter, and he now threw himself into the arms of Edward, who gladly welcomed him to England, persuaded him to aim at the acquisition of his brother's throne, and artfully shifted to this new

reasonable conduct of Albany.

ground his ostensible reason for prosecuting the war. A treaty was concluded between them at Fotheringay castle, in virtue of which Albany took the title of Alexander, King of Scotland, promising to do homage to the English crown for his sovereignty, to break off the hereditary friendship with France, to give up Eskdale, Annandale, and Liddesdale, with the town of Berwick, and the castle of Lochmaben to Edward, and to cement the projected union of the two countries by a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of England.* This compact, which committed the duke to an unjustifiable attack on the birth-right of his elder brother, and a disgraceful sacrifice of the honour and independence of his country, would hardly have found favour, for a moment, with any influential portion of the Scottish nobility, if they had not been goaded to angry disaffection by the continued preferment and increasing arrogance of the royal favourites.

Arrogant and imprudent behaviour of Cochrane. Dignities and emoluments were still showered upon them—particularly upon Cochrane, who was distinguished by a form of noble proportions and great bodily strength, together with undaunted courage and an insinuating address, qualifications sufficient to have secured for a man of higher birth or humbler pretensions a secure and prominent place in the council-room and the battle-field. But his ignoble extraction could not be overlooked by the arrogant nobles, and his overweening pre-

sumption justified, while it provoked, the keen jealousy and dislike with which he was now regarded by all classes. His unpopularity had been lately aggravated by the adulteration of the coin in a season of scarcity, for it was more than suspected that the unwise and injurious policy had been adopted by his advice;* and, still more recently, the cup of odium and resentment against him had been filled to the brim by his unseemly investiture with the revenues of the late Earl of Mar, in whose death he was generally believed to have had a willing, if not the principal, hand.

No one bore all this with more indignant impatience than Archibald, Earl of Angus, the head of the new house of Douglas, whose haughty, martial spirit prompted him to regard the literary tastes of James as the tokens of an effeminate and most unkingly temper, and to chafe at the preferment

Conspiracy of the Scottish barons against the king.

of the upstart favourites as an insufferable affront to the whole nobility. Nor did he fail to find others, among the heads of the baronial families, who were fully prepared to sympathize with him in his discontent. The Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, Orkney, and Lennox, with Lords Home, Fleming, Hailes, Gray, Seton, and others of the barons, with certain of the higher clergy, whose names are not recorded, joined the conspiracy which was organized by Angus, in conjunction with Edward and Albany, and had for its object the destruction of the royal favourites, and the delivery of their unsuspecting sovereign into the hands of his enemies. There is no evidence, indeed, to prove that any considerable number of these nobles actually gave their approval and adherence to the treasonable paction of Albany with the English monarch, and it is probable that they were, for the most part, kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of the exiled prince and his confidential associates, for men in their position had no motive to induce them to disparage the hereditary rights of their sovereign, or to surrender the independence of their country. The majority of the malcontents, in all likelihood, were only prepared to take advantage of the plot arranged at Fotheringay, in so far as it might facilitate the accomplishment of their own more moderate and less guilty designs. But a dark cloud of infamy hangs over the characters of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddel

Base designs of Angus.

of Halkerston, on whose full concurrence and co-operation Albany counted so confidently that he had appointed them his commissioners, to carry out the provisions of his treaty with Edward. They did not scruple to act, afterwards, on the powers granted them in that commission; and the presumption is that they were already contem-

* The debased coin was called 'the Cochrane plack;' and the story goes, that when the haughty favourite, from whom its nickname was borrowed, was told that it would be speedily recalled, he answered contemptuously, 'The day I shall be hanged;' 'Whilk prophetic came to pas hereafter,' adds Pitscottie—the prediction probably suggesting its own accomplishment.

plating a revolution which would transfer the sceptre of James to his brother Albany.

Such was the position of affairs, when the Scottish forces were ordered to assemble on the Borough-muir, in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh:

Muster of the Scottish army. and thither the conspirators repaired with their retainers, giving no signs of their base intentions, or of the dangerous spirit that rankled in their breasts, save by the gloomy looks which they directed to the spot where Cochrane, who had assumed the title of Earl of Mar, magnificently arrayed, and attended by a body-guard of three hundred halberdiers, had taken his station as captain-general of the artillery.

It was Midsummer of 1481, when the gallant army of fifty thousand men defiled from the muster-ground beneath the walls of the ancient capital, and directed their march across Soutra-Hill towards the border, with the prospect of plunging into a fierce and protracted struggle; for Richard of Gloucester, with Albany, and the banished Douglas was at no great distance, leading a well-appointed force nearly equal in numbers. But a single day sufficed to make a total change in the aspect of affairs. It was in war rather than in peace, in the camp rather than in the parliament, that the Scottish barons felt themselves in a condition to cope successfully with the royal authority, and to wring from their reluctant sovereign the redress of their grievances, or the concession of their demands. Angus and the other malcontents perceived that a favourable opportunity to carry their nefarious schemes into effect had arrived, and they were not slow in making use of their advantage. The army halted for the first night at Lauder; and next morning the principal conspirators held a secret council in the church to arrange for the immediate execution of their designs. After

Seizure of the king, and murder of his favourites at Lauder.

some discussion it was resolved, that the person of the king should be seized, and that summary vengeance should be inflicted on Cochrane and his compeers. It was evident, however, that the execution of the plot must be attended with considerable danger, and while they were hesitating as to the best mode of proceeding, Lord Gray quoted the well-known fable of the mice, who, being grievously annoyed by the persecution of the cat, resolved in solemn council, that for the common safety a bell should be suspended round the neck of the enemy to give warning of her approach, but were sorely puzzled to find any one willing to undertake the perilous office. The pause of uncertainty and hesitation which followed this pointed apologue was broken by Angus, who with characteristic boldness exclaimed, 'I shall bell the cat'; an expression which procured for him the appellation of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, by which he was ever afterwards familiarly designated. While the conspirators were thus engaged, Cochrane,

who as well as his royal master, seems to have been entirely unsuspecting of the plot which had been concerted for his destruction, came to ascertain the object of the meeting. "Clad in ane ryding-pie of black velvet," says Pitscottie, "with ane great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of fyve hundred crowns, and ane fair blowing horn in ane reckle of gold, borne and tipped with fyne gold at both endis, and ane precious stone called ane berryll, hanging at the midst thereof;" the favourite rode stoutly to the entrance of the church, and knocked at the barred door with the impetuous manner of one who came by authority and in haste. Sir Robert Douglas of Loehleven, who guarded the entrance, inquired who it was that knocked so rudely. 'It is I, the Earl of Mar,' was the proud reply. Admission was immediately given to the unhappy favourite, who was totally unsuspecting of the fate that awaited him, and carried only a riding whip in his hand. On advancing into the midst of the assembled peers with his usual arrogant air, he was met by Angus, who tore the chain from his neck, with the taunt that a halter would better become him; while Sir Robert Douglas, of Loehleven, snatched his hunting-horn from his side, telling him that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. 'Is it jest or earnest, my lords?' exclaimed Cochrane, in sudden surprise at this contemptuous and violent treatment. 'Earnest it is, and earnest you shall find it,' was the reply; 'you have too long abused the king's favour; you shall do so no longer, but receive the recompense you have deserved.' Having secured with such unexpected ease and speed the principal object of their aversion, the conspirators kept him quietly in durance within the walls of the building till a small party had proceeded to the royal quarters, and seized without greater difficulty Rogers,* Hommil, Preston, and the rest of the obnoxious parasites; and they were all hanged, without trial, or remorse, or delay, over the parapet of the bridge. It is mentioned by Pitscottie, that Cochrane besought those who were hurrying him to the place of execution not to bind him with a hempen rope, like a thief, but to use one of the silken cords of his pavilion. But even this was denied him by his brutal murderers, who told him that he was worse than a thief, he was a traitor, and deserved no better; and for the purpose of inflicting additional pain and disgrace on their unfortunate victim, they hanged him with a halter of horse-hair, as the most degrading mode of execution which they could invent. The only one of the royal favourites, who escaped, was

* Rogers was an eminent English musician, who accompanied the ambassadors of Edward IV. into Scotland in 1474. James was so delighted with his performances, that he persuaded him to remain at his court, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. "Under the instruction of this man, the most celebrated of his profession," says Ferrerius, "numerous eminent musicians arose in the Court of Scotland; and, even so late as 1529, many great musicians boasted that they were of his school."

John Ramsay of Balmain, a youth of sixteen years of age, who probably owed his life more to his tender years and honourable extraction than to the earnest intercession of his royal master.* After these cruel and infamous transactions the confederated nobles returned to the capital, carrying with them their unhappy sovereign, and committed him a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

This tragic and guilty scene closed the second act in the historic drama of James the Third. The prosperous part of his administration may be said to have terminated when he emerged from his minority; during which he had seen an honourable peace concluded with England under the auspices of Bishop Kennedy—a severe blow struck against the turbulent spirit in the northern and western districts of this kingdom, which never wholly recovered the humiliation—a matrimonial alliance, at once popular and advantageous, formed with one of the most powerful of the European monarchies—and a valuable addition made to his dominions by the acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Isles. At Lauder the curtain fell on a subsequent period of six years, characterized by culpable and fatal errors; his abetting of Schevez against the worthy successor of Kennedy in the see of St. Andrews, his impolitic conduct towards his brothers, his concurrence in the interested and artful suggestions of the French king, and above all, his alienation of the hearts of the nobility and the people by his blind attachment to his ill-chosen favourites—a series of culpable and fatal errors, which overgrew and cast into deep shadow the desultory and feeble efforts which he made to promote the fine arts, encourage commerce, and heal up the sores of feudal strife among his half-civilized and turbulent subjects. Another period of six years is to follow, darkened by misfortune and weakness: with his influence abroad waning, and his power at home circumscribed—an object of mistrust to his nobles, and of cold indifference to the rest of his people—grieved by the death of his amiable consort, the renewed rebellion of his brother, and the secession of his son to the ranks of his enemies, the unhappy monarch passes on to conclude his inglorious reign by perishing under the hand of an obscure assassin, on the field of Sauchie.

In consequence of the base betrayal of their Berwick is taken country's interests by the confederacy of the English. derated Scottish nobles, the English obtained possession of the important fortress of Berwick, which never afterwards returned to the dominion of Scotland; and the Duke of Gloucester, who, along with Albany, commanded the English forces, advanced to the capital without opposition. They soon discovered, however, that although their accomplices among the Scottish nobility had readily united with Angus for the pur-

pose of destroying the royal favourites, they were not disposed to support that ambitious noble in his treasonable schemes for the deposition of their rightful sovereign; and no sooner were his real intentions made known, than the more loyal of the barons immediately separated themselves from his cause, and, taking up arms, assembled a considerable force near Haddington, in order to maintain the rights of the crown, and the independence of the kingdom.* The infamous treaty which Albany had entered into with the English court was probably not yet fully known to any but his own confederates, and finding it at present hopeless to carry its stipulations into effect, they readily entered into a compromise with the royal party. A reconciliation was accordingly effected between Albany and his brother, through the intervention of Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews; Livingston, Bishop of Dunkeld; Evandale, the chancellor; and the Earl of Argyle.† It was agreed that Albany should be pardoned, and restored to his estates and honours on his return to his allegiance, and that his friends, with a few exceptions, should be included in the indemnity. It was also stipulated that these conditions should be ratified by the king, and by the three Estates at their next meeting.‡ The Earls of Athole and Buchan, however, who commanded the castle of Edinburgh, in which the unhappy monarch was imprisoned, refused to concur in the terms of this negotiation;§ and not only retained possession of the person of their sovereign, but, according to the assertion of James himself, would actually have put him to death, had not Lord Darnley and other barons remained in his apartment by night and day for the purpose of protecting him. Albany, after his reconciliation with his royal brother, collected an army and laid siege to the castle, which, after a short resistance, was surrendered into his hands.||

Meanwhile, the English forces had returned to their own country, and in order to facilitate the maintenance of peace between the two kingdoms, the provost and merchants of Edinburgh agreed to repay the sum which had been advanced as the dowry of the Princess Cecilia, if her father should think proper to break off the marriage between his daughter and the eldest son of the Scottish king. Two months after, intimation was given by Edward that the proposed alliance was not to be completed, and the money was accordingly repaid.¶

* Lesley's Hist. of Scotland, p. 49.

† Rymer, Fœd. vol. xii. p. 160.

‡ Ibid. p. 161.

§ These nobles were the sons of Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, by Joanna, queen dowager of James I. Mr. Tyler thinks it highly probable that the faction of Athole and Buchan, instead of having a separate interest from Albany, were only branches of the same party, and kept possession of the king's person, that the duke, by the éclat of delivering his sovereign from imprisonment, might regain somewhat of the popularity which he had lost.—History, vol. iv. p. 237.

|| Lesley's Hist. of Scotland, p. 50.

¶ Rymer, Fœd. vol. xii. p. 160.

• Pitcautley, vol. i. pp. 180—193. Ferrerius, p. 305.
Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 48.

The reconciliation between the king and Albany was now apparently so complete that the two royal brothers used the same chamber, the same table, and the same bed, and on one occasion they rode together, mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh along the principal street of the city down to the abbey of Holyrood.* James was, however, in reality entirely under the control of the duke, who, in concert with his confederates, assumed the sole direction of public affairs. The chancellor, Ervendale, one of the few friends of the king, was deprived of his office, which was conferred upon Laing, Bishop of Glasgow; while the bishopric of Moray, along with the office of keeper of the privy seal, was bestowed upon Andrew Stewart, brother to the Earls of Athole and Buchan; and all the principal offices of the government were filled by the creatures and supporters of Albany. A meeting of the three Estates was held at Edinburgh on the 2nd of December, 1482, and all the proceedings were conducted according to the directions of Albany.† The king was constrained to express his deep obligations to his brother for his delivering him from imprisonment, and to confer rewards upon the confederates of the duke for their alleged services to the state. The unfortunate monarch was also made to entreat the usurper to accept the office of lieutenant-general of the

Albany is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom—

kingdom, with a suitable allowance for the support of his dignity. In addition to this high office,

which virtually conferred upon him the supreme authority of the country, he received the grant of the extensive earldom of Mar and Garioch as a reward (to use the words of the royal charter which are evidently dictated by Albany) "for the faith, loyalty, love, benevolence, brotherly tenderness, piety, cordial services, and virtuous attention" manifested in delivering the sovereign from imprisonment.‡

The possession of these high honours and dignities, however, served only to whet the ambition of this unprincipled noble, and he speedily showed the inherent baseness of his character by renewing his treasonable intrigues with the English monarch, while, in order to save appearances, he issued orders to the lieges to make preparations for hostilities with England. His traitorous accomplices, the Earl of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddal, were despatched to negotiate a secret treaty with the commissioners of Edward, by which it was stipulated that there should be good amity, love, and favour between the King of England and the high and mighty prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, and between the subjects of either prince dwelling within the one realm or the other—that the King of England and the Scottish ambassadors should not only preserve inviolate the truce between the two kingdoms, but, if need be, should assist Albany in the conquest of the

crown of Scotland 'to his proper use,' while he in his turn engaged to annul for ever the league between Scotland and France, to renounce all right or title to the town and castle of Berwick, to restore the banished Earl of Douglas to the possession of his lands and dignity in Scotland, and after obtaining the crown to marry one of the daughters of King Edward as soon as he could make himself 'clear of other women.' It was also agreed by Angus, Gray, and Liddal, for themselves and their confederates, that in the event of Albany dying without heirs they would maintain their castles and strongholds against James, now King of Scots, and 'live under the sole allegiance of their good and gracious prince the King of England.' Edward on his part undertook to promote these base and treasonable designs of Albany and his accomplices by sending them the immediate aid of three thousand archers, paid and provisioned for six weeks, and placed under the command of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., and his cousin, the Earl of Northumberland, and to help them with an army sufficient for their protection if there should happen 'a great day of rescue,' or any other immediate danger.*

As soon as this infamous transaction transpired, it excited deep indignation among the great body of the nobility and gentry, who, though they had taken part in the plot against the king's favourites, were yet hostile to all attempts to subvert the rights of the crown, and the independence of the country. They showed their detestation of the designs of Albany, by rallying once more around the king, and enabling him to make a successful stand against the plots of his enemies. Albany was deprived of his office as lieutenant-governor of the kingdom by the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh about the close of the year 1482, and the most powerful of his accomplices were at the same time stripped of their dignities and offices. Angus was compelled to resign his office of great justiciar on the south side of the Forth, his stewardry of Kirkcubright, his sheriffdom of Lanark, and his command of the castle of Trief. The office of great chamberlain was taken from the Earl of Buchan, and bestowed upon the Earl of Crawford, while John of Douglas, another of the conspirators, was superseded in his sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Albany and his associates, the Bishop of Moray and the Earls of Athole and Angus, were at the same time interdicted from coming within six miles of the court, while the Earl of Buchan, Lord Crichton, and Sir James Liddal, were banished from the realm for three years. Albany, however, by a culpable act of weakness and inconsistency on the part of the king and his advisers, was permitted to retain the important office of warden of marches, and on confessing his manifold treasons, engaging to give his letters of warrant and allegiance to the sovereign under his seal and subscription, and pro-

Albany and his accomplices are deprived of their offices.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 200.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 143.

‡ Mag. Sig. x. 32; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 240, note.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 173—175.

missing to discontinue his illegal combination with Angus, Athole, Buchan, and the rest of his traitorous confederates, 'not holding them in dayly household in time to come,' he received a full pardon for all his offences, and was permitted to retain the whole of his castles and vast estates.*

It is difficult to decide whether this misplaced *Impolitic lenity* lenity is to be ascribed to the of the king. king's affection for his brother, or to the consciousness of weakness on the part of the government; but the result demonstrated the folly of half measures, and a wavering line of policy. In the course of a few weeks Albany resumed his treasonable intrigues with the court of England. At his invitation an English army invaded Scotland, and advancing to Dunbar, that important stronghold, the key of the eastern marches, was delivered up to the enemy by Gifford, of Sheriffhall, the governor to whom it had been committed by Albany for the purpose of being betrayed into the hands of the English. The duke himself meanwhile fled into England, and in concert with Edward IV. and the banished Earl of Douglas, organized the plan of a more formidable invasion.†

The death of the English monarch, which occurred at this critical moment, and the seizure of the crown by his brother Richard the Third, unexpectedly disarranged the plans of the conspirators, and afforded to James an interval of rest, of which he availed himself with unusual firmness and vigour. A parliament was assembled at Edinburgh.

Forfeiture of Albany and his adherents. Albany was summoned to answer for his treasonable practices, and having failed to appear, he and his principal adherents were declared guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and their lives, lands, offices, and all other possessions, were forfeited to the crown.‡ All the lieges fit to bear arms were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march to the borders for the purpose of defending the kingdom against the invasion of the enemy. And in order that all parties might cordially unite in the defence of the country at this emergency, the king was advised to call into his presence those barons who were at feud with one another, and to persuade them to lay aside their differences. Soon after these energetic measures a truce was concluded with Richard III., who was too much engrossed with his own complicated affairs to have leisure or inclination to continue the war with Scotland; the ancient league between France and Scotland was confirmed and ratified,

and the French monarch engaged to assist his ally, the Scottish king, in the expulsion of the English from the country, and the reduction of his rebellious subjects.§

* MS. Indenture, Register House, Edin.; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 213.

† Buchanan, book xii. chap. i.; Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 147.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 152, 154, 164.

§ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 316, note.

Strengthened by these alliances, James found it no difficult matter to resist the last Inroad of Albany desperate effort of Albany and Douglas.

Douglas to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Although the English monarch had received them courteously, and had even increased the pension paid to the banished earl, they soon discovered that the state of his affairs did not permit him to undertake the invasion of Scotland; and becoming impatient of their exile, they resolved at once to raise the standard of rebellion, trusting to their own resources and the expected aid of their confederates in the recent conspiracy. Having vowed that they would present an offering on the high altar of Lochmaben upon St. Magdalen's day (22nd July), when an annual fair was held there, they advanced to that town at the head of five hundred horse, expecting that they would be joined by the tenantry and vassals of the Douglas family in that district. In this, however, they were grievously disappointed. The hawkers and merchants, all of whom carried arms, offered a stout resistance to the invaders; and just as they were on the point of being overpowered, Charteris of Amisfield, Crichton of Sanquhar, and several other border barons, arrived with a reinforcement of their own retainers, and attacked the English with great fury. After a stubborn conflict, which lasted for several hours, the *Their defeat, and capture of Douglas.* rebels were completely defeated.

Albany escaped by the swiftness of his horse; but the aged Earl of Douglas was taken prisoner by Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, who had once been his own vassal. Kirkpatrick shed tears at the sight of his old master's distress, and even offered to set him at liberty, and fly with him into England. But Douglas was weary of exile, and rejecting the generous offer, informed his captor that he was now resigned to his fate. There was very little in the character or conduct of this once powerful baron which could entitle him either to respect or sympathy, but his years and misfortunes seem to have excited the compassion of the king, who treated him with praiseworthy leniency, and merely commanded him to be confined in the monastery of Lindores. The aged prisoner, who had undergone such strange alternations of fortune, submitted calmly to his sentence, only replying with a popular proverb, 'He that cannot do better must be a monk.*' He survived his ultimate defeat about four years, and with him expired the principal branch of that formidable house, whose rank and power, gained by the inflexible loyalty and invaluable services of its founders, were forfeited through the wicked ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs. The Duke of Albany, after a brief residence in England, passed over to France, where, after a few years, he was accidentally hurt in a tournament by the splinter of a lance, and died of the wound. He left a son, John

* Buchanan, book xii. chap. 52; Hume's Douglas, p. 381 Drummond's Hist. p. 53.

Duke of Albany, who was afterwards regent of Scotland during the minority of James V.*

Soon after the final overthrow of Albany and Truce with Douglas, James despatched an embas- England. sassy, consisting of the Earl of Argyll, the chancellor, Lords Evandale and Lyle, and Whitclaw, his own secretary, for the purpose of negotiating a truce with England. The English monarch, whose power was constantly in danger from the plots and intrigues of his enemies in his own kingdom, was anxious to cultivate friendly relations with Scotland, and received the ambassadors at Nottingham with great state and honour. In a conference between them and the Archbishop of York, the chancellor and the Duke of Norfolk, who acted as commissioners on the part of England, a truce was agreed upon for three years; and to strengthen the amity between the two kingdoms, it was arranged that the heir of the Scottish crown, James Duke of Rothesay, should wed Lady Anne de la Pole, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and niece of the English king.* It was stipulated that the castle of Dunbar, which was still garrisoned by the English, should be included in the truce for the space of six months; but after the expiry of that period, the Scots were to be at liberty to recover it, if they could, by force of arms.

In a meeting of the three Estates, held 4th February, 1485, the renewal of the ancient league with France, and of the truce with England, was solemnly ratified and confirmed, and it was resolved to send an embassy to York at the expense of the clergy, barons, and burghs, for the purpose of concluding the marriage between the Duke of Rothesay and the niece of the English monarch. Shevez, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was despatched on an embassy to the papal court, to obtain from the pontiff the confirmation of the alliance with France, and of the treaty with Denmark; and this embassy the archbishop offered to undertake at his own expence,—an arrangement which, taken in connection with the stipulation respecting the expediture of the commissioners sent to England, unequivocally betrays the impoverished condition of the royal exchequer at this time. The envoy was instructed also to request his holiness to confirm the royal nomination of Alexander Inglis, the king's 'tender clerk and counsellor,' to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and especially to entreat that, in consequence of the distance of the realm of Scotland from the court of Rome, the pope would grant to the Scottish kings the power of superseding for six months the disposition to vacant benefices, that there might be time to make application to the pontiff for the promotion of such persons as were agreeable to the sovereign,—a matter of great importance to the stability of the government, since the bishops had the first vote in parliament, and were members of the privy

council. To render still more evident the determination of the king to support his royal prerogative against the encroachments of the papal see, the statute of James II. which forbade, under the penalties of treason, the purchase of benefices in the court of Rome, the presentation to which belonged to the crown, was re-enacted, and all who supported the ecclesiastics that had violated this law were ordered to be punished as severely as the principal offenders. Provisions were also adopted in this parliament for the improvement of the administration of justice, and the maintenance of tranquillity and the authority of law throughout the country. The lords and head men of the kingdom were enjoined to bring to trial and execution all notorious offenders, and the king came under obligation to grant no pardon or respite to criminals of this class for the space of two years.*

Soon after this, Richard the Third was defeated and slain in the battle of Bosworth, and the Earl of Richmond ^{Renewal of the truce with England.} ascended the English throne under the title of Henry the Seventh. The position of the new monarch rendered it highly desirable that he should maintain the most amicable relations with Scotland, in order that he might devote his whole efforts to the consolidation of his recently acquired power. Within a month, therefore, after his accession to the crown, overtures were made by him to the Scottish monarch for the establishment of a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.† Commissioners were accordingly appointed on both sides to conduct the negotiation; and after various conferences a truce was agreed on for three years, with a view to a permanent treaty, and proposals were made for a marriage between the Marquis of Ormond, second son of the King of Scotland, and the Lady Catherine, daughter of Edward the Fourth, and sister-in-law to King Henry. James had in the mean time succeeded in expelling the English garrison which had so long kept possession of the important fortress of Dunbar; but this event did not interrupt the negotiations for the establishment of peace.

About this time the queen died, in the thirtieth or thirty-first year of her age; and though James possessed no high ^{Death and character of the queen.} reputation for conjugal attachment and fidelity, he could hardly fail to feel the loss of one whose powerful connections had added much to the dignity and stability of his throne, and whose personal attractions were well fitted to grace his court, and promote the happiness of his domestic life. The annals of the period furnish very scanty materials for an estimate of her character; but no suspicion has ever been cast on her name, and the few brief notices of her history that remain warrant the assertion, that she wisely kept aloof from political intrigues, and sought in a quiet, virtuous course, an honour more congenial to her feelings, as well as more suitable to her sex.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 318, note.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 244.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 173.
† Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 255—316.

She died in the prime of life; but she may be counted happy in having closed her earthly career before her eldest son's unnatural rebellion and her husband's tragical end.

The elements of discord were still strong among the nobility and great landed proprietors; for the middle and lower classes had at that time no separate political status, and seem to have never dreamt of any independent political action, being entirely under the control of their feudal superiors in the rural districts, and little less so in the towns, where the craftsmen depended chiefly on the custom of the neighbouring gentry, from among whom also their provosts and patrons were usually selected. The aristocracy formed the only counterpoise to the monarchial power; and many of its members continued to cherish the restless, turbulent spirit which had so often embroiled them with each other and with their sovereign. This was especially the case with those who had taken part in the revolt at Lauder, or countenanced the subsequent ambitious schemes of the Duke of Albany, and who felt that they were obnoxious to a charge of high treason, on which the king would in all likelihood bring them to trial and to punishment, whenever he obtained an opportunity of doing so with success. Yet for a little longer the embers of the strife smouldered among the ashes of its former conflagrations. The parliament, which met in October, 1487, was very numerously attended, and discharged its legislative

duties with laudable zeal and unanimity. The disaffected party, indeed, attempted to procure an amnesty for all past outrages; but they did not offer any violent opposition to an act of a contrary purport, which was passed, requesting the king to refuse all applications for the pardon of capital crimes during seven years thereafter, because the land had been 'greatly broken and distressed' through the want of 'sharp execution on traitors and murderers.' The use which might be made of this decree against themselves was too obvious to be overlooked: but they were little skilled in the weapons of argument and debate; the platform of the deliberative assembly was not their vantage-ground, and they trusted principally to other means of defence, which they were quite ready to employ, should they be pushed to extremity. Besides the act in question was expressed in general terms, ostensibly for the benefit of the 'poor lieges,' and eager opposition to a measure, so reasonable and just in itself, would have seemed to argue a consciousness of their own misdemeanors. The law accordingly was passed with little opposition; as were some others of a similar tendency.* Justices-general were appointed for the northern and southern districts of the kingdom, with injunctions to proceed without delay to the vigorous discharge of their judicial functions; while it was further resolved, that all peers, prelates, barons, and commons, should give prompt and effective aid

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 176.

to the officers of the law in their several sheriffdoms, refusing harbourage to known criminals, and arming their vassals, when requisite, for the capture of offenders whose power enabled them to set the ordinary means of arrest at defiance. At the same time a committee was appointed for the revision of the old statutes: and it was ordered that the titles and estates of the Duke of Albany should be confiscated and annexed to the crown. Regarding commerce, there was a re-enactment of some former provisions restricting the privilege of foreign trade to burgesses of a certain class; to which was added a decree for the encouragement of imports by merchants from abroad. The necessity for thus repeating under successive administrations, and even from time to time, in the course of the same reign, not only the laws which were passed for the suppression of rapine and bloodshed, but those which were designed to regulate mercantile transactions, presents a painful picture of the state of society at this period. It appears that the government had no effective control over any class of the community, and was accustomed to see its authority contemned and its restraints broken through, by the middle and lower orders, as well as by the feudal chieftains.

The strength which accrued to the king and his party, from the tone of feeling displayed by the parliament, and the acts which were passed for the repression of disorders, received a further accession, before the close of the year, from a friendly negotiation with England. It was agreed at Edinburgh, between the Bishop of Aberdeen and Lord Bothwell on the part of James, and the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Richard Edgecomb as ambassadors from Henry, that the truce between the kingdoms should be prolonged for two years. The commissioners also entertained favourably a proposal to lay the basis of a more permanent union by three marriages; one, between James and the widow of Edward the Fourth; another, between the heir to the Scottish crown and a daughter of that monarch; the third, between James's second son and another princess of the same family.* These matrimonial projects, indeed, were afterwards broken off, in consequence of the Scottish king's insisting peremptorily on the restoration of Berwick, a condition to which Henry gave an equally decided refusal; but, in the mean time, the prolongation of the truce, and the hopeful aspect which the other negotiations at first assumed, were calculated to strengthen the hands of the royalists and to damp the spirits of the opposite faction. The latter, however, wanted neither courage nor resources; and immediately after the prorogation of the parliament they began to lay the train of a formidable conspiracy against the king. The Earl of Angus and Lord Gray, who had been most deeply implicated in the former outbreaks, seem to have been the principal insti-

Renewal of the truce with England.

Renewal of the conspiracy among the barons—

* Rymers, Foed. vol. xiii. p. 328.

gators of the new rebellion. It was easy to gain the co-operation of Argyle, Lennox, Hailes, Home, and others, who perceived that the recent parliamentary measures, if not directed specially against them, were likely to be turned to their serious injury, on the ground of their participation in the previous insurrection. Nor was it much more difficult to attach a considerable body of the prelates to the meditated enterprise, for the king had begun to manifest a decided opposition to the claims of the Holy See over the ecclesiastical affairs of his realm. Apparently an attempt was also made to draw the aged Earl of Douglas from his monastic seclusion at Lindores into another conflict with the regal power from which he had so long and so severely suffered; but without success—physical infirmities, or the weariness of a broken spirit, made him decline to leave the retirement in which he had now learned, it is said, to think less of time than of eternity. The malcontents seem to have been more successful with Henry the Seventh, for there is on record a safe conduct granted by him soon afterwards to a number of Scottish lords, with a view to their visiting England;* and as all the persons named in it belonged to the disaffected party, while it suspiciously conceals the object of their visit, there is reason to believe that it was in some way connected with their treasonable designs. But their most politic, and at the same time most heartless device, was to alienate the affections of the prince royal from his father, and to add the influence of his name to their projected enterprise. It has been asserted, indeed, by some historians that he joined them by constraint, but others have not hesitated to accuse him of actively concurring in the designs of the conspirators—a charge which he himself strongly confirmed, by the high tone which he assumed in the subsequent conference at Blackness, by his failing to detach himself from the rebel party when the temporary pacification there gave him an opportunity of doing so, by the judicial proceedings which he instituted after his accession against some of the more distinguished royalist barons, and by the remorse which he felt and manifested in later years for the part which he had taken in his father's death.

Such were the varied and formidable influences which the conspirators employed to gain their guilty ends; and by the close of 1487 they were busily at work arranging their plans, collecting their resources, and striving to win over the several parties whose assistance they anticipated. But as yet they had not declared their intentions, or lifted the veil from their preparatory movements. Accordingly, when the parliament, which had been prorogued to the January of the following year, met again in the course of that month, they were found in their places, to watch the further procedure of the king and his party. If the steps which James now took, were adopted under a sus-

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 340.

picion of the confederacy forming against him, and intended to check its progress, they did much more credit to his courage than to his wisdom, for their effect must have been to confirm the hostility of the malcontents, and to strengthen their hands. His second son was created Duke of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Etdirdale, and Lord of Brechin and Novar—a measure which would be viewed by the elder brother of the favoured prince with no other feelings than those of jealousy and dissatisfaction, and which was susceptible of being disascribed to a purpose of ultimately changing the succession to the crown. Several of the gentry, who were known to be strongly attached to the king, were at the same time raised to the peerage,—a proceeding which the old hereditary nobles are always ready to contemplate with aversion, and which, in this case, would at once be ascribed to a design of augmenting the royal influence in the national assembly. Another impolitic act was the annexation of the lands and revenues of the Coldingham priory to the royal chapel at Stirling, which James had resolved to distinguish as the seat of a very sumptuous ecclesiastical service. Some of the powerful border families were certain to resent this as an injury, and to make it a ground for cherishing a deeper spirit of discontent. Nor were the dignitaries of the church less likely to be offended by the manner in which their sovereign proceeded to deal with its affairs, when he asserted his right of presenting to all vacant benefices, forbade any appeal to Rome without his sanction, and proclaimed that no emissary from the pope would be permitted to enter his kingdom, unless the object of the visit had been previously announced to him and his council. He is said to have attempted at the same time a still more questionable blow at the power of the party opposed to him: inviting the Earl of Angus to a private conference, he sought, not only to detach that powerful baron from the confederacy, but to make him the instrument of arresting its other chief supporters, as they were then in the capital for the discharge of their parliamentary duties, with comparatively few of their retainers at hand.* If such a scheme was really formed, which, however, is very doubtful, it was not likely to prove successful, and by its failure must have greatly widened the breach between the king and the disaffected chiefs, to whom the project was speedily made known.

These ill-timed and imprudent measures filled the cup of discontent and irritation to the brim, and hastened the outbreak of the meditated revolt. No sooner was the parliament dissolved than the conspirators assembled their forces, and prepared to try the issue of a struggle on the battle-field. The heir to the crown joined them from Stirling, where he had been placed by his father, under the guardianship of Shaw of Sauchie, who, nevertheless, had secretly united himself to the

The barons break out in open rebellion.

* Buchanan, book xii. chap. lv. lvi.

malecontents, and was, in all likelihood, the principal agent in corrupting the mind of his youthful ward.* The prince was welcomed with open arms, and placed, nominally at least, at the head of the confederacy, which was then declared to have taken up arms for the purpose of placing him on his father's throne; on the ostensible ground that the king had been negotiating with England to the detriment of his country's honour, and the sacrifice of its independence. This charge was undoubtedly false; for James was so far from contemplating any surrender of territory or prerogative to Henry, that he had made the restoration of Berwick a primary and indispensable condition of the permanent alliance projected by the commissioners at Edinburgh in the previous year.

The sudden outbreak took the king by surprise; but there was no want of promptitude and energy in the preparations which he made to meet it. A trusty emissary was sent to his son, to detach him, if possible, from the ranks of the conspirators; ambassadors were despatched to the courts of England, France, and Rome, to request aid; and, on the first movement of the rebels towards Edinburgh, James secretly quitted the city, for the purpose of heading, in person, the forces of the loyal barons on whom he could depend. Having embarked in a vessel belonging to Sir Andrew Wood, which was usually employed in the trade with Flanders, a report was circulated that he had fled to that country; and the alarm which arose in consequence enabled the insurgents, with little difficulty, to capture Dunbar, and occupy Leith. But the king had landed in Fife, and hastened northwards to Aberdeen; where his uncle, the Earl of Athole, with the Earl of Huntley and other nobles, mustered their followers in force around his standard. Returning at the head

of this army to Perth, he was there joined by the martial array of Fife, Angus, and Strathern, under their feudal chieftains, among whom were conspicuous Lord Ruthven, along with a thousand men-at-arms, a thousand archers, and a thousand infantry; and Lord Lindsay, of the Byres, whose distinguished military reputation, acquired in the French wars, enhanced the value of the powerful force which he led to his sovereign's assistance. Passing on to Stirling, James found himself attended by an army of thirty thousand men, and a large number of the barons and gentry, among whom, besides those already mentioned, were the Earls of Buchan, Crawford, and Errol; Lords Glamis and Kilmaurs; the Barons of Tullybardine and Pourie; Innes of Innes; Collace of Balnamoson, and Somer of Balyard. The hostile armies met at Blackness, in West Lothian; but the prospect of a battle could not be agreeable to either party, and negotiations were entered into, chiefly, it is said, by the instigation of the king, whose natural repugnance to civil war was heightened by

* Fitzosborne, vol. i. p. 214; Buch. book xii. chap. lviii.

his grief at the thought of his son directing an armament against him. The hope of an amicable adjustment, however, was nearly overturned by the impetuosity of the Earl of Skirmish at Buchan, who attacked, and, after Blackness. a sharp encounter, drove back the forces of the insurgents. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the defection of Huntley and some others of the royalist barons, who drew off their followers and departed homewards, to their respective estates, in displeasure at the infringement of the armistice and the favour shown to Buchan, who was eager for an immediate and general engagement. Their respective losses probably disposed the leaders on both sides to listen to moderate counsels: the negotiations were resumed and brought to a favourable issue, Temporary the king pledging himself for the pacification. honourable treatment of his son, and the free pardon of the insurgent barons, while they promised, on their part, to return to their allegiance, and to maintain the just rights of the crown, as well as the peace of the country.

The calm which followed was not of long continuance: the pacification at Blackness took place in April, and May Fresh insurrection. saw the rebels again in arms, with the prince at their head, their declared object still being to obtain the king's abdication in favour of his son. Heralds were sent to require their submission; but the summons met with a contemptuous refusal, and the messengers with personal injury. James, equally grieved and indignant, saw no way of preserving his crown but by a vigorous armed resistance; and for this he could only trust to his own resources, for neither England nor France was disposed to lend him any aid; and if he knew of the nuncio despatched by the Holy See, for the purpose of mediating between him and the insurgents, it was to be feared that the mediation would be either too late or too weak to render him effective service. He had no choice but to repel force by force. Without delay, therefore, he sent to summon his adherents and their retainers, whom he had unfortunately dismissed to their estates after the pacification at Blackness; and, meanwhile, entrenched himself within the walls of Edinburgh castle, which contained his treasure and principal military stores. Sound policy should have led James to avoid the risk of a battle till his expected troops had mustered in sufficient strength for offensive operations. But as he depended chiefly on the loyalty of the northern parts of his kingdom, it was deemed necessary to secure the passage of the Forth, at Stirling. Thither accordingly, he proceeded with the friends who had already rallied around him, and effected a junction with considerable detachments from the Western and Midland counties. The forces now under his command, however, were by no means sufficient to justify him in risking a pitched battle against the formidable array of the rebels; and as the gates of Stirling castle were closed against him by the

treachery of Shaw the governor, it should have been his policy to keep the left bank of the Forth, and to defend the passage of that river, till he received the accession of strength which he still expected from the more distant northern districts. Unfortunately a different course was adopted: intelligence being received next morning, (18th June, 1488,) that the forces of the enemy were approaching from Falkirk by the Torwood, the king advanced to meet them, and the two armies encountered

at a place called Little Can-
 Sauchieburn. glar, on the east side of Sauchieburn, about a mile from the famous field of Bannockburn.* The royalists were drawn up in three divisions. The vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Huntley and Athole, was composed of the Highland clans, armed with swords, long daggers, bows and targets; in the rear were the Westland and Stirlingshire troops, led by the Earl of Monteith, with the Lords Erskine and Graham; while the king himself was in the centre at the head of the burghers and commons. On his right hand was the Earl of Crawford, who, for his eminent services, had recently been created Duke of Montrose; with Lord Lindsay of the Byres, at the head of the chivalry of Fife and Angus; while the left wing was composed of five thousand spearmen from Perthshire, under the command of Lord Ruthven. On the other hand, the rebels, who were greatly superior in numbers, advanced also in three divisions. Lord Hailes and the Master of Home led the van, consisting of the spearmen of East Lothian, and the Merse, and Teviotdale. The second division was composed of the savage Galwegians and the fierce Borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, under the command of Lord Gray; while the chief of the insurgent barons, along with the prince, whom their wicked arts had enticed to rebel against his father, were stationed in the main body.†

On the first encounter, the royalists drove back the vanguard of their opponents with considerable loss; but when the hardy and well-disciplined western Borderers advanced to the rescue, the Highlanders, under Huntley and Athole, were unable to resist the shock, and, after a fierce struggle, were compelled to retreat in confusion upon the main body, which made a vigorous but unsuccessful effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Overborne by numbers, and compelled to give ground, the royalists retired slowly towards Stirling; and still fighting with obstinate valour, protracted the struggle till the approach of night, when, under cover of the darkness, they decamped in haste, and disbanded their forces, leaving among the slain the Earls of Glencairn and Bothwell, with the Lords Semple, Ruthven, and Erskine. The victorious army passed the night on the field of battle, and next day returned to Linlithgow.

James had quitted the field before the conflict

* See chart of Bannockburn, and surrounding country.

† Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 219; Buchanan, book xii. chap. lxi.

was finally decided. As soon as the prospect of the issue became first doubtful, then adverse, the barons who surrounded the king reminded him of the paramount importance of his personal safety, and earnestly recommended him to avert, by an immediate retreat, the danger of his fall or capture, in comparison with which the loss of a single battle was of little moment. Yielding to this advice, James galloped off in the direction of Stirling bridge, either alone, or at such a pace as left his attendants far behind. He was mounted on a powerful grey horse, which had been presented to him a few days before by Lord Lindsay, with the assurance that whether he had 'to flee or follow, advance or retreat,' the animal 'would waur (beat) all the horse of Scotland if he would sit well.' But this highly-valued gift proved the means of the king's destruction. On crossing the brook Bannock, at a hamlet called Milltown, about a mile from the battle-ground, he came suddenly upon a woman drawing water from a well by the roadside, who, alarmed at his appearance, threw down her picher and fled into the house. The horse, which was at full speed, startled by this noise, swerved aside, and the king losing his balance fell to the ground before the mill door, and was so much bruised by the fall and the weight of his armour, that he swooned away. The miller and his wife, though ignorant of his name and station, carried him into the mill,* and administered to him such cordials as their house afforded. When he had somewhat recovered, he inquired for a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Being asked who he was, he answered 'This day at morn, I was your king.' On hearing this, the miller's wife ran out, wringing her hands, and calling for a priest to confess the king. At this moment some of the pursuers came up, and one of them, who is asserted to have been an ecclesiastic named Borthwick, in the service of Lord Gray, on hearing Murder of the woman's exclamation, said, 'I king. am a priest, where is the king?' On his admission to the mill, he found the unfortunate monarch lying in a corner of the building, covered with a coarse cloth; and kneeling down under pretence of reverence, inquired if his grace thought he could recover if he had medical assistance. The king answered 'He trowit (believed) he might,' but in the meanwhile he wished a priest to receive his confession, and to give him the sacrament. 'That shall I do hastily,' replied the ruffian; and pulling out a dagger, stabbed his unresisting victim repeatedly to the heart. According to Pitcottie, the murderer carried off the body of his sovereign, 'but no man knew what he did with him, nor where he buried him.' This, however, is a mistake, for a corpse, ascertained to be that of the unhappy mo-

* The place where James was murdered is known by the name of Beaton's Mill, and is said to be so called from the person who then possessed it. The house has been somewhat modernized, and converted from a mill into a dwelling house, but the lower part of the walls is unaltered and has the appearance of great antiquity. The corner stone of the modern portion of the fabric bears date 1687.

narch, was afterwards found in the neighbourhood, and buried with royal honours in the abbey of Cambuskenneth.*

James III., who thus perished in the prime of his life by the dagger of an assassin, like most of the princes of his unfortunate house, was possessed of great personal accomplishments, and was, in some respects, far in advance of the age in which he lived. He was passionately fond of the study of mathematics, of judicial astrology, and of the science and practice of music, while his architectural taste was displayed in the erection of the many noble and splendid buildings with which he adorned his kingdom. His devotion to these pursuits, which bespoke a refined and cultivated mind, and would, in other circumstances, have been highly praiseworthy, and his love of seclusion and repose, led him to select as his familiar friends the professors of literature and of the fine arts, to the exclusion of his rude and ignorant nobility, whom he regarded as barbarians, and who, in turn, looked with contempt on what they considered the weak and effeminate character of their sovereign. This mutual aversion between the king and his nobles became gradually stronger and stronger, and at length led to the most fatal results. Immersed in his favourite pursuits, James neglected the duties of his government, obstinately refused to listen to the complaints and remonstrances of his nobility,† and not only admitted architects, painters, musicians, and astrologers to that familiar intercourse, from which even the highest nobles were excluded, but had the weakness and indiscretion to confer on these associates the rank and distinctions hitherto appropriated exclusively to the feudal barons and knights. It is not to be wondered at that a rude and haughty nobility should have been disgusted with such conduct, and should have readily entered into conspiracies against a monarch whom they neither feared nor loved. In a more civilized country, and in a less warlike age, James might have swayed the sceptre with great credit to himself and advantage to his people; but his lot had fallen on evil days. The fierce and turbulent barons by whom

* Ferrerius, p. 400; Lesley's Hist. p. 67.
† Pitcairnie, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.

he was surrounded were ignorant, illiterate, and unpolished, and regarded with supreme contempt every pursuit, except those connected with the warlike and knightly exercises, in which they were almost exclusively occupied; while the middle classes of the community had not yet risen into sufficient importance and power to be able to support their sovereign against the opposition of his factious barons. At this period, too, a revolutionary and anti-feudal movement of the aristocracy against their king had taken place in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and in almost every other kingdom in Europe with which Scotland was connected; and though the struggle was not in all cases successful, yet the spectacle of a monarch deposed and imprisoned, or put to death by his nobles, had become so familiar as greatly to diminish, in public estimation, the sacredness of the royal person, and the respect for hereditary succession. The restless and rapacious aristocracy of Scotland were not slow to imitate the example of the members of their order in other countries, and to seek the increase of their power and privileges at the expense of the throne. The factious and selfish character of their rebellion is clearly proved by the remarkable fact that though the revolutionary barons proclaimed themselves the champions of law, of liberty, and of the people, and denounced the king as a tyrant and an oppressor; yet the middle classes and the great body of the nation refused to join in their base and treacherous designs, and, so far as they did take part in the struggle, followed the example of the clergy, and united themselves to the party of the sovereign.*

The personal appearance of the unfortunate prince was highly prepossessing; his complexion was dark; his countenance handsome and intelligent; and his person tall and athletic. By his queen he left three sons,—James, his successor; a second James, created Marquis of Ormond and Duke of Ross, and who afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews; and John, Earl of Mar. At the time of his death he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign.

* Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 335—337; Tytler, vol. iv. pp. 278—284.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

DURING the period which elapsed between the death of James the First and the accession of James the Fourth, Scotland presented a scene of almost incessant turmoil and disorder. In addition to the usual evils of a long minority in these unhappy times, the miseries of the country were greatly aggravated by the struggles of a turbulent and factious nobility to recover the privileges and power of which they had been deprived.

The wise and benevolent measures ^{Distracted state} of the country which James the First had enacted for the equitable administration of justice and the protection of the poorer classes against the oppression of the great, remained a mere dead letter on the statute book as soon as the hand of that vigorous and sagacious monarch was withdrawn; and, in a brief space, the power of the feudal barons throughout the kingdom became as exorbitant and was as injuriously exercised as ever. Rapine and outrage everywhere prevailed. The poor and unprotected were oppressed and robbed with impunity. The most flagrant crimes went unpunished, and the country was again torn asunder by the fierce disensions and sanguinary feuds of the nobility. The misery which the people suffered at this period is thus bewailed by Bower, the historian, who flourished during the minority of James the Second.

“Long appears to us, O king, the time of thy arrival at majority, when thou mayest be able to deliver us, confounded as we are with daily tyranny, oppressed with rapine and spoil; when thou mayest dietate laws, and exercise justice, that the poor, who among us have no helper but God and thee, may be freed from the hand of the powerful. Mayest thou remember that thou art a legislator, in order that thou mayest crush the robber, and restrain those who deal in rapine. The groans of the humble, and the miseries of the poor, whom I myself, who write this, have seen this very day, in my own neighbourhood, stripped of their garments, and inhumanly spoiled of their domestic utensils, constrain me to exclaim with him who says, ‘I have seen the injuries which are done, the tears of the innocent and no comforter; and that the destitute cannot resist violence. I have praised the dead more than the living, and happier than both have I esteemed the unborn, the sole strangers to the evils of this world.’ And, in another passage, comparing the reign of James I. with his own times: ‘Woe to us, miserable wretches! exposed to rapine and injury: how can we endure to live who enjoyed such prosperity in the days of that illustrious king, and now, by a sad change of fortune, experience the complete reverse?’”

This deplorable account of the state of Scotland in these ‘troubled times,’ is fully corroborated by

Pitseottie, who says, that “meikle hership and stouth was in land and burrowis, and great cruelty of nobles among themselves; for slaughter, theft, and murder were then potent, and so continued day by day, so that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown that was the greatest brigand, thief, and murderer. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends that were cruelly slain by wicked murderers, that it would have pitied any man to have heard the same.” No wonder that “the people began to weary and to curse that ever it chanced them to live in sic wicked and dangerous times.” “But,” he significantly adds, “they were the cause of this mischief that were governors and magistrates of the realm.” Throughout the whole of this period, indeed, those, who from their station and office ought to have been the guardians of the laws and the protectors of the people, were, in most cases, the worst oppressors of the poor, and the first to violate the statutes which they had assisted to frame.

One fertile source of the lawlessness and confusion which prevailed in Scotland ‘Bands’ among at this time, was the custom of the nobles. entering into ‘bands or leagues,’ by which the feudal barons became bound to stand by each other in all causes and quarrels in which they might engage. The precise nature of these confederacies among the Scottish nobles may be learned from the remarkable agreement entered into between Robert Lord Fleming, on the one side, and Gilbert Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd of Duchol, on the other. The indenture, which is dated at Stirling on the 10th of February, 1465, declares that the said lords had solemnly “bound and obliged themselves, their kin, friends, and men, to stand in a full kindness, supply, and defence, each to the other in all their causes and quarrels moved and to be moved, for all the days of their lives, against all manner of persons that live or die may,” reserving, however, their allegiance to their sovereign, and especially excepting from the operation of this clause the Lords Livingston and Hamilton, with whom, it would seem, Lord Fleming had already entered into a similar covenant. On the other hand, Kennedy and Boyd except from the obligation to consider as their adversaries every enemy of Fleming, a list of friends with whom they had entered into a similar bond, including the Earl of Crawford, Lords Montgomery, Maxwell, Livingston, Hamilton, and Cathcart, along with Patrick Graham, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. With regard to the services which the parties entering into this league were mutually to perform, it was stipulated that Lord Fleming was to remain a member of the king’s special council so long as Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd themselves continue in the same office, on condition that he became bound, in no possible manner either by active measures, or by consent and advice, to remove the king’s person from the keeping of Kennedy and Boyd, or of any person whom they may have

left in charge of the sovereign during their absence. It was also stipulated that Lord Fleming should engage that he would earnestly advise the king, "with his good counsel, to be heartily and kindly to Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd, with their bairns and friends, and they that belong to them at the time." In return for these services it was declared that if any office in the king's gift happened to fall vacant, which is a reasonable and fit thing for Lord Fleming's service, he should be promoted thereto for his reward; and "if there happens a larger thing to fall, such as ward-relief, marriage, or other perquisite, as is meet for the Lord Fleming's service, he shall have it for a reasonable composition before any other." It was finally agreed that for Lord Fleming's sake, and for their service done and to be done, Tom of Somerville and Wat of Tweedy, two of Lord Fleming's friends, should be received by Kennedy and Boyd in special maintenance, supply, and defence, in all their actions, causes, and quarrels: and the deed was solemnly ratified and confirmed by the oath of the contracting parties taken upon the holy gospels.*

This instructive document will serve to illustrate the unworthy methods which were attempted to remedy these evils. The Scottish barons to promote their own selfish interests at the expense of the peace and prosperity of the country. It was in vain that the legislature declared that 'within the burghs throughout the realm' no bands or leagues were to be permitted, and that no persons who dwelt within burghs should either enter into 'man-rent,' or ride, or 'rout' in warlike apparel with any leader, except the king or his officers, or the lord of the burgh within which they dwelt, under the penalty of forfeiting their lives, and having their goods confiscated to the king.† The evil was too deep-rooted to be reached by mere legislative enactments which the sovereign and his ministers had no power to enforce. In defiance, both of the threats of the law, and the efforts of the government, the Scottish aristocracy continued and extended their illegal confederacies, which were equally at variance with the rights of the community, and the independence and stability of the throne. And the frequent repetition in the statute-book of the same enactments against the formation of 'bands or leagues'—the making of private war—laying violent hands upon the person of the sovereign—plundering the king's lieges—'great and masterful theft,' and other flagrant crimes of a similar kind, plainly shows the utter impotence both of the legislature and of the government to restrain or punish the acts of oppression and robbery perpetrated by those turbulent barons, whose ferocity and selfish ambition filled the country from one end to the other with scenes of bloodshed and rapine.

The reign of James the Second was fertile in

* Tytler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter G.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 50.

judicious and salutary enactments, and the statutes enacted for the purpose of securing the more speedy punishment of offenders and their abettors—the suppression of rebellion against the king's person and authority—the appointment of learned and upright judges, and the equal administration of justice—the security of life and property, and the preservation of the 'king's peace,' in every part of the country—the protection of the rights of 'the poor people who labour the ground,' by the positive prohibition of all attempts to eject any tenant during the currency of his lease, or in the case of those who held church-lands, on a vacancy of the benefice, reflect the highest credit on the sagacity and firmness of this monarch, and the able and enlightened prelates who were his chief advisers; and serve also to throw great light on the state of the country, and the difficulties which he had to encounter in his wise and benevolent efforts to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. It would appear that the stringent enactments of his father against 'sorning and masterful beggars' had failed to arrest this grievous abuse, for a statute, which gives us a curious picture of the times, was passed by the parliament of 1449, for the 'putting away of sorners, outlyars, and masterful beggars,' who travelled through the country with horses, hounds, and other goods, extorting charity from those who were afraid to resist their demands, especially from the farmers and the monks. All sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and bailies, either without or within the burgh, were directed to confiscate the property, and to seize the persons of these sturdy mendicants, as well as of "any pretended fools, bards or such like vagabonds," who were to be kept in prison or in irons as long "as they had wherewith to live, and when they had not, their ears to be nailed to the Tron or to a tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which if they returned again they were to be hanged." By another statute these 'sorners' were to be punished with death.

The same anxious desire to promote the peace and prosperity of the country, and the maintenance of law and order, appears in the peremptory injunctions issued by James to the sheriffs to make immediate inquiry into all invasions of property, and to compel the offender to make instant restitution; in the directions given to these officers, along with the justices, chamberlains, coroners, and other magistrates, not to travel through the country with those numerous trains of attendants, which grievously oppressed the people; and in the penalties denounced against any lord of regality who should abuse his privileges to the breaking of the king's laws, and the injury of the country. A striking proof of the frequency of brawls and riots among the unruly followers of the nobility is afforded by a subsequent statute, which enjoins all persons of every degree to attend the justice ayres or sheriff courts with no more than their ordinary train of attendants, and to take care on entering their inn or lodging to lay aside their harness and

warlike weapons, and to use for the time nothing but their knives. As an additional security against violence and bloodshed, when persons at deadly feud happened to meet at such assemblies, the sheriff was directed to take pledges from both, binding them to keep the peace.* Any person who had reason to apprehend violence from another—an event of constant occurrence in these lawless times—was directed to go to the nearest magistrate, and make oath that he was in dread of his violence, after which the officer was to take pledges for the keeping of the peace according to the ancient statutes upon this subject.† The person who refused to grant such security, that he would abstain from offering violence to the person, or invading the property of his neighbours, was liable to heavy penalties. In order to put a stop to the alarming prevalence of crime and oppression, a subsequent statute inflicted severe fines upon the *borrows* or sureties of those persons who had violated their pledges. “Concerning law-borrows it is enacted,” to use the language of the statute, “that if they be broken upon any bishop, abbot, prelate of the church, earl or lord of parliament, the sureties of the infringer shall pay to our sovereign lord a fine of one hundred pounds; if upon any baron, knight, squire, or beneficed clerk, fifty pounds; if upon a burgess, yeoman, or priest, thirty pounds, together with due compensation to the party injured, unless the sureties produce the offender before the king or sheriff within forty days.”‡

Among the numerous judicious measures which distinguished the reign of James the First, was the appointment of a committee, consisting of six wise and able men best acquainted with the laws, chosen from each of the three Estates, for the purpose of examining the books of the law; that is to say, ‘Regiam Majestatem’ and ‘Quoniam Attachamenta,’ who were directed to ‘mend the laws that nedis mendyng,’ to reconcile all contradictory and explain all obscure enactments. A similar measure was adopted by the parliament of 1469, in which the three Estates, after having concluded their deliberations, elected a committee of prelates, barons, and commissaries of the burghs, to whom, among other important matters, was entrusted ‘the reduction of the king’s laws, comprehending the “Regiam Majestatem,” the acts, statutes, and other books, into one code or volume,’ while the rest, meaning probably those statutes which had either fallen into desuetude, or been abrogated, were to be destroyed. These injunctions, however, seem not to have been carried into effect, for in 1473, the lords and barons besought the king to select from each Estate two persons of wisdom, conscience, and knowledge, who were to labour diligently towards ‘the clearing up of diverse, obscure matters, which existed in the books of the law, and created a constant and daily perplexity,’ and were directed to ‘find good inven-

tions, which shall accord to law and conscience, for the decision of the daily pleas brought before the king’s highness, and concerning which there was as yet no law proper to regulate their decision.’ It was further recommended by the lords and barons, that after such rules of law had been selected they should be laid before the next meeting of parliament, and upon being ratified and approved, all the laws of the realm should then be written in a book, which was to be kept in an accessible place where it might be copied, and that no other books of the law should be permitted thenceforth to be quoted but those which were copies from this original, under the penalty of personal punishment and perpetual silence, to be inflicted upon all who practised in the laws and infringed these injunctions.*

In order to promote the due administration of justice in all parts of the kingdom, it was directed by the parliament of 1457, that the Court of Session should be composed of nine judges, who were to have votes in the decision of causes; three being chosen from each Estate along with the clerk of the register; and that these lords of session should sit three times in the year for forty days at a time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. The impoverished state of the public exchequer at this period is manifested by a subsequent statute, which states that since the lords of session are to hold their court for so short a time, and that they are not likely to be called upon to undertake such a duty more than once every seven years, they ought out of their benevolence to pay their own expenses; and upon the conclusion of the three yearly sessions, the king and his council promise to select other lords from the three Estates, who should sit in the same manner as the first, at such places as were most convenient.† The settlement of all causes not exceeding minor causes.

The sum of five pounds, was intrusted to a committee, selected by the privy council, and consisting of eight or twelve persons, according to the size of the town. Frequent references occur in the statute book to the neglect or unwillingness of the judges, and law officers of the crown, to execute the laws, especially against powerful delinquents; no doubt from their natural apprehension of injury to their own persons or interests; and in the parliament of 1469, it was declared, ‘that if the justice, sheriff, steward, or other officer, refuse to execute justice,’ the complainant should repair to the king in council, who shall inflict summary punishment on the offending magistrate.

In consequence of the general insecurity of life and property in Scotland at this period, agricultural operations were so generally neglected, that it was deemed necessary to frame several regulations for the encouragement of husbandry, and to re-enact the statute

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 105; Tytler, vol. iv. p. 206.

† Ibid. p. 139; Acts, &c., vol. ii. p. 48.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 85.

‡ Ibid. p. 85.

of James I., by which every man possessed of a plough and of eight oxen was commanded to sow annually at the least a firlof of wheat, half a firlof of pease, and forty beans, under the penalty of ten shillings to the baron of the land for each offence; while the baron himself was enjoined to sow the same proportions of wheat, pease, and beans, in his own domains, under the penalty of ten shillings to the king for his own infringement of the law, and forty shillings, if he neglected to

—enactments
for its encour-
agement.

levy the statutory penalty from his tenants. In order to repair the waste of the woods and forests of the country, it was declared, that "the lords thought it advisable that the king should recommend all his freeholders, both spiritual and temporal, to make it a provision in their Whitsunday's lease, that all tenants should plant woods and trees, make hedges, and sow broom in places best adapted, according to the nature of the farm, under a penalty to be fixed by the proprietor; and that care should be taken that the enclosures and hedges were not constructed of dry stakes driven into the ground and wattled, or of dry worked or planed boards, but of living trees, which might grow and be plentiful in the land."* Enactments were also made at the same time prohibiting the burning of heath, from the month of March till Michaelmas, that the standing corn might not be injured; and recommending the extirpation of eagles, bustards, kites, hawks, and especially of wolves. The whole population of the district were commanded to assemble three times in the year for the purpose of hunting these destructive animals; and the man who slew a wolf, upon bringing the head to the sheriff, was to receive a penny from every householder in the parish; if he brought the head of a fox, he was to receive sixpence from the same officer.

Various other measures were adopted by James II. for the protection and encouragement of agriculture, and special mention should be made of the statute of 1449, which declared that husbandmen "who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come from lords according to a lease which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiry of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and this notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale or by alienation, into the possession of other landlords,"—a just and wise act, which must have exercised a most important influence on the security of property and the improvement of the country. A subsequent statute of the same monarch permitting lands to be let in feu, free from military service, was also a judicious and most beneficial measure; but the act of 1469, freeing the property of the tenants who laboured the ground from liability for the debts of their lord, is by far the most important legislative enactment of this period affecting the rights and condition of this class of the community. It appears that

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 51.

among the many grievous hardships to which the husbandmen were subjected at this time, by the tyranny of the higher orders, they were frequently stripped of their whole property by the creditors of their landlord, in order to pay his debts. To remedy this gross injustice, an act was passed by which it was declared that "to prevent the great impoverishment and destruction of the king's commons and rentallers, and of the inhabitants of the estates of the nobles, which was occasioned by the brief of distress" sued out by the creditors of these nobles, the poor tenants should not be distrained for their landlord's debts farther than the sum which they were due to him in rent; so that if the amount of the debt exceeded the rent due by the tenants, the creditor was bound to have recourse against the other goods and property of the debtor. If the defaulter had no other property except his land, it was provided that the land should be sold and the debt paid, so that the poor tenants and labourers should not be distressed. The debtor, however, was to enjoy the privilege of reclaiming his land from the purchaser, if at any time within seven years he should pay down the price for which it had been sold.*

The distractions of the kingdom, and the incessant feuds among the nobles, by Famine and interrupting the operations of the pestilence. husbandman, and destroying the fruits of his labours, not unfrequently produced a scarcity of the necessaries of life, and subjected the devoted country to the miseries of famine. It is stated by an ancient contemporary chronicler, that in the year 1439 "was the dear summer, for the boll of meal was at twenty-four shillings, and the boll of malt at two marks, and the boll of wheat at thirty shillings,"† so that, according to the calculation of the learned Ruddiman, the price of provisions was increased by the scarcity about twenty-fold. The famine became so grievous, that multitudes of the poorer classes died of absolute want, and great numbers of those whom the famine had spared were cut off by a deadly pestilence, the consequence of scanty and unwholesome food. In the simple but graphic language of Pitscottie, "In this year there raise ane great dearth of victuals within the realm, partly because the labourers of the ground might not sow nor win the corn through the tumults and cumbers in the country, and partly because of the wrath and ire of God to cause us to know ourselves, and through that scourge to provoke us to amendment of life. There rang also at this time ane terrible pest in the countrie, for all men that were infected therewith died that same day they took it, but (without) any remedie or help."‡ Again, we are told by the contemporary chronicler quoted above, that in the year 1482, "there was ane great hungyr and deid in Scotland, for the boll of meal was four pounds;"

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 96; Tyler, vol. iv. p. 197.

† Contemporary Chronicle at the end of Wyntown; Pinkerton, Appendix to vol. i. p. 502.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

and the public distress was greatly aggravated by the issue of a debased currency, called 'black money'; or copper pieces mixed with a small quantity of silver; an unjust and impolitic device which raised the price of all the necessaries of life, and excited great discontent among the people. "And also," continues the chronicler, "there was great war betwixt Scotland and England, and great destruction, through the wars, was of corn and cattle, and thair twa things caused baith hunger and dearth, and mony poor folk deit of hunger."* The government of the day, acting upon those mistaken notions of political economy which were then universally prevalent, sought to prevent the recurrence of this grievous calamity, by issuing severe enactments against those persons who were in the practice of buying victual or corn and hoarding it up, in the expectation of a dearth. Strict injunctions were given to sheriffs, bailies, and all other officers, to discover, arrest, and punish all such persons, whilst the provisions which they had hoarded were to be confiscated. The keeping of old stacks of corn in the farm-yard later than Christmas was strictly prohibited; and burgesses and other persons who bought victual for the purpose of selling again, were allowed at this late season of the year to have only so much grain in their possession as was requisite for the support of themselves and their families.† By a subsequent statute, passed in August, 1452, it was ordered that all the corn in the kingdom should be thrashed out before the last day of May then next.

The trade and commerce of the country appear to have made little progress during the reigns of James the Second and Third. We learn from an old English poem, apparently written in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and entitled 'The Bibel of English Policy,' that the chief exports of Scotland, at this period, were fells or skins, hides, and wool; that the wool was manufactured at Popering, and Bell, or Baileul, towns on the coast of Flanders, between Dunkirk and Calais; that a mixture of English wool was necessary to make fine cloth; and, that the Scottish imports from Flanders were cart wheels and wheelbarrows, haberdashery, and a little mercery.‡ Large quantities of salmon still continued to be exported, and regulations were enacted by the legislature respecting the size of the barrels and the mode of measurement. An important statute passed in 1467, declared that, in future, no ship should be freighted by any of the king's lieges either within the realm or from a foreign port, without there being a formal charter-party drawn up, stipulating that the ship-master should provide a steersman and tymmerman (timber man), with a crew sufficient to navigate the vessel. The merchants who sailed with him were to be gratuitously furnished with fire, water and salt. If any quarrel

arose between these merchantmen and the ship-master, its decision was to be referred to the court of the burgh to which the ship was freighted. No merchants' goods were to be injured or spoiled by ignorant or careless stowage, under the penalty of forfeiting the freight-money, besides making compensation to the owner for the damage. No goods were allowed to be placed upon the upper-deck, and none were to be stowed below which could injure the rest of the cargo in a tempest. It was ordered, that every ship carrying more than five lasts of goods, should pay to the Scottish chaplain in the port to which it was bound, one sack; and if under five lasts, half a sack, under the penalty of five pounds to the king. No drink money was to be paid to the shipmaster or his agents. Every ship, homeward bound, was to bring one ton of materials for the church-work of the town to which it was freighted. No master was to be allowed to sail his vessel during the winter months, from the feast of St. Simon and Jude to Candlemas; and all merchants were prohibited from trading to the ports of the Swyn, the Sluse, the Dam, or Bruges, and were ordered to pass with their ships and cargoes to the town of Middleburgh; probably in consequence of some temporary misunderstanding with the Flemings.* A judicious and equitable measure was enacted by James III. in his last parliament (A.D. 1487), for the protection and encouragement of foreign merchants. "For the common profit of the whole realm, and to excite strangers of other realms to visit the kingdom with grain and other mereliandize," it was ordered that, in future, all strangers should be treated honourably and with all favour, at whatever port they should arrive. The king's officers, and all other subjects of the realm, were prohibited from disturbing them, or arresting their persons, ships, or goods; and it was declared, that they should have full liberty to dispose of their goods, and to sell them to freemen, without compulsion or violence; and that there should not be any price set upon their goods, except in fair bargain and sale. It was ordered, that no new customs, impositions, or exactions, should be levied on them; but that they should pay the ancient duties alone, and that when any articles were wanted for the king, his comptroller or receiver, after the price had been settled, should have as much of the first and best as was required, for which, however, immediate payment was to be made, that the owners might not suffer by delay. It was peremptorily enjoined, that in future no person, under pretence of making purchases for the king's use, should take goods from strangers to sell again, under the penalty of banishment and escheat of moveables. Any strangers then in the kingdom making complaints respecting the seizure of their goods, or any other injury, should receive immediate payment and compensation, according to justice, against any person in the kingdom, "So that by the due ad-

* Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 508.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 36.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 407, 408.

ministration of justice, and the favourable treatment of all strangers, they might be induced to return, to the great benefit of the whole kingdom." These enactments present a curious picture of the lawless state of the country at this time, which rendered such regulations necessary for the protection of foreign traders against the rapacious exactions and violence of the officers of the royal household, as well as of the feudal barons. Evidence is afforded by the statute-book, that the king's own 'poor commons' were exposed to similar oppressive exactions; and it appears, that during the sitting of parliament and of the session, the king's constables and other officers were in the habit of levying a tax upon the merchants and tradesmen who then brought their goods to market, encouraged by the greater demand for their commodities. This heavy grievance was removed by the parliament of 1457, which declared all such imposts henceforth illegal, unless the right of exaction belonged to the constable 'of fee,' for which he must show his charter.

Not a few of the statutes, however, which were enacted at this period, for the regulation of trade and commerce, were based on most erroneous principles, and were calculated to impede and injure, rather than to foster the industry of the country. The restrictions upon the export of cattle into England, and the transportation of gold and silver out of the country were renewed, and it was declared, that every merchant who exported hides or wools, should, for each sack which he sold in the foreign market, bring to the master coiner of the king's mint two ounces of current silver, for which he was to receive nine shillings and two-pence. A statute of James I. was re-enacted, which ordered that no person should be allowed to sail or trade in ships, but such as were of good reputation and ability, and who possessed, at the least, in property or in commission, the value of three serplaiths of wool. It was declared, that no litstar or dyer was to follow the trade of a draper, or to be permitted to buy or sell cloth. None but free burgesses, or dwellers within burghs, or their factors and servants, were allowed to sell or traffic in merchandise out of the realm; but an exception was made in favour of prelates, barons, and clerks, who were permitted to send the produce of their estates out of the country by the hands of their servants, and to purchase in return, such things as were needful for their personal use. Even burgesses, it would appear, were not allowed to engage in mercantile pursuits, unless they possessed, of their own property, half a 'last' of goods, or had this quantity, at least, under their own power and management; and handicraftsmen and artizans were not permitted to trade, unless they first entirely renounced their own craft. The prelates, and nobles, and even the king himself, still continued, as in the former reign, to freight vessels, and to engage in other private commercial speculations.

An important change took place in the coinage

of the kingdom during the reign of James the Second. It was resolved by the parliament of 1451 that it was expedient there should be an issue of new coinage, conforming in weight to the money of England. Eight groats were to be coined out of the ounce of refined silver or bullion, and smaller coins of half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, of the same proportionate weight and fineness. It was directed that the new groats should be reckoned of the value of eight-pence the piece; that the half-groat should be taken for four-pence, the penny for two-pence, the half-penny for one penny, and the farthing for a half-penny. The English groat and half-groat were fixed at the same value, but it was ordained that the English penny should only be received for such value as the receiver chose to affix to it. The exact value of the French and other foreign coins then current in Scotland, was fixed at the same time. It was declared that as soon as the new groat was struck and a day appointed for its issue, the value of the groat now current was to be lowered to four-pence, and of the half-groat to two-pence. It was next resolved by the parliament that there should be struck a new gold coin, having the figure of a lion on the one side, and on the other the image of St. Andrew, clothed in a side-coat, reaching to his feet. The value of this new piece, which was termed a lion, was fixed at six shillings and eight-pence of the new coinage, while the value of the half-lion was to be three shillings and four-pence. The coin called the demy, which had then a current value of nine shillings, was henceforth to be received only for six shillings and eight-pence, and the half-demy for three shillings and four-pence. It was declared that no man was to be obliged to receive this money if it should be reduced by clipping. The master of the mint was to be held responsible for all the gold and silver struck under his authority, and was invested with full power to select the coiners and strikers who worked under him and to punish them for any misconduct.*

It was soon found that the value affixed by these regulations to the various coins, both native and foreign, then current in Scotland, was too low, and that the merchants and traders having discovered that the real value of the money was greater than the statutory value fixed by parliament, were in the habit of 'keeping up' the coins and exporting them to other countries. To remedy this evil, which seems to have excited great alarm among the statesmen of this period, the parliament of 1456 ordained that the value of the demy should be estimated at ten shillings; that the new lion should 'have course throughout the realm' for the same sum, instead of its first value, six shillings and eight-pence, as directed in 1451; that the new groat should be raised from eight-pence to twelve-pence; and the half-groat from four-pence to six-pence. Special regulations were also framed respecting articles made of the precious metals, the

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

standard purity of which was to be carefully ascertained and authenticated by a mark stamped upon them by the deacon of the craft.*

Certain gold pieces coined by James III. received the designation of 'unicorns,' from the animal now employed as the supporter of the royal armorial bearings. The copper coinage of Scotland commenced in 1466, when it was resolved by the parliament, that for the convenience of the king's lieges, and to encourage alms-giving to the poor, a coinage of copper money should be issued, four pieces or farthings to the penny, with the device of St. Andrew's cross, and superscribed Edinburgh on the one side, and a royal crown with the letters 'JAMES R.' on the reverse. A little silver was mingled with the copper, so as to constitute what was called 'billon.' The 'black money,' as the debased groats and pennies issued by this prince were termed, consisted of copper pieces mixed with a small quantity of silver. The groats were called 'placks,' and only passed for three-pence. The severe penalties, which were repeatedly denounced by the legislature against all false strikers of gold and silver, and all forgers of false groats and pennies, show that the crimes of false coining and forgery were not uncommon in Scotland at this time.

A minute description of the arms and armour worn by the different classes of the community at this period is given in the various statutes which make provision for the defence of the country. It was ordered by the parliament of 1456 "that all the king's lieges possessed of lands or goods should be ready mounted and accoutred, according to the value of their property, to ride for the defence of the country at the command of the king. All persons worth twenty marks were commanded to provide themselves, at the least, with a jack and sleeves down to the waist, or with a pair of splents, a 'sellat,'† or a 'pricket hat,' a sword and a buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, if they can procure them; if not, they were to have an axe and a targe made either of leather or wood, with two bands upon the inside."‡ In 1471 it was declared that no "merchant should import spears less than six ells in length, and that no bowyer in the kingdom should make them of shorter size; that every yeoman who could not use the bow should have a good axe and a targe of leather to resist the English arrows." In a subsequent parliament (A.D. 1481) a penalty was imposed on any soldier whose spear was shorter than five ells and a half; the jacks or leathern tunics were ordered to extend below the knee, and the targe of wood or leather was to be made according to a pattern to be sent to the sheriff of the county.§ The barons were arrayed from head to heel in plate armour of complete steel, which had now superseded the chain-mail formerly worn by

the leaders of the army. Their horses were now also clad in complete armour. Considerable attention appears to have been paid both by James II. and his successor to the construction of cannon, or 'carts of war' as they are termed; and artillery-men and skilful artisans were procured from the continent for the management of the rude ordnance which were then employed by the Scots. The art of gunnery appears to have been very imperfectly understood in Scotland at this period. James, as it is well known, lost his life at the siege of Roxburgh castle by the bursting of a rudely constructed gun, which had been overcharged by the engineer; and Dunbar castle, which was besieged by James III. in 1479, withstood for several months the discharges of the royal artillery. The cannon of the garrison, however, appears to have been better served, for we are informed that a single ball from a gun, mounted on the ramparts of the fortress, struck dead at one moment three of the best knights in the army of the besiegers,—Sir John Colquhoun, of Luss; Sir Adam Wallace, of Craigie; and Sir James Schaw, of Sauchie.

In imitation of the example of James I., his successors sought, by every means in their power, to promote the practice of archery among their subjects. Stringent enactments were repeated at intervals throughout their reigns prohibiting the games of the foot-ball and golf, the favourite pastimes of the Scottish peasantry; and commanding that a pair of butts should be erected in the vicinity of each parish church, where shooting was to be practised every Sunday; that armed musters of the whole disposable force of a district, for the exercise of their arms and the inspection of their weapons, should be held four times in the year; and that there should be a good 'bowyer' and a 'fledger' or arrow-maker in every head-town of the county, who were to be furnished by the town with the requisite materials for their trade, so that every man within the parish might be provided with the requisite weapons, and practise shooting. But all these attempts to change the national habits completely failed, and the Scottish soldiery, in spite of reiterated legislative enactments, enforced by heavy penalties, could not be prevailed upon to substitute the bow for their favourite weapon, the spear.

In the reign of James II. we find the first mention made of the institution of a royal guard for the protection of the sovereign's person—a measure of precaution which was probably taken in consequence of the cruel assassination of that monarch's father. It appears to have been discontinued by James IV., who was exceedingly popular among all classes of his subjects; but was revived during the minority of his successor. With the exception of this guard, and a small body of soldiers occasionally maintained for the purpose of garrisoning the fortresses on the Borders, Scotland was a stranger to a standing army till the period of the Restoration.

The system of chivalry which made its way into

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 46.

† A helmet or head-piece for foot-soldiers.

‡ Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 35.

§ Ibid. pp. 132, 133; Lesley's Hist. p. 43.

Scotland at a very early period, still continued to flourish among the barons and knights of that country. The ancient oath, administered with great solemnity to the youthful Scottish warrior on whom the honour of knighthood was conferred, has fortunately been preserved, and is a curious and interesting relic of an institution which, at one time, exercised a powerful influence on the character of our ancestors. The aspirant after knightly renown bound and obliged himself to defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of his power,—to be loyal and true to his sovereign lord the king, to all orders of chivalry, and to the noble office of arms—to support the administration of justice without favour or enmity, never to flee from his sovereign lord the king, nor from his lieutenants in the time of affray or battle—to defend his native realm from all aliens and strangers—to defend the just action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widows, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame—to do diligence to bring to justice all murderers, traitors, or masterful robbers, who oppress the king's lieges and poor people—to maintain and uphold the noble state of chivalry, with horse, armour, and other knightly habiliments, and to help and succour those of the same order at his power, if they had need—and, finally, he declared his determination to seek diligently to acquire the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the books of chivalry.*

The tournament continued to be a favourite pastime of the Scottish barons and knights, who enjoyed a high reputation throughout Europe for skill in those spirit-stirring displays of martial accomplishments, which constitute such a striking feature of the times. A brief notice has already been given of the celebrated combat *at outrance* between three Burgundian champions and three Scottish knights, which occurred at the marriage of James II., in 1449; but the minute and graphic account of this noted combat, by Olivier de la Marche, a contemporary Burgundian writer,† deserves insertion on account of the light which it casts on the chivalrous character and manners of the knights of this period.

“When Messire Jaques de Lalain saw that there was no further occasion for him there, he returned and found the good duke of Burgundy in his city of Lille, who received him favourably; but he soon took leave of the duke and set out for Scotland. He was accompanied by Messire Simon de Lalain, his uncle, and Hervé de Meriadet and many other worthy men; and, so far as I understand, Messire James Douglas, brother of the Earl of Douglas, and the said Messire Jaques de Lalain had formerly wished to meet in arms, and had sought each other for that purpose. At the instance of the said Messire James Douglas, battle was permitted by the king between him and M. Jaques de Lalain,

but the affair grew and multiplied, so that a conflict to *outrance* was concluded on, of three noble Scottishmen, against M. Simon and M. Jaques de Lalain, and Hervé de Meriadet, all to fight at once, before the king of Scotland. And when the day of the conflict came, the king most honourably received them in the lists, and though I was not myself a spectator, yet I must recount the ceremonies, for example to future times. For three memorable things occur besides the battle, which was most fiercely disputed on both sides.”

“The first was, that when the three belonging to the court of Burgundy were all armed, and each his *coat of arms* on his back ready to enter into battle, M. Jaques de Lalain spoke to M. Simon, his uncle, and to Meriadet, and said, ‘Messieurs and my brothers in the conflict, you know that it is my enterprise which has led us into this kingdom, and that in consequence the battle has been granted to M. James Douglas; and although each of us may assist his comrade, I beg and request you, that whatever befall me this day, none of you attempt to succour me, for it would seem that you had passed the sea and entered into this conflict only to assist me; and that you did not hold or know me a man able to sustain the assault and combat of one knight, and hence less account will be held of me and my knighthood.’

“After this request, sallied from the pavilions the champions in armour, furnished with axes, lances, swords, daggers, and they had leave either to throw or push their lances as they chose.”

“The two Messires James Douglas and Jaques de Lalain were in the middle, to encounter each other, which they did. On the right was M. Simon de Lalain, who was to engage a Scottish squire, and Meriadet was to meet a knight of high power and fame; but they found themselves transverse, so that the knight was opposite to M. Simon, and then Meriadet (who desired to assail him who was appointed, without regard to the strength or fame of his antagonist) passed across to place himself before M. Simon, and meet his man. But the good knight coldly and firmly turned towards Meriadet and said, ‘Brother, let each keep himself to his opponent, and I shall do well, if it please God.’ So Meriadet resumed his rank before his antagonist, and this is the second thing which I desired to commemorate.”

“The champions began to advance each against the other, and because that the three on the part of Burgundy doubted lest the place might be too confined for so many lances, they all three threw their lances behind them (the third cause of my recital), and seized their axes, and rushed on the Scots, who came within push of lance, but that availed them nothing. Though all fought at once, I shall rehearse the adventures one after the other.”

“The two Messires James Douglas and de Lalain met each other, and approached so nigh, that of all their weapons there remained none save a dagger, which the Scottish knight held. The

* Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 427; from a book, entitled ‘Certain Matters composed together,’ Edin. 1694.

† Quoted by Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 428–431.

said M. Jaques de Lalain seized him by the arm near his hand, which held the dagger so closely, that the Scot could not avail himself of it; and he held the other arm below the arm-pit, so that they turned each other round the lists for a long time."

"M. Simon de Lalain and the Scottish knight were strong champions, and neither of them killed in warding blows of the axe; like two valiant knights they attacked each other so often, that in a short time they had crushed the visors of their basinets, and their weapons and armour, with mutual blows, and the fight seemed equal."

"On the other side was Hervé de Meriadet, whom the Scottishman attacked with the push of the lance; but Meriadet turned off the blow with the butt-end of his axe, so that the lance fell from the Scot's hands; and Meriadet pursued him so keenly, that before the Scot could undo his axe he came within his guard, and with one blow felled him to the earth. Meriadet then left the Scot to arise, who was quick, light, and of great spirit, and arose speedily and ran to Meriadet for the second time. Meriadet (who was one of the most redoubted squires of his time for strength, lightness, coolness, and skill in arms and in wrestling) received the assault with great composure, then returned it, and again struck him to the ground with his axe; when the Scot again attempted to rise, but Meriadet struck him on the back with his hand and knee, and made him fall flat on the sand. And notwithstanding the request which Messire Jaques de Lalain had made, the said Meriadet, seeing the struggle of the two knights, advanced to assist the said Jaques, but the king of Scots threw down his baton and they were parted. Now, though it be against my plan, and though I write of this combat without having seen it, I nevertheless report it truly by the report of the Scots and of our party."

A vivid and interesting picture of the evil dresses of the times is given in the various sumptuary laws enacted by James II. and his successor, in consequence of the alleged impoverishment of the realm by the sumptuous apparel of men and women. The same subject had attracted the attention of the legislature in the year 1429, and strict injunctions were issued that the king's lieges should array themselves in such grave apparel as befitted their station. But it would appear that these statutory regulations had failed to remedy the evil complained of, for it was deemed necessary, by the parliament held in 1457, to re-enact the laws against immoderate costliness in apparel still indulged in, especially by the burgesses and their wives. "Seeing," it declared, "that each estate has been greatly impoverished through the sumptuous clothing of men and women, especially within the burghs, and amongst the commonalty, to 'landward,' the lords thought it speedful that restriction of such vanity should be made in this manner. First, no man within the burgh, that lived by mer-

chandise, except he be a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen or bailies, or other good worthy men of the council of the town, should either himself wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk, or costly scarlet gowns, or furring of mertricks." Strict injunctions were also issued, that the wives and daughters of the burgesses should be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate, "that is to say, on their heads short cureshes with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks, or letvis, or tails of unbecomming length, nor trimmed with furs, except on holydays." At the same time it was ordered that "poor gentlemen, living in the country, whose property was within forty pounds of old extent," should regulate their dress according to the same standard. As to the clergy, no one was to wear a scarlet gown or mertrick furs, unless he was a dignitary in a cathedral or college church, or a doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks. And with regard to the commonalty, it was enacted "that no labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work-days any other stuff than grey or white cloth; and on holydays, light blue, green, or red, and their wives the same, with kerchiefs of their own making. The stuff they wore was not to exceed the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk or market with her face 'mussalit,' or covered, so that she might not be known, under the penalty of forfeiting the curch."*

Another statute was passed during the reign of James II., for the purpose of regulating the dresses to be worn by earls, lords of parliament, commissaries of burghs, and advocates, at all parliaments and general councils. The earls were directed to use mantles of 'brown grany,'† open before, lined with white fur, and trimmed in front with the same of a hand's breadth, and reaching down to the belt, surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, pendant on the shoulder. The other lords of parliament were enjoined to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with 'Cristy grey, griee, or purray,'‡ with a hood of the same cloth, and furred in the same manner; whilst all commissaries of burghs were commanded to have each 'a pair of cloaks' of blue cloth, trimmed with fur, and made to open on the right shoulder, and having hoods of the same colour. If any earl, lord of parliament, or commissary of the burghs, appeared in parliament or at the general council without this dress, he was to pay a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men employed as 'forespeakers,' or advocates, were to wear a dress of green cloth,

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 49.

† This 'brown grany' is supposed to have been a tawny, fine cloth, fashionable in this century, till it was supplanted by scarlet.

‡ Furs inferior to the ermine worn by earls.

made in the form of a 'tunykil,' or short tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard; under the penalty of five pounds to the king, if they appeared either in parliament or before the general councils without it. It was also directed that in every burgh where meetings of parliament or general councils were held, there should be constructed, 'where the bar uses to stand,' a platform, consisting of three tiers of benches, each tier higher than the other, upon which the commissioners of burghs were to sit.* This act was confirmed by a subsequent parliament (A.D. 1458); and the king was advised to order patterns of all the dresses to be made. It was enacted by James III., in the year 1471, that, considering the great penury of the realm, and the expense of importing silk, no one should wear it in doublets, gowns, or cloaks, who was not possessed of land yielding an annual rent of one hundred pounds Scotch money, excepting knights, minstrels, and heralds; and that women, whose husbands did not belong to one or other of these classes, should not use silk in the linings of their dresses, but only in making the collar and sleeves. In the celebrated Kensington picture of James III.

and his queen, the king is represented as James III. and his queen. huc, trimmed with ermine, with a vest composed of cloth of gold; the queen's dress consists of a blue robe, with a kirtle of cloth of gold; her head-dress is one blaze of gold and jewels.† The dress of her majesty appears to have been very costly, for, on the 24th of June, 1470, the lands of Kilmarnock and others, forfeited by Lord Boyd, were bestowed on the queen during her life, 'for her robes, and to supply her with the ornaments of her head-dress.'

The accounts of the Bishop of Glasgow, who held the office of treasurer to James III., furnish us with a number of minute and interesting details respecting the dress and personal expenses of the royal family of Scotland at this period. We find that, in 1474, James Hommel, the king's tailor, and one of the unfortunate favourites afterwards murdered at Lauder, received four ells of French black, at forty-two shillings the ell, to make a long gown for the king, with ten ells of fustian for lining. Among the articles provided for the king, mention is made of hose of white cloth; shirts of fine holland; chamlet gowns, lined with lamb-skin; socks of white cloth; doublets and hose, lined with broad-cloth; a pair of spurs valued at four shillings; two ells of velvet to make two tippets, and furs to line

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 43.

† This interesting picture was originally intended for an altar-piece and is in two divisions, painted on both sides. The first division contains on one side the king, the prince, afterwards James IV., and St. Andrew; on the reverse is a representation of the Trinity. The other compartment represents the queen kneeling, and behind her is a personage in plate armour, supposed to be intended for her father, in the character of Canute, the patron saint of Denmark. On the reverse is an ecclesiastic kneeling, and behind is an organ, with two angels. The picture is believed to have been the work of some eminent foreign artist, and from the age of the prince must have been painted about 1482 or 1484.—See Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica*.

them; a long mantle of velvet; a bonnet at fifteen shillings, and two hats at ten shillings each; a satin jacket lined with lamb-skin; grey cloth for long socks; black satin to cover a prayer-book; velvet for a 'chesabel' to his closet, and for his brigintynis; knobs of gold for his saddle; a chymna or grate for his closet; ribbons for his doublet and sleeves; gloves, *muchis* or caps; pillows covered with broad cloth; drugs from Flanders; an ell of scarlet for his petticoat; a gown of cloth of gold, lined with satin, presented to an English herald, who attended the embassy.

Among the things purchased for the queen are patterns and corks; livery gowns lined with grey for six ladies of her chamber on a pilgrimage to Whithorn; satin for her 'turrats'; black cloth for a 'sliding gown'; velvet for another gown; leathern gloves; a cloak and 'capite bern,' of black, lined with Scottish cloth; eight ells of broad cloth to cover a bathing-vat, and three for a sheet, to put around her while bathing; hose of black cloth; seven ells of crimson satin for a kirtle, and to cover 'bonnets of tire'; a grate for her closet; 'band leather' for furring her gloves; five ells of 'cristy gray,' at thirty shillings the ell, to line a gown of black damask; blue velvet to cover her stirrup irons; half an ell of double tartan to line her riding collars; satin for tippets and collars; a year's shoes costing upwards of seven pounds; satin for stomachers, and ermine to line them; twenty-six 'bestes of greece' to line a tippet; ten pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence for a mass-book to her altar.

The chief articles provided for the prince, then only two years of age, are shirts and caps of holland cloth, coats of brown lined with white cloth, and some of the latter for his cradle; fine broad cloth for his sheets, or rather blankets; white hose and petticoats, and lawn caps; French brown cloth, and tartan with buckrum binding for his cradle; English russet for a gown to his nurse; white fustian for blankets, and broad-cloth for sheets; a coat of satin, and a gown of cloth of gold, lined with blue tartan.*

The state banquets of this age were characterized by a display of rude magnificence and plenty, and were frequently conducted on an extravagant scale. An interesting account is given in the annals of De Coucy, a contemporary Burgundian writer, of the feasting and revelry which took place on the occasion of the marriage of James II. to Mary of Gueldres. On the arrival of the youthful princess at Leith, she was welcomed by a great concourse of all classes of people, whom the polished Burgundians regarded as little better than barbarians. Seated on horseback behind her brother-in-law, the Lord of Campvere, and encircled by the nobles of France, Burgundy, and Scotland, she proceeded to Edinburgh, where she was lodged in the convent of the Greyfriars. On the day after her arrival,

* 'An account, Charge and Discharge of John, Bishop of Glasgow, Treasurer to James III., for the Year 1474.' Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 493. See Appendix, Note. xv.

the king visited her and remained three hours, and on the following Wednesday he sent to appoint the next day for the wedding, and presented her with two hackneys, worth about thirty French crowns. On the wedding-day the king arrived on horseback, dressed in a grey robe, lined with white cloth, and wearing boots and spurs. The queen was clothed in a robe of violet colour, lined with ermine; in a strange fashion, says De Coucy, if compared with those of France; and her long hair hanging down. At the festival which followed the coronation, the first dish consisted of the figure of a boar's head, painted and stuck full of 'hards,' or coarse bits of flax, served up in an enormous platter, surrounded with thirty-two little flags or banners, bearing the arms of the king and chief nobles. The flax was then set on fire amid the acclamations of the numerous and brilliant assembly in the hall. A ship of silver, of exquisite workmanship, was next introduced, probably containing salt and spices in distinct compartments. The first service was then ushered in, preceded by the Earl of Orkney and four knights, and every succeeding service was brought in by about thirty or forty persons, all bearing dishes. At the second table, the Countess of Orkney and other ladies sat with the Lord of Campvere. At the third was a 'patriarch,' says De Coucy, probably a papal legate, along with three bishops, an abbot, and other churchmen, the five dignitaries drinking out of a large 'hanap,' or wooden bowl, without spilling any of the wine; and other liquors being as abundant as sea-water. The dinner lasted about five hours, there being neither dancing nor supper. On the following day there was 'excellent cheer in their way,' says the chronicler, which was very rude and strange when compared with that of France. The dress and manners of the common people he describes as very barbarous. 'There are even,' he adds, 'many among them who seem to be altogether savages.'

The following curious incident related by the Anecdote of author of the 'Memorie of the James III. and Somervilles,' may serve to illustrate both the personal character of James III. and the manners of the Scottish king and his nobles at this period. About the year 1474, Lord Somerville being in attendance upon the court, James offered to pay him a visit at his castle of Cowthally, near the village of Carnwath, in Lanarkshire, where he then lived, in all the rude hospitality of the time, for which this nobleman was peculiarly remarkable. Like the other nobles of his age, Lord Somerville was more accustomed to handle the sword than the pen, and, on the occasions of his absence from home, it was his custom, when he intended to return to his castle with a party of guests, merely to write the words 'Speates and raxes,' that is, spits and ranges, for the purpose of intimating to his household that

a great quantity of food should be prepared, and that the spits and ranges should be put into employment. Even the visit of the king did not induce Lord Somerville to send any other than his usual intimation, only he repeated it three times, and despatched it to his castle by a special messenger. The paper was delivered to Lady Somerville, who, having been newly married, was not yet skilled in her husband's hieroglyphics, and she made out the brief, and probably not very legible, writing to be, not 'speates and raxes,' but 'spears and jacks,' implements which she, no doubt, considered more likely to be required by her lord than spits and ranges. She immediately concluded that Lord Somerville was in some distress, or engaged in some quarrel in Edinburgh, and wanted assistance; and instead of making preparations for a feast, a body of two hundred horsemen were hastily collected, and despatched to their master's help. As they were marching with the utmost speed over the moors towards Edinburgh, they observed a large company of nobles and their attendants engaged in the sport of hawking on the side of Corsett-hill. This was the king and Lord Somerville, who were on their road to Cowthally, taking their sport as they went along. The appearance of a numerous body of armed men interrupted the pastime of the royal party, and excited no inconsiderable alarm; and the king, who saw Lord Somerville's banner at the head of the troop, concluded it was some rebellious enterprise against his person, and charged the baron with treason. Lord Somerville protested his innocence:—'Yonder,' said he, 'are indeed my men and my banner, but I have no knowledge whatever of the cause that has brought them here. But if your grace will permit me to ride forward, I will soon ascertain the reason of this disturbance. In the mean time, let my eldest son and heir remain as an hostage in your power, and let him lose his head if I prove a traitor.' The king accordingly permitted Lord Somerville to ride towards his followers, when the matter was soon explained by those who commanded them. The mistake was then only a subject of merriment, for the king looking at the letter, protested he himself would have read it 'Spears and jacks,' rather than 'Speates and raxes.' When the cavalcade reached Cowthally the lady was much out of countenance at her mistake. But the good-humoured monarch warmly praised her for the despatch which she had used in sending assistance to her husband; and said he hoped she would always have as brave a band at his service when the king and kingdom required them.*

An old poem, entitled 'The Three Tales of the Three Priests of Peblis,'† which appears to have been written before the year 1492, gives a curious view of the manners of the Scottish burgesses and merchants during the reign of

Causes of the alleged corruption of manners among the burgesses.

* De Coucy's Memoirs are published at the end of the History of Jean Chartier.—See Pinkerton, vol. i. pp. 431—433.

* Memorie of the Somervilles, vol. i. p. 240.

† Scottish Poems, reprinted from scarce editions, by John Pinkerton, vol. i.

James the Third. The three priests are represented as meeting in the town of Peebles, and after enjoying a collation, consisting of three roasted capons with sauce, and many other meats, served upon a 'roundel,' or round table, covered with a fair cloth, and washed down with plenty of good liquor, they agreed that each in turn should tell a tale for their mutual instruction and amusement. The first story is narrated by father John, who 'hath been in monie an uncouth land'—in Portugal and in Seville, in the five kingdoms of Spain, in Rome, Flanders, and in Venice, and 'other lands sundrie up and down.' A certain king is represented as summoning the three estates of his realm, and requiring each of them to account for the degeneracy, which has taken place in the character and condition of the respective classes. The burgesses are first called upon to explain why it is that 'Burgess bairns thrive not to the third heir, but cast away all that their elders won.' After due deliberation they answer that the reason is, 'they begin not where their fathers began,' but that 'they aye begin where that their fathers left.' A minute and graphic description is then given of the manner in which a trader of those days rose by slow degrees from poverty to riches. He begins his career poorly, we are told, with good luck, and a halfpenny, and a lamb's skin; and goes from town to town on foot, oft wet-shod and weary, till at last out of 'monie smalls,' he makes up a good pack, and becomes a pedlar. At every fair the industrious chapman is found disposing of his goods, till, at length, his pack is worth forty pounds, when he finds it necessary to purchase a stout horse to bear it. By and by he acquires a cart to 'carry pot and pan,' and becomes the owner of Flemish coffers with counters and chest. The next stage in his upward course, sees him possessed of a shop in town, buying and selling wool. He goes to sea, according to the custom of the merchants of that day, comes home a 'very potent man,' and marries a rich wife. His voyages have been so frequent and so successful, that, at the last, he becomes the owner of a goodly ship, and 'waxes so full of world's wealth,' that he washes his hands in a silver basin, has hoards of gold and silver, and a cupboard of plate worth three thousand pounds.* He wears rich gowns and other gay garments, is clothed in silk on Sundays, and in green or grey cloth at other times, while his wife is arrayed in scarlet, and fares sumptuously every day. He dies, and his son succeeds to the possession of wealth, for which he never toiled, which never cost him either sleepless nights, or laborious days. He has been nurtured in luxury, 'his mother tholed not the reek (smoke) on him to blow.' He wears precious rings on his fingers, is ashamed to hear that his father sold sheepskins, keeps a train of idle servants, spends his time in the tavern or in playing at hazard, till, sinking into poverty, he becomes the follower of some lord's son at court. Drink and dice have stripped him of every farthing of his

* Equal to about £7500 of modern sterling currency.

inheritance—he has not the skill to earn a morsel of bread, 'what ferlie (marvel) then that burgess' bairns beg.'

The lords are then called upon to say what is the cause why such worthy lords The barons. were in former days 'so full of freedom, worship, and honour, hardy in heart to stand in every stour,' while their degenerate descendants exhibit the very opposite qualities. They allege that the principal cause of this degeneracy was to be found in the mal-administration of justice, and the grievous oppression of the farmers, and husbandmen, by the coroners, justices, serjants, or mairs, of the king, who were in the habit of extorting sums of money from the more thriving yeomen, till they reduced them to poverty. Bribes alone could secure a favourable hearing of any cause, however just. The thief could easily escape the punishment due to his crimes, by bribing the judge, while the honest farmer was often accused of theft, or robbery, for the sake of the fine, the amount of which was made to depend on the extent of his ability.

'Thus leil men are hurt, and thiefs gets away.'

The gross oppression of the farmers impoverished their landlords, who found their tenants unable either to pay their rents during the time of peace, or to provide themselves with proper arms to attend their lords in war, and appeared at the muster with ragged cloaks, and rusty swords, more like a regiment of beggars, than a courageous, well disciplined host. The barons, thus reduced to poverty, were fain to replenish their coffers by degrading marriages with the illegitimate daughters of opulent priests, or the heiresses of merchants, or by selling the right of marriage of their sons to 'churles,'

'In whom is na nurture nor nobilness,
Fredome, worship, manheid nor honours.'

There can be little doubt that these complaints respecting the gross partiality of the officers of justice, at this period, were well founded, and that the very laws intended for the protection of the poor, were thus converted into instruments of their oppression. It appears that the practice of selling the royal pardon, even for the most outrageous crimes, had been carried to such a shameless height during the reign of James III., that the Lords of the Articles, in the parliament held in 1471, were constrained to exhort and entreat his highness that 'he would close his hand for a certain time coming against all remissions and respites for murder.*'

Lastly, the clergy were required in their turn to account for the deterioration which —and the clergy. had taken place in their order, and to say why, in ancient times, the bishops and clergy abounded in all good works, and, through the influence of their prayers, the dumb spake, the blind received their sight, the deaf heard, and the lame were made to walk, while no such good deeds

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 104.

were done by their successors. The answer given was, that anciently the bishops were chosen by the people, after fasting and earnest prayer to God for the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and that the person best fitted for each particular see was selected, either from among the clergy of that chapter where the vacancy had occurred, or of the whole realm. But now bishops are not chosen by the people, but appointed solely by the king. No man now obtains a benefice by literature, science, virtue, or even birth, but by gold alone, simony being accounted no sin. In consequence of this love of filthy lucre the gifts of the Holy Spirit were not imparted. The bishops came not in by the door, but climbed in by the window; and he that came not in by the door was not a shepherd to keep the sheep, but a fox disguised in a lamb's skin. How could such wicked men work miracles unless it was by the help of Satan?

'This is the cause, the sooth to say,
Why holiness fra' kirkmen is away.'

It is but justice to state, that in the midst of general corruption in the church, there were not wanting at this time, even among the bishops, illustrious examples of eminent piety and faithful attention to duty. In delineating the character of the venerable Bishop Kennedy, Pitscottie says, "He caused all parsons and vicars to remain at their parish churches for instruction and edifying their flocks; and caused them to preach the word of God unto

the people, and to visit them when they were sick. And, also, the said bishop visited every church within his diocese four times in the year, and preached to the parishioners the word of God truly, and inquired of them if they were duly instructed in the word of God by their parson and vicar, and if their sacraments were duly administered, and if the poor were sustained, and the youth educated and taught conformably to the order that was taken in the church of God. And where he found that order was not followed, he made great punishment, to the effect that God's glory might shine through all the country within his diocese, giving good example to all future archbishops and churchmen in general to cause the patrimony of the church of God to be used for the glory of God and the common benefit of the poor."*

The increase of crime among the higher classes at this period appears to have kept pace with the increase of luxury. Poisoning and adulteration of wine. The enactment, in 1450, of two statutes against domestic and foreign importers of poisons, shows that this crime, so widely prevalent at this time on the continent, had spread into Scotland. The adulteration of wine seems also to have been extensively practised, for, by a law passed in 1482, the penalty of death was denounced against any person who should import, or sell, or compose corrupted or mixed liquor.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 171.

CHAPTER XXII.

JAMES THE FOURTH.

1488—1513.

THE fate of James the Third was for some time unknown to the conspirators, for information had reached them that several of the wounded royalists

had taken refuge on board Sir Andrew Wood's ships, which were lying in the Frith of Forth, near the coast, where the battle of Sauchie was fought; and it was supposed that the king himself was among the number. The confederate barons therefore sent a message to Wood, inquiring whether or not the king was on board his ship. Not satisfied with his explicit declaration that he was not there, they summoned Sir Andrew to come on shore, and appear before their council, which he promised to do on condition that hostages should be given for his safe return. Lords Seton and Fleming accordingly went on board the ships, and Sir Andrew presented himself before the council

and the young king in the town of Leith. According to Pitscottie,* as soon as the prince saw the brave seaman, who was a goodly person and richly dressed, he went towards him, and said, "Sir, are you my father?"† "I am not your father," answered Wood, the tears falling from his eyes, "but I was your father's servant while he lived, and shall be so to lawful authority until the day I die." The lords then asked what men they were who had come out of his ships, and again returned to them on the day of the battle. "It was I and my brother," said the undaunted captain, "who were ready to have spent our lives in the king's defence." They then demanded of him, whether the king was on board his ships? To which Sir Andrew replied, with the same firmness, "He is not on board my vessel; would to God he had been there, as I should have taken care to have kept him safe from the traitors, who have murdered him, and whom I trust to see hanged and drawn for their demerits." The members of the council were exceedingly indignant at those contemptuous replies, but they durst not attempt any violence against Sir Andrew, for fear that his sailors would retaliate upon the persons of the hostages. But as soon as the gallant commander had returned on board his ship and Lords Fleming and Seton had been sent on shore, the confederate lords sent for the best officers in the town of Leith, and offered to furnish them with men, artillery, and provisions, if they would attack Sir Andrew and his two ships, and make him prisoner, to answer for his contemptuous treatment of the council.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 226.

† This statement appears extremely improbable, for the prince had been recently placed by his father in Stirling castle, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that James had not been brought up at court.

But the officers positively refused to undertake this perilous service; Captain Barton, one of the bravest mariners in Leith, informing the lords that though Sir Andrew had but two vessels, yet they were so well manned and furnished with artillery, and he himself was so experienced in war, that no ten ships in Scotland would be a match for him.

The confederate lords lost no time in seeking to turn to their own personal advantage the victory they had gained.

On the very day after the battle of Sauchie grants were bestowed on the powerful Border families of the Homes and the Hepburns; Sir William Knollys was instructed to take possession of the money found in the royal treasury; and the Earls of Angus and Argyle, with the Lords Hailes and Home, and the Bishop of Glasgow, repaired to the castle of Edinburgh, and secured and took an inventory of the jewels, plate, and apparel which belonged to the late king at the time of his decease.* After the discovery and interment of his father's body, the prince proceeded immediately to Scone, where he was crowned with the usual ceremonies. The government of the new monarch was then organized, and his confederates in the rebellion, which had raised him to the throne, were rewarded by their appointment to offices of influence and trust. The important office of chancellor was conferred upon the Earl of Argyle; Lord Hailes was made master of the household; the keeping of the privy seal was committed to the Prior of St. Andrews; the Lords Lyle and Glamis were appointed chief justiciars in the south and north of the Forth; and Whitelaw, Sub-dean of Glasgow, was made secretary to the king. Their next care was to conclude a three years' truce with England, then under the government of Henry VII.; and having thus secured themselves against foreign aggression, they proceeded to consolidate their power, and to provide for their safety by arresting and punishing their enemies, and distributing rewards among their friends.

It has sometimes been asserted that the youthful prince was unwillingly compelled to take part in the rebellion against his father, and that he was a mere passive tool in the hands of the conspirators. But James was now in the seventeenth year of his age; his talents and passions were highly precocious; and there seems no reason to doubt that, estranged from his father by the misrepresentations and calumnies of the insurgent chiefs, and flattered by their adulation, he was induced to place himself at the head of a movement which promised to gratify his ambition by elevating him at once to the throne. It is said, indeed, that on learning the miserable fate of his father, he was seized with overwhelming remorse, which returned at intervals throughout the whole of his reign; but it appears that the possession of the crown, the homage of the barons, and the gaieties and pleasures of the court soon stifled his

* See Appendix, Note xvi.

The confederate lords seize on the government and the royal treasure.

Conduct of the youthful king.

repentant feelings. The unprincipled councillors, by whom he was now surrounded, strove to perpetuate their ascendancy over the youthful monarch, and to conciliate his affections, by basely pandering to his passions, and occupying him with

Unprincipled
behaviour of his
associates.

narch, and to conciliate his affections, by basely pandering to his passions, and occupying him with

a continual round of shows and gorgeous pageants, totally regardless of the degradation of character and the destruction of moral principle which such vain pursuits necessarily produced. In his progress through the country with the lord justiciars, when they held their courts in various parts of the kingdom, James was constantly attended, not only by his huntsmen and falconers, but by his fool, 'English John,' and his youthful mistress, Lady Margaret Drummond, daughter of Lord Drummond, to whom he seems to have become attached at an early period; and frequent notices appear in the treasurer's books of the sums paid to 'dansaris, gysaris, and players,' who were employed to minister to the amusement of the youthful lovers.

The course which the successful conspirators adopted for the punishment of the barons who had continued faithful to the late king, displayed a great deal of effrontery, combined with low cunning. If either of the two parties were justly liable to be denounced as rebels, it was evidently the confederate lords, and not their opponents; but the treason of the former had been successful, and, therefore, now boldly assumed the name of loyalty, and not contented with proclaiming their own innocence of the recent conflict, and the murder of the king, they threw the whole odium of the rebellion on the barons who had remained faithful to their allegiance, and actually had the audacity to summon them on a charge of treason. The Earl of Buchan, Lords Bothwell and Forbes, Ross of Montgrenan, the king's advocate, Sir Alexander Dunbar, and Sir Thomas Fotheringham, with the Lairds of Cockpule, Amisfield, Innermeith, and Innes, received summonses of treason for appearing 'in arms with the king's father against the king himself,' and were commanded to abide their trial in the next parliament. The meeting of the three

Meeting of
parliament.

Estates took place at Edinburgh on the sixth of October, 1488, and

was numerously attended by the clergy, barons, and commissaries of the burghs. After the usual appointment of the Lords of the Articles, and the nomination of a committee, consisting of three members of each Estate, to act as a court of appeal for the decision of legal causes, the Earl of Buchan and the other friends of the late king, were summoned to answer for their alleged treason against their sovereign. The Earl of Buchan alone obeyed the summons; and, on making confession of his guilt, and submitting himself to the royal mercy, he was pardoned and restored to favour. The others were declared guilty of the crimes of having attempted to destroy the independence of the kingdom, and to reduce it under subjection to England, and of having advised their late sovereign, James, to violate the stipulations which he had entered

into with the insurgent barons,—the very crimes which the conspirators had themselves committed.*

Sentence of forfeiture was therefore pronounced against them in absence, and their estates were divided among the leaders of the

Sentence of forfeiture pronounced against the loyal barons.

confederates. The lands and lordship of Bothwell were erected into an earldom, and bestowed upon Lord Hailes, the new master of the household; and Patrick Home, of Fastcastle, was rewarded for his services by a grant of the estates of Ross of Montgrenan, who seems to have been peculiarly obnoxious to the prince's party, on account of the bravery which he displayed in a skirmish at the bridge of Stirling, previous to the battle of Sauchie.

Those of the loyal barons who were in possession of hereditary offices, were deprived of them, for the period of three years, in consequence, as was alleged, of the high displeasure conceived by the king against all who, by their presence at the battle of Sauchie, were regarded by him as mainly responsible for the slaughter of his late father. The confederates next proceeded to investigate the

Parliamentary justification of the young king and his party.

causes of the recent rebellion, and voted their own acquittal from all blame in strong and significant terms. It was declared, that the three Estates were unanimously of opinion that the slaughter committed in the field of Stirling, where the king's father happened to be slain with others of his barons, was wholly to be ascribed to the offences, falsehood, and fraud practised by him and his perverse counsellors previous to the battle, and "that our sovereign lord that now is, and the true lords and barons who were with him in the same field, were innocent, quit, and free of the said slaughters, battle, and pursuit, and had no blame in fermenting or exciting them." It was recommended that the great seal of the kingdom, along with the seals of a certain portion of the bishops, barons, and burgesses, should be affixed to this declaration, and that it should be sent to the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, Denmark, and such other realms as were judged expedient by the parliament.† It was also resolved to send an embassy to France, Spain, and Brittany, to confirm the alliance between Scotland and these countries, and to search for a wife to the king; and the sum of five thousand pounds was directed to be levied throughout the kingdom to defray their expenses.

It appears that theft, robbery, and murder were exceedingly prevalent throughout the kingdom at this time, and for the repression of these crimes the

Enactments passed by the legislature.

kingdom was divided into certain districts, over which were placed various earls and barons, with full authority to apprehend and punish all offenders. Orders were issued, that all the goods and moveables belonging to the 'poor unlanded folk' which had been seized during the troubles, should be restored; that all houses, castles, or lands which

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Ibid. p. 207.

had been plundered and occupied by either party during the struggle, should be again delivered to their owners; and, that the heirs of those who had fallen on the king's side in the battle of Stirling, should be permitted to succeed without impediment, to their hereditary estates and honours. All the grants made by the late king, since the 2nd of February, 1487, the day on which the prince took up arms against his father, were revoked, on the ground that they had been made for the benefit of traitors, who had caused the death of the king's father. The office of high chamberlain was bestowed upon Alexander Home, of Home, while the command of Edinburgh castle, with the custody of James, Duke of Ross, the king's brother, was intrusted to Lord Hailes, master of the household.* The castle of Dunbar was ordered to be entirely demolished on account of the injury which it had already occasioned to the country, and the danger that it might again fall into the hands of the enemies of the king. Besides these measures, which were adopted by the dominant party for their own security and the protection of the kingdom, various enactments were passed for the purpose of regulating the due administration of justice, the fineness of gold and silver, and the importation of bullion into the country; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the purchasers of presentations to benefices, at the court of Rome, whether clergy or seculars. These proceedings took place in four successive meetings of the national council, which were held between the 6th of October, 1488, and the 3rd of February, 1489.

One of the most strenuous supporters of the late unfortunate monarch was the stout Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who distinguished himself so zealously in the royal cause before the battle of Sauchie. He was, consequently, very obnoxious to the successful faction, who summoned him to answer on a charge of treason. Pitseottie has given a minute and interesting account of the trial of the rude but honest and loyal baron, which very strikingly illustrates the extraordinary character of the times, and the manner in which justice was at this period administered in Scotland.

On the appointed day† Lord Lindsay and his Trial of Lord associates were solemnly arraigned Lindsay of the before the king and council assembled in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; Byres. Lord Lindsay's name being first specified in the summons, because, as it was alleged, he had been "the most familiar friend" of the late monarch, "and was frackest [freest] in his opinion, and used himself maist manfully in his defence aganes his enemies, wherefore the conspirators had greatest envy at him." . . . "Lord David Lindsay, of the Byres" so ran the "dittay," or bill of indictment, "answer for the cruel coming aganes the king at

Bannockburn, with his father, and in giving him counsel to have devoured his son, the king's grace here present, and to that effect gave him ane sword and ane good horse to fortify him aganes his son. Your answer hereto!"

Now Lord Lindsay "being ane rash man, and of rude language, albeit he was stout and hardy in the fields, and weill exercised in war," was totally unacquainted with legal forms and usages, and knew not how to answer formally to this accusation, nor could he get any lawyer to speak for him, as they all declined the perilous office of pleading for a traitor. At last, however, wearied with hearing his name repeatedly called, and the dittay read, he started up, and spoke as follows:—

"Ye are all lurdanes,* my lords! I say ye are false traitors to your prince, and that I will prove, with my hands, on any of you whilk holds you best, from the king's grace down. For ye, false lurdanes! hes caused the king to come aganes his father in plain battle, where that noble prince was cruely murdered among your hands by your advice, though ye brought the prince in presence for your behoof, to make him the buckler of your enterprise. Therefore, false lurdanes! an the king punish you not hastily for that murther, ye will murther himself, when ye see time, as ye did his father. Therefore sir," he continued, turning to the young king, who presided in person at the trial, "beware of them, and give them no credence; for they that were false to your father, can never be true to yourself. Sir, I assure your grace if your father were yet alive, I would take his part, and stand in no awe of thir (these) false lurdanes; and likewise, gif ye had ane son that wald be counsellit to come in battle against you by evil counsel of false traitors like thir, I wald surely take your part, and fight in your quarrel aganes them; even with three aganes six of thir false traitors, wha cause your grace to believe evil of me. Time shall try (prove) me to be truer at length nor (than) any of them."

The chancellor, "hearing the gross, and rude speech, and sharp accusation" of Lord Lindsay, thought "he hit them over near; therefore to excuse the matter, he answerit and spake to the King in this manner:—"Sir Lord David Lindsay is but ane man of the auld world, and cannot answer formally, nor yet speak reverently in your grace's presence. Your grace maun (must) be guid to him, and I traist (trust) he will come in your will." And then turning to the incensed veteran, he recommended him to submit himself to the king's pleasure, and he should be well treated.

"Thir words," says Pitseottie, "were spoken purposely to cause Lord David Lindsay come in the king's will, that it might be ane preparative to all the rest that were under the summons of forfeiture (forfeiture) to follow, and to come in the king's will; and thought to have cuttled (tickled) them off that way.

* Lurdane, a worthless person.

† Submit to the king's mercy.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 211.

† The 10th of January, 1489, according to Pitseottie. Fisherton is of opinion that the trial took place after the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Forbes, which broke out in the summer and autumn of 1489.

"But ane Maister Patrick Lindsay, brother-german to the Lord David Lindsay," and the most eminent "forspeaker," or advocate of that day, "hearing his brother desiryt to come in the king's will, was not content therewith; to that effect he stramped (trode) sadly on his brother's foot, to gar (make) him understand that he was not content with the desire whilk the chancellor proponit to him. But the stramp of Maister Patrick was sa sad upon his brother's foot, wha had ane sair tae, that the pain thereof was very dolorous, wherfore he lookit to him and said, 'Thou art ower pert loon, to stramp upon my foot; wert thou out of the king's presence, I should take thee on the mouth.'"

Mr. Patrick, however, disregarding his brother's "vain words," "plat on his knees" before the court, and in the name of God, besought for leave to speak in his brother's behalf; "for he and I," said he, "hes not been at ane thir mony years, yet my heart may not suffer me to see the native house, wherof I am descendit, perish."

"Sa the king and the justice gave him leave to speak for his brother. Then the said Maister Patrick raise aff his knees, and was very blythe that he had obtained this licence with the king's favour. Sa he began to speak very reverently in this manner, saying to the haill lords of parliament, and to the rest of them that were accusers of his brother at that time, with the rest of the lords that were in the summons of forfaultry, saying: 'I beseeke you all, my lords, that be here present, for His sake that will give sentence and judgement on us all at the last day, that ye will remember that now instantly is *your* time, and *we* have had the same in times bygane, as we may also have hereafter; desiring you to know your awin estate, and that all things are changeable, but God's justice and judgement stands ever firm and stable; therefore now, do ye as ye wald be done to, in the ministratation of justice to your neighbours and brethren, wha are accused of their lives and heritages this day, whose judgement stands in your hands. Therefore, beware in time, and open not a door that ye may not steek (shut)."

The chancellor then bade him say something in defence of his brother, assuring him that he should have justice at their hands. Mr. Patrick replied by a protest against the king's sitting in judgment on the case, as a violation of his coronation oath that he would not sit in judgment on his lords and barons, in any action in which he was a party himself. "But here," he observed, "his grace is both party and was at the committing of the crime himself, therefore he ought not, neither by the law of God nor man, to sit in judgment at this time, therefore, we desire him, in the name of God, to rise and depart out of judgment while (till) the matter be farther disputit conform to justice."

"Upon this," continues the chronicler, "the chancellor and lords concludit that this petition was reasonable, therefore they desiryt the king to rise up and pass to the Inner Tolbooth, whilk was very unpleasant to him for the time, being ane

young prince, sitting upon seat royal, to be raisit be his subjects. But the lords, thinking shame to break justice, removed him on this manner, and then callit upon Lord David Lindsay and his procurator, Maister Patrick Lindsay, to answer forward to the points of the summons and dittay therein contained."

Then Mr. Patrick, speaking "with humility," yet reminding them not the less "that we have been in the place wherein ye are now," proceeded to show that the summons required that the persons specified in it should appear within forty days, without continuation (prolongation) of days, "and that as forty-one had elapsed, they could not legally be compelled to answer till summoned anew."

The summons was examined, and found to run as Mr. Patrick stated; the prisoners were released, therefore, and no further steps were ever taken against them. Lord Lindsay, in particular, was "sablythe at his brother's sayings," that, forgetting his sore toe, and the heavy stramp of Mr. Patrick's foot, he rapturously "burst forth, saying to him, 'Verily brother, ye have fine pyet [magpie] words! I could not have trowit (believed) that ye had sic words. By Sancta Marie! ye shall have the Mains of Kirkforthar for your days' labour.'" The king, as may be supposed, was far from being equally captivated; he told Mr. Patrick that "he should gar him sit where he should not see his feet for a year," and accordingly threw him into the castle of Rothesay in Bute, where he remained in prison a whole twelvemonth ere he was released.*

In spite of the parliamentary acquittal of the young king and his accomplices from the murder of the late monarch, their innocence was far from being generally admitted. There was still, to use the language of a subsequent parliament, "heavy murmurs and noise of the people respecting the slaughter of our sovereign lord's father;" and scarcely had the national ^{Revolt of} council terminated its sittings ^{Lennox and} when Lennox, Huntley, Mareschal, ^{other barons—}

Forbes, and other powerful chiefs, broke into open revolt. They complained, and apparently on good grounds, that the youthful monarch was entirely in the hands of his father's murderers, who violated the laws with impunity, and carried on the government for the advancement of their own selfish purposes, without any regard for the public welfare. Lord Forbes, one of the malecontent barons, marched through the northern district of the country, displaying the bloody shirt of the unfortunate king suspended from a spear, and calling for vengeance on his murderers; and great multitudes of the people, roused by this appeal, flocked to his banner. The insurrection rapidly gathered strength, and seriously threatened the stability of the throne. But the young king and his advisers acted with great promptitude and decision. The Chancellor Argyle was despatched with all speed to attack the strong fortress of Dunbarton, into which Lord Lyle and Matthew Stewart, the eldest son of

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 232-239.

Lennox, had thrown themselves; while James himself laid siege to the castles of Crockstone and Duchal, which had been occupied by the insurgents; and so vigorously did he carry on his operations, that within a short period he made himself master of both places. Meanwhile the Earl of Lennox had collected about two thousand men in the northern districts, and having descended into the low country, was marching toward Dunbarton, where the Earl Mareschal, with Lords Forbes and Crichton, and the Master of Huntley, waited his arrival. But on reaching the northern bank of the Forth, opposite to Stirling, he found that his enemies had seized the bridge and occupied the town in considerable force. He therefore marched to the westward with the view of crossing the Forth by a ford not far from the source of the river, and encamped at a place called Tala Moss, about sixteen miles from Stirling. Here he was surprised,

—its speedy and completely routed in a night suppression. attack by Lord Drummond; Dunbarton, Lennox's strongest hold, immediately surrendered, and the insurgent leaders laid down their arms, and were not only pardoned, but soon after reinstated in the royal favour.

Tranquillity was now restored to the kingdom, and the popularity of the government was greatly increased by a brilliant naval victory gained at this

time by the celebrated Sir Andrew Exploits of Sir Andrew Wood. Wood. In spite of the truce which still existed between England and Scotland, the English privateers continued to infest the Scottish seas, obstructing the commerce, plundering the merchantmen, and committing great depredations upon the coast towns. Five of these pirate vessels had entered the Clyde, and after committing great havoc among the shipping, and ravaging the adjacent country, had the audacity to give chase to a vessel which was the king's own property. Indignant at this unprovoked outrage, James applied for assistance to Sir Andrew Wood, and urged him to undertake the duty of protecting the commerce of the country from these piratical attacks. Notwithstanding his devoted attachment to the late king, and his disapprobation of the course pursued by his son, the brave and patriotic officer could not refuse to comply with this request to vindicate the honour of his country. He immediately set sail with his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, in search of the enemy, whom he found at anchor off the town of Dunbar; and notwithstanding his inferiority in force, after a stubborn conflict he captured the five piratic vessels, and brought them in triumph into Leith.*

Henry VII. was highly incensed at this defeat; and though he could not openly resent it or give countenance to hostilities during the continuance of the truce, he took care to make his wishes known to his naval officers; and Stephen Bull, his most active and experienced sea-captain, fitted out three stout vessels, well manned and fully equipped with cross-bows and other warlike implements, and pro-

ceeded in search of the Scottish commander. Bull having learned that Wood had sailed for Flanders, resolved to intercept him on his return; and directing his course to the mouth of the Firth of Forth, he cast anchor behind the small island of May, and waited the arrival of his enemy. In no long time, two vessels appeared off St. Abb's Head; and the English captain, having been assured by some fishermen, whom he had taken prisoners for that purpose, that it was Wood who was approaching, immediately prepared for action, and caused an allowance of wine to be served out to his sailors. The Scottish admiral drew near, totally unconscious that any interruption awaited him; but as soon as he perceived the English vessels, he ordered his ships to be cleared, and the gunners, pike and cross-bow men, and those who threw fire-balls, to repair to their several stations; and bore fearlessly down upon the enemy. "By this," says Pitscottie, "the sun begun to rise and shine bright on the sails, so the English ships appeared very awful in the sight of the Scots, by reason their ships were great and strong, and well furnished with great artillery. But the Scots, nothing effeired therewith, came stoutly forward upon the wind side, upon Captain Bull, and clipped fra hand, and fought there fra the rising of the sun till the going down of the same, in the long summer's day, while all the men and women that dwelt near the coast-side stood and beheld the fighting, whilk was terrible to see." Night parted the combatants, but next morning the trumpets sounded, and the battle was renewed with such fury, that the mariners forgetting everything else in their eagerness for victory, allowed their ships to drift with the ebb tide till they were carried to the mouth of the Tay. At length victory declared for the Scottish captain; the three English ships were captured and carried into Dundee, where they remained till the dead were buried and the wounded placed under surgical care. Sir Andrew then presented his prisoners to the king, who received them with great courtesy, and dismissed them without ransom. At the same time, however, according to Pitscottie, he sent a message to the English monarch, that if his captains "came again on sic form to perturb his coasts, it might be they would not be so weill entertained, nor loup (leap) home so dryshod.*" The brave Sir Andrew was liberally rewarded for his gallant achievement, and became the king's most honoured friend and trusted counsellor.

The English monarch Henry the Seventh, was remarkable for his sagacity, caution, command of temper, and love of peace; and as the English were the aggressors in the recent naval conflict, he could not make the defeat of Bull a matter of open complaint. But there can be no doubt that he was deeply mortified at the untoward result, and it is by no means improbable that the desire of vengeance for the dishonour thus done to the English arms was one of the causes that induced him to

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 240.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 241—245.

give his secret countenance to a foul conspiracy against the Scottish monarch, which was at this time fostered at the English court. The details of this

Secret plot
against the
king.

disgraceful transaction are involved in considerable obscurity, but there is abundant evidence to prove the nefarious character of the plot and the complicity of the English king. It appears that the Earl of Buchan, Ramsay Lord Bothwell, the favourite of James the Third, who after the battle of Sauchie had fled to England, and a 'person designing himself Sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scotland,' with various other traitors, had entered into an agreement with Henry the Seventh to deliver into his hands the Scottish king and his brother, the Duke of Ross, and that to assist them in this enterprize Henry had advanced the loan of two hundred and sixty pounds, which, however, with his characteristic cantion and love of money, he carefully stipulated was to be repaid to him by a certain day.* The whole of this transaction seems to have been involved in the most profound darkness; and James and his ministers could have had no suspicion of the treacherous behaviour of the English monarch, for at the moment when this plot was concocted the Archbishop of St. Andrews had been despatched on an embassy to England, and commissioners were engaged in settling some complaints respecting the mutual violations of the truce upon the Borders, and in making arrangements for the prolongation of the amicable relations existing between the two kingdoms.

A meeting of parliament was held soon after this

Proceedings of
the parliament.

at Edinburgh, and various important measures were passed with the view of promoting the peace and prosperity of the country. It was resolved to send ambassadors to France and to Denmark, for the purpose of renewing the ancient commercial alliances between these countries and Scotland. The Earl of Huntley was appointed king's lieutenant north of the water of Esk, till the sovereign should reach the age of twenty-five. Punishment was denounced against all who were guilty of slaughter or rapine; leagues or bands among the nobles and their feudal tenantry were forbidden; and strict injunctions were issued, that the chancellor, with certain lords of council, or in their absence the lords of session, should sit three times a year for the administration of justice. It was also ordained that the profits and rents of the royal burghs should be spent according to the advice of the council of the burgh, upon things necessary for its security and increase; whilst the burgh rents, such as lands, fishings, mills, and farms, were not to be disposed of, except upon a three years' lease. Sheriffs, bailies, and provosts of burghs were commanded to take copies of the acts and statutes now passed, and to see that they were openly proclaimed within the bounds of their office.*

James had now attained his twentieth year, and

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. p. 440.

† Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 227.

began to exhibit considerable ability and energy in the administration of the affairs of his kingdom. Amid a love of pleasure, which his counsellors had

Character and
prudent conduct
of the king.

basely fostered and indulged to serve their own selfish purposes, he did not so far forget himself as to neglect the duties of his office. His frank and generous disposition made him deservedly popular among all classes of his subjects, and he assiduously devoted himself to promote the impartial administration of justice, and the introduction of law and order into the remotest parts of his kingdom. By his judicious and energetic efforts many gross abuses were rectified, crime was punished and repressed, law vindicated, and the agriculture and the commerce of the country, the navy, the fisheries, and the manufactures, were all encouraged and developed. A pleasing picture of the character and habits of the youthful monarch is given by Pitscottie, who, however, does injustice to James III. in the contrast which he draws between his reign and that of his successor. "In this mean time," says that venerable chronicler, "was guid peace and rest in Scotland, and great love betwixt the king and his subjects, and he was weill loved of them all, for he was very noble, and thought that the vice of covetousness reigned over meikle in his father, whilk should nocht reign in him; nor yet no cowards nor pickthanks should be authorized nor advanced in his company; neither used he the counsel but of his lords, whereby he wan the hearts of the whole nobility, sa that he wald ride out—through any pairt of the realm, him alone, unknown that he was ane king, and wald lig (lie) in puir men's houses as he had been ane traveller through the country, and wald require of them where he ludged where the king was, and what ane man he was, and how he used himself towards his subjects, and what they spake of him through the country, and they wald answer to him as they thought guid. Sa, by thir doings the king heard the common bruit (report) of himself. This prince was wondrous hardy and diligent in the execution of justice, and loved nathing sac weil as able men and guid horses; therefore, at sundry times, he wald gar make proclamation through the land to all and sundry his lords and barons wha were able for justing or tourney, to come to Edinburgh to him, and there to exercise themselves for his pleasure; some to rin with the spear, and some to fecht with the battle-ax, some with the two-handit sword, and some with the hand-bow, and all other exercise. Whosoever faucht best gat his adversary's weapon delivered to him by the king, and he wha ran best with the spear, gat ane spear headit with pure gold delivered to him, to keep in memory of his practique thereintil. By this means the king brought his realm to great honour and manheid, that the fame of his justings and tourneys spread through all Europe, whilk caused mony errand knights, come out of other pairts to Scotland to seek justing, because they

• Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 243—246.

heard the knightly fame of the Prince of Scotland. But few or none of them passed away unmatched, and oftentimes overthrown.*

It was evident that as James grew older he became convinced of the fatal errors of his early years, and felt deep remorse for having lent himself to a selfish and unprincipled faction, who, under the pretence of the love of their country and of liberty, sought merely their own aggrandisement. But he had learned wisdom from the errors of his unfortunate father, and aware that he could not put down by force the powerful and triumphant faction which had placed him on the throne, he adopted the safer course of gradually withdrawing his confidence from them, and collecting around him the sagacious and trustworthy Sir Andrew Wood, and other friends and ministers of his father. He cautiously abstained, however, from manifesting his alienation from his early associates so openly as to drive them into opposition, and by a judicious combination of firmness with kindness, he succeeded in reconciling the various hostile factions among his nobility, and in maintaining his authority over them all, so that he was revered as well as beloved by all classes of his people. The haughty and turbulent Earl of Angus, who had been

Dissatisfaction and treason of Angus—

resented so highly the coldness with which he and his associates were now treated, that he withdrew for a season into England, and entered into a treasonable treaty with Henry VII. On his return, however, he was committed a prisoner to his own fortress of Tantallon, and, as the price of his pardon, was compelled to exchange the lordship of Liddesdale and the strong castle of Hermitage for the lordship and castle of Bothwell, which was a considerable diminution of the family greatness. The displeasure of the king was increased by the

—his slaughter of Spens, of Kilspindie.

slaughter of Spens, of Kilspindie, a favourite courtier, who about this time fell in a casual encounter with Angus. The incident is thus related by Godscroft. "Spens, a renowned cavalier, had been present in court, when the Earl of Angus was highly praised for strength and valour. 'It may be,' answered Spens, 'if all be good that is up-comer;' insinuating that the courage of the earl might not answer the promise of his gigantic frame. Shortly after, Angus, while hawking near Borthwick, with a single attendant, met Kilspindie. 'What reason had ye,' said the earl, 'for making question of my manhood? Thou art a tall fellow, and so am I: and by St. Bride of Douglas, one of us shall pay for it!' 'Since it may be no

* "And of his court through Europe sprang the fame,
Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies ying;
Triumphand tourneys, justing and knightly game,
With all pastime according for ane king—
He was the glour of princely governing!"

† Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 314. Sir David was himself bred at the court of James.

better,' answered Kilspindie, 'I will defend myself against the best earl in Scotland.' With these words they encountered fiercely, till Angus with one blow severed the thigh of his antagonist, who died upon the spot. The earl then addressed the attendant of Kilspindie: 'Go thy way: tell my gossip, the king, that here was nothing but fair play. I know my gossip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddesdale and remain in my castle of the Hermitage till his anger be abated.'** It was no easy task for a monarch of twenty to maintain the royal authority over such turbulent and lawless chieftains, who, if they possessed many of the virtues of the 'savage state, exhibited also much of its ferocity.

It appears that the injunctions given to the Bishop of Glasgow, and certain Theft of the barons, to place the jewels and royal treasure. treasure of the late king in the hands of faithful persons, had been very imperfectly obeyed, and that the greater part of the treasure had disappeared. Inquiry was now ordered to be made for the detection of the thieves by whom it had been embezzled or stolen; and the persons to whom the money had been entrusted were commanded to appear before the king's council, to answer for their neglect of their duty.† About this time, in consequence of the 'heavy murmurs' of the people respecting the impunity granted to the murderers of the late king, a reward of one hundred marks' worth of land in fee and heritage, was offered to any person who should discover the individual by whom the crime was perpetrated.‡ The sum was only to be paid, however, in the event of the persons being pointed out who slew the king 'with their own hands,' and as the reward was never claimed, the actual murderer of the unhappy monarch remains still unknown. James had applied in his distress to the Romish pontiff for assistance, and Innocent VIII., who then occupied the papal chair, formally excommunicated the rebels during the lifetime of the king. It appears that some time after the battle of Stirling, The rebels receive absolution from the pope. they petitioned the pope for absolution, acknowledging their guilt, and Innocent accordingly issued a bull, dated the 27th of June, 1491, empowering the Abbots of Jedburgh and Paisley, and the Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow, at their discretion, to absolve the penitents, restore to them the sacra-

* Godscroft, vol. ii. p. 59. The sword with which Archibald Bell-the-Cat slew Spens was by his descendant, the famous Earl of Morton, presented to Lord Lindsay of the Byres, when about to engage in single combat with Bothwell at Carberry-hill.

† Sir Walter Scott, in his description of this redoubted feudal chief in his old age, says:—

"O'er his huge form and visage pale,
He wore a cap and shirt of mail;
And lean'd his large and wrinkled hand
Upon the huge and sweeping brand,
Which wont of yore in battle fray
His foeman's limbs to shred away,
As wood-knife lops the sapling spray."

Marmion, canto vi. st. xi.

‡ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 250.

† Ibid.

ments, and reunite them to the body of the church on due expression of contrition and pledge of penitence.*

The Scottish king showed himself as vigilant in guarding against the encroachments of the papal court, as he was resolute in maintaining his royal authority over his own subjects. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, in the month of May, 1493, various enactments were passed for the purpose of protecting the privileges of the Scottish church, and the rights of the king in the disposal of his ecclesiastical patronage. Regulations were framed with the view of preventing all interference upon the part of the pope with the king's appointment to vacant benefices; and all opposition to these regulations was declared to be an act of treason. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow had, a few years before, been raised to the archiepiscopal dignity—their privileges were now ratified, and they were empowered to confirm the election of abbots within their dioceses without waiting for the authority of the papal court. These rival prelates had been for some time engaged in a violent litigation before the pope, respecting their jurisdiction, the expense of which, it was declared, had been attended with 'inestimable damage to the realm,' and some apprehensions seem to have been entertained, that the one party or the other might be induced to make undue concessions to gain the favour of the Romish court. The parliament, therefore, requested the king to interfere, and to command the litigants to withdraw their suit from the foreign tribunal, and to submit to the decision of the king; under the penalty that, if they refuse to obey, their tenants shall be interdicted from paying their rents.† It would appear that at this time not a few, both of the clergy and laity, had pleas depending in the papal court, by appeals from the Scottish ecclesiastical tribunals; and the parliament recommended the king to join the litigants, by his ambassadors, to withdraw their pleas, and submit them to the ordinary judges in their own country, and impartial justice should be administered to them. The ancient law was re-enacted, which prohibited any papal legate from entering the realm, unless a cardinal or a native of Scotland. Some enactments were also passed at this time for the regulation of manufactures and commerce, and of the coinage and importation of bullion. For the encouragement of the fisheries of the kingdom, and on account of 'the great and innumerable riches' which are lost for the want of ships and boats, with their appropriate nets and tackling, the parliament judged it proper that ships and fishing boats, of not less than twenty tons, should be built and equipped by all the burghs and sea-coast towns; and that all stout, idle men should be pressed to serve on board these vessels, under the penalty of banishment in case of refusal. Great anxiety seems to have been

felt that James should, without delay, form a matrimonial alliance; doubtless in expectation that such a union would operate as a restraint upon his licentious passions. The proposal was renewed to send ambassadors to France, Spain, and other countries to seek a suitable bride for the young king; and, in addition to the tax already agreed to for the purpose of defraying the expense of the embassy, it was declared that a thousand pounds additional should be given 'for the honourable home-bringing of a queen.'

The state of the Highlands now occupied much of the king's attention, and the measures which he adopted for the introduction of law and order into these wild and remote districts, were certainly wise and salutary. Some time before this, Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew and heir to John, the aged Lord of the Isles, had endeavoured to recover by force of arms the coveted earldom of Ross; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a vast booty, was defeated by the Mackenzies at a place called Blairneparck, near the river Conan. It does not appear how far the Lord of the Isles was himself implicated in the rebellious proceedings of his nephew, but either on account of his connection with this rebellion, or because it was the object of the government to break up the confederacy of the islanders, which had so often disturbed the tranquillity of the country, the parliament, which met in 1493, deprived this powerful chief of his title and estates. In the month of January following he appeared before the king, and made a formal surrender of his lordship. The aged nobleman appears to have remained for some time in the king's household, but he finally retired to the Abbey of Paisley about the year 1498.*

Immediately after the forfeiture of the great island chief, James proceeded in person to the west Highlands, to receive the submission of his vassals. Experience had shown that the personal presence of the sovereign was calculated to exercise the most beneficial influence on the minds of the inhabitants of these wild and inaccessible regions; and on two different occasions, in the year 1490, James rode from Perth, across the chain of mountains known by the name of the 'Mounth,' which extends from the border of the Mearns to the head of Loch Rannoch. During the present visit he penetrated as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry in Ardnachurchan, and received the submission of Alexander of Lochalsh, the principal leader of the late insurrection; John of Isla; John Maclean of Lochbuy; Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan; and other powerful chiefs who were formerly vassals of the Lord of the Isles. In return, the king conferred on them, by royal charters, grants of the lands which they had formerly held under their feudal superior, thus rendering them independent of any subject; and the two former received the honour of knighthood.

* Innes' Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 837.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 232.

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 38.

As some of the most powerful of these chiefs had not made their submission, the king resolved to return next year with a force sufficient to overawe and reduce them to obedience. The voyage, which took place in April and May, 1494, was conducted with great pomp and ceremony. The king was attended by his chief ministers and household, many of whom had fitted out vessels at their own expense. The splendour of the armament impressed the islanders with a high idea of the royal wealth and power; the promptitude and vigour with which James punished those who braved his power, inspired terror, while the clemency he displayed towards those who submitted to his authority, and his condescension and familiarity with all classes of his subjects increased his popularity, and strengthened his authority. During this excursion, the youthful monarch gratified his passion for sailing and hunting, and thereby relieved the tedium of business by combining with it agreeable and innocent recreation.

In the course of the year 1494, James visited the Isles no less than three times, so great was his anxiety to establish the authority of law and government in these remote districts. On arriving, on his first voyage, at Tarbert in Kintyre, he repaired the fort originally built there by his great ancestor Robert Bruce, and provided it with artillery and skilful gunners. On his return, in the month of July, he seized the castle of Dunaverty, in South Kintyre, and placed a garrison in it for the purpose of overawing the rude and turbulent chiefs of that district. This step gave great offence to Sir John of Isla, who is supposed to have entertained the hope of regaining the possession of Kintyre, which had at one time belonged to his family; and on the first favourable opportunity, he collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hanged the governor over the wall in the sight of the king and his fleet. This savage revolt took James completely by surprise; and, as the greater portion of his followers had been sent away on some other expedition, he was unable to inflict immediate punishment on this insolent rebel. But so promptly were measures taken for the vindication of his insulted authority, that in a short time Sir John of Isla, and four of his sons, were apprehended and conveyed to Edinburgh. Here they were brought to trial, found guilty of treason, and executed on the Borough-muir. Their lands and possessions were forfeited to the crown.*

In the following year, another powerful expedition was undertaken to the Isles, and on the 18th of May, the king held his court, for the second time within two years, at the remote castle of Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan. John Hughson, of Sleat; Donald Angus, son of Keppock, the chief of Clanranald; Maclean, of Dowart; Ewen Allanson, of Lochiel, captain of the clan Cameron; and Macneill, of Barra, finding it in vain to resist the powerful force which the king had led into the midst of their island fastnesses, made their submission. Mac-

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 90

kenzie, of Kintail; and Farquhar Macintosh, son and heir of the captain of the clan Chattan, were seized and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. These vigorous measures were followed up by an important act of the Lords of Council, which provided, that when civil actions were raised against the islanders, the chief of every clan should be answerable for the due execution of summonses and other writs against those of his own tribe, under the penalty of being made liable himself to the party bringing the action. This measure, which was rendered necessary by the disturbed state of the Isles, must have had a most beneficial effect; for, in those wild and remote districts, a strong military escort was necessary to enable the officers of the law to perform their necessary duties in safety.*

The character of James, however, though distinguished by a noble love of justice, and a sincere desire to promote the happiness of his people, was weakened by a cast of romance, and a fondness for adventure, which rendered him often the dupe of the designing, and engaged him in enterprises alike impolitic and hazardous. An unhappy example of this defect was now given in the arduous Origin and character of Perkin Warbeck. with which he adopted the cause of Perkin Warbeck, who, as the pretended son of Edward IV. laid claim to the crown of England. The early history of this specious impostor is involved in an obscurity which tended, doubtless, to support his deception; but it is generally believed that his father was a renegade Jew of Tournay, who occasionally visited England, for the purpose of trade. Perkin was born in England; but while still very young, he left that country for France, and in company with his father, led for many years an unsettled and wandering life, but acquiring a knowledge of the world, which proved eminently useful in his subsequent career. A striking resemblance to Edward IV., combined with a noble presence, graceful manners, pleasing conversation, and great skill in adapting himself to circumstances, seem early to have attracted notice, and suggested to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the determined enemy of the House of Lancaster, and of Henry VII., a plan for reviving the claims of the House of York in the person of Warbeck. The young adventurer entered willingly into her schemes, and qualified himself, by a residence at her court, for the part he was expected to perform; while Margaret and her protégé eagerly awaited the propitious moment for some decisive step in favour of their object. On the breaking out of war between England and France, Warbeck left Burgundy for Ireland, where the House of York had still many ardent friends. He announced himself as Richard Plantagenet, son of Edward IV.; gave a specious account of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard III., and by artful appeals to the loyalty of the Irish people, he succeeded in attaching to his cause the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, an-

* Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 91.

the greater part of the native population. In France his success was equally great, for whatever credit Charles VIII. might attach to his pretensions, it was obviously the policy of that monarch to strengthen the interests of so dangerous a rival to Henry VII. with whom he was then at war. Warbeck was accordingly invited to the French court, and received, on his arrival, not only the welcome of a sovereign, but had a pension and a residence assigned to him along with a guard of honour, of which Lord Coneressault became the captain. On the conclusion of peace between France and England, Perkin, though still secretly favoured by Charles, was compelled to retire to Flanders, where he anxiously awaited the progress of events in the English kingdom. These, for a time, inspired him with the highest hopes of success. The faction of York, though broken, was still powerful, while the policy of Henry had diffused such a general spirit of discontent among the nobles, that many were eager to dethrone and punish the enemy of their order. Warbeck accordingly received numerous visits and secret promises of support from some of the chief barons of England; and the conspiracy for the assertion of his claims to the English crown became daily more extensive and formidable. The treachery of Lord Clifford, however, who basely betrayed to Henry the names and plans of the conspirators, broke up the confederacy ere it was ripe for action, and the summary execution of the leaders for high treason, inflicted a blow on the cause of Warbeck from which it never recovered. A desperate, but unsuccessful attempt, with a motley band of robbers, outlaws, and pirates, to invade England through Kent, a district supposed to be highly favourable to his cause, completed his discouragements, and compelled him, once more, to return to Flanders. In Ireland, the nature of the country, so favourable to a desultory and protracted system of warfare, enabled his friends, who were still numerous and powerful, to maintain the contest with the forces of Henry; and Warbeck left Flanders for that country, in the hope that, by some decisive victory, his fortune might revive; but the masterly soldier-ship of Sir Edward Poynings, whom Henry had appointed governor of the island, soon rendered his prospects well-nigh desperate, and he turned to the Scottish king as the forlorn hope of his cause. On the sixth of November, 1494, James received notice that the Prince of England proposed visiting his dominions; and a prompt and friendly reply having been returned, Warbeck

His visit to Scotland. shortly after sailed for Scotland.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the connexion of James with the cause of the Flemish adventurer commenced at a much earlier period. The friendly relations between the courts of Burgundy and Scotland afforded ample opportunities for intercourse, nor does it seem likely that Margaret would overlook the aid of a prince, whose chivalrous character and proximity to England rendered his adherence

to the cause of York a matter of the last importance. Negotiations appear to have been begun as early as 1488, when Sir Richard Hardelston and Richard Ludelay de Ireland visited Scotland on a mission from the duchess; and though Warbeck was for some time almost entirely engrossed with his schemes in England and Ireland, the reception at the Scottish court, first of Edward Ormond, and subsequently of O'Donnel, Prince of Tirconnel, as the envoys of Warbeck, indicate with sufficient clearness the adherence of James to the cause of the alleged Prince of York. A simultaneous rising of the friends of Warbeck in Ireland and England, and the invasion of the latter country by a powerful Scottish army, seem at one time to have been agreed upon; but the treachery of Clifford prevented the movement. James, indeed, was fully prepared to credit the pretensions of Warbeck, which, besides being supported by the courts of Burgundy and France, had so many attractions for his romantic turn of mind; and the disasters which had attended the course of the adventurer in his attempts on the English crown, only strengthened his generous interest in the unfortunate refugee, and his resolution to support his claims. He, therefore, coldly declined the pacific overtures of Henry VII., who offered him his daughter, the Princess Margaret, in marriage,* and proceeded to make arrangements for war.

Warbeck arrived in Scotland in the month of November, 1495, and was received with all the honours due to a prince. The castle of Stirling, which had been elegantly fitted up in the prospect of his visit, was assigned to him as a place of residence, and a monthly pension of one hundred and twelve pounds from the exchequer enabled him to maintain a state and retinue befitting his presumed rank. Any doubt that may be supposed to have lingered in the mind of James, respecting the truth of Perkin's story, was entirely removed by intercourse with his guest, whose specious manners, imposing person, and well sustained semblance of injured greatness, deepened the impression which his misfortunes and his appeal to the protection of the Scottish monarch had already produced. James treated Warbeck with all the familiarity of an equal, entertained him with tournaments and joustings; and for the purpose of securing the hearty co-operation of his own subjects in the coming war with England, he conducted the stranger through the most populous parts of the kingdom, where his appearance and manners had a powerful effect in exciting the sympathies of the nation. Shortly after, the Scottish king gave the most convincing proof of his attachment to Warbeck and his belief in his claims, by bestowing upon him the hand of Lady Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the Earl of Huntley, who, besides being the most beautiful and accomplished woman in Scotland, was nearly related to the royal family.

The invasion of England being now resolved

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xiii. p. 672.

upon, James, with characteristic promptitude, proceeded to collect his forces. An order was issued summoning the whole military strength of his kingdom to assemble at Lauder; and the king busied himself in collecting as efficient a train of artillery as the age and country could furnish. Messengers were also despatched to Ireland to acquaint the friends of Warbeck there with this formidable movement in his favour, and to invite them to persevere in the contest with the forces of Henry, and, if possible, to strengthen the army of James; while constant communication was kept up with the barons on the English border, whose attachment to the house of York was likely to secure their co-operation in the enterprise.* The confidence of the king was farther increased and his forces strengthened by the arrival of two Flemish vessels from the Duchess of Burgundy, containing sixty German men-at-arms, and a large store of military accoutrements and weapons.

Having at last completed his preparations, the Scottish king proceeded to the south, at the head of his army, accompanied by Warbeck, who adopted the title of the Duke of York. Before crossing the border, James halted at Ellam Kirk, and formally declared war against England, while his ally drew up and dispersed a manifesto addressed to his subjects, in which his own claims were artfully put forth, the usurpation and tyranny of Henry denounced, the aid of the English people to restore the rightful possessor of the throne earnestly implored, and ample promises were made that all the grievances which the mal-administration of the present king had produced should be immediately redressed. The result of this expedition was sufficiently mortifying to the Scottish monarch, but by no means surprising, as it arose from causes which only his hasty and over-confident temper had led him to overlook. Warbeck's pretensions, at no time popular in England, had been greatly weakened by his previous failures; the searching investigations of Henry had discovered the lowness of his birth and the falsehood of his story, and the dread inspired by the vengeance inflicted on his former supporters, effectually repressed any manifestation of interest even on the part of those who were favourably inclined to his cause. To these feelings was added the powerful element of national hostility. The presence of a Scottish army in England provoked the indignation of the inhabitants; and they viewed with disgust an adventurer, supported only by their hereditary foes and a motley gathering of Flemish stipendiaries and border thieves, and who, in the prosecution of his claims, did not hesitate to expose their country to all the evils of a hostile inroad. James was doomed, therefore, to encounter only coldness and aversion, where he expected to be hailed with enthusiasm; and incensed at a result so different from his expectations, he completed the unpopularity of his ally by subjecting the district of Northumberland

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 453, 443.

to plunder and devastation. So unsparing were his ravages, that Warbeck, either from real or affected compassion, ventured to intercede for his subjects, as he continued to call them; but the Scottish monarch, who now saw the futility of the project in which he had embarked, replied with a sneer, "You are too merciful to interest yourself for a people who are so tardy in acknowledging you for a sovereign."* Having satiated his vengeance, and feeling satisfied that Failure of the expedition must be abandoned, James, on learning that an army was mustering to attack him, returned to his own dominions, where, amid the gaieties of his court, he endeavoured to lose the remembrance of his failure.

Meanwhile Henry, indignant at the invasion of his kingdom and its cause, had taken instant measures for driving back the enemy, and retaliating, by a similar incursion into Scotland. The retreat of James, however, removed the principal occasion of his anxieties; and as hostilities between the two countries, though still carried on, were now confined to occasional forays on the part of the border chiefs, he resolved, with his usual prudence, rather to procure peace, if possible, by negotiation, than to trust to the chances of a long and hazardous war. He renewed his proposals, therefore, at the close of the following summer, for a marriage between James and his daughter Margaret, as the bond of a lasting truce between the two countries; but he required, as a necessary condition, the abandonment of Warbeck's cause, and the surrender of his person. These overtures were in the main acceptable to the Scottish king. The advantages of an alliance with Henry were obvious; his ardour in the cause of his guest had greatly cooled and he had now abandoned all hopes of success; but, with the characteristic generosity of his nature, he shrunk from betraying one who had claimed his protection, and trusted implicitly to his honour. The removal of Warbeck from Scotland, however, became now a matter of urgent necessity, as his presence, besides causing a profitless and unpopular war, occasioned an amount of expense which the treasury of the kingdom was unable to sustain. Arrangements were accordingly made for his departure; but to divert attention from his own purpose, and to secure the safety of Warbeck, James affected not only to decline the proposals of Henry, but even entered England with a powerful force, and a considerable train of artillery, as if resolved to prosecute the war with unabated vigour. In the meantime a ship was fitted out at Ayr, provided with every requisite for convenience and defence, and

Departure of Warbeck from Scotland.

placed under the command of Robert Barton, one of the most daring and expert captains of the age. In this vessel Warbeck embarked on the 24th of July, 1497, and left Scotland for ever, accompanied by his devoted wife, who refused to be separated from her husband; and receiving to the

* Carte Hist. of England, vol. ii. pp. 348, 840

last, from the subjects of his chivalrous entertainer, all the honours due to his assumed rank. The fate of this specious pretender to royalty was speedily decided. Abandoned by James, and excluded from Flanders by a treaty between that country and England, he took refuge at first with a few of his partizans, amid the wilds of Ireland; but a second attempt on England, with the view of reviving his

His ultimate desperate fortunes, issued in his fate. total defeat and capture, and he was ultimately hanged at Tyburn. His wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, fell at the same time into the hands of Henry, who, however, treated her with generous kindness, and assigned her a pension and post of honour at the English court, where, from her grace and beauty, she was long known by the name of the White Rose of Scotland.*

The departure of Warbeck removed the chief obstacle to a peace between England and Scotland, for which the monarchs of both countries were equally solicitous. Henry, menaced by constant plots against his crown, and surrounded by a discontented nobility, was naturally anxious to secure the neutrality of a powerful neighbour, whose hostility might assist the efforts of foreign invasion or intestine treason; and James, whose thirst for adventure and profitless strife had been greatly cooled by late events, was now engaged with plans for the improvement of his kingdom, the execution of which must have been indefinitely delayed by war with England. Negotiations were

Truce with accordingly resumed, and on the England. 31st September, 1497, a truce was concluded at Ayton, between the two nations, for seven years, and was afterwards extended to a period comprehending the lives of the two monarchs, and a year after the death of the survivor. The proposal of the alliance of James with the Princess Margaret, though formally introduced by Fox, Bishop of Durham, one of the English commissioners, seems to have been ultimately dropped from the provisions of the treaty.

Thus happily freed from the prospect of war, James entered with promptitude and zeal on measures for promoting the prosperity of his kingdom. The northern provinces, remote from the seat of government, and convulsed by the feuds of rival clans, had long proved a source of inquietude to successive monarchs, and had not unfrequently endangered the security of the crown. James, therefore, determined by personal inspection, to ascertain the condition of those districts as the basis of future legislation; and for this purpose he proceeded, though in the depth of winter, to Inverness, from which he made an extensive tour through the Highland provinces. The result of his policy was in the highest degree satisfactory. The refractory and turbulent chiefs were punished, while the more peaceful were honoured by marks of the sovereign's favour and confidence, which

* Lady Catherine afterwards married Sir Matthew Cra-
dock of Wales, an ancestor of the Pembroke family.

converted them into powerful allies in maintaining the authority of government. Besides its direct influence in compelling these fierce mountaineers to acknowledge his rule, the visit of the king excited a feeling of enthusiastic loyalty among the great body of the chiefs and people, which produced the happiest effects during the remainder of his reign.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty between England and Scotland, an incident occurred, which threat- ^{Threatening of} ^{hostilities with} ^{England.} ened once more to involve the two countries in hostilities. A party of youths belonging to the Scottish border, trusting to the protection of the truce, crossed the Tweed for the purpose of visiting some friends at Norham; but while examining the castle a quarrel arose between them and the garrison, who accused them of being spies. They were attacked by orders of the governor; several of them were wounded and slain, and the rest were compelled to flee for their lives. A complaint respecting this outrage was instantly made to the English wardens, but without success. The Scottish king took fire at the indignity offered to his subjects, and despatched a herald to the English court, demanding satisfaction, and denouncing war if it were refused. Fortunately for the mutual welfare of the two kingdoms, Henry behaved with great prudence and moderation. He declared that the attack was altogether unpremeditated, and promised that inquiry should immediately be made, and punishment inflicted upon the guilty. Fox, the Bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged, also wrote to James, in a submissive and conciliatory strain, and succeeded in appeasing his indignation.* The ratification of the treaty, which this untoward incident had delayed, was soon afterwards given at Stirling, on the twentieth of July, 1499.

The negotiations with England having been thus amicably concluded, James ^{Formation of a} ^{navy.} turned his attention to the formation of a navy. At this time the maritime enterprises of the Portuguese, and the discoveries of Columbus and of John and Sebastian Cabot, had created an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe, which had extended to Scotland, and roused the adventurous spirit of the Scottish king. He immediately adopted measures to establish a royal navy, in which Scotland had hitherto been deficient, and to maintain his place with other maritime kingdoms. Injunctions were issued, that vessels of twenty tons and upwards should be built in all the seaports of the kingdom; and that all stout vagrants should be compelled to serve on board these vessels, and to labour for their own living. Great attention was paid to the best nurseries of seamen—the domestic fisheries and foreign commerce. Sir Andrew Wood, the two Bartons, and other experienced and enterprising merchants and traders, were invited to court, and

* Buchanan, book xiii. chaps. xix. xx.

encouraged to apply their wealth and skill to the improvement of the maritime affairs of the country; while the king made himself intimately acquainted with the management of his infant navy and personally superintended its details. He practised gunnery, embarked in little experimental voyages, conversed with his mariners, and visited familiarly at the houses of his merchants and sea officers, by whom his fame was carried to foreign countries. In consequence of this judicious policy James became as popular with his sailors as he was beloved by his nobility; shipwrights, cannon-founders, and the best foreign artists of every description being sure of a generous reception, flocked to Scotland from France, Italy, and the Low Countries; and if the king's erudition sometimes encouraged impostors, his enthusiasm also collected round him men of real knowledge and experience.*

James was equally attentive to the other duties of his high office. His impartiality in the administration of justice to all classes of his subjects, and his energy and indefatigable activity in the repression and punishment of crime, made the laws respected and obeyed in every part of his dominions; and struck terror into the hearts of those titled robbers who were accustomed to oppress and plunder the poor at their pleasure. He exercised the most vigilant superintendence over the conduct of his officers, and not unfrequently surprised the judges by his sudden appearance in the courts of justice at the moment when he was least expected. His administration was highly popular among all classes of his subjects. His affable manners and generous, open-hearted disposition gained the affections of the common people; while his judicious policy, his love of magnificence, and the splendour of his entertainments, secured the confidence and attachment of his nobility, who delighted to attend upon the person of a sovereign of whom they were justly proud, and who treated them with the utmost courtesy and kindness. The constant round of amusements in which they were occupied at court, rendered the gloomy seclusion of their own castles doubly irksome to them. Their residence on their own estates became less frequent, and their influence over their vassals was consequently diminished, so that the royal authority was in every way extended and strengthened.

Negotiations were about this time renewed for the marriage of the Scottish king to the Princess Margaret of England. Her father, the astute Henry VII., clearly perceived the advantages which would accrue to both kingdoms from such an alliance, and had repeatedly made proposals to James, which were powerfully supported by the Scottish nobility; but the extreme youth of the princess, and the reluctance of James to break off his connection with Lady Margaret Drummond, his mistress, prevented for a time the successful issue of these negotiations.

* Encyclopædia Britan. vol. xiv.

The urgent remonstrances of his council, however, at length overcame the reluctance of the king, and after some preliminary negotiations with Fox, Bishop of Durham, he despatched the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Bothwell, High Admiral of Scotland, and Andrew Forman, Apostolical Prothonotary, to meet with the English commissioners and arrange the preliminaries of the marriage. The treaty was finally signed in the palace of Richmond, on the 24th of January, 1502.* When the proposition was made before the English Privy Council, one of the lords present objected that "the Princess Margaret being next heir to her brother Henry, England might chance to become a province to Scotland." "No," replied King Henry, "the smaller will ever follow the larger kingdom,"† a remark which has been often quoted in proof of the sagacity of that sovereign. The incident is related more at length by the Scottish annalist Lesley, Bishop of Ross: "Some of the counsellors of the English king," says that writer, "did propound certain reasons for staying of that marriage, alleging that it might happen that the heritage and succession of the realm of England might fall to Margaret, his eldest daughter, and to her successors; and therefore it seemed best that she should be married to some foreign prince. To the which the King Henry VII. did answer, 'What, then, if such things did happen (which chance, God forbid, I see that it would come so that our realm would receive no damage there-through; for in that case England would not access to Scotland, but Scotland to England, as to the most noble head of the whole isle, as when Normandy came to the power of Englishmen, our forbears.' And so the wisdom of the king was commended, and the Lady Margaret granted to the King of Scotland."‡ It was stipulated that the Scottish king should either personally or by proxy espouse the Princess Margaret at Candlemas next; but as she was only twelve

Conditions of the marriage treaty.

years of age, her father was not to be obliged to send her to Scotland before the 1st of September, 1503. The young queen, before the 1st of July, in that year, was to be put in possession of all the lands, castles, and manors which constituted the jointure of the queens dowager of Scotland;§ and it was stipulated that their annual revenue should not be under the sum of two thousand pounds sterling,—equal to six thousand pounds Scottish currency. She was to receive during the lifetime of the king, her husband, the annual sum of a thousand pounds Scottish money, or five hundred marks sterling for her private purse; she was to be allowed to keep twenty-four English servants, besides the Scottish domestics which the king might think requisite for

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 776—787.

† Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.

‡ Lesley's History of Scotland.

§ The lands of which the queen received legal seisin were —Ettrick Forest, with the tower of Newark; the lordships of Dunbar and Colbrandspath; the palace of Linlithgow and lordship of the shire; the castle of Stirling and lordship of the shire; the earldom of Monteith; the lordship and castle of Doune; and the palace and lordship of Methven.

her rank. Her household was to be maintained in duo splendour at the expense of her husband; and in the event of his death she was to be permitted to reside at her pleasure either within, or without, the bounds of Scotland. On the other hand, the dowry which her father consented to give with her was only thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid by instalments within three years after the marriage; a paltry sum for so wealthy a monarch, and little more than half the amount which Alexander III. gave with his daughter to Haco, King of Norway, in the thirteenth century. The avarice of the English monarch was also manifested in the careful stipulation that if the queen should die without issue before the payment of her dowry was completed, the balance should not be demanded.* It has been justly said that in the arrangements of the marriage treaty the diplomatic skill and penurious habits of the English king seem to have gained a victory over the Scottish commissioners; for although Henry was now considered one of the wealthiest sovereigns in Europe, the dowry which he gave with his eldest daughter was considerably smaller than the sum which Edward the Fourth promised to the Prince of Scotland, in 1474, as the portion of his daughter Cecilia.†

Immediately after the conclusion of the marriage treaty, the commissioners entered into negotiations for the establishment of a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms; and, on the twenty-fourth of January, a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that in all time to come there should be inviolable peace between James and Henry, and their successors and subjects of every denomination; and that the allies of both kings should be included in the league, if within eight months they signified their assent to its provisions. Rebels, marauders, thieves, and other malefactors flying for shelter from the one kingdom to the other, were to be given up. All safe-conducts granted by either king to the subjects of the other were to be recalled, and never renewed, except with the consent of their own sovereign. Mutual assistance was to be given in case of war, either with foreign or domestic enemies; but the forces sent to the aid of the prince attacked were to be maintained at his own expence. It was agreed that, the town and castle of Berwick should be included in the present perpetual peace, and that it should not be molested by the Scottish king or any of his subjects. It was also stipulated, that the treaty should not be broken or annulled by trespasses committed by the subjects of either realm; but that all injuries and wrongs should be redressed by the wardens of the marches, or their lieutenants; and, that where due reparation was not made, the prince whose subjects had been injured, was at liberty to grant letters of reprisals either by sea or land. And, finally, it was agreed,

that the two kings should, within three months of the marriage, ratify this treaty by their solemn oaths; that the sanction of the Roman pontiff should be obtained before the first of July, 1503; and that the violation of the treaty should incur the penalty of excommunication.

Before the ratification of the treaty of marriage, the court of James was the scene of a domestic tragedy of peculiar atrocity. His mistress, Lady Margaret Drummond, along with her sisters, Sybilla and Euphemia, Lady Fleming, died suddenly at the same time, with symptoms exciting a strong suspicion of poison, which, it was thought, had been administered to them at breakfast. It was generally believed that the unfortunate lady fell a victim to the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. The historian of the Drummonds* states, that James "was affianced to Lady Margaret, and meant to make her his queen without consulting his council. He was opposed by those nobles who wished him to wed Margaret Tudor. His clergy, likewise, protested against his marriage, as within the prohibited degrees. Before the king could receive the dispensation his wife (the Lady Margaret) was poisoned at breakfast, at Drummond castle, with her two sisters. Suspicion fell on the Kennedys,"—a rival house, a member of which, Lady Janet Kennedy, daughter of John, Lord Kennedy, had borne a son to the king, whom James created Earl of Moray. A slightly different account is given in Morrier's Dictionary,† on the authority of a manuscript history of the family of Drummond, composed in 1689. It is there stated, that the Lady Margaret, daughter of the first Lord Drummond, "was so much beloved by James the Fourth, that he wished to marry her; but as they were connected by blood, and a dispensation from the pope was required, the impatient monarch concluded a private marriage, from which clandestine union sprung a daughter, who became the wife of the Earl of Huntley. The dispensation having arrived, the king determined to celebrate his nuptials publicly; but the jealousy of some of the nobles against the house of Drummond, suggested to them the cruel project of taking off Margaret by poison, in order that her family might not enjoy the glory of giving two queens to Scotland." A different, but much less probable account of this mysterious transaction, is to be found in one of the letters of Queen Margaret, written many years after the death of James IV., in which she accuses the brother-in-law of Margaret Drummond as her destroyer. "Lord Fleming," she says, "for evil will that he had to his wife (Euphemia Drummond) caused poison three sisters, one of them his wife, and this is known as truth throughout all Scotland."‡ The three young ladies thus foully murdered, were interred together in the centre of the choir of the cathedral church at Dumblane; and it

* History of Noble British Families, part xvii. p. 10.

† Tytler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter L.

‡ Cottonian Coll. Caligula, B. I.

* Rymer, Foed. vol. xii. pp. 787—792.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 41.

appears, from the entries to be found in the Treasurer's books, that two priests were regularly employed in Dumblane, by the king, to say masses for the soul of Lady Margaret.*

All impediments to the completion of his marriage with the Princess Margaret having been removed by this horrid deed, James prepared to carry his engagement into effect; and the

royal bride set out in great state on her journey to her future court, June 16th, 1503, some months before the time stipulated in her marriage-articles for her arrival in Scotland. Her father accompanied her from the palace of Richmond to Collewston, in Northamptonshire, where he delivered her to the care of the Earl of Surrey, her uncle by marriage. Mounted on a beautiful white palfrey, and attended by a magnificent retinue, the youthful princess journeyed northwards by easy stages. All the bells were rung in the towns and villages through which her progress was directed, and the country people flocked in great numbers to see her. The clergy, country gentry, and civil authorities, came out in their grandest array to welcome her at the various stages of her journey; "minstrels singing, trumpets and sackbuts playing, banners and bandroles waving, coats-of-arms unrolled to the light of the sun-setting, rich maces in hand, and brave horsemen curveting and bounding."† In the course of the journey the cavalcade was joined by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Dacre, and other civil and ecclesiastical grandees, who accompanied the princess to Lamberton Kirk, a place a little to the north of Berwick; where she was met by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Morton, and a splendid array of Scottish barons. Here a pavilion had been prepared for the reception of the royal bride, and she was delivered with great solemnity and state to the commissioners of the Scottish king. Pursuing her way onward to the capital, the youthful princess, after traversing several miles of moss and moor, reached the lonely and sea-beaten tower of Fastcastle, situated on the bleak shore of the German ocean, near St. Abb's Head.‡ In this singular fortalice, which belonged to Lord Home, Margaret passed her first night in her new dominions; her train was lodged in the abbey of Coldingham, a few miles distant. She spent the next night in the nunnery of Haddington, and on the subsequent day arrived at Dalkeith, where she had her first interview with

her future husband. Scarcely had the royal bride taken possession of

her chamber, when a hurrying sound was heard in the quadrangle, and the cry ran through the castle, "The King, the King of Scotland has arrived." The interview, which is described by the Somerset Herald, presents a curious picture of the

* Tyler, vol. iv. Illustrations, letter L.
 † Narrative of John Young, Somerset Herald, who was present. Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. pp. 207—300.
 ‡ Fastcastle is the celebrated Wolf's Crag of the 'Bride of Lammermoor.'

manners of the times. "James was dressed simply in a velvet jacket, with his hawking-lure slung over his shoulder; his hair and beard curled naturally, and were rather long. The young queen met her royal lord at the door of the great chamber, he uncovered his head and made a deep obeisance to her, while she made a lowly reverence to him. He then took her hand and kissed her, and saluted all her ladies by kissing them. Then the king took the queen on one side, and they communed together for a long space. She held good manners, and the king remained bareheaded during the time they conversed, and many courtesies passed between them. Incontinent the board was set and served. The king and queen washed their hands with humble reverence, and after that set them down at table together. After supper there was music and dancing, and this done King James took leave of the queen, for it was late; and he went to his bed at Edinburgh, being well content at so pleasant a meeting."

From Dalkeith the princess removed to Newbattle Abbey, where the king on paying her a visit found her playing at cards. He then entertained her by his own performance upon the clarichord and the lute; and on taking leave, he leaped on his horse, a right fair courser, without putting his foot in the stirrup, and spurred on at full gallop follow who might; but hearing that the Earl of Surrey and several other lords were behind, the king returned, and saluted the earl bare-headed. At the next meeting, the queen, in her turn, exhibited her musical skill by playing on the lute and clarichord, while the king listened on bended knee, with his head uncovered. When she left Newbattle to proceed to the capital, James met her, attired in splendid costume, and mounted on a bay horse, trapped with gold. Feats of horsemanship, in which the king, especially, displayed all the qualities of a skilful rider, enlivened the way; and to these was added a quaint drama, suited to the romantic and chivalrous spirit of the age. A knight issued from a tent by the wayside, attended by a beautiful lady, who held the bridle of his charger, and carried his bugle-horn. A second knight suddenly appeared and seized the lady, on which the rivals fought with emulous valour till the king, by throwing down his gage, terminated the conflict. Before entering the city, Margaret was lifted from her palfrey and placed on a pillion behind James, who rode a bay horse, richly caparisoned; and in this homely but loving manner the royal pair proceeded to Holyrood, amid the rejoicings of the people. The marriage was celebrated a few days after, and a series of expensive entertainments, masques, and tournaments followed in honour of the occasion. James, skilled in all the martial exercises of the times, appeared in the lists as the Savage Knight, and attended by a troop of followers, dressed in the skins of goats and other animals, performed such feats of valour that his superiority was universally admitted. The Scottish and foreign nobles vied with each other in deeds

of daring; and two of them were especially noticed and honoured by the king. Anthony D'Archie de la Bastie received many rich presents, while Lord Hamilton, a near relative of James, was created Earl of Arran. The festivities which accompanied the royal marriage indicated a refinement and splendour hitherto unknown in the court of Scotland, which were chiefly to be traced to the princely courtesy and generosity of James himself; while his kindness, and even munificence, to the strangers who graced the gay scenes, diffused in other countries favourable impressions, not only of his own character, but of the importance of his kingdom.

The joy of the king and people received a disagreeable interruption from the news of a rebellion in the north. For many years the Highlands had remained in a state of comparative tranquillity. The dignity of Lord of the Isles had been abolished, and the extensive districts belonging to that petty prince were forfeited and annexed to the crown. But while the power of these troublesome chiefs was destroyed, the property of their vassals had in general been scrupulously respected, and charters were granted, which confirmed them in the possession of their estates, so that the inhabitants even of Knapdale and Kintire submitted to the change, and, attracted by the clemency and justice of James, were becoming gradually attached to the new administration. For reasons which do not appear, the policy of the Scottish court to these distant dependencies underwent a sudden and unfavourable change. The charters granted by the king to the vassals of the Isles, during the last five years, were summarily revoked; and Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was appointed the king's lieutenant, and was commissioned to let on lease for the term of three years the entire lordship of the Isles. In accordance with these instructions, Argyle proceeded summarily to expel the proprietors and vassals from their lands, which were appropriated by himself and others of the royal favourites.* Indignant at this injustice, and driven to despair by their situation, the extruded Islesmen determined to recover their inheritance, and to restore the ancient rule of their hereditary chiefs. The jealousy of the Scottish parliament had consigned Donald Dhu, the grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, to a dungeon in the castle of Inchconnel, but a party of the Islesmen, led by the McIans of Glencœ, stormed his prison, and having conveyed him to the castle of Torquill McLeod, in Lewis, took immediate steps for the establishment of his alleged rights, and the vindication of the independence of their country.† Emboldened by success, the disaffected chiefs formed themselves into a powerful confederacy, and, uniting their forces, invaded the adjoining provinces. Badenoch was plundered and wasted with fire and

sword, and the town of Inverness was given to the flames. James adopted instant and vigorous measures for quelling this sudden insurrection. An army, under the command of the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, Marischal, and Lord Lovat, received orders to march against the rebels. The various castles in the hands of the government were strengthened, and their garrisons increased; while, by promises and threats, the king endeavoured to confirm the wavering loyalty of some of the northern chiefs, and to arrest the formidable spirit of disaffection which had broken out among them.

Pending the result of these measures, the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 11th of March, 1503, and proceeded to consider the state of the revolted districts, with the view of providing in future for their efficient control, and securing the general tranquillity of the Highlands.* For these important purposes a new and more comprehensive division of sheriffdoms, embracing the whole north and west Highlands, was agreed upon; the towns in which the courts of justice should be held were named, and a competent number of judges attached to each of the districts. The sheriffs for the northern Isles were directed to hold their sessions in Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south, in Tarbet. Caithness and Ross were detached from the sheriffdom of Inverness, and placed under judges of their own. A Justice Ayre was appointed at Perth for the districts of Dowart, Glendowart, and the lordship of Lorn; and those of Mamore and Lochaber were provided for by a similar court at Inverness. The town of Ayr was selected as the seat of courts for Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Kintire, and the larger Cumray. Argyle was also embraced in the new arrangement; but as the unsettled state of the district made it impossible to determine at what place its courts should be held, these were instructed to assemble wherever it is found "that each Highlander and Lowlander may come without danger and ask justice." As the broken clans of Teviotdale had caused many serious interruptions of the public peace, it was proposed to bind the chief nobles and gentry resident there, to maintain order under heavy penalties; an arrangement which had been found to produce the best results in other parts of the country exposed to similar disturbances.

Besides appointing a court of daily council to sit at Edinburgh, in order to prevent the accumulation of causes, and the suspension of justice to the poor, who suffered severely by delay, a variety of other wise and beneficial statutes were enacted by the parliament at the same time. Many abuses had arisen from the practice of granting general pardons for offences, as the remission for a minor crime was often used by the delinquent to shield himself from one of a deeper dye. It was, therefore, resolved that before pardon was granted to a criminal, the highest offence of the applicant should be ascertained and described in a special

* Gregory's History of the Highlands, p. 94.

† Gregory, p. 96.

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

clause of the deed of grant, the possession of which freed him from the consequences of lesser crimes. All burghs were enjoined annually to change their magistrates; and their commissaries were instructed to attend the meetings of the Estates, to give advice, especially where parliament contemplated the imposition of a new tax, by which the interests of the burghal constituencies were likely to be affected. To guard the interests of their vassals, all feudal superiors were enjoined to secure their estates by a legal deed of possession; and every case of seisin thus granted by a judge was to be registered and properly attested in a court-book, lodged in the exchequer. The preservation of growing timber, and the improvement of rural economy, also engaged the attention of parliament. To prevent the indiscriminate destruction of the forests, which had left many districts of the country bare and unsheltered, the felling or burning of a young tree subjected the offender to a fine of five pounds. Every proprietor was directed to plant at least one acre of wood, to form a park, construct fish-ponds, to stock rabbit-warrens and dovecoats, and to plant orchards. Trespass on the grounds of a proprietor, or the destruction of his fences, was punished by a fine of ten pounds, if the culprit was a grown-up person; but if a child, "the bairn was to be lashed, scourged, and dung according to the fault." A succeeding enactment relates to the important matter of the tenure of lands by the vassals of the feudal barons. Hitherto feudatories had held almost entirely under the obligation to military service, but in place of this, the king, lords, and prelates were now permitted 'to let in feu' any portion of land they might please. By this new arrangement, military service might be commuted for a rent, either in money or produce; and the change, though regarded with jealousy by some of the greater barons, was followed by the best results, in cherishing the spirit of peaceful industry, and developing the agricultural resources of the country. Enactments pervaded by the same wise spirit prohibited a creditor to seize for debt, or to order the sale of agricultural implements; equalized the weights and measures throughout the kingdom, and declared all its provinces to be subject to the same code of laws; provided for the punishment of ill-qualified or faithless notaries; endeavoured to reduce the expenses of litigation, and sought to diminish the number of able-bodied and sturdy beggars. Attendance on the meetings of parliament was rendered obligatory on all barons whose annual income exceeded one hundred marks, under the penalty of the usual fine; but the personal services of those whose revenue fell below this standard was dispensed with, provided that their agents could justify a plea of exemption.*

During the proceedings of this important parliament, the army, under the leadership of the Earl of Arran, was prosecuting with vigour the reduction of the northern rebels. The nature of the

country, however, so adapted to irregular warfare, enabled the Islesmen and their confederates to protract hostilities for a lengthened period; and James determined to send a small fleet, commanded by Sir Robert Wood and Andrew Barton, among the sea-girt fastnesses of his enemies, and by carrying the war into the heart of their country to compel them to surrender.* The wisdom of the plan was justified by its success. Invaded by boats full of armed seamen and disciplined troops, who speedily captured their strongest fortresses, the insurgent chiefs were compelled to lay down their arms; while others, whose fidelity was suspected, found it prudent to aid the efforts of the royal troops, in reducing the disaffected districts.

James was now at leisure to inflict punishment on some of the Border clans, whose habits of plunder and violence continually disturbed the southern portions of his kingdom. As England, equally with Scotland, was interested in reducing these fierce marauders, whose forays across the English borders had not only inflicted great injury, but, by the retaliation which they provoked, endangered the peace of the two countries, James solicited and obtained the co-operation of Henry VII., who instructed Lord Daer to meet the king with a force which would effectually overawe resistance, and secure the punishment of the offenders. Lochmaben was chosen as the seat of the court, the proceedings of which were marked by a justice so stern, that the boldest of the freebooters quailed before its presence. The offending chiefs and their principal followers were tried, convicted, and summarily hanged, and their lifeless bodies, which remained suspended from gibbets, struck terror into the spectators. So speedy and certain was the vengeance of the law in every case of conviction, that the chiefs of the Armstrongs and Jardines hastened to avert deserved punishment by timely submission to the royal authority, and eager profers of aid in carrying out the plans of the king. James at the same time commended and rewarded those who had revered the law, and assisted its ministers in preserving the public peace; while he displayed his joyous nature by alternating the pleasures of the chase and gay entertainments; with these grim evidences of his unbending rigour as a judge.†

'The raid of Eskdale,' as it was popularly termed, was almost immediately followed by a royal progress as far as Forres, through the northern portion of his dominions, during which he seems to have examined minutely the state of these districts, and to have aided the sheriffs in their administration of justice. The rebellion of the Islesmen, in spite of the submission of some of their leading chiefs, and the terror inspired for a time by the vigorous measures of the government, broke out once more, with a fury which perilled the results of the former expedition. James, however,

* Treasurer's Accounts, 1504, March 14.

† Ibid. August 9th, 1504.

* Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 240—254.

no longer distracted by the condition of the Borders, was now happily able to avail himself of the whole military strength of his kingdom in quelling the insurrection. The Earl of Huntley, therefore, received instructions to invade the Isles by the north, while the king himself led an army against them from the south. These vigorous measures at length dissolved the confederacy of the islanders, and induced their principal leaders to submit to the royal authority. Maclean, of Dowart; Mac-

Suppression of the rebellion in the north. lean, of Lochbuy; Maencill, of Barra; Macquarrie, of Ulva, and other powerful chiefs, laid down

their arms, and were received into favour. Torquil Macleod, of Lewis, the head of the rebellion, still held out, probably despairing of pardon; but in the succeeding year (1506) he was solemnly forfeited by parliament for not appearing to stand his trial for high treason; his castle of Stornoway was besieged and taken by the Earl of Huntley, and his estates were conferred upon the supporters of the government. Donald Dhu, the alleged heir of the Isles, for whose sake the islanders had risen in rebellion, was a second time taken prisoner and committed to the castle of Edinburgh, where he was confined for the long period of nearly forty years.*

This formidable and tedious rebellion having been thus at length suppressed, James laboured not only to cause the laws to be respected and obeyed, throughout these rude and remote districts, but also to induce the inhabitants to make themselves acquainted with the statutes enacted by the Scottish parliament. There is yet extant a deed conferring certain crown lands, in the Isle of Sky, upon a person named Kenneth Williamson, to support him at the schools, with a view to his studying the laws of Scotland, and afterwards practising as a lawyer within the bounds of the Isles.† The great power formerly wielded by the Lords of the Isles was now transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntley,—the former having the chief authority over the islands adjacent to the coast of Argyleshire, while the influence of the latter was predominant in the north Isles and Highlands. This powerful nobleman, who had contributed most effectual aid in the suppression of the rebellion, was appointed heritable Sheriff of Inverness,—a jurisdiction comprehending the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Caithness,—and was empowered to nominate deputies, who were to hold their courts in the various divisions of his sheriffdom. In consequence of these judicious measures, a great improvement took place in the condition of these remote districts of the country; justice was impartially dispensed to all classes of the community; and from this period, till the disastrous battle of Flodden, the west Highlands and Isles remained in a state of unwonted tranquillity.

For some years previous to this period the intercourse between France and Scotland had been

much less frequent than formerly; and the French monarch, Louis XII., incessantly occupied with his Italian wars, Renewal of intercourse with France. had neglected to renew the ancient alliance with his Scottish allies, and appeared to have taken no interest in the union between James and the King of England. But, after that the Spanish arms had obtained the superiority in Italy, Louis, apprehensive that Henry VII. might take part in the quarrel with his Spanish ally, despatched an ambassador of high rank and fame, Bernard Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, to renew the league with the Scottish king, and to detach Scotland from the English influence. James received the veteran warrior with great distinction, placed him in the most honourable seat at his own table, appointed him the judge of his tournaments, and addressed him by the title of Father of War.*

The influence of Scotland, at this period, on the general affairs of Europe was Influence of James on the continent. manifested by the interference of James in behalf of Charles d'Égmont, Duke of Gueldres, who solicited his assistance in the struggle which he was then maintaining against the unjust pretensions of the house of Austria. The Scottish king, by a prompt remonstrance to his father-in-law, Henry, prevented him from affording assistance to the Austrian Archduke, and the Emperor Maximilian, his father. He also secured the co-operation of Louis XII., King of France, in protecting the Duke of Gueldres against the encroachments of his powerful and unprincipled adversaries, and thus compelled them for the present to lay aside their designs against the independence of the duchy.† James also interfered in behalf of his ally, John, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, against whom his Swedish subjects had risen in rebellion; and despatched conciliatory letters to the Archbishop of Upsal and the Swedish senate, and to the citizens of Lubeck, who were about to assist the Swedes. These letters, which have been pronounced models of elegance and vigour, abound with judicious maxims, and even manifest some recognition of the rights and liberties of the people. The royal writer admits that an unjust king may be lawfully resisted by force of arms, provided that he has been previously warned, in a national council, to reform his tyrannical conduct, and has rejected the admonition of his subjects.‡

At this period, to the great joy of the country, an heir to the throne was born on Birth of an heir to the throne. the 10th of February, 1506. The king was so delighted with the auspicious event, that he presented the lady of the queen's chamber, who brought him the news, with a hundred pieces of gold in a silver cup, and instantly despatched messengers to convey the glad tidings to the Kings

* Gregory's History of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, p. 102.

† Ibid. p. 104.

• Lindsay, vol. i. p. 251.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 56.

‡ Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 21, 30, 34.

of England, France, Spain, and Portugal. The child, who was named James, after his father, was baptized, with great magnificence, in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 23rd of February; but the hopes of his parents, and of the kingdom, were blasted by his premature death, on the 17th of February, 1507. The youthful mother remained for a

considerable period in a critical situation, and James undertook a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, in Galloway, for the benefit of her health, and, if we may credit the monkish annalists, her recovery took place at the very moment that the king offered, in her behalf, at the shrine of the saint.* James was attended on this pilgrimage by his four Italian minstrels, who were so completely exhausted by their long pedestrian expedition, that they required to be carried back to Holyrood, on horses hired for the occasion. On her complete recovery, the queen likewise made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving, on a most magnificent scale, to the shrine of St. Ninians.† She travelled on a litter, and seventeen pack-horses were loaded with her baggage. Her chapel-plate and furniture—or ‘chapel-graith,’ as it is termed—were conveyed in two coffers, while three horses were required to carry the wardrobe of her royal husband, who accompanied her. The pilgrimage lasted twenty days. The shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, seems to have been a favourite haunt of James, as was also the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross. It is mentioned by Lesley, that on one occasion the king rode from Stirling to St. Duthac, unaccompanied by a single attendant, with nothing but his riding-cloak cast about him, his hunting-knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds in his purse to defray his travelling expenses. He met with no interruption in the course of this solitary journey,—a circumstance of which he was justly proud, as showing the tranquillity of his kingdom, and the respect for law and order which he had introduced among all classes of his subjects.

In the midst of these transactions, Pope Julius II. sent an ambassador to the court of the Scottish king, with a consecrated hat and sword, as a special mark of his regard. The object of the warlike pontiff was to detach James from his alliance with the French monarch; but the attempt entirely failed, although James received the papal ambassador with the utmost respect and bestowed many valuable presents on him and his suite. He communicated, also, to Julius the intelligence which he had received from the King of Denmark, that his ally, the Czar of Muscovy, had expressed his desire to be admitted into the Latin church. So far was he, however, from acceding to the subtle policy of the Roman pontiff, that he offered to furnish Louis with a body of four thousand auxiliaries to serve in his Italian wars,—a proposal which the French monarch, who had meanwhile obtained

great successes, declined with many professions of gratitude.*

Soon after, Louis despatched an embassy to the Scottish court, for the purpose of inducing James to join the coalition called the League of Cambrai, which had recently been formed against the republic of Venice; and also of consulting his ancient ally regarding the proposed marriage of his eldest daughter to Charles, King of Castile. A series of splendid fêtes were given in Edinburgh for the entertainment of the French nobles; and a magnificent tournament was held, in which the king enacted the part of ‘the Wild Knight,’ surrounded by attendants, like ‘salvage men in their attire,’ and won great renown by the boldness and dexterity of his exploits. The jousting was succeeded by a grand festival, called ‘The Round Table of King Arthur and his Peers.’ These costly entertainments, however, together with the sums squandered upon jesters, dancers and singers, or expended in the pursuits of alchemy, and in the vain attempt to discover gold mines in Scotland, impoverished the royal exchequer, and drove the king to adopt new and invidious methods of raising money, which were very oppressive to his subjects, although his great popularity induced them to bear those exactions without any public expression of their discontent.†

The English monarch appears to have regarded with dissatisfaction and suspicion the frequent and cordial inter-tween Henry VII. course which existed between his son-in-law and the King of France; and he manifested his displeasure by seizing and imprisoning the Earl of Arran and his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, who, in the preceding year, had passed through England to the court of Louis, without the permission or knowledge of Henry, and were now on their return to their own country. As soon as they landed in Kent they were met by Vaughan, an officer of the English king; and on their refusal to take an oath binding them to preserve the peace with England, they were apprehended and committed to custody. Henry despatched Dr. West as his envoy to the Scottish court, to explain and justify this step, which he alleged had been rendered necessary because Arran and his brother had taken the liberty of travelling through England, for embarkation to France, without a passport or safe conduct. West reached Edinburgh during the absence of the king, who was performing his devotions at his favourite shrine of St. Ninians, at Whithorn, and had several interviews with the young queen. Margaret warmly espoused her father’s cause, and laboured, but in vain, on the return of her husband, to procure an interview for Dr. West. James sent him word, “that he was too busy with superintending the making of gunpowder to spare time to speak to him.” He informed the au-

* History of Galloway, vol. i. p. 422.

† Ibid.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxiii.

ambassador, that Arran and his brother had acted properly in refusing to take the oath, but he offered to delay for the present the renewal of the league with France, on condition that Henry would release Arran; Sir Patrick Hamilton having in the mean time been allowed to return to Scotland. The earl, however, was not set at liberty till near the end of the year.

The death of Henry VII. took place shortly after the accession of Henry VIII. these transactions, and the accession of his haughty and imperious successor, Henry VIII., in no long time exercised a most unfavourable influence on the relations between the two countries. Matters proceeded smoothly, however, for some time, and the existing alliance was confirmed by the oaths of both monarchs. Henry also renewed the treaty with the French king, with the condition stipulated by his father, that it was to continue for a year after the death of the survivor. Meanwhile, James availed himself of the leisure afforded him by the continuance of peace, to promote the internal prosperity of his kingdom. He repaired and embellished his palaces and castles; he improved the administration of public justice, and enforced a universal respect for the laws, throughout the remotest districts of the country; he gave every encouragement to the extension of trade and commerce; visited familiarly at the houses of his merchants and ablest sea-officers, and exhorted them to extend their voyages and to arm their trading ships, and assisted them to undertake more important enterprises than they could have ventured to do on their own capital. He paid great attention

to his navy, which, under his active and judicious superintendence, became very powerful. Besides several ships of smaller size, he constructed three vessels of very large dimensions,—one of these, named the Great Michael, in magnitude, cost, and equipment, exceeded any ship of war then known in the world. According to Pitscottie, all the oak forests in Fife, except that of Falkland, were exhausted in the construction of this vessel, besides a large quantity of timber brought from Norway, and upwards of a year was spent by the Scottish and foreign carpenters in completing the undertaking, although the king in person anxiously urged on the work.* James was justly proud of

* Pitscottie gives the dimensions of this huge vessel, which were in his day preserved at Tullibardine, "planted in hawthorn, the length and breadth by the wright that helped to mak her." Her length was two hundred and forty feet; her breadth, fifty-six to the water's edge, but only thirty-six within; her sides, which were ten feet in thickness, were proof against shot. She carried only thirty-five guns,—sixteen on each side, two in the stern, and one in the bow; but she had three hundred small artillery, called pulverins, battert-falcons, serpents, myauds, double-dogs, bagbuts, &c. She was manned with three hundred sailors, a hundred and twenty gunners, and a thousand soldiers, besides officers.—Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 257. Pitscottie says he gives these details on the authority of Captain Andrew Wood, who was the principal captain of the Great Michael, and of Robert Barton, who was 'maister skipper.' Sir Robert Barton was made comptroller of the royal household during the minority of James V.

the achievement; and while "the ship lay still in the road," says Pitscottie, "the king took great pleasure every day to come down and see her, and would dine and sup in her sundrie times, and be showing his lords her order and munition." The command of this huge vessel was entrusted to the famous Sir Andrew Wood, and under him to Robert Barton, a member of a family which at this period furnished several distinguished naval commanders, by whom the honour of the Scottish flag was maintained, and the commerce of the country protected against the attacks of the pirates who then infested the seas. It appears, that so far back as 1476, a merchant vessel, *Naval exploits* commanded by John Barton, was *the Bartons* captured by a Portuguese squadron, and letters of reprisal were granted to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, his sons, by which they were authorized to seize all vessels belonging to Portugal, till they had indemnified themselves for their losses, which were estimated at twelve thousand ducats. The Portuguese retaliated, by seizing, in 1507, at Campvere, in Zealand, a Scottish vessel named the Lion, and throwing Robert Barton, its commander, into prison. The Bartons in turn fitted out a squadron, which at various times captured several of the Portuguese merchantmen on their homeward voyage from India and Africa. Mention is made in the poems of Dunbar of a female blackamoor at the Scottish court, who is supposed to have been captured in one of these prizes.

The Bartons shewed equal readiness in vindicating the honour of their country as in revenging their own private wrongs. The Hollanders, who were at this time subject to Austria, had attacked some Scottish merchant vessels, and, not content with plundering the cargoes, had murdered the crews and thrown their bodies into the sea. James immediately despatched Andrew Barton, with a large ship of war, to inflict summary vengeance on the perpetrators of this cruel deed. Many of the pirates were captured and immediately put to death, and, in the sanguinary spirit of the times, several hogshcads filled with their heads were sent to the Scottish court as a present to the king.*

There is reason to suspect, however, that the Scottish naval officers at this period did not confine themselves to the repression of piratical outrages, or the vindication of their own personal wrongs, but that, in some instances at least, they pushed their retaliation farther than either equity or the laws of nations warranted. It is alleged, that the Bartons captured a much larger number of the Portuguese carracks than was necessary to compensate them for the individual losses which they had suffered; and the merchants of England complained that they even detained and rifled English vessels, under the pretence of searching for Portuguese goods. These complaints at length excited such strong indignation in the Earl of Surrey, that, in order to punish the excesses of the Scottish pri-

* Lesley's History, p. 74

vateers, he fitted out two men-of-war, manned with picked sailors, and placed them under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Howard, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England. According to Buchanan, this step was taken in consequence of the urgent entreaty of the Portuguese ambassador, who represented to Henry, the English monarch, that Barton—a daring and skilful officer who had inflicted immense injury upon the Portuguese, the ancient allies of England, and would certainly, in the event of a war with France, prove a formidable enemy to the English—could at present be easily taken unawares and destroyed, and the odium of the action averted by stigmatizing him as a pirate;—a proceeding by which Henry would provide for the safety of his own subjects and gratify their sovereign, his friend and ally.*

The English men-of-war fell in with Barton and his vessels cruising in the Downs, being guided to the place, it is said, by the captain of a merchant vessel, whom Barton had plundered on the preceding day. The Scottish admiral had with him his own ship, the *Lion*, and a small sloop, called the *Jenny Pirwen*; but in spite of his inferiority of force, he courageously waited the attack of the enemy, and distinguished by his rich dress and bright armour, with a whistle of gold suspended about his neck by a chain of the same precious metal, he appeared on deck, and encouraged his men to fight valiantly. The contest was long and obstinately maintained. It is stated in a ballad of the time which commemorates the fight, that the *Lion* was furnished with a kind of machine which suspended large weights or beams from the yard-arms of the ship, to be dropped down upon the enemy when they should come alongside. This contrivance was known to the English, who were very apprehensive of the injury which it was likely to inflict upon them; and a Yorkshireman named *Hustler*, the best archer in the ship, was stationed, with strict injunctions to shoot every one who should attempt to go aloft to work the machine. Two of the Scottish seamen were successively killed in the attempt; and at length Barton himself, confiding in the excellence of his armour, began to ascend the mainmast. Lord Thomas Howard called out to the archer to shoot true. "Were I to die for it," said *Hustler*, "I have but two arrows left." The first which he shot rebounded from Barton's armour of proof, without inflicting any wound; but as the Scottish mariner raised his arm to climb

higher, the archer wounded him mortally through the armpit, where his armour afforded him no protection, and he fell upon the deck. Still the intrepid seaman continued to encourage his men with his whistle, till, receiving a shot in the body, he expired. The greater part of his crew were also killed; and the English boarded the vessels, and carried them into the Thames. The captives, after a short imprisonment, were dismissed, but the ships were detained as

* Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 247.

lawful prizes, and the *Lion* became the second man-of-war in the English navy.* James was highly indignant at this insult offered to his flag, and the loss of his ship, and his favourite captain, in time of peace, and he instantly despatched a herald to demand satisfaction; but the proud and imperious Henry paid no attention to the remonstrance, merely remarking that the destruction of pirates was no infringement of their treaty, nor any just cause for war.

Various other causes unfortunately contributed at this time to increase the dissatisfaction of the Scottish king, and to precipitate a quarrel between him and his brother-in-law. One of these had its origin in the reign of Henry VII. Sir Robert Ker, the chief cup-bearer of King James, the master of his ordnance, and warden of the middle marches, having given offence to some of the more turbulent borderers, was attacked and slain by three Englishmen, named *Heron the Bastard*, *Lilburn*, and *Starhead*. Henry, with the prudent and pacific policy which marked all his proceedings towards Scotland, at once agreed to surrender the murderers. *Lilburn* was accordingly delivered up to the Scots, and died in prison; and the other two having fled, *Heron of Ford*, the brother of the assassin, was apprehended, and sent in fetters to Scotland. After the accession of Henry VIII., and the rumours of a disagreement between that monarch and the Scottish king, *Starhead* and his accomplice, who had lurked in the interior of England, began to show themselves more openly, and to excite disturbances on the Borders, doubtless expecting that if war should break out between the kingdoms their offence would be overlooked or forgotten. *Starhead* had taken up his residence at the distance of ninety miles from the Border, where he thought himself safe; but the kindred of the murdered warden were not so easily balked in their schemes of revenge. Sir Andrew Ker, the son of Sir Robert, sent two of his vassals, named *Tait*, to inflict vengeance on his father's murderer; and they broke into his house accordingly, under night, and having put him to death, brought his head to their master, who, with savage exultation, exposed it publicly at the cross of Edinburgh.† The Bastard *Heron*, however, was still permitted to rove about the Border, and James made the impunity granted to this criminal a subject of complaint against the English monarch; and his growing dissatisfaction with the conduct of his brother-in-law was aggravated by the meanness and injustice with which Henry withheld from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, a valuable legacy of "silver work, golden work, rings, chains, precious stones, and other abulzements," bequeathed to her by her father or her eldest brother, Prince Arthur.‡

* Lesley, pp. 82, 83. Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 70, 71. Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxviii.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxvi.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxiv. Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 259. There is a strange discrepancy between the statements of the Scottish and English historians respecting

Murder of Sir Robert Ker by the English Borderers.

The main cause, however, of the quarrel which now broke out between the two kingdoms, was the determination of Henry VIII. to engage in war with France, the ancient ally of Scotland. The haughty and ambitious pontiff, Julius II., having gained all he wished by the league of Cambrai, became alarmed at the progress of the French arms in Italy, and, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Spain, succeeded in forming a coalition against France, to which the Emperor Maximilian, the Venetians, and the Swiss republics acceded. Well aware of the importance of securing the aid of England, the pope and Ferdinand employed every effort to prevail upon the English monarch to join the league, and undertake the invasion of the French territories. Henry, whose imagination had been dazzled by the recollection of the brilliant conquests of his ancestors, lent a willing ear to their suggestions, and not only sent ten thousand men, under the Marquis of Dorset, to co-operate with the Spanish army in the invasion of France, but prepared to lead an army in person into the dominions of Louis. Anxious to provide during his absence for the security of his kingdom on the side of Scotland, the English monarch now sent ambassadors to the Scottish court to offer satisfaction for any violations of the peace. Nearly about the same time, envoys arrived in Scotland from the pope and the King of Spain, for the purpose of persuading James to join in the league against France; and, on the other hand, the French monarch, fully aware of the dangers by which he was surrounded, entered into negotiations with his Scottish ally, and to embarrass the operations of England, laboured to induce him to declare war against Henry VIII.

To the proposals of the Spanish ambassador, James answered that his sole wish was to establish the peace of Christendom; and he laboured by every means in his power to accomplish this desirable object. He sent a commission to his uncle, the Duke of Albany, as ambassador to the emperor, to request him to act as mediator between Louis and the papal court; while Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, proceeded to France for the same purpose, and after endeavouring to impress his pacific views upon the College of Cardinals and the Marquis of Mantua, laboured but in vain to effect a reconciliation between the pope and the French king.* All these efforts, however, to maintain peace were ineffectual. War had already broken out between France and the papal confederates, and James, whose sympathies were strongly en-

this legacy. The former assert that the jewels referred to were bequeathed to Margaret by her brother, while the latter universally declare that the legacy was left by her father, Henry VII. There is certainly no such bequest in Henry's will, which has been printed in the 'Testamenta Vetusta' of Sir Harris Nicolas; but in the letters sent by Margaret herself to Henry VIII., there are frequent references to his unfriendly conduct toward her in the matter of her father's legacy.

* Epistolæ Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 126—128. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 73.

listed on the side of his ancient ally, soon found himself involved in the quarrel. Negotiations with England, however, still continued, and meanwhile Scotland rang with the din of military preparations. Armed musters were held in the various districts of the kingdom; cannon were cast by Robert Borthwick, the master gunner; gunpowder was manufactured under the superintendance of a German, named Urnebrig; ships were launched and equipped with artillery, brought from the fortresses in the interior of the country; and the most experienced naval officers and seamen were directed to hold themselves in readiness for active service. In the midst of these hostile preparations, the Scottish queen, who was still childless, though she had given birth to three children, was delivered in the palace of Linlithgow, on the 10th of April, 1512, of a prince, who was shortly after baptized James, and proclaimed Prince of Scotland and the Isles. He afterwards succeeded to the throne, by the title of James V.

Meanwhile, though war became daily more imminent, negotiations with England were still continued; and Lord Dacre and Dr. West arrived as ambassadors from Henry, to negotiate a mutual remission of all violations of the treaty between the two countries. They were also instructed to request the Scottish king to renew his oath to maintain the peace with England, and to offer on the part of Henry a similar oath for the observation of inviolable amity with Scotland.* They were received by James with great courtesy, and on their departure were loaded with splendid presents; but all their efforts were counteracted by the intrigues of the French ambassador, De la Motte; and the ancient league with France was not only renewed, but a new and most impolitic article was inserted, by which the Scottish court became bound to make no treaty with England, unless with the consent of France.† It is conjectured by Pinkerton, and not without great probability, that "much French gold must have been expended in procuring this extravagant concession, so foreign to any dictate of common prudence." Hostilities may be said virtually to have commenced between the two countries at this time. Inroads were made by the borderers of both countries. An English squadron harassed the Scottish coasts, and took several vessels. A Flemish ship, laden with goods belonging to some Scottish merchants, was captured and carried into Herwick, and a vessel commanded by Falconer, one of James's best captains, was sunk, and himself sent prisoner to London. On the other hand, Robert Barton, acting under his letters of reprisal, captured no fewer than thirteen English merchant vessels, and De la Motte attacked a fleet of these merchantmen, sunk three, and carried seven in triumph into Leith.‡ Henry, perceiving from these proceedings that a war was impending, ap-

* Lesley's History, p. 85.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 76, note 7.

pointed the Earl of Surrey lieutenant-general of the marches, with authority to array the fencible men of the northern counties, and to take the field against the Scots.

The hope, however, of effecting an amicable ad- Negotiations with justment of the differences be- tween the two sovereigns seems not to have been abandoned on either side. The extensive preparations of the Scottish king had exhausted his exchequer; and Lord Dacre, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, 17th August, 1512, mentions that the Treasurer of Scotland had privately informed him, that if a present of four or five thousand angels were sent to James, and the disputed legacy paid to his queen, matters might still be brought to a favourable issue.* At this juncture, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews arrived at the Scottish court with letters from Louis, urging a declaration of war with England; but James in reply proposed, that the same annuity should be assigned to him as had been paid to Henry, for Scotland did not possess sufficient funds to carry on an extensive war. Repeated communications passed between the Scottish king and his imperious brother-in-law, and both monarchs continued to profess a desire for peace, though their sincerity appears to be doubtful.

About the beginning of the year 1513, Lord Drummond was sent ambassador to England, and, on the part of his master, offered to Henry a complete and gratuitous remission of all the injuries inflicted by his subjects upon the Scots, provided that monarch would abandon the confederacy against France; but the proposal was peremptorily rejected.† Commissioners were appointed, however, by Henry, to redress any violation of the treaty of perpetual peace; and Dr. West was

Second embassy again sent on an embassy to Scot- land, to negotiate a mutual remis- sion of offences, and to endeavour to detach the Scottish king from the interest of France, or at least to procure the promise of a cessation of hostilities during Henry's absence from England. The progress and termination of this mission are detailed, with considerable minuteness, in two letters from West to his sovereign, which furnish some interesting particulars respecting the Scottish court at this period. In the first, which is dated from Stirling, April 1st, 1513, he informs his master that King James, in one of his temporary fits of penitence and devotion, during which he was wont to assume the dress and conform to the rules of the order of Franciscans, had been shut up for a week in the church of the Friars Observants, at Stirling, 'and will meddle with no matter.'‡ Unicorn Herald and John Barton

arrived from France with tidings of the death of Pope Julius II. That turbulent pontiff had, it seems, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, secured the services of Forman, Bishop of Moray, who, in the preceding December, had been refused a safe-conduct by Henry, to proceed through England to the French court, for the purpose of negotiating a universal peace. This crafty and ambitious prelate, who was mainly instrumental in instigating hostilities with England,* now informed West of the injury he had received from the refusal of the safe-conduct, and declared that in seven months England should repent of the war. James spoke with great acerbity of the late pontiff, who had issued a bull of excommunication against him, if he should violate the peace with England; a step which had inflamed the mind of the king more than all the French embassies. He expressed his resolution to appeal from this sentence, and to send the Bishop of Moray to the Romish court for that purpose, and to congratulate the new pope, Leo X.; and he declared, that if Julius had lived he would have supported a council of even three bishops against him. He stated to West, that if he were disposed to make war upon England, he would not abandon his design for the pope's 'monition;' but that he would not commence hostilities without previously sending a declaration by a herald, so that if Henry passed over to France, as he intended, he might have ample time to return for the defence of his kingdom. The ambassador having intimated that Henry would pay the sum of one thousand marks if the Scottish king would consent to the abolition of all claims and to keep the peace with England, James replied, that he had no need of Henry's money, and that he would not sell his gear (effects), 'with much other void conversation,' says the courtly reporter. It appears that the Scottish king had formed the romantic project of an expedition to Jerusalem, probably with the hope that, by fighting against the infidels, he might expiate the guilt which he had incurred by taking part in the conspiracy against his father;—and after showing West "a little quire of four sheets of paper, sewed together, and signed with the French king's hand and sealed with his signet," setting forth the advantageous terms offered by the French court to James, if through his instrumentality peace should be made,—he urged, that by the assistance of Louis alone could his expedition to the Holy City be accomplished. He complained that Henry had nominated a successor to the English crown, to the prejudice of his rights as the nearest heir; but this West, as authorized by his instructions, solemnly denied. With regard to the inquiry whether the Scottish monarch would consent to remain inactive during the campaign against France, which formed the main object of West's mission, after various eva-

quency sent for him 'into her traverse,' where he delivered to her the letters which he had brought from her royal brother.

* *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* vol. i. p. 209; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 86.

* *Caligula*, b. iii. §. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 76.

† *Bymer, Foedera*, vol. xiii. pp. 347, 348.

‡ Even after his return to court, the king regularly attended the royal chapel every forenoon; and several of his conversations with the English ambassador took place in his 'traverse,'—or enclosed seat, with a lattice,—before high mass. On Good Friday, West went to the king's chapel, where 'the passion was preached,' and after sermon was ended, the

sions, it was at length declared, that the continuance of amicable relations between the two nations depended entirely upon the maintenance of peace with France. The queen complained, in spirited terms, of the conduct of her brother in withholding her legacy,* which West informed her he was authorized to pay if her husband would agree to keep the peace; but this proposal was scornfully rejected by James, who declared that the queen should lose nothing for his sake, for he would pay her the sum himself. The English ambassador concludes his letter with an assurance, that he would rather that his master had commanded him to tarry as long in Turkey, "this country is so myser, and the people so ungracious, and even that I shall have sent money to bring me home, the country is so dear. My tarrying here, as I suppose, shall do no good, for this great suit that I make in your grace's name here maketh the people so proud, that almost they know not themselves, and they be so bounden by this new treaty to France, that they dare not displease him neither in word nor deed."†

At this period a fiercely contested action took place in the harbour of Brest, between the French and English fleets, in which the gallant admiral, Sir Edward Howard, lost his life. James on this sent a letter to his brother-in-law (24th May, 1513), in which, after entreating him, in the most urgent terms, to make peace with France, he expresses his grief for the loss of this brave commander, although Howard had in the preceding year slain his favourite captain, Andrew Barton. "Surely, dear brother," he wrote, "we think there is more loss to you of your late admiral, who deceased to his great honour and laud, than the advantage that might have been to you of winning all the French galleys and their equipage. The loss is great to Christendom of that umquihle valiant knight, and other noblemen, that on both sides apparently perished. Pray you, dearest brother, to take our writings in gude part, as our own is; for verily we are sorry, and also our dearest fellow (consort), for this loss, through acquaintance of his father, that noble knight the Earl of Surrey, who conveyed our dearest fellow, the queen, to us.

* "We cannot believe," says she, in a letter to Henry, which was delivered by Dr. West on his return, "that of your mind, or by your command, we are so *fremdly* (like a stranger) dealt with in our father's legacy, whereof we would nocht have spoken nor written, had not the doctor now spoken to us of the same. Our husband knows it is withheld for his sake, and will recompense us so far as the doctor shows him. We are ashamed therewith, and would God never word had been thereof! It is not worth sic estimation as is in your divers letters of the same. And we lack nothing; our husband is ever the larger, the better to us, as knows God."—Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. No. viii. It has been justly remarked by Mr. Aikman, that Henry, whose fondness for splendid pageantry and expensive show was attended—as all foolish extravagance usually is—by numberless mean and pitiful shifts, in resisting this just claim made upon him for his sister's jewels, behaved in the most ungenerous manner.

† Illustrations of Scottish History, published by the Maitland Club, pp. 76—89.

Right excellent, right high and mighty prince, our dear brother and cousin, the blest Trinity have you in tuition."‡

Soon after the return of Dr. West to England, a formal demand was made of the jewels bequeathed to Margaret; and if we may rely upon the narrative of the venerable Pitscottie, Henry sent a reply full of the most flattering promises, assuring his sister, that she should be "well satisfied, not only of the same, but the double thereof, on condition that the King of Scotland will keep his oath and band to me that he made lately with consent of his parliament." "Therefore," he continues, "I desire him that he will sit at home in his own chair, and let me and the King of France part betwixt us to seek the right of my own pension, which is holden from me wrongously; and if he does me no good that he does me no evil; and show to him, that it shall neither be gold, silver, lands, riches, nor rent, that shall stand in difference betwixt me and him. And if he will faithfully keep his promise to me, I shall incontinent, with the consent of my nobles, make him Duke of York and Governor of England to my home-coming, for heirs of England must come either of him or me, and I have none as yet lawfully; but I hear say that Margaret, my sister, hath a pretty boy, likely to grow a man of estimation,—I pray God to bless him, and keep him from his enemies, and give me grace to see him in honour when he cometh of age, that I may entertain him according to my honour and duty."§

Meanwhile, the views of the French court were powerfully supported by the frequent and urgent letters of the Bishop of Moray,†—on whom Louis had conferred the archbishopric of Bourges,—and by the intrigues of De la Motte, the French ambassador, who at this time returned from France with four vessels laden with flour and wine, for the supply of the Scottish fleet, and (if we may believe the assertions of Henry) with a large sum of money, which was divided between the king and his nobles. The King of Denmark also sent several ships, freighted with arms and ammunition; and a powerful Irish chief, named O'Donnell, visited Edinburgh and took the oath of homage to James, and offered his services against England. The romantic character of James was well known to the French monarch and his counsellors; and an artful appeal now made by Anne of Brittany, the consort of Louis, to the fantastic spirit of chivalry by which the Scottish king was actuated, had, it is believed, no small influence in accelerating the unhappy rupture with England. Assuming the character of a distressed damsel, she addressed an epistle to James, calling herself his mistress and lady-love, assuring him that she had suffered much blame in defence of his honour and in excusing his inactivity, and imploring him to advance

• Cotton. MS. Caligula, b. vi. f. 67.

† Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 259, 260.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxi.

three steps into English ground, for the sake of his mistress. She sent him, at the same time, a ring from her own finger, with fourteen thousand crowns to assist in paying the expenses of his expedition.* This appeal to that high-wrought sense of honour which was the peculiar foible of the Scottish king, was enforced by the remonstrances of Bishop Forman, who assured him, that he would be for ever dishonoured if he did not send to France the assistance which that intriguing prelate had promised in his sovereign's name.

At length, on the 30th of June, 1513, Henry passed over to Calais to open in person the war against France; and as soon as this intelligence reached the Scottish king, he despatched his principal herald to the English camp before Terouenne,

Letter of James
to the English
king.

with a letter to Henry, enumerating the injuries which James had received from the English monarch and his subjects, and declaring his resolution to support his ally, the King of France. Among the other wrongs which had induced the Scottish king to declare war, mention is made of the death of Barton, with the detention of his ships and artillery; the protection given to Heron, the murderer of the Scottish warden; and the withholding of the jewels and legacy which had been left to Queen Margaret by her father. James complains, also, that several of his nobles had been unjustifiably slain in time of peace, and others had been carried off in fetters into England; that Henry had refused a safe conduct to his ambassador, who wished to proceed to the continent for the purpose of negotiating a general peace,—conduct unheard of even among infidels; and that the English king had not only unnecessarily delayed the redress of these grievances, but, in spite of the remonstrances of his brother-in-law, had made a wanton attack on his allies, the Duke of Gueldres and the King of France, thereby giving him too much reason to dread that similar treatment awaited himself. Wherefore, he concludes, "we require and desire you to desist from further invasion of our brother and cousin, the most Christian king, to whom, by all confederation of blood and alliance, we are bound and obliged for mutual defence of each other, certifying that we will take part in defence of our brother and cousin, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist from pursuit of him." †

On perusing this letter, which he justly regarded as a declaration of war, Henry broke out into a paroxysm of rage, and poured forth a torrent of

Henry's reply. invectives against James, which he desired the Scottish herald to repeat to his master. "Sire," said the envoy, "I am his natural subject, and what he commands me to say, that must I boldly utter; but the commands of others I may not, nor dare say, to my sovereign lord. But your letters sent by me may declare your pleasure, albeit the matter requireth doings,

and not sayings—that is, that you should immediately return home." "I will return," replied Henry, "at mine own pleasure, to your damage, and not at your master's summons."* A violent and scornful reply to the letter of the Scottish king was forthwith drawn up by Henry, treating his complaints as mere colourable pretences, reproaching him with the violation of his oath in breaking the peace which he had solemnly sworn to observe, and with dishonourable behaviour in taking advantage of the absence of the English monarch from his own dominions, which it was evident he had waited for, as in none of his letters preceding that event had he ever mentioned his intention of taking part with the French; "which we cannot greatly marvel at," he adds, "considering the ancient accustomed manner of your progenitors, which never kept longer faith and promise than pleased them." He informs James, however, that, remembering the 'brittleness' of his promise, and suspecting his unsteadfastness, he had taken precautions for the defence of his kingdom, which he firmly trusted would be sufficient for its protection against the 'malice of schismatics and their adherents.' He holds out a threat, that the conduct of the Scottish king should be punished by the exclusion of himself and his descendants from the succession to the crown of England, on which he alleges that James had fixed his eye; and reminds him of the fate of the King of Navarre, who, by adhering to the cause of the French monarch, was now a king without a kingdom. Finally, he rejects with scorn the summons of James, requiring him to desist from his invasion of France; and declares that he does not regard him as a competent authority to make such a demand. This letter, however, never reached the Scottish king, as the herald was detained, on his return, in Flanders, and did not arrive in Scotland till after the fatal battle of Flodden. †

James, however, did not await the return of his ambassador to commence hostilities. On the same day in which the Lion herald was despatched to France, the fleet which the Scottish king had built and equipped at an immense cost, sailed to the assistance of his ally. It consisted of twenty-three sail, of which thirteen were large ships of war, including the Great Michael, the Margaret, and the James; the rest were small-armed craft. It had on board three thousand soldiers, under the command of the Earl of Arran, a nobleman of limited talents and experience, and, as the event proved, utterly unfit for such an important trust. James, who had taken the deepest interest in the equipment of this expedition, was anxious that it should reach the coast of France as speedily as possible; and with the object of animating the leaders, captains, and seamen, he embarked in the Great Michael, and remained on board till they had passed the Isle of May. But the foolish and incompetent commander, instead of proceeding to his appointed destination, ordered the fleet to be conducted to

* Pitcairnie, vol. ii. p. 171; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 87.
† Holinshed, vol. v. pp. 473—475.

* Holinshed, vol. v. pp. 473—475. † Ibid. pp. 475, 476.



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

W. H. Bartlett

Carrickfergus, in Ireland, which was at that time in alliance with Scotland, and after pillaging and burning the town, sparing neither sex nor age,* he returned to Ayr with his plunder, "as if," says Buchanan, "he had performed a great exploit." James was exasperated beyond measure at this infamous behaviour on the part of Arran, and immediately ordered him to be superseded in the command, and to be sent back to answer for his conduct. The Earl of Angus was appointed general of the troops in his room, while the celebrated naval officer, Sir Andrew Wood, was directed to assume the command of the fleet; but before they could reach the coast, Arran having, it is said, heard from his friends how the king stood affected towards him, hoisted his sails and stood out to sea. A deep obscurity rests over the subsequent history of this armament, on which the Scottish king placed so much dependence, and expended such vast sums of money. A part of the fleet returned to Scotland, shattered and disabled, while another part, including the Great Michael, was purchased by Louis at a small price, from the Scottish government after the death of King James.†

Although the war with England was generally unpopular, both among the nobles and the people of Scotland, yet the Scottish prince was so beloved by his subjects, that when orders were given to assemble all the array of the kingdom upon the Borough-moor of Edinburgh, the appeal was answered by the muster from all parts of the country of one of the most numerous and best-equipped armies Scotland has ever seen. Hostilities were commenced by the Earl of Home, the lord chamberlain, who, at the head of three or four thousand men, made an incursion into England, and pillaged and burned seven villages or hamlets on the borders. On their return home, laden with booty, and marching carelessly and without order, the invaders fell into an ambush laid for them by Sir William Bulmer, among the tall broom on Millfield Plain, near Wooler, and were surprised and defeated with great slaughter. Five or six hundred were slain on the spot, and four hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was Sir George Home, the brother of the earl. ‡

* The unprovoked barbarities perpetrated by the Scottish troops in the sack of Carrickfergus are described by Sir David Lindsay, in his 'Historie of Squire Meldrum,' a Scottish gentleman, who was present in this expedition; and he represents his hero as protecting women, priests, and friars from the brutal outrages of the soldiers. Sir D. Lindsay's Works by Chalmers, vol. ii. p. 248.

"And as they passed by Ireland coast
The admiral gart land his host,
And set Craigfergus into fyre,
And saved neither barne nor byre;
It was great pity for to hear
Of the people, the baleful cheer,
And how the land folk were spulyeit (spoiled),
Fair women under fute were fulyeit (defiled)."

† Buchanan, book xiii. ch. xxv.; Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Holinshed, vol. v. p. 476. Buchanan (book xiii. chap. xxix.) estimates the number of prisoners at two hundred.

This mortifying reverse deeply incensed the Scottish monarch, and made him doubly impatient to commence hostilities, in order to avenge the defeat sustained by his warden. He determined, therefore, without delay, to lead his army in person across the English border. His wisest counsellors strove in vain to divert him from this rash and fatal resolution, and his queen,

with sobs and tears, implored him not to peril his own life and the security of his realm, by taking the field against her brother. She assured him that she had been frightened and perplexed by terrifying dreams, and asked him, with the displeasure natural to wounded and slighted affection, "Why he preferred pleasing the Queen of France, to her, his wife, and the mother of his children?" But James, says Pitscottie, "refused all advice which was for the weal of his crown and country, neither would he listen to the counsel of his wise and prudent wife, for no prayer or supplication she could make him. Albeit, this noble woman, labouring as mickle (much) as she might, for the weal of her husband, and as well as for the love she bore her brother the King of England, she desired that no discord should occur between the two realms in her time."* The remonstrances and entreaties of his queen and nobles having thus failed of effect, an attempt was made to deter him from his expedition by working upon the feelings of superstitious melancholy which, partly arising from constitutional habits, partly from his remorse on account of his rebellion against his father, formed a prominent feature in the character of the Scottish king. The account of the singular stratagem employed for this purpose, is given by Pitscottie with characteristic simplicity.

"The king, seeing that France could get no support of him, for that time, made a proclamation full hastily through all the realm of Scotland, both east and west, south and north, as well in the isles as in the firm land, to all manner of men between sixty and sixteen years, that they should be ready within twenty days to pass with him, with fifty days' victual, and to meet at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His proclamations were hastily obeyed contrary the Council of Scotland's will, but every man loved his prince so well that they would in no ways disobey him, but every man caused make his provision, so hastily, conform to the charge of the king's proclamation.

"The king came to Lithgow where he happened to be, for the time at the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man, clad in a blue gown,

He says, the invaders divided their plunder on the enemy's territory, and each proceeded home with his part by the nearest route—that it was the rear which fell into the ambuscade, and that the plunder which had been sent on before arrived safely in Scotland.

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 267.

in at the kirk door, and belted about him in a roll of linen-cloth; a pair of brotikins (buskins) on his feet, to the great of his legs; with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head but syde (long) red yellow hair behind, and on his haffets (checks) which wan down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two-and-fifty years, with a great pike-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring (asking) for the king, saying he desired to speak with him. While, at the last, he came where the king was sitting in the desk at his prayers; but when he saw the king, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grofing on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows:—'Sir king, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time, where you are purposed, for if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell (meddle) with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.' By this man had spoken these words unto the king's grace, the evensong was near done, and the king paused on these words, studying to give an answer; but, in the mean time, before the king's eyes, and in the presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could no ways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, Sir David Lindsay, lyon-herald, and John Inglis, the marshal, who were at that time young men and special servants to the king's grace, were standing presently beside the king, and thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him. But all for nought; they could not touch, for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen."*

The tradition of Linlithgow bears that the mysterious stranger eluded the grasp of those who attempted to seize him, by gliding behind a curtain which concealed a private stair leading towards the upper part of the church; and that, on leaving this building, he crossed the court, and entered the palace by a small door under the chapel window.† This strange story is confirmed by Buchanan, who received it from Sir David Lindsay, and whose testimony he declares to be unimpeachable.‡ Thus supported, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, we have only to choose betwixt a deception and a supernatural appearance. The visitant is said to have been a servant of the queen; and there can be

little doubt that the stratagem was contrived by Margaret, or some of the party opposed to the war, in the hope that a warning conveyed in this mysterious manner might have some effect on the romantic spirit of the king.

Undeterred by this simulated vision, the origin of which he probably suspected, James proceeded to Edinburgh to meet the feudal array of his kingdom on the Borough-moor, which was at that time, according to Drummond of Hawthornden, "a field, spacious, and delightful by the shade of many stately and aged oaks."* There were assembled "all his earls, lords, barons, and burgesses; and all manner of men, between sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, islesmen and others, to the number of a hundred thousand, not reckoning carriage-men and artillery-men, who had the charge of fifty shot of cannons."† At this last hour, another attempt was made to deter the king from his unpolitic war, by working upon his superstitious fears. His artillerymen were employed night and day in bringing down military stores from the castle of Edinburgh, and they were at work one night, heaving down the cannon called the Seven Sisters, which had lately been cast by Robert Borthwick, the royal master-gunner; the king being in the abbey of Holyrood at the time, "when," says Pitcottie, "there was a cry heard at the market-cross of Edinburgh, at the hour of midnight, proclaiming as it had been a summons, which was named and called by the proclaimer thereof, 'The Summons of Plotcock,' (or Pluto,) which desired all men to compear, both earl, lord, and baron, and all honest gentlemen within the town (every man specified by his own name)—to compear, within the space of forty days, before his master, where it should happen him to appoint, and be for the time, under the pain of disobedience. But whether this summons was proclaimed by vain persons, night-wakers, or drunken men for their pastime, or if it was a spirit, I cannot tell truly; but it was shewn to me that an indweller of the town, Mr. Richard Lawson, being evil-disposed, ganging in his gallery-stair, foreanct the cross, hearing this voice proclaiming this summons, thought marvel what it should be; cried on his servant to bring him his purse, and when he had brought him it, he took out a crown, and cast it over the stair, saying, 'I appeal from that summons, judgment, and sentence thereof, and take me all whole in the mercy of God, and Christ Jesus, his Son.' Verily, the author of this that caused me write the manner of this summons, was a landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he swore to me there was no man that escaped that was called in the summons; but that one man

* Upon this and similar occasions the royal standard is traditionally said to have been displayed from the Harestone; a large stone now built into the wall on the left hand of the highway leading toward Braid, not far from Bruntsfield Links.

† Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 268.

* Pitcottie, vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.

† Chambers's Picture of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 33.

‡ Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxi. St. Catherine's aisle, where the king had constructed a throne for himself, with twelve stalls for the Knights Companions of the Order of the Thistle, is still shown as the place where the apparition was seen; the use of the words "my mother," shows that the vision was intended to represent St. John and not St. Andrew, as was at the time supposed.



TWISELL BRIDGE.

OVER THE TILL.

Crossed by the English before the Battle of Flodden

alone, which made his protestation, and appealed from the said summons; but all the lave (rest) were perished in the field with the king." "This news spread through the town on the morne, and came to the king's ears, who gave them but little credence, nor would he give no credence to no counsaill, signe, nor token that made against his purpose."^a

The Scottish king, leaving his capital, marched southward at the head of one of the most formidable armies that

had ever invaded England. He crossed the Tweed on the 22nd of August, and encamped on the banks of the Till, near Twisel. Here he remained for two days, and on the 24th, with the consent of the members of the three Estates who were in his army, he passed an act ordaining that the heirs of all who fell in the present war should be free from the feudal burdens of 'ward, relief or marriage,' whatever might be their age.† From Twisel-haugh, where this decree was enacted, the Scottish army moved down the side of the Tweed, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, which surrendered on the 29th of August. The border towers of Wark, Etal,

Foolish conduct and Ford, were then in succession attacked and taken, and in these petty enterprizes, utterly unworthy of his vast preparations, James wasted the precious time which might have enabled him to carry his arms to the gates of Newcastle, before the English were prepared to offer any resistance. When the castle of Ford was stormed, Lady Heron, the wife of Sir William Heron the castellan, who was still a prisoner in Scotland, was taken prisoner, and according to the Scottish historians this beautiful and artful dame had such influence over the infatuated monarch as to induce him to idle away his time till the opportunity of striking an effective blow against the enemy was irretrievably lost.‡

While James lay thus inactive, his troops began to experience a scarcity of provisions; and to suffer severely from the incessant rains. Great numbers, especially of the highlanders and islesmen, returned home. Many, too, deserted for the purpose of placing in safety the booty which they had collected, so that in a short time the army was reduced to about thirty thousand men, a disproportionate number of whom consisted of lords and gentlemen, with their personal attendants.§ Meanwhile the Earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had committed the task of defending his dominions during his absence, was actively engaged in concentrating the military array of the northern counties, and soon succeeded in raising an army of twenty-six thousand men. In passing through Durham he received from the prior of the convent the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, for the purpose of animating the courage of his sol-

diers. On the 30th of August he was joined at Newcastle by Lord Daere, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and others of the northern chivalry; and on reaching Alnwick, was met by his son Thomas, the Lord High Admiral of England, with a reinforcement of five thousand men who had been sent homo from the English army in France, to assist in the defence of their native country.* After this junction, Surrey, feeling himself the stronger party, despatched a herald on the

Messages between James and Surrey.

4th of September, to challenge the Scottish king to fight on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The herald was also instructed to charge James with the violation of the treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, which had been confirmed by his solemn oath; and Lord Thomas Howard sent at the same time a rude and insulting message, informing the King of Scots, that as High Admiral of England, he was come to justify the death of that pirate Andrew Barton, of which James had so often complained; that he would be in the vanguard of the army, and as he expected no quarter from his enemies, so he would give none, unless to the king himself, should he fall into his hands. James left the insulting message of the admiral unnoticed, but to the challenge of Surrey he returned for answer, that to meet the English in battle was so much his wish, that had the message of the earl found him at Edinburgh, he would have laid aside all other business to have met him on the field of battle. With regard to the accusation of a breach of faith, which the English general had brought against him, he gave it an unqualified denial. His brother, the King of England, he said, was under equal obligation with himself to observe the league; he had sworn to keep the peace with England, so long as the English monarch maintained his faith with him. This he was the first to break; redress had been frequently demanded, but without effect. He had given warning to his brother of his resolution to commence hostilities, which was more than his brother had done to him. On the equity of these proceedings he rested his quarrel, which, by God's help, it was his purpose to maintain with his arms on the day that Surrey had named.

The Scottish nobles, however, were exceedingly dissatisfied with this resolution of their king. They insisted that he had already done all that was requisite to vindicate his honour or to satisfy the claims of his ally; that his retreat would oblige the English either to retire or to disperse, as it was impossible they could subsist in a country so grievously plundered and laid waste; but if it was his determination to try the issue of a battle, he would fight to much greater advantage in his own kingdom; and finally, that the loss of a battle in present circumstances, would be productive of the most fatal consequences to the welfare of the country. They held a council to discuss the point

* Ridpath's Border History, p. 486, and note.

^a Pitscottie, vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 278.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 269; Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxii.

§ Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 269.

at issue, and Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, then the Nestor of the Scottish army, was appointed their chancellor or president, as being "the most learned of their number, and of the greatest age, and of the greatest experience amongst them all." The nobles laid the case before him, and required his opinion.

"My Lords," replied the sage old baron, "ye desire my opinion, if the king shall give battle to England or not, at this time. My lords, I will give you forth a similitude, desiring you to know my mind by the same hereafter. I compare your lordships to an honest merchant, who would in his voyage go to the dice with a common hazarder, and there jeopard a rose-noble, on a cast against a glead (crooked) half-penny—which if this merchant wins it will be counted but little, or else nought; but if he tyne (loses) he tyne his honour with that piece of gold—which is of far greater value. So, my lords! ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the merchant, and your king the rose-noble, and England the common hazarder who has nothing to jeopard but a glead halfpenny, in comparison of our noble king, and an auld crooked earle, lying in a chariot. And though they tyne him, they tyne but little; but if we jeopard our noble prince at this time with a simple wight and happen to tyne him, we will be called evil merchants, and far waur (worse) counsellors to his majesty; for if we tyne him, we tyne the whole realm of Scotland, and the nobility thereof (for nane, my lords, have bidden here with us at this time but nobles and gentlemen). Sa, I conclude, that it is not decent nor seemly for us to jeopard our noble king and his nobility with an auld crooked earle and certain sutors (shoemakers) and tailors with him in company. But better it were to cause the king to remove, and certain of his lords, whom he thinks maist expedient to take the matter in hand, and jeopard themselves for the king's pleasure and their own honour, and for the common weal of the country at this time; and if your lordships will conclude in this manner I hold it best in my opinion."*

The barons had agreed in this conclusion, and were appointing leaders to the different divisions of the army, "to fight against England, and the king to pass with certain of his nobility, a little from the army, where he might see the valiant acts on both sides;" when James, who was present in disguise, interrupted their deliberations with a furious avowal of his determination to fight against England with his own arm, though they had all sworn to the contrary; "and as for Lord Lindsay," said he, turning to the venerable statesman, "I vow to God, I shall never see Scotland sooner than I shall cause hang him over his own yett (gate)!"

The aged Earl of Angus, the celebrated Bell-the-Cat, earnestly remonstrated against this rash and imprudent resolution of the king, and charged the French ambassador De la Motte, by whom this fatal

* Pitcottie, vol. ii. pp 273—276.

policy was eagerly abetted, with being willing to sacrifice the interests of Scotland to those of France. But James was so enraged at the free remonstrance of the old warrior that he scornfully replied, "Angus, if you are afraid you may go home." The earl burst into tears at this unpardonable insult, and turned to depart, saying mournfully, "If my past life does not free me from any suspicion of cowardice, I do not know what can: as long as my body was capable of exertion I never spared it in defence of my country, or my sovereign's honour. But now since my age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised, I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may Angus's forebodings be unfounded." He quitted the camp that night, but his two sons, George, Master of Angus, and Sir William Douglas, of Glenberrie, with two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglas, fell in the battle.* The counsels of the Earl of Huntley, a wise and experienced leader, were equally ineffectual. The king obstinately adhered to his resolution to fight, even though the enemy should be a hundred thousand strong.†

The Earl of Surrey had now advanced as far as Wooler, so that the hostile armies were separated by a distance of only four or five miles. The Scottish king had meanwhile changed his first encampment for a much stronger position upon Flodden Hill, one of the last and lowest eminences of the Cheviot range; steep on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep and sluggish river Till, a tributary of the Tweed. When the English general came in sight of this position he durst not venture to attack it, and having succeeded in his former attempt to pique the romantic honour of the Scottish king, he resolved to try whether he could not prevail on him to abandon his vantage-ground and descend into the plain. He, therefore, sent a letter to James from Wooler-haugh, subscribed by himself and the principal leaders of his army, reminding him of his acceptance of the offer of battle, and complaining that, instead of remaining in the place where the English herald had found him, he had "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp than any indifferent field for battle to be tried." He, therefore, invited the king to come down from the height, and to give battle in the open plain of Millfield below, and hinted that it was the opinion of the English nobles that any delay of the encounter "would sound to the king's dishonour."‡

The conduct of James had been sufficiently rash and imprudent, but either his returning good sense, or the remonstrances of his counsellors, prevented him from acceding to the unreasonable request of

* Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 472. The aged earl, broken-hearted at the calamities of his house and his country, retired into a religious house, where he died about a year after the battle of Flodden.

† Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 473.

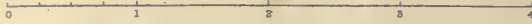
‡ Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

Remonstrances
of the Earls of
Angus and
Huntley.

Strong position
of the Scottish
army.

SKETCH TO ILLUSTRATE THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN

Scale of English Miles.



his adversary, and he refused even to admit the messenger into his presence. The English army was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions in a plundered and wasted country,* and their commander resolved to try another mode of

bringing the Scots to action. On the 8th of Sept. he passed the Skilful manœuvre of Surrey. Till, near Weetwood, and marched through some rugged grounds on its east side to Barmoor Wood, about two miles distant from the Scottish position, where he spent the night. An eminence on the east of Ford concealed the march of the English from the enemy, but a few cannon shots were fired upon Lord Thomas Howard and his staff while reconnoitering their position from this height. Early next morning the English army continued its march in a north-westerly direction, till near the confluence of the Till and the Tweed, when the vanguard and artillery re-crossed the Till at Twisel Bridge, while the rear passed the river at a ford about a mile higher up. Having by this skilful manœuvre fairly placed themselves between the Scottish king and his own country, the English bent their march in full array towards Flodden Hill. The Scots seem to have thought their position sufficiently protected on the east side, by the deep and sluggish Till and its dangerous fords, and by a battery of cannon which they had erected near the foot of the eastern declivity of Flodden, bearing on the bridge of Ford, in the vicinity of their encampment. When the movement of Surrey was first perceived James imagined that it was the intention of the English general to cross the Tweed, and plunder the fertile district of the Merse, in order to provide subsistence for his army. In this opinion he is said to have been confirmed by one Giles Musgrove, an Englishman, who enjoyed his confidence, and treacherously advised him to descend from his advantageous position to pursue the enemy, and prevent them from laying waste his kingdom.†

While the English were crossing the Till with their vanguard separated from their rear, the Infatuated conduct of the Scottish king. Scottish nobles in vain entreated their king to avail himself of the favourable opportunity thus afforded of attacking them. Borthwick, master of his artillery, fell on his knees before him, and earnestly implored permission to bring his guns to bear on the columns of the enemy as they defiled over the narrow bridge, when they could easily have been driven back, and thrown into irretrievable confusion. "But tho king," says Pitscottie, "answered this gunner, Robert Borthwick, like to one man bereft of all wit and judgment, saying, 'I will cause hang thee and quarter thee if thou shoot a shot this day, for I will have the enemy all in a plain field before me, and assay them what they can do.'" ‡

As soon as the English army was drawn up in order of battle, on the left bank of the Till, the Scots setting fire to the temporary huts of their encampment, descended from the ridge of Flodden, and hastened to take possession of the neighbouring eminence of Brankston, towards which the vanguard of the enemy was advancing from the opposite direction. They were divided into five battles, drawn up in a line about the distance of a bow-shot from each other; and "they marched like the Germans," says the official account of the battle, "without talking or making any noise."* The clouds of smoke from the burning huts being driven in the face of the English, obscured their view, so that they had crossed the little stream of Palinsburn, and advanced almost to the foot of Brankston-hill, before they perceived the Scottish army at the distance of only a quarter of a mile. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, each consisting of about thirty thousand men, and the arrangement of both was nearly the same. The English advanced in four divisions. The right wing, which formed the van of their army, consisted of ten thousand men, and was led by Lord Thomas Howard, the Admiral of England, and his brother, Sir Edmund. The centre was commanded by the Earl of Surrey; the left wing, which was composed of the men of Lancashire and of the Palatinate of Chester, was committed to the charge of Sir Edward Stanley; while a strong body of horse, under Lord Daere, formed a reserve. The artillery was placed in the front and in the spaces between the divisions. The left wing of the Scots, which formed the vanguard, was commanded by the Earl of Huntley and Lord Home. The king in person led the centre; and the Earls of Lennox and Argyle the right wing; the reserve, consisting of the men of Lothian, was commanded by the Earl of Bothwell. The admiral perceiving the Scots approaching in four strong columns, 'armed with Moorish pikes,' immediately despatched a messenger to his father, with the *Agnus Dei* which he wore at his breast, as a token, requesting him to extend his lines with all speed, and to

* Gazette of the Battle, Pinkerton's History, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 456. The striking silence observed by the Scots in their descent from the hill is noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says an account of the battle, printed in the year in which it was fought. This picturesque incident, together with the firing of the Scottish camp, is noticed by Sir Walter Scott, in his spirit-stirring description of the conflict:—

" — Sudden as he spoke
From the sharp ridges of the hill,
All downward to the banks of Till,
Was wreathed in sable smoke.
Volumed and vast and rolling far,
The cloud enveloped Scotland's war,
As down the hill they broke.
Nor martial shout, nor minstrel tone,
Announced their march; their tread alone,
At times one warning trumpet blown,
At times a stifled hum,
Told England from his mountain-throne
King James did rushing come.—
Scarce could they hear or see their foes,
Until at weapon point they close."

Marmion, canto vi. st. 7.

* Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 474.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxvii.; Ridpath's Border History, p. 490.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 277.

strengthen the van by drawing up the centre on its left.* The battle commenced at four in the afternoon, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns appear to have been better served. "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides," says an old chronicler, "with fire, flame, and hideous noise, and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland, and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battalion, and slew many persons—which seeing, the King of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining." The first that encountered, was the left wing of the Scots, under Huntley and Home, which made such a furious onset upon that portion of the English vanguard commanded by Sir Edmund Howard, as to overpower and throw it into disorder. After a stout resistance, Sir Edmund's banner was taken, his division totally routed, and he himself beaten down and placed in imminent danger, when he was rescued by the bastard Heron, who had joined the English army at the head of a band of fierce outlaws like himself. † Sir Edmund escaped with difficulty to his brother's division; but Lord Dacre, advancing to his support with the reserve of cavalry, appears to have kept Huntley in check; while Home's men, who were chiefly Borderers, began to disperse over the field in search of plunder. ‡ Meanwhile the admiral, whose flank the victors ought to have attacked, availed himself of their inactivity, and, reinforced by Dacre, bore down upon another division of the Scottish vanguard, commanded by the Earls of Crawford and Montrose. After a long and stubborn contest, these nobles were both slain, and their forces routed. On the extreme right of the Scottish army, the Campbells, Mackenzies, Macleans, Macleods, and other clans from the Highlands and Isles, who were commanded by the Earls of Lennox and Argyle, suffered so severely from the volleys of the Cheshire and Lancashire archers, that they broke their

array, and rushed eagerly forward to close with the enemy, in spite of the signals, menaces, and cries of La Motte, and other experienced French officers, who strove to keep them in their ranks.* At first the English pikemen reeled under the fierce onslaught; but speedily recovering from the shock, they attacked their undisciplined and disorganized assailants in front and flank, and routed them with great slaughter. The Earls of Lennox and Argyle, with most of the chiefs of the clans, perished in the struggle. While the fortune of the day thus varied on the wings, the Scottish king and the Earl of Surrey were engaged in a fierce and dubious conflict in the centre. In spite of the remonstrances of his attendants, James, who fought on foot like the rest of his division, persisted in exposing his person in the thickest of the battle, and, surrounded by his nobles and knights, he placed himself in front of his spearmen, and charged with such fury, that the ranks of the English were broken, and the standard of Surrey was in imminent danger. At this critical moment, the flank of the Scottish centre was assailed by Lord Dacre and the admiral, who had succeeded in defeating the division led by Crawford and Montrose. The Earl of Bothwell, however, came up with the reserve, and restored the fight. The struggle was long and obstinately maintained, and for a time victory seemed to incline to the Scots. No quarter was given on either side, and the ground became at length so slippery from the blood shed in this desperate strife, that the combatants pulled off their boots and shoes, to obtain a firmer footing, and fought in their hose. But by this time the right wing of the Scottish army had been totally routed, and Sir Edward Stanley, with his victorious followers, assailed the rear and right flank of the king's division, which was thus surrounded on all sides and pressed by overwhelming odds. The Scots, however, still resolutely maintained the contest, and throwing themselves into a circle, with their spears extended on every side, they repelled every attempt to break their serried phalanx. † At length, the king himself fell, pierced with arrows and mortally wounded in the head by a bill, within a spear's length of the Earl of Surrey; but his nobles

* Hall's Chronicle, p. 562.

† It is alleged by Pitcottie (vol. i. p. 278) that when the Earl of Huntley urged Lord Home to go to the assistance of the king, he replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have fought our vanguard, and won the same, therefore, let the lave (rest) do their part as well as ye." This statement, however, is in the highest degree improbable, and seems to have been invented by the enemies of Home, who incurred great odium, in consequence of his having returned unhurt, and loaded with spoil from this fatal conflict. Lord Dacre, in a letter to the English council, dated 17th May, 1514, states that in the field of Brankston he and his friends encountered the Earl of Huntley and the Chamberlain; that Sir John Home, Cuthbert Home, of Fastcastle, the son and heir of Sir John Home, Sir William Cockburn, of Langton, and his son, the son and heir of Sir David Home, the laird of Blacater, and many other of Lord Home's kinsmen and friends were slain; and that, on the other hand, Philip Dacre, brother of Lord Dacre, was taken prisoner by the Scots, and many other of his kinsfolks, servants, and tenants were either taken or slain in the battle. This statement completely disproves the charge against Home, that he remained inactive after defeating the division under Sir Edmund Howard. Pinkerton, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 400.

* Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xxxviii.

† "The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep,
To break the Scottish circle deep,

That fought around their king.

But yet though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;

The stubborn spearmen still made good,
Their dark, impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood
The instant that he fell.

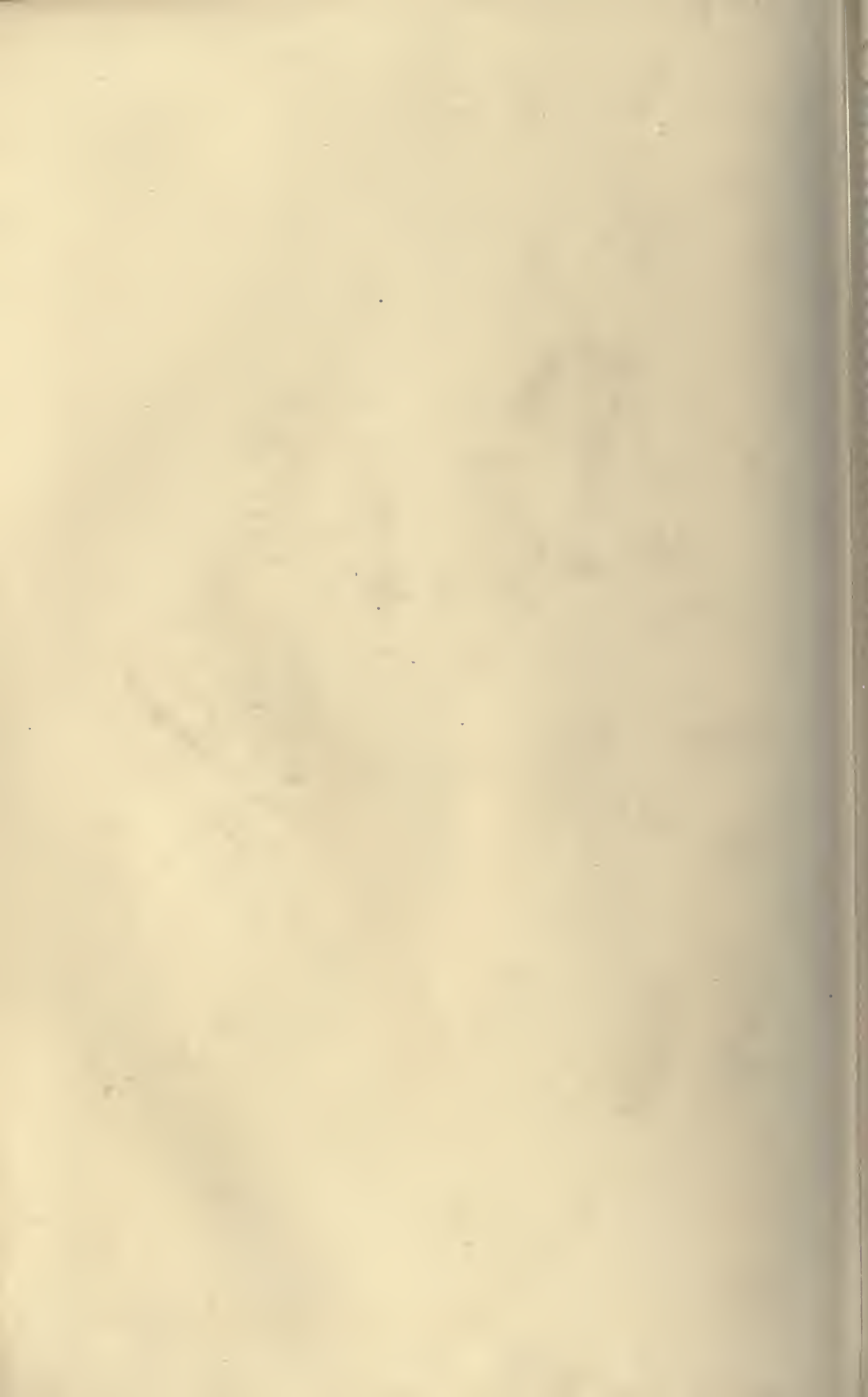
No thought was there of dastard flight,
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight;
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Marmion, canto vi. st. xxxiv.

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closed around the body, and obstinately defended it till night put an end to the carnage, and separated the combatants. The English general then drew back his forces, as he was yet uncertain of the issue of the conflict, for the Scottish centre was still unbroken, and the division under Home had been victorious. During the night, the Borderers who fought under the banner of that noble collected a considerable booty, by pillaging the slain, while the marauders of Tynedale and Teviotdale, who like birds of prey had been hovering in the neighbourhood, were employed in rifling the tents and stealing the horses of the English. When the morning broke, the Scots were found to have abandoned the field, and their artillery were seen standing deserted on the side of the hill.

The English general immediately ordered solemn thanks to be given for the victory, and then created forty knights on the field. Even after all this, Home's banner was seen hovering near the right flank of the English, while another body of the Scots, probably the remnant of the centre division of their army, appeared upon a hill in front, and were about to renew the contest, when they were dislodged from their position by a discharge of the English artillery.* Lord Dacre, with his cavalry, followed their retreat for about four miles, but they retired deliberately and in good order, and the Borderers carried off with them into Scotland a large booty and a considerable number of prisoners.

The Scottish artillery, which fell into the hands of the victors, consisted of seventeen cannon of various shapes and dimensions, among which was the fine train of seven pieces, called the 'Seven Sisters,' recently cast by the celebrated Robert Borthwick, who was killed beside his own guns in the beginning of the conflict. According to the official report of the battle, they were "the neatest, the soundest, the best fashioned, the smallest in the touch-hole, and the most beautiful of their size and length that ever were seen."

The loss of the Scots in this disastrous field amounted to from eight to ten thousand men;† but these included the flower of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad under Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn. To these must be added the Bishop of Caithness and of the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, the Dean of Glasgow, and fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, amongst whom were Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenurehy; Lauchlan Maclean, of Dowart; and Campbell, of Lawers; and five eldest sons of peers; besides La Motte, the French ambassador, and the secretary of the king. Scarce a Scottish family of eminence, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, but has had an ancestor killed at Flodden. Some of them lost

all their male members that were capable of bearing arms; and there is no province in Scotland, even at this day, where the battle is mentioned without a sensation of terror and sorrow.* The loss of the English has been variously estimated, it probably amounted to about five thousand men;‡ but in that number were included very few persons of distinction. The body of James was found by Lord Dacre amongst the thickest of the slain, and although much disfigured by wounds,§ was recognized by that noble, who was well acquainted with the king's person, and was afterwards identified at Berwick by the Scottish chancellor, Sir William Scott, Sir John Forman, and some other persons. It was embalmed and ultimately placed in the monastery of Sheen, in Surrey.¶ It was long believed in Scotland, that

*Idle reports
respecting the
king's fate.*

James did not perish in the fatal field of Flodden. Buchanan states, that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer, one of the royal pages, say that he saw the king cross the Tweed on horseback after the battle, and a similar statement is made by Bishop Lesley.|| This report probably originated in the circumstance that several of the Scottish nobles had worn in the engagement a dress similar to the king's. According to one of the preposterous stories which passed current among the credulous of that day, in the twilight, when the fight was nearly ended, four horsemen mounted the king on a dun hackney,

- * "To town and tower, to down and dale,
They tell red Flodden's dismal tale,
And raise the universal wail;
Tradition, legend, tune, and song,
Shall many an age that wail prolong;
Still from the sire the son shall hear
Of the stern strife and carnage drear
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield!"

Marmion, canto vi. st. xxxiv.

+ Original Gazette of the battle; Polydore Virgil; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 105.

† "When James's body was found, his neck was opened in the middle with a wide wound, his left hand, almost cut off in two places, did scarce hang to his arm, and the archers had shot him in many places of his body."—Godwin's Annals, p. 22; Tytler, vol. v. p. 68, note.

§ As James died under sentence of excommunication, which he incurred by breaking the treaty of peace, his body was not committed to the tomb. Leo X., in a letter dated Nov. 20, 1513, granted permission to Henry to inter the body of his brother-in-law with due pomp in the cathedral of St. Paul's, because he had been informed that in his last moments the king of Scotland had given some signs of repentance. It was left above ground, however, at Sheen, lapped up in a sheet of lead, till the Reformation, when the monastery became the property and residence of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who permitted it to be flung into a lumber room among old pieces of wood, lead, and other rubbish, in which state it was seen by Stow, the historian. "Since the which time," says that writer, "some workmen there for their foolish pleasure hewed off the head; and one Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feeling a savour to come from thence (owing, doubtless, to the spices used for embalming the body), and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head and beard red, brought it to London, to his house in Wood Street, where for a time he kept it for its sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of St. Michael's, Wood Street, to bury it among other bones taken out of the charnel-house of that church."—Stow's Survey of London.

|| Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 96.

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

+ Original Gazette of the Battle; Polydore Virgil; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 105.

and conveyed him across the Tweed with them at nightfall. From that time he was never heard of, but it was believed that he was murdered either in Home Castle, or near Kelso, by the vassals of Lord Home.* This story is too absurd to require refutation. Home had no adequate motive to induce him to commit such a crime. He was the chamberlain of the king, and his prime favourite; and, as it has been justly remarked, he had much to lose (in fact did lose all) in consequence of James's death, and nothing earthly to gain by that event. Another report long current in Scotland gave a more romantic turn to the king's fate, and averred that James had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to do penance for the death of his father and the breach of his oath of amity with England.† In support of this opinion, it was contended that the English could never show the iron belt which the king is said to have worn round his body, as a token of his repentance for his share in the rebellion against his father. But this he was likely enough to have laid aside on the day of battle, as encumbering his personal exertions when he meant to do the duty of a brave soldier rather than of a prudent and skilful commander. The English, however, produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, which are still preserved in the Herald's College in London.

Thus perished, in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign, one of the most popular monarchs that ever filled the Scottish throne. "As he was greatly beloved while alive," says Buchanan, "so when dead his memory was cherished with an affection beyond what I have ever read or heard of being entertained for any other king."‡ His disposition was frank, generous, and he was easy of

* This idle tale was revived about half a century ago by a groundless rumour, that a skeleton wrapped in a bull's hide, and surrounded with an iron chain had been found in the well of Home Castle. Sir Walter Scott says he could never find any better authority for the story than the sexton of the parish having said, that if the well were cleaned out he would not be surprised at such a discovery. This absurd legend has recently been repeated by a living writer, but without the shadow of evidence.

† Buchanan, book xiii. chap. xli.

‡ *Ibid.* book xii. chap. xlii

access to the meanest of his subjects. He manifested the most exemplary activity in the discharge of his royal duties, and in promoting the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. He was indefatigable in providing for the national security, in promoting the impartial administration of justice, and in maintaining the authority of the law in every part of his dominions. His efforts for the formation of a navy, and for the encouragement of the fisheries, the manufactures, the commerce, and the agriculture of the country, manifest an enlightened regard for the welfare of his people, and are deserving of the highest commendation. The remarkable prosperity of Scotland during his reign bore most satisfactory testimony to the wisdom of his measures. He was a zealous patron both of the useful and ornamental arts, and spent large sums in adorning and improving the royal palaces, and in the erection of monasteries and other religious edifices. He was expert in all martial and manly exercises, and had acquired great skill in the practice of medicine and surgery, and appears to have studied the occult science of alchemy. He was passionately fond of music and poetry, and excelled in performing upon the lute and various other musical instruments. His vices were in not a few cases akin to his virtues, and are in a great measure to be traced to the defects of his early training, and to the wicked advice of evil counsellors who basely pandered to the passions of the youthful monarch, in order to gain their own selfish ends. He was fond of popularity, devoted to pleasure, and profuse in his expenditure, and frequently lavished upon unworthy objects and pursuits the money which he obtained from his people, not always by the most honourable expedients. He was headstrong, impetuous, and impatient of contradiction; and his fantastic sense of honour, and obstinate adherence to his own opinion, caused him to plunge needlessly into the miseries of war, and ultimately led to the sacrifice of his army and the loss of his life, and once more exposed the kingdom to the manifold and complicated evils of a long minority. James left one legitimate child, who succeeded him by the title of James V.; another son, named Alexander, who was born nearly eight months after his father's death, survived only about two years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JAMES THE FIFTH.

1513—1542.

EVIL tidings always fly rapidly, and the news of the fatal defeat of Flodden soon carried 'mourning, lamentation, and woe,' into every part of Scotland. The wail of sorrow was heard in every town, village, and hamlet; women were to be seen rushing distractedly into the streets and highways, lamenting with loud cries, their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, who had fallen. The labours of the harvest were abandoned, 'the voice of the merchant ceased in the streets,' and the churches and chapels were filled with mournful processions to invoke the Divine protection, and to sing the requiem of the slain.* The loss fell with peculiar severity on the southern districts of the kingdom, as their inhabitants composed a large portion of the forces which remained with the royal army. The citizens of Selkirk, Hawick, Jedburgh, and other Border towns, were almost entirely cut off, and their songs and traditions still keep alive the memory of this national disaster, which is justly considered the most calamitous event in Scottish history.†

In this perilous crisis, however, the indomitable resolution of the Scottish people was displayed in its noblest colours. They were "pressed on every side, yet not reduced to extremity; perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed." Though they had lost their king, and the greater part of the nobles, barons, and magistrates, as well as the flower of the burghers and yeomanry, so that the country seemed to be left defenceless and open to invasion and conquest, they 'bated not a jot of heart or hope.' The imminency of the public danger checked the violence of individual sorrow, and every man was promptly at his post, ready to combat in behalf of the liberty and independence of his country. In this 'day of darkness and of gloominess,' a noble example of firmness and spirit was exhibited by the merchants, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. The lord provost and magistrates of that city, along with the burghers, had followed the standard of the king, and most

of them had shared his fate. During their absence, a certain number of the most influential citizens at the head of whom was George Towers, of Inverleith, were left with a commission to discharge the duties of the magistracy; and, on the 10th of September, the day after the battle, these noble-hearted men issued a proclamation, which, it has been well said, would do honour to the annals of any country in Europe, and took all necessary precautions to defend the city against the apprehended attack of the enemy. "Whereas," says this remarkable document, "there is a great rumour now lately risen within this town, touching our sovereign lord and his army, of the which we understand there is as yet no certainty: we strictly charge and command all persons within the burgh, to have ready their sensible gear (armour of defence) and weapons of war, and to be ready to assemble at the tolling of the common bell, for the defence of the town against those that would invade the same. We also charge and require that all women of the lower class, and specially vagabonds, do repair to their work, and be not seen upon the street clamouring and crying, under the pain of banishment out of the city; and that the women of better sort do repair to the kirk and offer up their prayers at the stated hours, for our sovereign lord and his army, and for our neighbours who are with the king's host; and that they keep to their private occupations in their houses, and abstain from appearing on the street as becometh."* Although George Towers and his gallant associates speak of the uncertainty of the rumour respecting their beloved monarch and his army, there can be no doubt that they were aware of the full extent of the disaster which had befallen them; and the simplicity and firmness of their language showed their calmness and courage, in the perilous and perplexing position in which they were placed.

Their fears of an immediate invasion, however, were speedily dispelled by the welcome intelligence that Surrey had disbanded his host. He had suffered so severely in the battle, that he was in no condition to follow up his advantages; and as his troops had been assembled for the defence of their own frontier, and not for the invasion of Scotland, the crown vassals dispersed as soon as their term of service had been rendered. A breathing interval was thus allowed to the country, and early in October a meeting of Parliament was assembled at Perth, to concert what measures ought to be adopted for the defence of the kingdom, and the management of public affairs, at this perilous juncture. As the greater part of the nobles had perished with their sovereign, this national council was principally composed of the clergy. The infant king, then only eighteen months old, was crowned at Scone with the usual solemnities. The castle of Stirling was selected as his residence, and the queen-

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 109.

† See Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, notes to the 'Souters of Selkirk,' and the exquisite ballad, 'The Flowers of the Forest.' The citizens of Selkirk, eighty in number, distinguished themselves by their desperate valour at Flodden, and nearly all perished in that disastrous conflict. A standard, taken from the English, and the sword of William Brydone, the town clerk, who led the gallant 'Souters' to the battle, are still carefully preserved. The English, in revenge, reduced the defenceless town to ashes. James V. granted to the inhabitants, by royal charter, the right of tilling one thousand acres of the common lands of the burgh, along with various other privileges and immunities, both as a reward of their valour and as compensation for their sufferings.

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

mother was appointed regent of the kingdom and guardian of her son, in accordance with the will of the late king. The Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earls Huntley and Angus were selected to be the councillors of Margaret till another parliament should assemble, and the government of the castle of Stirling was entrusted to Lord Borthwick. The appointment of a female to hold the reins of government was contrary to the customary law of Scotland, and was far from popular among the Scottish nobles. The near connection, too, of the queen-mother with the English monarch, the inveterate enemy of Scotland, excited a suspicion that she might be unduly swayed by his influence, and a secret message was despatched to France, inviting the Duke of Albany, who, after the youthful monarch, was next heir to the throne, to repair to Scotland, and assume the office of regent.

Several of the Scottish historians affirm, that while the people were preparing resolutely to defend their country against invasion, the queen wrote an affectionate and humble letter to Henry, entreating his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan;—that the English monarch, with great wisdom and moderation, resolved to forego the tempting opportunity which the victory of Flodden afforded him for the invasion of Scotland, and replied that the Scots should have peace or war from him according to their own choice and behaviour;—and that a truce was speedily concluded to last for a year and a day. These statements are unfortunately devoid of truth. No

sooner did Henry, who was still in France, receive information of the victory, than he transmitted orders to Lord Darcy, and Lord Dacre, warden of the eastern marches, directing them to make three principal incursions into Scotland. In obedience to this injunction, Lord Dacre and his brother entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry and three hundred infantry, and after plundering and laying waste the country, and burning several villages in Teviotdale, they retired at the approach of Lord Home, carrying off with them considerable booty.† The Scottish warden lost no time in retaliating, and a desolating but indecisive warfare was carried on by the Borderers on both sides.

Meanwhile the Duke of Albany had received the secret invitation from the French party of the Scottish nobles, and unable at this time to comply with it, he sent over the Sieur D'Arsie de la Bastie, who had been a favourite of James the Fourth, along with the Earl of Arran, who in consequence

of the disgraceful failure of his naval expedition, appears to have been afraid to return to Scotland during the lifetime of the late king. Arran was the son of the Princess Mary, sister to James the Third, and his high birth and important office of

lord high admiral, which he still held, entitled him to a prominent share in the administration of public affairs; but the inferiority of his talents unfitted him for the lofty position at which he aimed. His designs were successfully resisted by the Earls of Angus, Home, Huntley, and Crawford, who were at this moment possessed of the greatest authority in the country. But these powerful nobles were jealous of each other's influence, and could not be induced to co-operate cordially in the maintenance of law and order throughout the kingdom. A bitter feud arose between the chamberlain and the youthful Earl of Angus, which threatened to involve the whole of the southern countries in all the miseries of civil war. David Ker, of Ferniehirst, an adherent of Lord Home, taking advantage of the lawless state of the country, forcibly expelled the Abbot of Kelso, and seized the revenues of that monastery while Robertson of Strowan, at the head of a band of eight hundred freebooters, openly traversed Athole and the surrounding districts, plundering the inhabitants at his pleasure. To add to the difficulties of the unhappy country, thus torn by intestine divisions, the emperor, who was in alliance with England, interdicted the commerce between his own dominions and Scotland, and Lord Dacre continued to lay waste the border districts by continued inroads. In the quaint language of an old chronicler, "to rehearse the troubles, and great disquietness that chanced at this time through lack of due administration of justice, and by discord and variance daily rising among the lords and peers of the realm, a man might have just cause greatly to wonder thereat; and in weighing the same thoroughly, no less lament the oppression done to the poor commons, in that wicked and most miserable time, when justice seemed to sleep, and rapine, with all the other sorts of injurious violence, invaded her empty seat, triumphing over all as a conqueror."

As the war with England still continued, an embassy was despatched to the Court of Denmark to represent the distressed situation of the country, and to solicit from their Danish ally subsidies of men and ammunition. But the application was wholly unsuccessful, although James IV. had given prompt and liberal assistance to the King of Denmark in suppressing the insurrection of the Swedes. The French court showed equal ingratitude to their faithful allies, who had suffered so much in a war undertaken at the instigation of France, and to promote the interests of that country. Louis XII., who was hard pressed by his enemies, was now anxious to conclude a peace with England, and so fearful of any step that might interfere with this object, that he not merely denied all assistance to the Scots in the day of their calamity, but most ungenerously refused permission to the Duke of Albany to leave his dominions, lest the presence of that nobleman in Scotland should prove an obstacle to the conclusion of

* Fitzcotic, vol. ii. p. 283; Lesley's History, p. 98.

† Letter of Dacre to Henry, 13th Nov 1513; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 117.

the treaty then pending between England and France.

In this trying position of affairs, the council of state was repeatedly assembled, the nobles and the conflicting opinions and clergy. discordant interests of its members distracted their deliberations, and prevented them from agreeing upon any firm and consistent course of policy. The prudent advice of the aged peers was thwarted by the violent and headstrong councils of the youthful nobles, whom the carnage of Flodden had prematurely elevated to rank and power. The higher clergy, from among whom the sovereign had been accustomed to select his wisest and most patriotic counsellors, were now unhappily divided into factions among themselves, occasioned by disputes respecting the vacant benefices. A meeting of parliament was fixed for the 20th of March, but was postponed by the council to the 15th of May, after ordaining that the principal fortresses of the kingdom should be committed to the custody of trustworthy governors, and appointing the Earl of Crawford, chief justice to the north of the Forth, and Lord Home to the same office in the south, for the immediate repression of the deadly feuds then raging throughout the country.

For some time after the death of the king, the Character of the queen-mother seems to have dis-queen-mother. charged the duties of her office to the satisfaction of the nobles and the people; but the inherent defects in her character soon became apparent. Her talents were of a high order, but in several points she too nearly resembled her brother, Henry VIII., to make a wise ruler. She was fond of pleasure, hasty in her resentment, headstrong and passionate, and in her thirst for power and personal gratification, she frequently showed herself little scrupulous as to the means by which these objects were to be gained. On the 30th of April, 1514, about eight months after the death of the late king, she gave birth to a son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross; and in a parliament which met in the month of July, she was confirmed in the office of regent, and the custody of the young king and his brother was committed to three wise lords, whose names do not appear. Scarcely had the queen recovered from her confinement, however, when, to the surprise and regret of all her friends, she hastily married the young Earl of Angus, without any previous consultation with her council. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year, and in the peculiar and difficult position in which she was placed, it was by no means extraordinary or blameworthy that she should have desired a protector from the selfish designs of the fierce and lawless nobility by whom she was surrounded, among whom the abduction of an opulent widow was no uncommon crime. And had the queen-mother entered into a second marriage with a suitable husband, after due consultation with the council assigned to her by parliament, and after a

decent interval, no fault could have been found with her conduct. But the precipitation with which she hurried into the match with Angus so soon after the death of her husband and the birth of her child, was scarcely consistent with decency or decorum, and had the effect of lowering her reputation in the eyes of the nation. Angus, too, was by no means the husband whom a prudent person, placed in Margaret's circumstances, would have selected. In some respects, indeed, he did no discredit to her choice. He was the grandson and successor of the celebrated Archibald Bell-the-Cat, and was therefore at the head of the powerful house of Douglas. He was also possessed of great personal attractions and showy accomplishments; but according to the shrewd Lord Dacre, he was "childish young, and attended by no wise counsellors," and to the faults of youth he added the characteristic vices of his family,—lawless ambition and lust of power. It speedily became apparent that on his side the match was one of interest, not of affection. He seems to have expected by his alliance with the regent, to obtain possession of the government of the country; and disappointed in this ambitious scheme, he soon ceased to pay the queen, who was some years older than himself, that respect to which she was justly entitled, and he showed himself both a careless and an unfaithful husband. Margaret, blinded by passion, lavished on her youthful husband the treasure* which the late king had entrusted to her charge before his fatal invasion of England, and, with the headlong favouritism of her race, she did not hesitate to abuse the powers of her office for the purpose of aggrandizing the family and faction of the Douglasses. Her marriage, however, was highly unpopular among all classes of the Scottish people. By the terms of the royal will it at once put an end to her regency, and the council lost no time in carrying the wishes of their late sovereign into effect. "We have shown heretofore our willingness to honour the queen," observed Lord Home; "contrary to the ancient custom of this kingdom we suffered and obeyed her authority whilst she herself kept her right by keeping her widowhood. Now she has quit it by marrying, why should we not choose another to succeed in the place she has voluntarily left? Our old laws do not permit that a woman should govern in the most peaceable times, far less now when such evils do threaten, as can scarcely be resisted by the wisest and most sufficient men." Nearly all the members of the council agreed in this opinion, one of them remarking, "that the point principally annoying to

* On the evening before his departure from his capital for the Borders, James confided to the queen the plan of his treasure, "in case that aught happened other than good to him." He likewise wrote an order upon the treasurer for her to receive in trust, for his infant son, the last subsidy of eighteen thousand crowns of the sum paid to him by Louis XII., and, besides this mass of treasure, he bestowed upon her many other valuables. This money she refused to restore, on the plea that it was owing to her for arrears of dower.—Cott. MS. Calig. B. ii. f. 27. Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 80.

them was the fact, that the Earl of Angus, as head of the house of Douglas, was already great, the queen's marrying him had made him greater still, but continuing her authority as regent now he was her husband, would make him far too great for the peace and prosperity of Scotland.* The

She is deposed from the office of regent.

the queen was, therefore, solemnly deposed by the council from her office as regent, the Duke of

Albany was chosen in her room, and the Lord Lion was forthwith deputed to proceed to France to convey to that prince the official announcement of his election. The obstacles which had prevented his compliance with the invitation of the Scottish nobles were now removed; the sentence of forfeiture against his father, which had hitherto excluded the duke from the enjoyment of his rank and estates in Scotland was cancelled; and as

Conclusion of peace between England and France.

peace had been concluded between England and France, Louis had no longer any pretext for his detention. Scotland was included

in this treaty at the request of the French monarch, on condition, however, that if any invasion took place on the Borders after the intimation of these terms, which was to be made before the fifteenth of September, the clause comprehending that country should be void. No invasion of any importance took place, but various petty inroads were made on the Borders; and the difficulty of adjusting the disputes arising out of these disturbances, together with the sudden death of the French king, and the expectation of Albany's arrival, delayed

Scotland is included in the treaty.

the settlement of peace, so that it was not till the following May that the Scots formally acceded

to the treaty.†

At this juncture (Oct. 25th, 1514) the struggles for promotion among the higher clergy were renewed by the death of the venerable Bishop Elphinston, of Aberdeen, whom the queen had intended to appoint to the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Margaret immediately nominated her husband's uncle, the celebrated Gawin Douglas, to the primacy of Scotland. His claims were fiercely opposed, however, both by Forman, the intriguing Bishop of Moray, who was appointed to the vacant see by a papal bull; and by Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, a powerful, factious, and cunning priest, who was elected by the chapter. The servants of Douglas

seized the archiepiscopal palace, but were summarily expelled by Hepburn, who kept possession of the fortress, in spite of the threats of the queen and Angus. This scandalous contention was at length terminated by a compromise between the rival claimants. Home, the chamberlain, was gained over to the interest of Forman, by rich gifts and the grant of the abbacy of Coldingham to his youngest brother David; and

* Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 160; Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglases, p. 241.

† Finkerton, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.

Hepburn, thus abandoned by his most influential supporter, was forced to surrender the castle, on condition of retaining the revenues which he had already collected, and receiving the appointment to the see of Moray, vacated by Forman, together with a pension of three thousand crowns from the revenues of the archbishopric.*

The country was now in a state of almost total anarchy. The Chancellor Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was a zealous supporter of Albany, was arrested at Perth, at the instigation of the queen, and the great seal forcibly taken from him.† The Earl of Arran, assisted by Lennox and Glencairn, aspired to the regency, and the former, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night, surprised the castle of Dunbarton, and expelled Erskine the governor, who held it for the queen.‡ A bitter feud raged between Angus and Home, who marshalled their vassals against each other, and prepared for open hostilities. In addition to the disturbances occasioned by these private quarrels, the nobles and the country were divided into two great factions,—the English party, at the head of which was Margaret and her husband, with the Earl of Huntley, Lord Drummond, and the Earl Marischal; and the French party, which comprehended the great mass of the nobility and of the people. The queen, highly indignant at her deposition from the office of regent, had now thrown herself completely into the arms of her brother, who unscrupulously availed himself of this favourable opportunity to acquire a para-

State of the country.

Intrigues of Henry VIII.

mount influence over the government of Scotland, and still farther to embroil the affairs of that unhappy country. By the agency of Lord Dacre, he kept in pay a number of spies and pensioned supporters, bribed many of the nobles, maintained a constant correspondence with the queen, and even had the baseness to urge her immediate flight with the infant monarch and his brother to the English court, holding out as an inducement, the hope that her elder son should succeed him in the throne of England. Margaret was quite willing, on her part, to adopt this nefarious proposal, but she informed Henry that it was impossible to carry it into effect by any means that she or her husband, or his uncle Gawin, could devise, as all her movements were closely watched, and she declared that if she were a private woman, that was able to go 'with her bairn on her arm,' she would not be long absent from her brother.§

The departure of Albany from France was delayed for some time longer by the death of Louis XII. and the accession of Francis I., but the policy of the French court underwent no material change,

* Lesley's History, p. 101; Buchanan, book xiii chap. xlv. xlviii.

† Holinshed, vol. vi. p. 484.

‡ Lesley, p. 101.

§ Caligula, B. iii. f. 278; Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 112. An English ecclesiastic, named Williamsou, and Sir James Inglis, the secretary of the queen, seem to have been the principal agents in this plot. See Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

and the new monarch soon after confirmed the peace which had been concluded with England. Le Vaire and Villebresme were despatched as ambassadors, to induce the Scottish government to express their willingness to be comprehended in the treaty on the terms formerly stipulated. In a letter from the council of state to Francis, they intimate their compliance with this request, and their acceptance and ratification of the offered peace, moved thereto, as they declare, by the earnest solicitations of their ancient ally, the King of France and of Balthazar Stewart, the papal nuncio; and that they might show that the Scots could forgive their private injuries for the sake of promoting a general crusade against the Turks, although they had now so far recovered from their recent heavy misfortunes as to leave no doubt that they should soon be able to requite their enemies.*

On the eighteenth of May, three days after this arrival of Albany answer was given by the council, in Scotland— the Duke of Albany arrived at Dunbarton with a squadron of eight ships (probably a part of the fleet of James IV.), laden with ammunition and warlike stores.† He was eagerly welcomed by a large concourse of the nobles and gentry of the western counties, and by Lord Home, whom he is said to have mortally offended by his haughty and contemptuous treatment.‡ On advancing to the capital, he was received with almost regal magnificence. The citizens testified their joy at his arrival by acting 'sundry farces and gude plays,'§ and the queen came from the castle to the gate of Holyrood House to meet him, and do him all possible honour. At a meeting of parliament, held in July, 1515, he was solemnly installed in the office of Regent, invested with the sword and sceptre of state, and proclaimed Governor and Protector of Scotland till the young king should reach the age of eighteen. It very soon became evident, however, that Albany was more of a courtier than a soldier or statesman, and that he was totally unfit to cope with the tremendous difficulties of his position.

—his character— At this moment, Scotland required an upright, vigorous, and patriotic governor, who could guide the affairs of the country with discretion, and hold the balance with an even hand between the contending parties. But Albany's talents were by no means of a high order, his temper was passionate, and he was as much devoted to the interests of France, as the queen and Angus were to those of the English court. He was ignorant of the constitution, of the manners, and, to a great extent, even of the language of the country. He was the son of a French mother, had married a French woman, and having spent his life in France, where his chief estates were situated, constantly styled the French king his master. His family, too, rendered him an object of suspicion to a considerable portion of the Scottish people. He was the son of that Duke of Albany who had attempted to set aside the royal family as illegiti-

mate, and to seize the crown for himself; and it was plausibly argued by his enemies that the custody of the infant sovereign and his brother could not be safely entrusted to one whose hereditary feelings and claims justly rendered him an object of distrust.

Albany appears, however, to have entered upon the duties of his office with spirit —his vigorous and resolution, and a firm deter- ^{—his vigorous} ^{measures—} mination to repress and punish the lawless excesses of the nobles, and to curb the insolence and treasonable practices of Angus and his supporters. Lord Drummond, the grandfather of that noble, was committed prisoner to the castle of Blackness, for striking the lion herald in the queen's presence, when delivering an unpalatable message to Angus from the Council of State;* and Gawin Douglas, the uncle of Angus, was imprisoned in the tower of St. Andrews, on a charge of having improperly procured his nomination to the bishopric of Dunkeld by the influence of the queen and Henry VIII. with the pope. Margaret in vain implored the pardon and liberation of her friends. "I went down," she says, "from Edinburgh castle sore weeping to Holyrood, where the regent lodged, intreating him to let them out, as they were the principal members of the council, but grace gat I none."† These vigorous measures struck terror into the supporters of the queen; and the nobles of her party, with the exception of Angus and Home, and many even of her servants, were so intimidated that they abandoned her cause.

Although certain nobles had long before been appointed by the council of state to take charge of the young king and his brother, the royal children still remained in the keeping of their mother, and it became an object of great importance to withdraw them from this dangerous situation. The traitorous intrigues into which Margaret had recently entered with the creatures of her brother, which could not have altogether escaped the penetration of Albany, rendered this step absolutely necessary for the safe keeping of the princes, and the security of the kingdom. The regent accordingly summoned a parliament, which met at Edinburgh, and nominated eight lords, out of which four were to be chosen by lot, and from these the queen-mother was to select three to have charge of the king and his brother. This arrangement having been agreed to, the four peers proceeded from the parliament house to the castle of Edinburgh, for the purpose of carrying into effect the commands of the parliament, attended by a great concourse of people, who crowded to witness the imposing scene. On the approach of the nobles the gates of the fortress were ^{The queen re-} ^{fuses to give up} ^{the king, her son} thrown open, and Margaret was seen standing under the archway with the little king at her side, his hand locked in hers, and a nurse behind her holding the infant Duke of Ross in her arms. As soon as the shouts

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 509.
 † Godscroft, p. 243.

† Lesley, p. 102.
 § Lesley, p. 102.

‡ Calig. B. vi. 105; Lesley, p. 106.
 † Calig. B. vi. 115.

of applause, with which the populace greeted the spectacle, were silenced, the queen, with a dignified air and a loud imperious voice, commanded the delegates to stand and declare the cause of their coming. The peers replied that they came in the name of the parliament to receive from her their king and his brother, when, to their great astonishment, Margaret commanded the warden to drop the portcullis, and the massy iron grating having instantly descended between her and the nobles, she thus addressed them: "This castle is part of my enfeoffment, and of it, by my late husband the king, was I made sole governor, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important trust. But I respect the parliament and nation, and request six days to consider the mandate, for most important is my charge, and my counsellors now, alas! are few." Angus, who had hitherto remained a silent spectator of this dramatic scene, apprehensive of the consequences of this refusal to obey the injunctions of the parliament, now took a notarial instrument that he had counselled the surrender of the children.*

The queen, however, finding it impossible to hold out the castle of Edinburgh against the forces of the parliament, suddenly removed with her children to Stirling, her usual place of residence, where her adherents were numerous and powerful. She then transmitted to the regent an offer to maintain the princes out of her own dowry, provided they were left under her charge; or if this could not be granted, she proposed that they should be entrusted to Angus, Home, the Earl Marischal, and Sir Robert Lauder, of the Bass, all of them, except Marischal, her devoted partizans. Indignant at this evasion of the orders of Parliament,

Decisive measures adopted by Albany. Albany determined to compel obedience, and for this purpose proceeded to collect an armed force, and meanwhile ordered Lords Ruthven and Borthwick to blockade the castle of Stirling, and to prevent the admission of any provisions into that fortress. Lord Home, who was now Provost of Edinburgh, was directed to arrest Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, but he peremptorily refused, and, under cover of night, fled to the Border tower of Newark; while the Earl of Angus, who had been enjoined by the regent to march with his vassals to Stirling, to blockade his own wife, retired to his estates, and armed his retainers for the impending struggle.

A proclamation was now issued, denouncing the penalties of treason against all those who should continue to hold out the castle of Stirling against the regent and parliament; and Albany at the head of seven thousand men, and accompanied by almost all the peers, marched against that fortress. As

The queen surrenders Stirling castle and the custody of her children. the queen's adherents had almost all deserted her, resistance was hopeless, and advancing to meet the regent she delivered the keys of the castle to the young king, who, by her

* Letter of Lord Daere to the Council; Calig. B. ii. 341; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 140

directions, placed them in the hands of Albany. She then requested that he would extend his favour to herself, her husband, and her children. The regent in reply assured the queen that he entertained the most respectful regard for her and his infant sovereign; but he could show no indulgence to Angus and his family, so long as they persisted in their present treasonable practices.* Albany left a guard of seven hundred soldiers to garrison the castle of Stirling, and committed the two princes to the custody of the Earl Marischal, with the Lords Fleming and Borthwick; whilst the queen retired to Edinburgh, where she took up her residence in the castle.

Meanwhile Lord Home had thrown himself openly into the arms of England, ^{Treasonable} and was engaged in concerting ^{conduct of Lord} measures with Daere to overthrow ^{Home.}

the government of the regent; while Angus, though he was not admitted to their secret councils, was employed in raising the strength of Teviotdale for the purpose of supporting their traitorous schemes.† In this emergency Albany acted with great spirit and prudence. He summoned the array of the kingdom to meet him on the Borough-muir, near Edinburgh; but before proceeding to extremities he attempted to gain over the queen and her husband by offering to support them in all their just and equitable actions, and to put her in full possession of her jointure-lands, on condition that she would co-operate in the measures of his government, and abandon her intrigues with the English court. These favourable proposals were at once rejected by the queen, whose foolish and headstrong behaviour deprives her of all sympathy or respect; but she sent them privately to Daere to show the sacrifice she had made for the interests of England.‡ With regard to Home, the regent insisted that he should leave Scotland; and that turbulent noble, stung with resentment, immediately wrote to Daere, requesting the assistance of an English army, and informing him that the country lay open to invasion, and that King Henry might easily destroy his enemies there, and remodel the government at his pleasure.§ Relying on the support of England, the chamberlain collected a powerful force, and after retaking his own castle of Home, which had fallen into the hands of Blaeater, situated about five miles to the west of Berwick.|| The object of this movement was presently seen, for Margaret finding ^{The queen flies} herself, as she alleged, in a kind of ^{to England.} captivity at Edinburgh, and her revenues retained by the regent, determined to retire to the fortress of Blaeater, which was recommended by Lord Daere, from its proximity to England, while at the same time, as it was within the Scottish frontier,

* Calig. B. ii. 309; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 143.

† Daere's Letter to the Council; Calig. B. ii. 309.

‡ Calig. B. vi. 83, 84.

§ Letter of Home to Daere; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 145.

|| Franklin to the Bishop of Durham; Calig. B. iii. 153.

she could not be said to have forfeited her rights by leaving the country. She accordingly retired to Linlithgow, where she took her chamber, and secluded herself from observation, under the plea that the time of her confinement was at hand. But soon after her arrival she quitted her palace under cover of night, attended only by her husband and four or five servants, and at the distance of a few miles from Linlithgow she was joined by Lord Home, at the head of an escort of forty soldiers, who conveyed her in safety, first to the strong castle of Tantallon, the seat of the Douglasses, and then to Blaeater.*

This highly imprudent step completely alienated the nobles and clergy from the cause of the queen dowager, and induced them to give their strenuous support to the government of the regent. Before proceeding to extremities against the mother of his sovereign, Albany, to show his anxiety to avoid hostilities, despatched Sir William Seott and Sir Robert Lauder to meet the English commissioners, Daere and Dr. Magnus, for the purpose of adjusting any disputes on the marches; and at the same time commissioned the French envoy, John Duplanis, to renew his offer to the queen of the complete restoration of all her rights and revenues.

These liberal terms were again arrogantly rejected by this imprudent and headstrong princess, and Albany instantly advanced to the Borders at the head of an army of forty thousand men. Daere had strongly recommended an invasion of Scotland, but no English army made its appearance; and Home finding it impossible to offer any effectual resistance, fled to England, whither he was speedily followed by the queen and Angus. The regent after ravaging the estates of the chamberlain, and razing the tower of Blaeater to the ground, returned to the capital and dismissed his army. Home was soon after taken prisoner, it is alleged, by means of a dishonourable stratagem of Albany,† and was committed to the charge of the Earl of Arran, till he should set out for France or Italy, where he was commanded to remain in exile for three years. He found means, however, to gain over his keeper, who not only suffered him to escape, but accompanied him in his flight to England. They were received with open arms by Lord Daere, and having been joined at Wooler by Angus and the brothers of Home, immediately proceeded to concert measures to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland, and to overthrow the government of Albany. The queen shortly before this had sent a letter to the regent, in which she attempted to vindicate her flight by asserting that apprehensions for her life had constrained her to quit Scotland; but she renewed her claim that the government of the kingdom and the tutelage of her children should be conceded to her agreeably to the will of the late king, which had received the

papal confirmation. To this demand the council of Scotland returned answer, that the government of the realm could not be disposed of by their late sovereign, as by his death it devolved on the three Estates, who had conferred it upon the Duke of Albany; that moreover Margaret had by her second marriage forfeited all right to the regency, as well as to the custody of her children; and that as for the interference of the pontiff, Scotland had, ever since its first inhabitation, been subject in temporal matters only to God.*

The regent was still anxious to reclaim the queen from the impolitic course which she was pursuing, and on the same day he addressed two letters to her, the first from the council, imploring her to listen to reason, and declaring their aversion to all rigorous measures; the other, a private communication, written with his own hand, offering a benefice to the celebrated Gawin Douglas, and promising to leave at the disposal of the queen all benefices, and a portion of the wards and marriages within her dowry lands, and to entrust her with the guardianship of her children, if she would engage that they should not be withdrawn from the kingdom.† These liberal proposals, however, were peremptorily rejected by the queen, probably through the influence of Angus, Home, and Arran, who at this period entered into a private bond, by which they engaged to stand by each other, to make no agreement with the regent except with the consent of their kindred, vassals, and supporters, and to deliver the king and his brother from the suspected guardianship in which they were now held.

Eight days after the queen had taken refuge in England, she was delivered, at Margaret is delivered of a daughter. Harbottle, of a daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards the mother of the unfortunate Darnley, and grandmother of James VI. The absence of her attendants, whom Daere had positively refused to receive into the fortalice,‡ and the anxieties and mortifications connected with her situation, retarded her recovery, and prevented her from proceeding to her brother's court, which she eagerly longed to reach. While she lay at Harbottle, Margaret received the affecting intelligence of the sudden death, at Stirling, of her younger Death of her younger son. son, Alexander, Duke of Ross, an event which the queen and her faction did not hesitate to ascribe either to neglect or poison; and even Gawin Douglas did not scruple, seven years later, to repeat the atrocious calumny. Meanwhile, Albany, having in vain tried conciliatory measures, proceeded to punish Arran's defection and flight by seizing his castles; but when at Hamilton, he was met by the mother of the rebellious noble, a daughter of James II., who intreated forgiveness for her son. He received the venerable matron with the respect due to her years and royal descent, and

* Council of Scotland, 13th Oct. 1515; Calig. B. vi. 120; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 150.

† Calig. B. vi. 122, 123; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 151

‡ Leslie, p. 104.

* Credence, Calig. B. vi. 85.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 149.

promised a free pardon to Arran if he would return to his allegiance. He faithfully kept his word, for that weak and irresolute nobleman, finding that no dependence could be placed on the promises of Daere, renounced his league with Angus and Home, and, on the 12th of November, came to Edinburgh and made his peace with the regent.*

At this period the alliance with France was renewed; and, at the same time, Dunbar, Archdeacon of St. Andrews; Sir William Scott, of Balwearie; and Duplanis, the French ambassador, were sent by the regent to meet Daere and Magnus, the English commissioners, at Coldingham, for the purpose of negotiating a peace between the two countries. The brilliant successes of Francis the First in Italy had roused the jealousy of the English king, and made him anxious to maintain amicable relations with Scotland, in order that he might be at liberty to unite with the emperor in the war against France. The truce between the two kingdoms was therefore renewed till the following Whitsunday; and the regent agreed to send a solemn embassy to the English court to treat of a permanent peace. Home and Angus having now discovered the insecurity of their position, and the duplicity of the English warden, and despairing of any aid from England, resolved to withdraw them-

Home and Arran selves from the queen, who lay dangerously ill at Morpeth, and to make their peace with the regent. They accordingly returned to Scotland, where they were readily pardoned and restored to their estates. Margaret was highly indignant at this selfish and ungrateful conduct on the part of her husband, who, to serve his own purposes, had the inhumanity to abandon his wife while on a sickbed, and at a distance from all her relations and friends. There is reason to believe that the lasting enmity which the queen henceforth entertained against Angus, is primarily to be traced to her indignation at this scandalous desertion. As soon as she recovered from her illness she hastened to the English court, where she was received with great distinction and respect by her brother and his queen, to whom she bitterly complained of the treatment which she had received both from the regent and her husband, and entreated him to protect her son, and to procure the restoration of her rights.

The English monarch readily yielded to Margaret's importunity, and though the truce between the two kingdoms had just been extended till the Midsummer of the following year, and Albany had always manifested the most conciliatory spirit to-

wards England, Henry addressed demands of a letter to the three Estates, in which in the most peremptory

terms he demanded the removal of the regent from his office, and his expulsion from the kingdom, upon the ground that as the nearest heir to the crown he was the most suspicious guardian that could be appointed to take charge of the

king's person; and he added a threat, that if this request was refused, he would be constrained to take other measures for the protection of their infant sovereign. To this insolent epistle, which was laid before a meeting of parliament, held in Edinburgh, on the first of July, 1516, the Estates returned a positive refusal, declaring that the appointment of Albany to the office of regent had been made by the general council of the nation, and was in strict accordance with the ancient law and practice of the kingdom,—that he had undertaken the office, not from his own wishes, but at their earnest request, and had wisely and honestly discharged its duties,—that with regard to the safety of their infant sovereign, there was no cause for the anxiety expressed, as he was entrusted to the care of the three good lords, in whom his own mother had formerly placed the greatest confidence; and, finally, that they were firmly resolved to resist to the utmost every attempt to disturb the peace of the country, or to overthrow the existing government.*

This bold and dignified assertion of their national independence, disconcerted, for the moment, the project of the English king to obtain the superiority over Scotland, but he speedily resumed his former base system of keeping in pay a band of spies and pensioned supporters, and bribing a number of the Scottish nobles, to thwart the measures of Albany, and to distract his government. Lord Daere, the English warden, was the principal agent employed in promoting this nefarious policy; and in a letter to Wolsey, Henry's favourite minister, he boasts that he had in his pay no less than four hundred Scots, whose principal employment was to excite popular tumults, and to lay waste the country. "I labour and study all I can," says this able but unprincipled intriguer, "to make division and debate, to the intent, that if the duke will not apply himself that the debate may grow, that it shall be impossible for him to do justice; and for that intended purpose I have the Master of Kilmaurs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland. . . . And also I have secret messages from the Earl of Angus and others, which, I trust, shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace, if the said duke submit not himself; and also I have four hundred outlaws, and giveth them rewards, that burneth and destroyeth daily in Scotland, all being Scotsmen that should be under the obedience of Scotland. And if the said duke will apply him to the king's pleasure, then shall all these practices be void and of none effect, and the said Master of Kilmaurs be put to his own fende (shift) at his liberty in secret manner."†

A new insurrection soon broke out, headed by Arran, who entered into a league with Lennox, Glencairn, and other barons, for the purpose of

* Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. xiii. p. 550.

† Letter of Daere to Wolsey; Ellis's *Original Letters* First Series, vol. i. p. 131.

* Lesley, p. 101.

wresting the regency from Albany. Mure of Caldwell, well, one of the partisans of Arran, stormed and plundered the castle of Glasgow, belonging to Archbishop Beaton, and prepared to hold it out against the government. But the regent promptly marched to Glasgow at the head of an army, took the fortress, and compelled the conspirators to submit to his authority, and to sue for pardon, which with almost blameable lenity, was readily granted to them, on the intercession of Archbishop Beaton.* Soon after, however, Albany felt himself constrained to inflict summary punishment on another inveterate offender—the turbulent and factious chamberlain. His former treasons had been forgiven, but only on condition that if ever he rebelled again, he should be brought to trial for his old offences.† Unmindful of his promise, and of the warning he had received, he speedily renewed his treasonable intercourse with Dacre, who hired the retainers of the Scottish baron to plunder and lay waste the country, and commit the most frightful excesses, so that, as the English warden himself admits, the kingdom was a prey to constant robberies, fire-raising, and murders. In these circumstances, the regent feeling that longer forbearance would be a crime against the state, Home and his brother, having imprudently visited the court, it is alleged on the invitation of Albany, were instantly apprehended by the advice of the council, brought to trial for their manifold treasons, condemned, and executed. Their heads were afterwards exposed above the Tolbooth, and their estates confiscated. According to Buchanan, one of the charges brought against the chamberlain was that of having been accessory to the defeat at Flodden, and the death of the king; but this accusation, he adds, though strongly expressed, being feebly supported by proof, was withdrawn.‡ Kerr of Ferniehirst, a powerful Border chief, and one of Home's most zealous adherents, was brought to trial and condemned at the same time; but having obtained a reprieve from the regent, afterwards succeeded in making his escape. Soon after this exercise of authority, Albany made a progress to Jedburgh in person, for the purpose of more effectually repressing and punishing the excesses of the banditti upon the Borders. The office of chamberlain was conferred upon Lord Fleming; and the French knight, De la Bastie, who stood high in the confidence of the regent, was made warden of the east marches, an appointment which excited the most vindictive feelings among the kindred and vassals of Home.

At this period Francis de Bordeaux arrived in Scotland as an ambassador from France. The French court, and, to the great mortification of Albany and the Scottish nobles, made known to them the failure of all their hopes of assistance from their ancient ally, for whose sake

* Lesley, pp. 105, 106.

† Buchanan, book xiv. chap. vii.

‡ Ibid.

they had risked and suffered so much. To serve his own purposes, Francis I. was anxious to conciliate the friendship of the English monarch, and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all the solicitations of the Scots. Their claim to the county of Xaintonge, which was originally assigned by Charles VII. to James I. in 1428, was evaded on the pretext that this district was an inalienable portion of the royal domain; and their request for aid was not only declined, but the French monarch even refused to ratify the alliance between France and Scotland, which had been renewed by his ambassador, Duplanis, and the Scottish council of regency, within a year after the death of James IV. In these trying circumstances Albany resolved to visit France, probably for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain assistance from the French court, to enable him to resist the intrigues of England, and to maintain the independence of the kingdom. The parliament at first offered a most strenuous resistance to his request for permission to revisit his foreign estates; and at length a most reluctant consent was extorted from the national council, on the express condition that his absence was to extend only to four months. Arrangements were accordingly made for his departure. The government of the country was entrusted to a council of regency, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran. The young king was brought from Stirling to the castle of Edinburgh, and entrusted to the care of the Earl Marischal, and Lords Erskine, Borthwick, and Ruthven. To De la Bastie was committed the important duty of maintaining the tranquillity of the Borders; and the fortresses of Dunbar and Dunbarton, the eastern and western keys of the kingdom, with the tower of Inehgarvie, were garrisoned by French soldiers. Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Patrick Panter, secretary to the king, were despatched on an embassy to the French court, to prepare for the arrival of the regent, and to assist the Bishop of Ross, the former ambassador to France, in negotiating a permanent alliance; and all the necessary preliminaries having been adjusted, Albany revisits that kingdom. Albany himself embarked at Dunbarton the seventh of June, carrying with him as hostages the eldest sons of many of the principal barons, and landed at Montmichael, in France, on the twenty-seventh of that month.*

Previously to his departure it had been settled in parliament, that the queen-mother should be allowed to return to Scotland, and to resume possession of her dowry and all her effects, upon condition that she should abstain from all attempts to overthrow the authority of the regent. As soon as she heard of Albany's arrival in France she commenced her journey northward; and at Lamberton Kirk, the scene of her first reception by the Scottish nobles as the bride of their sovereign, she was met by Angus, Morton, and De la Bastie. On her ar-

* Lesley, p. 109.

rival in Edinburgh she was not permitted at first to visit her son; but in consequence of an apprehension that the plague had made its appearance in the capital, the youthful monarch was soon after removed to Craigmillar, where his mother was occasionally allowed to see him. Margaret's faithlessness, however, and propensity to engage in intrigues seem to have been incurable, and a strong suspicion having arisen that she had formed a secret project to carry off the prince into England, his guardians took the precaution to restore him to his original residence in the castle of Edinburgh.*

Albany had mainly relied for the maintenance of order and tranquillity during his absence upon the courage and activity of De la Bastie, who was both an able statesman and a chivalrous soldier. Nor was his confidence in the fidelity and zeal of the gallant Frenchman misplaced. Invested with the title of lieutenant or deputy of the governor, and entrusted with the difficult task of repressing the excesses of the lawless and turbulent Borderers, he discharged the duties of his office with great vigour and impartiality. On the first intelligence of any commotion he lost no time in proceeding to the spot for the purpose of repressing and punishing the disturbance. An example of his indefatigable diligence and promptitude in maintaining the authority of the law is mentioned by Pitscottie, in his account of a shameful outrage perpetrated by Stirling, of Keir, upon the person of William Meldrum, Laird of Binns,—the 'Squire Meldrum' of Sir David Lindsay. Meldrum was betrothed to Lady Gleneagles, a rich heiress, and only waited the arrival of a dispensation from Rome to complete the marriage. Meanwhile Stirling, of Keir, who possessed an estate near this lady's castle in Strathern, had determined that Luke Stirling, a near relative of his own, should marry the lady, and disappointed in his hopes by the success of Squire Meldrum, he laid a cowardly plot for his destruction. Accordingly, when about to cross the ferry between Leith and Fife, on his return from Edinburgh, attended only by eight servants, Meldrum was suddenly beset by his mortal enemy, at the head of sixty men. After a desperate conflict, in which Keir himself was severely hurt, and twenty-six of his followers either wounded or slain, the unfortunate squire was left for dead on the spot, bathed in his blood, hamstringed, and almost cut to pieces by unnumbered wounds. Intelligence of this foul deed having been sent to De la Bastie, who was living at the time in the abbey of Holyrood, he instantly sounded to horse, got his guards together, and pursued the cowardly assassins so closely that they were compelled to take refuge in a peel-house in Linlithgow. But this afforded them no protection, for it was so vigorously assaulted by De la Bastie, that the defenders were compelled to surrender unconditionally. They were speedily brought to trial and condemned; and

* Lesley, p. 109.

Stirling himself was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh till instructions should be received from the governor respecting his disposal. But in consequence of the cruel murder of De la Bastie himself, shortly after this vigorous exercise of authority, Keir and his accomplices were ultimately set at liberty.*

The appointment of De la Bastie to the wardenship of the marches was exceedingly unpopular among the Borderers, and especially among the friends and vassals of Lord Home, who hated him both as a foreigner and as an adherent of Albany, by whom their chief had been put to death. Among that fierce race the exaction of blood for blood to the uttermost drachm was handed down from father to son as a sacred duty, and though it does not appear that De la Bastie had the least concern in the execution of the chamberlain, the fact that he was the friend of the regent was sufficient to expose him to the vengeance of the ferocious Borderers, who burned to avenge the death of their chief. For the purpose of entrapping the gallant knight, who seems to have been altogether unsuspecting of their designs, Home, of Wedderburn, and some other friends of the late lord, pretended to besiege the tower of Langton, in the Merse. As soon as he received intelligence of this outrage, the warden, who was residing in Dunbar, hastened towards the spot, accompanied by a slender train, and before he was aware found himself surrounded by his unrelenting enemies. Seeing his life aimed at he attempted to save himself by the fleetness of his horse, but his ignorance of the country unfortunately led him into a morass, near the town of Dunse, where he was overtaken and cruelly butchered. The ferocious Wedderburn cut off his head, in savage triumph knitted it to his saddle-bow by the long flowing locks which had been much admired by the ladies of France, and galloping into Dunse, affixed the ghastly trophy of his vengeance to the market cross.†

As soon as the news of this atrocious murder reached the council of regency, they proceeded to take steps to bring the perpetrators to justice. Arran was appointed warden of the marches. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, and his confederate Mark Ker, were committed to prison on suspicion that they had been implicated in the plot against the late warden; and in a parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the nineteenth of February, sentence of forfeiture was passed against David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and the rest of his accomplices. Arran immediately assembled a powerful army, and accompanied by the king's ar-

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 305, 336; Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. pp. 292—300.

† Lesley, p. 110; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 307. The murder is believed to have been committed by John and Patrick Home, younger brothers of the Laird of Wedderburn; and the hair of the unfortunate warden is said to be still preserved in the charter chest of the family.

—his cruel murder by the Homes, 19th Sept. 1517.

tillery, marched towards the Borders, for the purpose of enforcing the sentence. But the Homes, finding resistance hopeless, resolved to make their submission. The keys of Home castle were delivered to Arrau at Lauder, the Border towers of Langton and Wedderburn were also surrendered; and the warden, with a culpable leniency, allowed the murderers to escape without further punishment.*

Albany, whose leave of absence had nearly expired, feeling a natural reluctance to resume the reins of government in a country so distracted by the contentions and feuds of rival factions, now wrote to the queen-mother, earnestly recommending her, if she could obtain the consent of the nobles, to take the regency once more into her own hands. But Margaret, who had been reconciled to her husband, insisted that Angus should be appointed regent; and as this was resolutely opposed by the whole body of the nobles who had suffered from his insolence and vacillation, the government continued in the hands of the council.† The truce with England was renewed for two years, and the regents sought to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them to repress the disorders which had broken out in the Highlands and Isles, which, like the other districts of the country, were torn by rival factions, and exhibited scenes of the wildest excesses. It appears that scarcely had the

Highland chiefs, who escaped from the carnage at Flodden, returned to their own estates, when they entered into a conspiracy to restore the ancient lordship of the Isles, in the person of Sir Donald Macdonald, of Loehals. The leaders of the insurrection, Maclean of Dowart, and Macleod of Dunvegan, seized the castles of Carnburgh and Dunskaih, and plundered and laid waste the estates of the chiefs who refused to join their faction; but they were ultimately induced by the Earl of Argyle to submit to the regent, and, on repairing to the court, were pardoned and restored to favour. Searec, however, had the chief of Loehals returned to his own dominions, when he again took up arms against the government; and, as it has now been discovered that Sir Donald and his followers had joined with Lord Home in the treasonable practices which brought that nobleman's head to the block, and after his death had given shelter to his persecuted followers, there is good reason to believe that the island chief was first excited to rebellion by the base intrigues of the English agents, who laboured to ferment disturbances in every part of the kingdom. In spite of the efforts of Argyle and other well-affected chiefs, the insurgents maintained their ground, and though abandoned by Maclean of Dowart, his principal supporter, Sir Donald, having united his forces to those of the Macleods of Lewis and Rasay, and Alexander of Isla, attacked and defeated, at a place

called Craignairgid, in Morvern, Mac-Ian, of Ardnanurchan, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the rebels by his vigorous support of the government. Mac-Ian himself, with his two sons, fell in the engagement; and the consequences of this success might have been serious, had not the death of Sir Donald, a few weeks after, brought the rebellion to a sudden close.*

The reconciliation between Angus and the queen was short-lived. Disappointed in his attempt to obtain the regency, this haughty and ambitious noble soon quarrelled with his wife, and retiring from the court, secluded himself in Douglasdale with a mistress, a daughter of Stuart of Traquair, to whom he is said to have been betrothed previous to his marriage with the queen. This new insult caused an open rupture with Margaret, who broke out into violent reproaches, upbraiding her husband with his inconstancy and ingratitude, reminding him that she had pawned her jewels to support him in his misfortunes, and expressing her determination to sue for a divorce.† But Henry, well aware that such a step would be ruinous to his influence in Scotland, no sooner heard of the resolution formed by his sister, than he despatched a friar, named Chatsworth, who filled the office of minister-general of the Observantines in England, to remonstrate against the divorce, and to threaten the queen with his serious displeasure if she should attempt to carry it into effect. The violent denunciations of Chatsworth, who declared that she was labouring under some damnable delusion, and insinuated that her own conduct would not bear strict investigation, seem to have intimidated, if they did not convince Margaret, and to have induced her to lay aside her intention for the present. But although, against the advice of her counsellors, a temporary reconciliation took place between her and Angus, she insisted upon his renunciation of all claim upon her dower, and soon after appointed the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, the Provost of Crichton, and other commissioners, to collect her revenues and manage her estates.‡

At this period Christian II., king of Denmark, made application to his Scottish allies for a reinforcement of a thousand Highlanders to assist him in suppressing an insurrection, which had broken out among his Swedish subjects; but the regency eluded the request, by alleging that the Highland clans were at this time engaged in perpetual conflicts among themselves. The Danish monarch soon after renewed his request for a subsidy of soldiers and artillery, and enforced it by a letter from Albany, recommending the Estates to comply with the application; but the national council still prudently declined to accede to his request on the ground, that from the uncertain disposition of the English court, they could not reckon on the continuance of

* Gregory's Highlands and Islands, pp. 114—120.

† Lesley, p. 113; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 173.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 174, 175; Caligula, B. ii. 333, and B. vi. 194.

* Lesley, p. 111.

† Margaret to Dacre; Calig. B. i. 247; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 171.

peace in their own country. In the following year, however, (1519,) in consequence of the urgent and reiterated entreaty of the Danish monarch, a small body of troops was sent to Copenhagen, under the command of Stewart of Ardgowan, but the tyrannical conduct of Christiern, which ultimately led to his deposition, and the piratical seizure by Danish privateers of a merchant ship belonging to Leith, completely alienated his Scottish allies, and induced them to abandon any further attempt to support his unpopular cause.*

It appears that Albany, on his return to France, had received authority from the Estates to manage the foreign affairs of Scotland; and it is admitted, even by those who take the most unfavourable view of his character and government, that he manifested a disinterested regard for the public welfare, and that in the disposal of the Scottish benefices his applications to the pope were invariably in favour of natives, while the cardinals and the Italian clergy, their dependents, were eagerly grasping at every vacant benefice in Christendom.† At this period the French monarch renewed the peace with England, and his Scottish allies having been included in the treaty, provided they agreed to its terms, La Fayette and Cordelle, the French ambassadors to the English court, attended by Benolt, the Clarenieux herald, proceeded into Scotland for the purpose of procuring a prolongation of the truce, which was about to expire on St. Andrew's day. As the council of regency did not possess sufficient powers to complete this transaction, a meeting of parliament was held; and the French ambassador having intimated, that if Scotland rejected this treaty no farther assistance needed to be looked for from her French allies, the conditions were after some deliberation accepted, and the prolongation of the truce between England and Scotland to St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30th), 1520, was immediately proclaimed at Stirling.‡

Meanwhile the violence and ambition of Angus continued to annoy the government, and to disturb the peace of the nation. Supported by the Earls of Crawford and Errol, Lord Glamis, and other powerful barons, together with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Orkney, and Dunblane, he openly aspired to the supreme power, and set at defiance the authority of the regent. On the arrival of the French ambassadors at Edinburgh, he endeavoured, but without success, to induce them to recognize him and his party as the rulers of the country, and to allow him the management of the treaty; and, irritated at their peremptory refusal, the haughty noble, at the head of a numerous body of his vassals, intercepted the envoys at Caerlaveroc on their return to England; and not only violently upbraided them for their

refusal to comply with his demands, but put them in terror of their lives.* His partizans throughout the kingdom, trusting to his protection, openly defied the laws and committed the most shocking outrages on the lives and property of all who ventured to oppose them. The ferocious Home, of Wedderburn, who had married the sister of Angus, about this time assassinated Blackadder, the Prior of Coldingham, with six of his family; upon which William Douglas, the brother of Angus, instantly seized the priory.† A fierce contest now arose between Arran and Angus, in which every kind of lawless violence and injustice was committed, and the streets of the capital were stained with blood. Arran had been chosen Provost of Edinburgh, an office which, on account of the influence it conferred, was at this time an object of ambition among the highest nobles. But the opposite faction, taking advantage of his temporary absence from the metropolis, procured the election of Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, in his room; and when Arran returned from Dalkeith, where the court was then held, he found the gates of the city shut against him. His supporters attempted to force an entrance, but were repulsed, a number being wounded and slain on both sides.‡ Similar scenes of violence and bloodshed were of almost daily occurrence, so that the country was in a state of complete disorganization.

A parliament was summoned to meet in Edinburgh on the 29th of April, probably with the view of attempting to allay these intestine commotions, and to restore the authority of the government. It appears that the vassals and retainers of Angus had, for the most part, quitted the capital before the assembling of the Estates, and that only four hundred spear-men remained with him as a body-guard; while, in consequence of a recommendation transmitted by Albany, or, according to Buchanan, in order to remove the apprehensions of the Hamiltons, Archibald Douglas had resigned the office of provost, and Robert Logan, one of the citizens, had been elected in his room. The partizans of Arran deemed this a favourable opportunity to crush Angus, while the great body of his supporters were at a distance. Archbishop Beaton, the chancellor, whose niece Arran had married, and the other leaders of the faction, held a council in the church of the Blackfriars, for the purpose of concerting their measures. Angus sent his uncle, Gawin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, to the meeting, to caution the Hamiltons against any violence, and to offer that he would submit to the laws if any offence were laid to his charge. Addressing himself to Beaton, as the official conservator of the laws of the realm, Douglas remonstrated against their intention of arresting Angus, and entreated that prelate to act as a peace-maker. The archbishop, however, had actually prepared for battle by putting on a coat of mail under his linen rochet, and,

* Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. i. pp. 317, 318; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 172, 176.

† See Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 175;

‡ Ibid. p. 177; Margaret to Wolsey, Stirling, 26th Dec.; Calig. B. vi. 270.

* Lesley, p. 114.

† Ibid. p. 114.

‡ Dacre to Wolsey, 10th Dec.; Lesley, p. 113.

in answer to the appeal of Douglas, he said, 'Upon my conscience I know nothing of the matter,' at the same time striking his hand upon his breast, which caused the armour to return a rattling sound. 'My lord,' replied the bishop, 'your conscience clatters;*' and leaving the meeting after this pointed rebuke, he hastened back to his nephew, and told him that he must do his best to defend himself with arms. 'For me,' he said, 'I will go to my chamber and pray for you.' Angus immediately put himself at the head of his followers, whom he drew up in a compact body in the High-street of the city. The citizens were favourable to his party, and handed spears from their windows to such of the Douglasses as were not provided with that useful weapon,—a circumstance which gave them a great advantage over the Hamiltons, who were armed only with their swords. Meanwhile, the remonstrance of the bishop had produced a deep impression on the mind of Sir Patrick Hamilton, a prudent and moderate man, the brother of the governor, and he strongly advised Arran to preserve the peace; but he was rudely upbraided with cowardice, in refusing to fight in his friend's quarrel, by Hamilton of Draphane, a natural son of the earl, and a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. 'Bastard smaik!† thou liest,' replied Sir Patrick; 'I shall fight to-day where thou darest not be seen.' Upon this the Hamiltons rushed out into the street, and thronged up from the Cowgate through the narrow lanes which lead to the High-street, where their adversaries were drawn up ready to receive them. The outlets of these lanes had been barricaded by the Douglasses with carts, barrels, and other lumber; and as the adherents of the governor struggled through these obstructions, and reached the open street breathless and disordered, they were fiercely attacked by the spearmen of Angus, whose long spears and close array gave them a great advantage over their opponents. At the first onset, Sir Patrick Hamilton was killed by Angus himself, and after a fierce struggle, the party of Arran was completely routed and driven from the city, leaving upwards of seventy men dead on the spot. The earl and his son, who was the principal instigator of the broil, were in such peril that they were obliged to make their escape through the North Loch, mounted on a coal horse, from which they threw the load. Archbishop Beaton took refuge behind the high altar of the church of the Blackfriars monastery;‡ but such was the ferocity of the victorious party, that they pursued him into the sanctuary, tore off his rochet, and would have slain him on the spot, but for the timely interference of the Bishop of Dunkeld. This skirmish was long remembered by the name of 'Clean-the-

causeway,' because the faction of Arran was as it were swept from the streets.*

Angus and his party now remained for a time absolute masters of the capital, and boldly set at defiance both the authority of the government and the restraints of the law. They took down the heads of Lord Home and his brother from the Tol-booth, and interred them with great solemnity in the Dominican churchyard, causing masses to be said for their souls. Angus having learned that the governor and the chancellor, with some of their adherents, had resolved to meet at Stirling, made an attempt to seize them by a sudden and secret march to that place; but they received timely notice of their danger, and hastily dispersed.† Having failed in this enterprise, Angus dismissed his followers, and retired to his own estates.

The French monarch was still anxious to court the friendship of England, in the hope that, as Tournay had been restored to France by the influence of Wolsey, the restitution of Calais might be obtained also. Accordingly, Robert Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, and Johan Duplanis, Embassy of Aubigny. were despatched as ambassadors to Scotland, for the purpose of inducing the Estates of that kingdom to maintain the peace with England, and to prolong the truce between the two countries. They were also instructed to point out the evil consequences which would result from the return of Albany, as Henry had declared that his resumption of the regency would be the signal for the immediate commencement of hostilities; and it was added, that Francis would never consent to the departure of the regent from France.‡ The ambassadors tried every effort, but without effect, to allay the differences of the contending parties, and to restore tranquillity to the country. At this juncture, a sudden revolution took place Change in the policy of France. in continental politics. Charles V.

of Spain had been elected to the imperial throne in opposition to Francis, and Wolsey, who expected to gain the papal chair through the influence of the emperor, contrived to dissolve the alliance between England and France. It became the interest, therefore, of the French monarch to resume his former policy towards Scotland, and to rekindle the flames of discord between that country and England.

Angus was regarded by Wolsey and Daere as the main stay of the English party among the Scottish nobles; and the queen-mother, who was now completely alienated from her husband, was thus induced to embrace the interests of the French party, and to entreat Albany to return to Scotland, and to resume the government of the country. As the obstacles to the departure of that nobleman from France were now removed, and the French court was anxious to Return of Albany to Scotland. embarrass the operations of Henry,

* Lesley, p. 116; Pitcottie, vol. ii. pp. 285—290; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xii.

† Lesley, p. 116.

‡ Instructions to Seigneur D'Aubigny, Calig. B. vi. 110; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 183.

* Clatter is a Scotch word, signifying to tell tales.

† Smak, a silly, mean fellow.

‡ This religious house stood on the site now occupied by the old High School, a spot not more than a hundred yards from the houses of both Beaton and Gawin Douglas. The former stood at the foot of Blackfriars Wynd, the latter nearly opposite to the bottom of Niddry Street.

who had openly espoused the cause of the emperor, the regent set sail, and arrived at the Gareloch, in Lennox, on the 19th of November. Proceeding to Stirling he was there joined by the queen, who welcomed him with the utmost cordiality, and bestowed upon him such imprudent marks of her regard as to excite scandalous murmurs regarding the nature of their intercourse. If the testimony of Lord Daere may be credited, she spent not only the day but the greater part of the night in the company of Albany, paying no regard to appearances.* The nobles crowded to the court of the regent to welcome his arrival, and on his entrance into the capital, accompanied by the queen, the chancellor, and a numerous escort of the peers, Angus and his party precipitately abandoned the city, and fled towards the Borders.

Soon after his arrival, the regent summoned a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh on the 26th of December, and cited Angus and his principal adhe-

His proceedings against Angus. rents to appear before that assembly, and answer to the charges to be brought against them. But, conscious of their guilt, and unable to resist the united strength of the queen and Albany, they were compelled to fly for refuge to the kirk of Steyle, near the Borders, where they opened a negotiation with Henry by means of Gawin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, who was a zealous supporter of his nephew, Angus. This prelate, whose morality and patriotism were not equal to his genius, was instructed to visit Daere on his journey to England, and afterwards to lay before the English monarch himself a statement of the views of the malecontent nobles, and of the alleged ambition and criminal conduct of the regent. Douglas accordingly proceeded to London,

Charges brought against the regent by Bishop Gawin Douglas. where he addressed a memorial to Henry, in which he accused the regent of numerous acts of peculation, in appropriating to his own

use the subsidies sent by the French king, as well as the money received from him, as the price of three celebrated ships, the pride of the Scottish navy, and declared that he had even converted the royal robes and tapestries into dresses for his pages, and had coined the king's large silver vases. He asserted that the royal fortresses of Dunbar, Dunbarton, and Inehgarvie were garrisoned by Frenchmen; that the crown lands were dilapidated; the ecclesiastical benefices sold; the people oppressed and pillaged; and the young king himself kept not only in a state of durance but of want, by an usurper who had no legal title to the regency, as it had been expressly declared by Parliament, that, should Albany not return from France before the 1st of August, 1521, he should forfeit that office. And, not satisfied with bringing these heavy charges against the regent, the bishop revived the foul calumny that Albany had caused the death of the infant Duke of Ross; and the memorial concluded with an urgent intreaty that the English monarch would imitate the example of his

* Calig. B. vi. 205; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 188.

ancestor, Henry III., who by force of arms expelled the wicked counsellors of the youthful Scottish king, Alexander III.*

There can be little doubt that many of these vile accusations against the regent were utterly destitute of truth, and that the remainder were grossly exaggerated. The reports which were from time to time transmitted to the English court by Daere are not entitled to greater credit. According to this active and unscrupulous political agent, it was reported that the regent had designs upon the crown, and that Margaret intended to set aside her son, to marry Albany, and to raise him to the throne; that the intercourse between her and the regent was of the most scandalous kind; and that they had attempted, by the offer of Etrick forest (a part of the queen's jointure-lands), to induce Angus to consent to a divorce; and he even goes so far as to affirm that the life of the young king was believed to be in danger. There is good reason to believe that the greater part of these reports originated with Daere himself, as it was his nefarious policy to keep alive the differences among the Scottish nobles, and to weaken the government by throwing distrust and suspicion upon every measure of the regent and the queen.† In answer to the remonstrances of Albany against the infractions of the truce, and the encouragement given by Henry to Angus and his traitorous adherents, Daere retaliated by a complaint that Lord Maxwell, the warden of the western marches, had refused to proclaim the peace, and that the Scottish Borderers had made an incursion into England, and carried off a great booty. The regent, who was anxious for peace with England, promised immediate redress; but Daere, while he recommended his master to abstain from a declaration of war, and to continue an appearance of truce, craftily and dishonestly suggested that sums of money should be paid to the English northern lords, on condition that they should make inroads into Scotland,—a plan which he assures Henry would distress the Scots as much as open hostilities.‡

The queen-mother was speedily made acquainted with the charges which had been brought against her by the Bishop of Dunkeld, and she despatched an envoy to her brother, with copious instructions.

* Calig. B. iii. 309; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 195, 190.

† The following extract, from a letter addressed to the English king by Wolsey, contains a full exposition of the base and insidious policy of Henry and his ministers towards Scotland. "Nevertheless, to cause him (Daere) not only to take a more vigilant eye to the demeanour of the Scots, as well within Scotland as without, and to be more diligent hereafter in writing to your grace and me, but also favourably to entertain the Homes, and other rebels, after his accustomed manner, so that they may contrive the division and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said Duke of Albany may at his coming hither be put in danger; and though some money be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length, wherein I have amply instructed the said Lord Daere."—State Papers, p. 91.

‡ Calig. B. vi. 205, 206; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 192.

written with her own hand, in which she flatly contradicted the calumnious representations of her accuser. She declared that the regent's conduct to her was most respectful and liberal; that he had returned to Scotland solely in consequence of his engagements; that, if he had not come, she must have left the kingdom; and that he had in no way interfered with the custody of her son, who had been permitted by his guardians to reside with herself in the castle of Edinburgh. She entreated Henry not to lend an ear to the calumnies of an unworthy prelate, on whom she had conferred his bishopric, which she would show him she could resume, as the regent had placed the disposal of the see in her hands; and she implored her brother to return a more favourable answer than he had sent on a former occasion.*

Henry, however, had no desire for peace, and with his characteristic violence and insolence, he openly accused his sister of living in shameful

adultery with the regent; charged His impious demands. Albany with having left France in defiance of the oath of the French king to detain him in that country, and declared that he would drive him from Scotland. He despatched a herald with a severe reprimand to the queen, and at the same time offered to the Scottish estates the alternative of the immediate dismissal of Albany, or a rupture with England. To this insolent communication the Scottish parliament replied in spirited

replies of and dignified terms, repelling the Spirited reply of the Estates. charges brought against the regent, and deriding the apprehensions which Henry affected to entertain for the safety of his nephew, the king. They informed him that they had themselves invited Albany to assume the regency for the good of their king and country, and that they would never dismiss him, either at the request of his grace, or of any other sovereign prince whatever. "And if," they concluded, "because we assert our own rights we should happen to be invaded, what may we do but trust that God will espouse our just quarrel, and demean ourselves as our ancestors have done before us, who, in ancient times, were constrained to fight for the conservation of this realm, and that with good success and honour?"†

While the effect of this spirited reply by the states of Scotland to the demands of Henry was not undetermined, Angus, who had remained unnoticed and inactive on the English borders, became desirous to remove for the time to some other country, where he could mature his plans, and await the favourable moment for their execution. He prevailed on his wife to use her intercession with Albany for this end, and he was permitted to return to Scotland, from which he Angus passes into France. passed immediately into France,—the regent consenting, on his voluntary exile, to remit the sentence of treason and forfeiture which had been previously pronounced.‡

The conduct of the Scottish government meanwhile was calm and dignified. Reluctant to engage in hostilities with England, from which, however advantageous to France, no benefit could result to their own realm, they were yet constrained to prepare for war as the only safeguard against the overbearing and unscrupulous policy of Henry. The measures of that monarch fully justified the wisdom of this course. Irritated by the resolute tone of the Scottish parliament, he visited with banishment and confiscation all the French and Scots in his dominions, and ordered the latter to be driven from the country on foot, and with a white cross affixed to their upper garment. The state of his finances, and the war with France, did not permit of his sending an army Violent measures of Henry. into Scotland, but a squadron of

seven ships was despatched to the Firth of Forth, which captured several vessels, and ravaged the towns and villages along the eastern coast. The Earl of Shrewsbury also received instructions to collect the English Border force, and conduct an inroad into Scotland on the side of the Merse and Teviotdale; but, though the orders of Henry were faithfully executed, and part of the town of Kelso was given to the flames, the troops of Shrewsbury were resolutely repulsed by the Borderers, and retired into England, after sustaining considerable loss. On the news of hostilities, Albany convened a parliament at Edinburgh, and a formal declaration of war against England was agreed upon, while the War with England. whole military strength of the kingdom was summoned to meet there. In compliance with the wishes of the governor and queen-mother, the young king, now in his eleventh year, was removed to Stirling Castle, and placed under the sole charge of Lord Erskine. Albany having mustered his army, consisting of eighty thousand men, and supported by a powerful train of artillery, advanced to the Borders, and encamped at Annan, from which he penetrated into England Albany's expedition into England. as far as Carlisle. The expedition, however, was destined to terminate more speedily and peacefully than might have been anticipated from its formidable character. In conducting it, a regard to the national honour seems to have weighed chiefly with Albany and the Scottish nobles, and though the northern part of England, now rendered almost defenceless by the absence of the flower of Henry's army in France, would have fallen an easy prey to the Scots, success must have been only partial and temporary, while the advantage thus gained would have been more than counterbalanced by the manifold and serious events which must have flowed from a protracted war with England. The Scottish leaders, therefore, who remembered the wise advice of Robert Bruce, to avoid a lengthened war, and never, if possible, to risk a general engagement, were anxious for peace on honourable terms. Happily for both countries, the wishes of Henry were entirely in unison with those of the Scots. A war with Scotland, besides other hazards, must have distracted his movements in France, on

* Calig. B. vi. 208; Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.

† Rymer, vol. xiii. pp. 761, 763.

‡ Lesley, p. 117; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 201.

which he was desirous to concentrate the whole military strength of his kingdom. He deemed it prudent, therefore, to adopt in his intercourse with the Scots a manner less presumptuous and offensive, professing to be anxious only that his nephew should be placed under proper guardians; while he no longer insisted on the departure of Albany from Scotland. Instructions were accordingly transmitted to Lord Daere, to open immediate negotiations with Albany

Truce between for the conclusion of a truce, and the two countries. that able diplomatist found little difficulty in the accomplishment of his task. The queen-mother, with that fickleness which marked her attachments, had secretly deserted the cause of Albany, and begun a correspondence with the English warden, to whom she revealed the whole policy of the governor, and the general aversion which existed in the Scottish army to hostilities with England. Thus encouraged, Daere commenced and prosecuted his overtures for peace with such success, that Albany, after consenting to a truce for two months, disbanded his army and returned to the capital.*

Nothing could be more complicated or irksome than the position in which Albany was now placed. He was anxious to remain at peace; but the refusal of Henry to include France within its provisions brought the negotiations for the continuance of the truce to an abrupt termination. Many of the nobles were in the pay of England, and the remainder were so much under the influence of a factious and selfish spirit, that it was difficult to find any one to whom he could give his confidence, or whom he could intrust with the execution of his designs; while the queen-mother, with characteristic faithlessness and caprice, thwarted his plans, and betrayed all his secrets to Daere. Harassed and disheartened by the difficulties of his situation, the regent resolved to pass once more into France, for the purpose of holding a conference with Francis I., on the best method of overcoming the English faction. A council of regency was appointed, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, along with Gresolles, a French knight, in whom the regent placed great confidence; and having bound them by oath to attempt nothing against his authority,† Albany set sail for France.

His second visit to France, promising to return before the 15th of August in the following year, under the penalty of forfeiting his regency.

Henry, who pretended that the sole cause of his hostility was the presence of Albany, on learning the departure of that prince, despatched Clarendieux herald, to declare in a solemn manner that he held the war with his nephew to be unnatural, and that he was most desirous of living in peace.‡ But nearly at the same moment that he was mak-

ing these professions of good-will to the person and government of his nephew, his troops were by his orders engaged in laying waste the Scottish Borders. The Earl of Surrey was appointed lieutenant-general against the Scots, and at the head of ten thousand men, broke into the Merse and Teviotdale, ravaged the whole country, and reduced its places of strength, and afterwards took and burnt to the ground the town of Jedburgh, which, according to his own account, contained at this time twice as many houses as Berwick, and was defended by six strong towers. Even its ancient and beautiful monastery was not spared in this ruthless invasion. The English, however, suffered severely from the incessant attacks of the Scottish Borderers who hung upon their march, and shewed themselves, according to Surrey, "the boldest men and the hottest that he ever saw in any nation."* A detachment under Daere, after a fierce struggle, reduced the castle of Ferniehirst, and took prisoner its owner, a celebrated Border chief, named Andrew Kerr. The town of Kelso was also given to the flames, and many of the adjacent villages were levelled with the ground. While the English lay in the neighbourhood of Jedburgh, the horses of the cavalry broke loose one night, and running terror-stricken about the camp, trampled down many of the soldiers, and spread a universal alarm. Amidst the confusion that ensued, it was supposed that the enemy were assaulting the encampment, and many guns and arrows were discharged, which killed and wounded great numbers of the horses, while several hundreds dispersed themselves over the country, and were captured by the Scots. "I think there is lost above eight hundred horses," says Lord Surrey. "I dare not write," he adds, "the wonders Lord Daere and all his company do say they saw that night, of sprites and fearful sights; and universally all their company say plainly that the devil was among them that night six times."†

Meanwhile the queen-mother was busily engaged in carrying on her intrigues to advance her own interests at the expense of the welfare of the country, and to put an end to the regency of Albany, by causing the young king to assume the reins of government, with the expectation that the management of public affairs would in this way virtually fall into her own hands.‡ The scheme, however, was disconcerted by the unexpected return of Albany, who determined to make a last effort to maintain the independence of the kingdom, in the hope that the recent cruel aggression of England would have roused the patriotic feelings of the Scottish nobles, and induced them to lay aside for the time at least, their mutual jealousies and contentions, and to unite in repelling the assaults of the common foe. He brought with him a fleet of eighty-seven small

* Lesley, p. 123.

† Calig. B. ii. 327.

‡ Ibid. B. vi. 204; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 212.

* Surrey to Wolsey, 27th September, Calig. B. ii. 24 Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 219.

† Ellis's Hist. Letters, vol. i. p. 217, First Series.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 216.

vessels, and a force of four thousand foot, five hundred men-at-arms, a thousand haghbutteers, six hundred horse, and a large train of artillery, with an extensive supply of provisions and wine.* It was reported that, for the purpose of disturbing the English government, he was to be followed by Richard de la Pole, who laid claim to the crown of England, as a descendant of the sister of Edward the Fourth.†

Albany, on his arrival in Scotland, found that his affairs had not improved during his absence. The queen dowager had become thoroughly devoted to England; and the nobles, though prepared to defend the country from English invasion, were not disposed to undertake a war of aggression, more especially as Surrey stood ready with a large force to repel attack, and make reprisals on the Scottish Border, which he threatened to reduce to a desert, unfit for the habitation of men.‡ Even the French auxiliaries, from whose discipline and superior equipments much was expected, excited the dislike of a people proverbially jealous of foreigners, while their maintenance was regarded as a heavy burden on the impoverished country. Albany, however, calculated, not without reason, on the venality of the aristocracy; and by a profuse use of French gold, succeeded in silencing opposition, and producing the appearance of hearty co-operation in his enterprise. Determined, therefore, with all speed to

bring the foreign troops into service, he procured the consent of parliament to a proclamation, requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to assemble within two miles of Edinburgh on the 20th of October, and with provisions for twenty days. Meanwhile he convened the leading peers at Glasgow, and after an imposing display of the foreign soldiers and artillery, made a powerful appeal to their patriotism, urging them by the memory of Flodden and the injuries which England had inflicted on Scotland, manfully to maintain the freedom and independence of their country. The venal and time-serving nobles fell on their knees, protesting devotion to his cause; § whilst he was still farther encouraged by promises of aid from Arran, Huntley, Lennox, and Argyle, the governors of the midland, northern, and western districts of the kingdom. These promises were not fulfilled, but an army of forty thousand men mustered on the day appointed on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh, and with this force Albany proceeded to the Borders. His march was slow, owing to the state of the roads, along which the heavy artillery was dragged with great labour, and the difficulty in securing from the inhabitants on the line the necessary assistance in transporting the baggage. To add to his perplexities, the native por-

tion of the army and its leaders broke out at last into open insubordination. Hatred of the foreign mercenaries and news of the advance of Surrey with a large army, gave strength to the discontent with which many had engaged in the enterprise; and on reaching Melrose, where the Tweed was crossed by a wooden bridge, in spite of the commands and entreaties of Albany, they openly refused to proceed farther. A part of the van were ultimately induced to cross the bridge, but even these in so long time rejoined their recusant countrymen on the other side. Finding it in vain to struggle against the obstinacy and treachery of his men, Albany encamped a little farther down on the left bank of the Tweed, and began the siege of Wark castle, which lay on the right side; having previously sent across a party of the French cavalry, who wasted with fire and sword the surrounding country. The celebrated historian, Buchanan, who was present in this expedition, states that Wark castle consisted of a strongly fortified and very high tower placed within an inner court, and surrounded by a double wall. The outer wall inclosed a large space, within which the country people, in time of war, were accustomed to seek refuge with their cattle and goods. The inner comprehended a much narrower portion, and was defended by a ditch and flanking towers.* The foreign auxiliaries, who alone were engaged in the siege, behaved with great spirit, and speedily stormed the outer court of the castle, but they were at last expelled by the smoke of the burning barns and straw, to which the garrison had set fire. The inner wall, which was more strongly fortified, was next exposed to a cannonade for two days, and a breach having been at last made, the assailants endeavoured to force their way; but the deadly discharges of shot and other weapons poured on them from the ramparts and windows of the great tower checked their advance, and compelled them, on the approach of night, to retire, leaving their dead beneath the walls of the castle. On the following day, as the Tweed, flooded by the snow and rain, threatened to cut off their return, they abandoned the siege, and hastily recrossing the river, joined the main body of the army.†

Albany, convinced at last that farther attempts would only prove ruinous, as Surrey was rapidly advancing with an army of forty-six thousand men, removed his camp to Eccles, a monastery six miles distant from Wark. To have awaited the advance of the enemy with troops which refused to fight, must have exposed him to inevitable defeat, and, therefore, amid a heavy fall of snow, his discontented and disheartened army was suffered to disband itself. Whatever opinion may be formed of the military talents of Albany, the result of this disgraceful expedition is to be attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to the faithlessness and pusillanimity of the Scottish nobles; nor does it seem possible, that in the circumstances, any general, however

* Lord Ogle to Surrey, Sept. 1523, Calig. B. iii. 58; Margaret to Surrey, B. vi. 380.

† State Papers, p. 122—125.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 217.

§ Ibid. p. 224; Sir William Eure to Surrey, Calig. B. iii. 57.

* Buchanan's Hist. of Scotland, book xiv. chap. xxii.

† Ibid.; Lesley, p. 125.

skilful and brave, could have prevented the unfortunate issue. The English general, who with a numerous and gallant army had hitherto remained on the defensive, to gratify the impatience of his troops for action, hastened, on the news of the siege of Wark, to give battle to Albany. His enemy, however, had disappeared; and as the heavy fall of snow amid which the Scots had dispersed, impeded his march and rendered farther operations almost impracticable, he disbanded his forces, after having honourably provided pay for their past services. His conduct elicited the warm approbation of Henry VIII., who could not fail to be gratified by a result which, besides strengthening the English interest in Scotland, had been accomplished without loss to his own kingdom. Surrey boasted that, while the damage done by Albany to England did not exceed ten pounds, that sustained by Scotland could not be repaired in seven years.*

Albany, on his return to Edinburgh, found himself subjected to increased mortifications. At a meeting of parliament held on the 17th of November, he accused the nobles of having basely deserted him: while they not only reeriminated by charging him with having squandered the public treasure, but insisted on the immediate embarkation of the foreign mercenaries, whose maintenance they represented as burdensome to the country. With this demand he was forced to comply, and notwithstanding the inclement season of the year, the French troops were compelled to embark, but the transports were unfortunately wrecked on the Western Islands, with the loss of the greater part of their crews.† Disgusted and mortified by these proceedings, and hopeless of securing either stability to the government or tranquillity to the country, Albany requested permission to retire once more to France, with the secret determination, it is believed, of never returning to Scotland. He veiled his purpose, however, under the pretext of consulting Francis I., and obtaining from him the assistance of money and troops to carry on the war with England. His request was complied with, on the condition that if he did not return on the 31st of August, his authority as regent and the league with France should both terminate.‡ It was also agreed, though not without strong opposition on the part of the queen-mother, that in the mean time the young king should remain at Stirling, under the charge of Cassilis, Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, who were to reside with him in turn for three months. Margaret received permission to visit her son, but her stay was not to exceed two or three days at a time, and her attendance on such occasions was limited to her ladies and usual retinue. Having completed his arrangements by appointing Gresolles to the important office of treasurer, and committing the chief direction of the government during his absence to a council composed of the chancellor, the Bishop of Aber-

deen, and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, Albany left Scotland, to which he was never to return.*

The departure of Albany was followed, in the beginning of 1524, by the death of the Earl of Huntley, one of his most powerful adherents, and the leadership of his party fell into the hands of Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and chanceller of the kingdom. Nor did this Revolution in prelate want either the spirit to the government.

undertake, or the ability to achieve, what might be done by one man to uphold the sinking cause. Promptly availing himself of his opportunity, he seized the reins of government, and for a few months maintained his position in the chief administrative authority. But it was evident to the queen that the losses sustained by her opponents through the flight of the regent, and the demise of Huntley, had now placed her in circumstances to acquire, by a vigorous movement, the long disputed supremacy. There was indeed a third party, headed by the Earl of Arran, whose royal descent and large possessions would have made him a formidable rival, if the defects of his character had not counterbalanced these advantages. Margaret succeeded in persuading him to unite his interest to hers; and having gained over others of the principal barons, she felt herself sufficiently strong

to execute a design which she had of late cherished as the most probable means of securing her triumph. On the 25th of July she suddenly left Stirling with her son, and entering the capital, showed him to the townsmen as their legitimate sovereign, now about to administer in his own name the affairs of his divided and disordered kingdom. James had not yet reached his thirteenth year, but his energy of character had been early developed, and his educational accomplishments were much in advance of his age. His manly temper, his skill in martial exercises,† and the proficiency which he had made in graver studies under his learned preceptor, Gawin Dunbar—enhanced as these were by the prestige of royalty—had already won the esteem and awakened the hopes of the nation, which may well be supposed to have been weary of the protracted and calamitous conflicts for the regency. Accordingly he was welcomed to Edinburgh with enthusiasm; through admiring and applauding crowds of the citizens, he passed with the queen-mother and a train of the nobility, to his ancestral palace of Holyrood; and there, in solemn council, he was declared of age, issued proclamations in his own name, announcing his assumption of the government and received the homage of the assembled peers and prelates. The only recusants were Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen, who vainly

* Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 247; Lesley, p. 128.

† Dr. Magnus, the English envoy, writing to Cardinal Wolsey for an ornamental buckler as a present to the young king, says expressly that it must be of the full size for a man, as James had no juvenile weapons, even his sword being a yard long from the hilt, and yet he could draw it as well as any man.—Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 239.

* Surrey to Henry VIII., Calig. B. vi. 306.

† Calig. B. i. 5; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 231.

‡ Ellis's Letters, vol. i. p. 247.

reminded the nobles of their previous pledges to Albany, and argued the imprudence of plunging their monarch, at so early an age, into all the cares and temptations of royalty. In the course of the following month also, a bond was subscribed by a number of the lords spiritual and temporal, formally cancelling their previous engagement with Albany, and promising that they "shall in all tymes cumin be leil, true, and obedient servands to our said souveraine lord, the kyng's grace." This agreement bears the signatures of the Earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, Murray, Morton, and Cassilis; Lords Erskine, Fleming, Borthwick, Livingstone, and Evandale; the Bishops of Ross and Galloway; the Abbots of Holyrood, Scone, Paisley, and Jedburgh; the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and many of the gentry.* Nor did any serious token of hostility arise elsewhere in the kingdom, although the partizans of the regent stood aloof, and regarded this change in the government with an unfriendly eye.

The prospect of a more settled administration, opened by this bloodless revolution, was speedily clouded. A new complication of the national affairs arose on the side of England, where the tidings of the queen's rapid movement and success,

threw some uncertainty over the projects of her brother and Cardinal Wolsey. Although the step which she had taken was entirely in accordance with the policy previously concerted betwixt her and them, they looked upon the manner of its execution as suspicious. She had hurried on the issue without warning Henry of her intention, or waiting for the subsidies of men and money which he had promised; nor was there any reference to the English interests in the acts of council which established the new regime. These circumstances, coupled with Margaret's well-known aversion to Wolsey, made it doubtful that she would be found as subservient to influence from the English court, as had been expected. Nor was the fear altogether groundless. The queen, with all her leanings towards her brother and her native land, had no desire to see her adopted country and her son in a degrading attitude of subjection. She seems to have gladly carried out her design by her own resources, thus placing matters on a basis the most favourable to her own and her son's independent authority. She could not venture, however, and indeed did not desire, anything like a rupture with her English allies. In the message which she sent to announce her success, she still entreated the promised assistance, and ere long received, with obvious satisfaction, a considerable sum of English money, and a company of two hundred soldiers, who were to form the body-guard of the newly inaugurated king. Wolsey's plans had contemplated a much more prominent interposition of his master's influence in the Scottish affairs; and the Duke of Norfolk was lying with a large force upon the Borders, waiting the signal to

cross and assume the merit of raising James to a power which he was expected to make subservient to his uncle's ambition. The Earl of Angus also had been recently invited from the continent to the English court, with the view of being employed in his native land to promote the interests of Henry, who counted upon him as a cordial and effective partizan. The queen's rapid and independent action disconcerted these projects. Wolsey saw reason for mistrust, which was soon greatly strengthened, by her peremptory refusal to sanction the proposed return of her husband Angus, by her opening new negotiations with the French monarch, and by her setting at liberty Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen, whom she had at first committed to prison in consequence of their opposition to her measures. There was a pause accordingly in the Cardinal's movements, and a truce of a few months was concluded at Berwick, between Norfolk and the Earl of Cassilis, the commissioners of the two kingdoms.

If Margaret had now continued to preserve her reputation and her popularity, it might not have been difficult for her to establish her independence and confirm her power. But she had become enamoured of Henry Stewart, the second son of Lord Evandale. Her unconcealed partiality for this young nobleman, and the arrogance which he assumed on the ground of her favour, awakened general dissatisfaction. Several of the barons withdrew from her court in displeasure; and even Arran, her principal supporter, began to consult his own interests in preference to her cause. Thus weakened, she appeared to present to her brother and Wolsey a more pliable instrument for the execution of their ambitious designs. Accordingly, the ambassadors, Dr. Magnus, Henry's chaplain, and Roger Ratcliffe, his gentleman usher of the privy chamber, were directed to repair without delay to her court, and to endeavour to effect her reconciliation with her husband—the presence of Angus in Scotland being still deemed of primary importance to the English interests there. But the queen's former attachment to him had been replaced by so strong an aversion, that no argument could induce her to consent to his recall. Her opposition, however, did not prevent the return of Angus to Scotland: in the beginning of November he crossed the Borders, and took up his residence at Coldingham Priory, re-entering his native country after a two years' exile, to make it once more the scene of bitter contentions for the regency.

The reappearance of the earl did not threaten at first any serious disturbance of the queen's authority. If the step taken by him had the sanction of the English court, that was kept secret; professedly he was escaping from restraint imposed upon him at Newcastle by the orders of Henry. Nor did he seek on his arrival to surround himself with the state and power, which the prestige of his name and his family influence still placed within his

* O. Cal. B. vi. 378; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 473.

reach. His retinue did not exceed forty armed men, to which number all the barons and gentry were restricted by a recent order of council; and he wrote to Margaret in submissive and conciliatory terms, entreating her to grant him a personal conference, professing his readiness to make amends for any offences which he had committed, and declaring that he had no other desire than to be of service to her and his sovereign. No notice was taken of this communication; and when the parliament met in the middle of the month, it proceeded to the transaction of business without any overt reference to the new element of discord. The re-

Abrogation of gency of Albany was formally Albany's regency. abrogated, and a new administrative council was formed, consisting of the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Earls of Arran and Argyle, with the queen as president.* These two measures met with no opposition; but the disturbed state of the realm, and the relations with England, presented grave questions, in regard to which it was more difficult to effect unanimity.

The sittings were adjourned from day to day, and the debate was still pending, when an incident occurred which rudely interrupted the delibera-

Attack of Angus tions of the parliament, and com- upon the capital. pletely changed the aspect of affairs. Early on the morning of the 23rd of November, several hours before sunrise, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were roused from their slumbers by the sound of war in their streets. The Earls of Angus and Lennox, with the Master of Kilmaurs and the Laird of Buccleuch, had scaled the walls, opened the gates, and penetrated to the Cross with a body of their partizans, to the number of four or five hundred. Their declared intentions were pacific; they offered no further violence to property or life; and announced that they only sought to have the king's person removed from the custody of individuals who were compassing the injury of the state. But a proclamation of peaceful designs from men who had forced an entrance into the capital with their drawn weapons in their hands, could not be expected to carry much weight. The fire of the castle was directed against them; and the queen, who was at Holyrood, having hastily collected a force of five hundred men, was preparing to drive them from the city at the point of the sword, when the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, accompanied by Dr. Magnus, hurried to the palace to entreat that she would stop the cannonade from the castle, which was doing much more injury to the citizens than to the intruders. They found her in a state of angry excitement. She imperiously ordered the English ambassador home to his lodging, suspecting him to be a party to the outrage; and for a little, there appeared no hope of preventing a fierce and sanguinary conflict between the two factions in the narrow streets of the metropolis. More moderate counsels, however, at length prevailed. A proclamation in the king's name, commanding the imme-

diated departure of Angus and his adherents, had the desired effect. They withdrew in the direction of Dalkeith; and ere the late dawn of the winter's day called the merchants and craftsmen to their booths in the Lawn-market, the queen had passed up the street with her son, by torchlight, to the castle, and shut herself up in the fortress to devise further measures for the promotion of her security and influence. She was attended by no individuals of note, except the secretary of the late regent, and the Earl of Murray, another well-known partizan of the French faction.*

Meanwhile the agents of Wolsey had been busily employed. With English spies, Intrigues of the even in the palace of James, and English agents. many of the most illustrious persons at his court in receipt of English pensions, it was not wonderful that considerable success had attended their intrigues. Dr. Magnus, writing to the Cardinal on the 10th of November, had been able to report, that Arran was no longer opposed to a reconciliation with Angus; that Albany's brother, the Commandator of Seone and Inchaffray, with Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, the Earl of Cassilis, and the learned Adam Otterburn, were decidedly favourable to the alliance with England; and that even the Chancellor Beaton now listened to overtures from the same quarter. In this state of matters, the attack on Edinburgh was by no means so rash a measure as the small number of the assailants and their speedy retreat might seem to indicate. There had been grounds for expecting that many of those who had not yet broken off from the queen's party, would embrace that opportunity of declaring themselves, and joining the ranks of her opponents. Nor did the failure of the attempt to get possession of the capital materially hinder the subsequent progress of the confederates. The queen's retreat into the castle separated her in a great measure from the nobles and gentry, who had still continued to attend her councils. Her seclusion there, with no persons of influence in attendance upon her, save those whose leanings to the French court were notorious, threw new suspicion over her purposes, and put new arguments against her into the mouths of her rivals. In a few days Beaton and Angus entered Coalition of Angus and Beaton. to give them a short and easy path to the contested supremacy. Alarmed by this unexpected and critical turn of affairs, Margaret was compelled to make another appeal to her brother. In her own name, and in that of Arran, who had not yet avowedly separated himself from her interests, she despatched the Earl of Cassilis, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, on an embassy to London: their instructions were, to remonstrate with Henry on account of her husband's return, to excuse her apparent alienation from the designs of the English court, on the ground of the jealousy of the Scottish people with regard to their country's independence,

* Keith's Hist., App. p. 0.

* Magnus to Wolsey, Calig. B. i. 121.

and to propose a permanent alliance between the two kingdoms, through the marriage of James to the Princess Mary. At the same time a herald was sent to France, for the purpose of announcing that the regency of Albany must be considered legally at an end, requiring the restitution of the military stores in his castle of Dunbar, and urging on the consideration of the French monarch the losses which the trade of Scotland had suffered on his account. This was intended to prove the sincerity of her professed desire for a reconciliation with Henry. But the suspicions which her previous proceedings had awakened, were too strong to be easily lulled to rest; and the close of the year found her ambassadors still in London, occupied with tedious and difficult negotiations, which gave little promise of terminating in any satisfactory result.

The beginning of the next year (1525), saw the balance inclining more and more decidedly against the queen. Angus and Beaton, backed by an influential party of the other peers and prelates, had the country open to them, and the actual form of the government in their hands. Establishing their head quarters at St. Andrews, they proceeded to demand, in peremptory terms, the removal of the king from under the control of his mother, and the appointment of a new council of regency by the parliament. Margaret, on her side, could not venture beyond the walls of Edinburgh castle; the possession of this fortress, and her hold on the royal person, being the only elements of strength

that remained to her. But her ^{Intrigues of the queen.} proud and energetic spirit was not yet broken; and she still maintained a high tone of resolution and independence in the measures which she adopted. The Earl of Cassilis, who had returned from England for further instructions, was sent back to propose, that supplies of money and ammunition should be forwarded to her without delay, and that the Duke of Norfolk should create a diversion in her favour, by advancing on the Scottish frontier with an army of ten thousand men. With these demands she coupled a declaration, that unless Henry would pledge himself to give his daughter in marriage to James, as soon as the princess attained the age of fourteen, the negotiations with France could not be finally abandoned. Margaret also attempted, through Barton, the Comptroller of her household, to sow dissension among the partisans of Angus and Beaton; and on the failure of this attempt, she did not hesitate to issue a violent proclamation against them in the king's name. Threatening death and confiscation on all who should be found supporting their pretensions, and singling out the chancellor, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Prior of St. Andrews, it specially charged them with treasonable practices, in withdrawing from the councils of their sovereign, and instigating measures subversive of his authority.*

The deliberations which ensued at St. Andrews

* Cal. B. vii. 75.

were anxious and protracted. As Angus was pledged to the policy of England, and the English ambassador was still exerting himself to bring about a reconciliation, the confederates hesitated to take any step which might widen the breach betwixt them and the queen. At length, after a discussion which lasted twenty days, they ventured to publish a strong declaration, in which they condemned the continued seclusion of the king in Edinburgh castle, summoned a meeting of the three Estates at Stirling, on the sixth of February, to settle the question of the regency, and announced that in the mean time no edict, though bearing the royal name, should be received as legal or obeyed as authoritative.* They also wrote to the English monarch, justifying their procedure, and entreating his pardon if it did not meet with his approval. Thus defied at home, and disappointed of assistance from abroad, Margaret did not yet permit her courage and hope to give way. As a last resource she determined to try an appeal to arms, and for this purpose entreated the barons who still lingered around her, to raise their retainers, and take the field on her behalf. To this, however, they would not consent, unless the young king accompanied them—a condition to which Margaret dared not agree, fearing to lose the advantage connected with the custody of her son. Accordingly she was at last compelled to yield. Negotiations being opened under the auspices of Dr. Magnus, it was mutually agreed that James should be removed to the palace of Holyrood, and placed under the guardianship of a council elected by parliament, and presided over by the queen; in whose favour it was also stipulated, that Angus should renounce his marital rights over her person and property, and that all benefices under the value of a thousand pounds should continue at her disposal. It was with strong but concealed repugnance that she subscribed this contract, for she could not fail to see that it was a virtual surrender of the power for which she had so long and resolutely struggled. There can be no doubt, that if she had afterwards obtained any favourable opportunity of casting off the restraints which this treaty imposed upon her, she would have done so without hesitation, regardless of the breach of faith which such a step involved. In fact, she had hardly completed the ratification of the compromise, when she sent off a trusty retainer to France, with letters to Albany, in which she addressed him as regent, entreated his assistance in procuring her divorce, and declared her desire to obtain the aid of the French court in an attempt to regain her position. But France was no longer able to succour her: within a few days from the date of her misdeed he was defeated and made prisoner at Pavia. Nor did she escape the punishment which her treachery deserved. Her letters, being intercepted and sent to England, extinguished the last lingering embers of her hope in that quarter: and thenceforward, though she con-

* Cal. B. vi. 394.

tinued for a little longer in nominal authority at her son's court, her influence was gone, and it scarcely needed her unseemly marriage, in the following year, with her paramour, Henry Stewart, to complete the ruin of her power and prospects.

Meanwhile, the foolish and wicked conduct of the queen-mother, in conferring the supreme power upon a boy, only in the thirteenth year of his age, withdrawing him from his studies, and exposing him to all the flatteries and vices of the court, was exercising the most injurious influence on the character of the youthful monarch. His early educa-

tion had been entrusted to the care of the famous Sir David Lindsay, who has given a most graphic and deeply interesting description of the manner in which he moulded the character of the prince, and instructed him in the knowledge of all liberal and manly accomplishments. Sir David was appointed gentleman-usher to the royal infant on the day of his birth, and was for many years his constant companion and playmate. "On no man of his age," it has been justly observed, "could the superintendence of moments of such susceptibility have more providentially devolved. Lindsay was a man of elegant taste and grand ideas, as great a philosopher as he was a poet, a detester of abuses and prejudices, and the secret projector of some of the most important improvements which soon after took place in the condition of his country."* The duties of his important office were discharged by the accomplished and highly-gifted tutor with the most scrupulous fidelity and devoted affection, and he seems to have scarcely ever quitted the presence of his ward either by day or night. Few passages in historical biography are more interesting than those in which

Sir David recalls to his sovereign's recollection the amusements with which he had entertained his infancy, and shows how gently and fondly he applied all the resources of his richly endowed intellect to amuse and instruct the royal babe, carefully exercising his faculties both of body and mind, gradually awakening his energies, and adapting his information to the tender years of the prince, and acting as 'sewer, cup-bearer, carver, purse-master, usher, and chief officer of his bedchamber.'

"When thou was young I bore thee in my arm
Full tenderly till thou begouth to gang; †
And in thy bed oft happed † thee full warm,
With late in hand, syne softly to thee sang;
Some time in dancing fierelie † I flang,
And sometimes playing farces on the floor,
And sometimes on mine office taking cure.

"And sometimes like ane fiend transfigurate,
And sometimes like the grisly ghost of Guy; †
In divers forms oft times disfigurate,
And sometimes disguised full pleasantly;
So since thy birth I have continually
Been occupied, and ay to thy pleasure."

* Lives of Scottish Poets. Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 212.

† Began to walk. ‡ Covered. § Strangely, merrily.
¶ The celebrated known 'Sir Guy' of romance.

Again, in his 'Complaint to the King's Grace, after telling his sovereign that he 'lay nightly by his check,' he reminds him—

"How as ane chapman * bears his pack,
I bore thy grace upon my back,
And sometimes stridlings † on my neck,
Dancing with mony bend and beck. ‡
The first syllabis § that thou didst mure, ¶
Was 'Pa Da Lyn,' ¶ upon the lute.
Then played I twenty springs perquir, **
Whilk was great pleasure for to hear.
Fra play thou let me never rest,
But Gynkertoun †† thou loved ay best."

After awakening the youthful prince's natural love of music by the 'springs' he played on his lute, Sir David, who had a memory delightfully stored with ancient lore, kindled the imagination of his pupil by the recitation of historical tales, ballad stories, and marvellous traditions, and made him acquainted with the adventures of Hector, Alexander, Hercules, Samson, King Arthur, and 'gentle Julius;' and when history and tradition failed, he

"Feigned many a fable,
Of Troilus, the sorrow and the joy,
And sieges all of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy."

At one time he would tell him

"Of leal lovers, stories amiable; †"

at another time he would recite to him the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, Bede, and Merlin, or the popular marvels of 'Red Etin' †† and the 'Gyir Carline.' †††

In the midst of these recreations, however, Sir David never lost sight of the grand object to which all his efforts were directed, the improvement of the young prince's character, so as to fit him for the duties of his exalted station.

"Wherefore since thou hast sic capacitie,
To learn to play sa pleasantly and sing,
Ride horse, rin spears with great audacitie,
Shoot with hand-bow, cross-bow, and culvering,
Among the rest, sir, learn to be ane king!
Kythe ¶¶ on that craft thy pregnant fresh ingyne, ¶¶
Granted to thee by influence divine.

"And since the definition of ane king,
Is for to have of people governance,
Address thee first, above all other thing,
To put thy body to sic ordinance,
That thy virtue thy honour may advance;
For how should princes govern great regions,
That cannot duly guide their own persons?"

"And if thy grace would live right pleasantie,
Call thy council, and cast on them the cure;
Their just decreits defend and fortifie—
But *** guid counsèl may na prince lang endure;
Work with counsèl then shall thy work be sure;
Chuse thy council of the maist sapient,
Without regard to blude, riches, or rent."

* Pedler. † Astride. ‡ Bow. § Syllables.

¶ Articulate. ¶¶ 'Play, Davie Lindsay.'

** Twenty tunes off hand—by heart. Fr. *par cœur*.

†† The name of an ancient Scottish tune.

††† A popular story of a giant with three heads.

¶¶ The Hecate or mother witch of the Scottish peasantry.

¶¶ Show.

¶¶ Genius.

*** Without.

"Among all other pastime and pleasour,
Now in thy adolescent years ying,
Wald thou ilk day study but half an hour
The regiment of princely governing,
To thy peopel it were a pleasant thing;
There might thou find thy awin vocatioun,
How thou should use thy sceptre, sword, and crown.

"The chronicles to know I thee exhort,
Whilk may be mirror to thy majesty;
There shall thou find baith guid and evil report,
Of every prince after his quality;
Though they be dead their deeds shall not die;
Trust weill thou shalt be styled in that storie,
As thou deserves, put in memorie.

"Request that Roy, whilk rent was on the rude,†
Thee to defend from deeds of defame,
That no poet report of thee but guid;
For princes' days endures but as ane dream.
Since first King Fergus bure ane diadem,
Thou art the last king of five score and five,
And all are dead, and nane but thou alive.

"Of whose number fifty and five were slain;
And most part in their awin misgovernance;
Wherefore I thee besech, my soverane,
Consider of their lives the circumstance;
And when thou knows the cause of their mischance,
Of virtue then exalt thy sails on hie,
Trusting to 'chaip‡ that fatal destiny.

"Treat ilk true baron as he were thy brother,
Whilk maun at need thee, and thy realm defend;
When suddenly ane doth oppress another,
Let justice mixt with mercy them amend;
Have thou their hearts, thou hast enugh to spend;
And be the contrair, thou'rt but king of bane,§
What time thine heiris || hearts been from thee gane.¶

"And finally remember thou maun die,
And suddenly pass off this mortal see,
Thou art not siche ** of thy life twa hours—
Since from that sentence there is nane may flee,
King, queen, nor knight of low estate, nor lie,
But all maun thole of bitter death the showers—++
Where are they gone, their papas and emperours?
Are they not dead?—So shall it fare of thee!""‡‡

The skilful training of this wise and affectionate
Progress made governor seems to have exerted
by James in his the most beneficial influence on the
education. susceptible mind of his royal pupil;
and we learn from the testimony of Dr. Magnus
and Roger Ratcliffe, the English ambassadors, that
even at this early period James excelled in all the
athletic and knightly exercises of the age. In a
letter to Wolsey, dated Edinburgh, 15th Novem-
ber, 1521, there is the following interesting descrip-
tion of the amusements of the princely youth:—
"The queen's said grace had us forth for solace

(recreation) with the king's grace here at Leith,
and in the fields, and to see him stir his horses, and
run with a spear, among his lords and servants, at
a glove. Also, by the queen's procuring, we have
seen his said grace use himself pleasantly both
in singing and dancing, and showing familiarity
among his lords. All which, his princely acts and
doings, be so excellent for his age (not yet thirteen
till Easter next), that in our opinion it is not pos-
sible they should be amended. And much more to
our comfort it is to see that in personage, favour,
and countenance, and in all other his proceedings,
his grace resembleth very much the king's high-
ness (Henry VIII.) our master. And besides all
this his said grace hath, with most loving counte-
nance, showed unto us that much it pleased his
grace to hear of the good manners of England, and
much it displeaseth to see his subjects exercise the
fashions and manners of France." His mother,
with her characteristic recklessness—It is interrupted
ness and selfishness, did not hesi- by his mother.

tate to interrupt, for her own purposes, a course of
training so well calculated to make her son a wise
and great sovereign. During her residence in
England she strove to irritate his fiery and im-
petuous temperament by taunts that he was treated
as an infant, and held in a state of degrading
bondage, in order to induce him to clope with her
from the toils and tasks of the school into the
liberty of his uncle's court, which she depicted in
captivating terms. As might have been expected,
such representations produced a most injurious
effect on the ardent and wilful disposition of the
prince, then in his eleventh year. On one of his
attendants resisting his attempts to break his cap-
tivity, as his mother thought proper to term his
educational restraint, the royal boy became furious
with passion, and struck him through the arm with
his dagger; and soon after this he threatened to
stab the porter, 'because the man would not open
the gates of Stirling castle at his order.*' In the
following year, as we have seen, the intrigues of
the queen were at length successful; the young
prince was taken

'Fra the schools,
Where he, under obedience,
Was learning virtue and science,

and put at the head of the government, in order
that his mother and her faction might misgovern
the kingdom in his name. His wise and virtuous
governor, Lindsay, along with Bellenden, the
learned translator of Boece, and the other personal
attendants of the prince, were dismissed, and their
places supplied with base sycophants and flatterers,
who neglected his education, and pandered to his
passions, in order that he might the more readily
yield himself to their guidance. Under the pre-
tence of providing for the security of the king's
person, the queen surrounded him with a guard of
two hundred men-at-arms, who were paid by

* State Papers, vol. iv. p. 4. Lives of the Queens of Scot-
land, vol. i. p. 178.

* Young. † The King who rent was on the Cross.

‡ Escape. Fr. *échapper*.

§ That is, King of the Bean in the amusements of Twelfth-
day, the Feast of Epiphany.

|| Lords.

¶ The complaint of the Papingo. Works of Sir David
Lindsay, pp. 300—303.

** Sure.

++ 'But all must undergo the throes of bitter death.'

‡‡ Exhortation to 'The King's Grace' at the conclusion
of the 'Dream.' Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 250. "Sir
David little thought," says Lord Lindsay, "when writing
these noble stanzas, that he himself was to be one of the
little company who attended the dying prince at Falkland,
and closed his eyes—dying of a broken heart, through ne-
glect of his father's example and Sir David's precepts, at
the early age of thirty-one." Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i.
p. 216.

Henry, and, like the Scottish archer-guard of the French monarchs, were, for the most part, the younger sons of noble families. The temptations

The evil results to which the youthful prince was of her policy. exposed from the companionship of these licentious military courtiers, may be learned from the following lively picture, drawn by Sir David Lindsay, in his poem entitled 'The Complaint':—

"Sir, some would say, your majestie
Shall now go to your liberty;
Ye shall by no man be coaretit,*
Nor to the school no more subjected;
We think them very natural fools
That learn o'ermeikle in the schools:
Sir, ye must learn to run a spear,
And guide you like a man of war;
For we shall put such men about you,
That all the world and more shall doubt you.
Then to his grace they put a guard,
Which hastily got their reward:
Each man after their quality.
They did solist his majesty,
Some made him revel at the racket,
Some barlit him to the hurly-hacket,†
And some, to show their courtly corsis,‡
Would ride to Leith, and run their horses,
And wichtly wallop § over the sands;
They neither spared spurs nor wands,
Casting galmondis || with bends and becks,
For wantonness some broke their necks:
There was no play, but cards and dice,
And aye Sir Flattery bore the prize."

The poet then proceeds to depict in still darker colours the proceedings of these gentlemen of the body-guard whom Queen Margaret had placed about her son.

"Methought it was a piteous thing,
To see that fair, young, tender king,
Of whom thir gallants stood nane awe,
To play with him, pluck at the crow.¶
They became rich, I you assure,
But ay, the prince remained poor;
There was few of that garnison **
That learned him ane good lesson;
But, some to crack, and some to clatter,
Some played the fool, and some did flatter.
Quoth ane, I know ane maid in Fyfe,
Ane of the lustiest †† wantoun lasses,
Whereto, sir, be Goddis blude, she passes.
Hold thy tongue, brother, quoth another;
I know ane fairer by fifteen futher.‡‡
Sir, when ye please to Lithgow pass,
There shall ye see ane lustie lass;
Now trittel, trartil, trow low,§§
Quoth the third man, thou dost but mow,|||
When his grace comes to fair Stirling,
There shall he see ane day's darling."¶¶

We cannot wonder at the burning indignation with which Sir David anathematizes the folly

* Subjected—restrained.

† A school-boy sport, which consists in sliding down a steep bank. The scene of this courtly amusement was the 'Heading Hill' of Stirling, which lay immediately to the north of the castle walls. See ante, p. 260

‡ Courtly persons.

§ Cutting capers.

§ Stoutly gallop.

¶ Pluck at the crow: pigeon him, in modern phrase. So in Gavin Douglas's 'Palace of Honour.'

"Pluck at the crow, they cryed, deplome the ruik,
Palland my hair, with blecking face they bruik."

** Party, company.

†† Pleasing, lovely.

‡‡ 'Futher' means in general a great quantity, or number.

§§ Contemptuous, but unmeaning expressions.

||| Jest.

¶¶ 'The Complaint.' Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. pp. 261—265.

and wickedness of those who, to gain their own base ends, exposed the young prince, at a most critical period of life, to the contamination of such evil counsel and example.*

Margaret, however, did not long enjoy the power which she had hoped to gain by the premature elevation of her son to supreme authority. Her duplicity and foolish obstinacy speedily lost her the confidence of all parties in the country, while her profligate behaviour rendered her disreputable in the eyes of the people. The detection of her intrigues with France had completely alienated from her the affections of the English court; and her imperious brother was so enraged at her indecent conduct and her pertinacious opposition to the proposal of a marriage between the young king and the Princess Mary, that he addressed to her a letter, full of the most violent reproaches, which caused her to burst into tears, and exclaim, that such a letter was never written to any noblewoman.† But though she at first forbade Magnus, the English envoy, to bring her any more such letters from her brother to read,—for if she did read any more, she was right sure it would be her death,—yet, intimidated by his violent menaces, she ultimately replied in a submissive tone and with humble remonstrances. She still persisted, however, in urging forward her divorce; and so deep were her apprehensions, real or pretended, of Angus, that she refused to return to Edinburgh, where her presence was necessary, as president of the council of state, to ratify the recent truce with England, though security was offered for her safety. But it was generally whispered, "that the queen was forced to retire a while on account of the birth of her first child by Henry Stewart, with whom she had made a secret marriage." As she obstinately refused, from whatever cause, to trust her person in the capital, it was ultimately resolved that the deed should be held valid without her signature. True to her intriguing character, she now entered into a secret negotiation with Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., and the regent of the kingdom during his captivity, offering to conclude a firm alliance with France, on condition of receiving payment of a sum of money and an annual pension. But this selfish attempt shared the fate of her other schemes; for a treaty which was at this time concluded between France and England, put an end to all hopes of assistance from the French court, and extinguished for a season the French faction among the Scottish nobles.

An embassy, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Angus, with other commissioners, now proceeded to Berwick, where a truce of three years was concluded with England. The queen-mother and Arran used every effort to prevent the ratification of the treaty; and when they found their intrigues ineffectual, Arran col-

* See 'The Complaint.' Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 260.

† Letter of Magnus to Wolsey, 31st March, 1525. State Papers, p. 348.

lected a force of five thousand men, and advanced to Linlithgow, with the view of rescuing the king out of the hands of the Douglasses. But Angus, Argyle, and Lennox, taking James with them, instantly marched against the insurgents, who precipitately retreated and dispersed at the sight of the royal standard, without attempting to offer any resistance.*

The long-pending suit of divorce between the queen and her husband was at length terminated. Angus had hitherto resisted the suit, not from any affection which he entertained for his wife, but in order to obtain possession of her extensive estates; and he now withdrew his opposition, on discovering that such a project would not receive the sanction of the council. The sentence of divorce accordingly was pronounced by the chancellor, in his Consistorial court of St. Andrews, on the alleged ground that Angus had been betrothed to a noble lady before his marriage with the queen. In the course of the same year a similar decision was delivered by the pope; and no sooner was this sentence promulgated than Margaret publicly acknowledged Henry Stewart as her husband. The Lords of the Council, incensed at this presumption on the part of Stewart, in forming such an alliance without the consent of the king, sent Lord Erskine, with a small body of troops, to Stirling, where the queen resided, and Margaret was compelled to surrender her husband, who was for a short time committed to prison.†

These proceedings on the part of the queen not only disgusted the people, but produced a great change in the policy of Angus, and ultimately led to a revolution in the government. That powerful baron had hitherto laboured to accomplish a reconciliation with his wife, with the hope that, by the possession of her estates, with the custody of the young king's person, he would be enabled to engross the supreme power. The divorce of the queen, and her marriage to her paramour, disappointed this expectation, and led him to adopt a new course of policy, which removed the only obstacle that stood between him and absolute dominion. In the month of April, 1525, the king completed his fourteenth year, a period when, by the law of Scotland, his minority terminated and he was to be regarded as an independent sovereign. Angus speedily resolved to take advantage of this event, in order to obtain the custody of the king's person, and to engross the whole power of the government. On the thirteenth of June a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, and on the fifth day of its session an ordinance was passed, declaring, that as the king had now attained his full majority, the royal prerogative rested solely in his hands, and that all other authority, which had been used by any person whatever in his name, was abrogated.‡ This artful measure at

once annulled the power of the Secret Council, the only obstacle which stood between Angus and the complete control of the state. But the act of the three Estates, which entrusted the keeping of the royal person to certain peers in rotation, still remained in force; and as Angus had summoned the parliament to meet him at that precise time when the periodical guardianship of the king devolved upon himself and Beaton, now ^{Angus obtains possession of the king's person.} Archbishop of St. Andrews, the consequence of this politic manœuvre was to throw the supreme power entirely into their hands. A new Secret Council was nominated, composed exclusively of the adherents of Angus, and almost every office of trust and emolument in the kingdom was conferred on one or other of his supporters. His uncle, Archibald Douglas, of Kilspindy, was made high-treasurer; Erskine of Halton, secretary; and Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood, privy seal. The great seal was soon after taken from Beaton, and Angus himself assumed the office of chancellor, and wielded the full authority of regent, though without assuming the name.

The influence of the house of Douglas seemed now to have revived in all its ^{Tyranny of the Douglasses.} ancient strength, and once more threatened to destroy both the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people. An act of parliament was passed, granting to the leaders of this all-powerful faction a remission for all the crimes, robberies, or treasons, committed by them during the last nineteen years.* Murders, robberies, and other flagrant crimes were committed with impunity by their followers; the most sacred ecclesiastical dignities were violently seized, and bestowed upon the creatures of Angus, or sometimes even sold to the highest bidder; and so shamefully were the rules of justice perverted by the partiality of the earl for his kinsmen and vassals, that, according to an old historian, "there dared no man strive at law with a Douglas, or a Douglas's man; for if he did, he was sure to get the worst of the law-suit. And," he adds, "although Angus travelled through the country under the pretence of punishing thieves, robbers, and murderers, there were no malefactors so great as those who rode in his own company."

The government of Angus soon became as odious to the king as it was oppressive to the country, and James eagerly sought an opportunity to free himself from a yoke which he felt to be at once galling and degrading. He secretly made known his feelings and wishes to the Earl of Lennox, a wise and upright nobleman, who was now alienated from Angus on account of his tyranny and grasping ambition; and by his advice, it is believed, a plan was concocted for the deliverance of the king from the irksome restraint in which he was held. About the middle of summer Angus made a progress into Teviotdale, for the purpose of repressing some excesses which had taken place on the Borders, and carried the king with him. On

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

† Ibid.; Letter of Sir Wm. Dacre to Wolsey, 2nd April, 1525.

‡ Crawford's Officers of State, pp. 67, 68; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 276.

• Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 307.

reaching Jedburgh, the chiefs of the neighbouring clans were summoned to meet their sovereign, and enjoined to apprehend certain notorious criminals within their bounds. Before this, however, James had secretly sent an intimation to Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, a powerful Border chief, that he should raise his clan and rescue his sovereign out of the hands of the Douglasses. Buccleuch eagerly

obeyed the royal injunction, and immediately levied his retainers and friends, comprehending a large body of Elliots, Armstrongs, and other Border clans, over whom he exercised great authority. Angus, with his reluctant ward, had passed the night at Melrose on his return from Jedburgh, and the clans of Home and Ker, who had accompanied him in his expedition, had taken their leave of the king, when, in the grey of the morning, Buccleuch and his followers, to the number of a thousand horse, suddenly appeared on the northern slope of an eminence called Halidon Hill, and, descending into the plain, interposed between Angus and the bridge over the Tweed. A messenger was immediately sent to inquire of Sir Walter the reason of his appearance at the head of such a force. He answered, that he came to show his clan to the king, according to the custom of the Border chiefs when their territories were honoured by the royal presence. He was then commanded, in the king's name, to dismiss his followers; but he bluntly refused, alleging that he knew the king's mind better than Angus. On receiving this haughty answer, which was justly regarded as a defiance, the earl, addressing the king, said, "Sir, yonder is Buccleuch, and the thieves of Annandale with him, to intercept your passage; I vow to God they shall either fight or flee; and ye shall tarry here on this knoll (knoll), and my brother George with you, with any other company you please, and I shall pass and put yon thieves off the ground, and rid the gate (clear the way) unto your grace, or else die for it." With

these words Angus alighted and hastened to the charge, while his brother Sir George, with the Earl of Lennox and Lord Maxwell, formed a guard around the king, and retired to a neighbouring hillock. Buccleuch and his retainers likewise dismounted, and received the assailants with levelled spears. The battle was fiercely contested; but the Borderers were unable to withstand the charge of the armed knights who were in the array of the Douglasses; and the Homes and Kers, who were at no great distance, returned on hearing the noise of the conflict, and, attacking the left wing and rear of Buccleuch's little army, decided the fate of the day. About eighty of the Scotts fell in this engagement; while, on the side of the Douglasses, the only material loss was the death of Ker of Cessford, who was killed in the pursuit by Elliot of Stobs, a retainer of Buccleuch.* In conse-

* The spot where this battle was fought is between Melrose and the neighbouring village of Darnick. It is now

quenee of this untoward event, which was deeply lamented by both parties, a deadly feud arose between the Scotts and Kers, which raged during the greater part of a century, and ultimately led to the murder of Buccleuch himself, who was slain by the Kers, in the streets of Edinburgh, in the year 1552.*

As Lennox was suspected of having privately encouraged the attempt of Buccleuch, he became from this period an object of distrust to the victorious faction, and speedily retired from court. Shortly after, in concert with Archbishop Beaton and the queen-mother, he resolved to make another effort to rescue the king from the ignominious thralldom in which he was held by the Douglasses. Having collected an army of ten or twelve thousand men, he advanced from Stirling towards Edinburgh; but his march was intercepted near Linlithgow by the Earl of Arran, at the head of a superior force. This nobleman, the chief of the powerful family of the Hamiltons, had recently become reconciled to his former rival, Angus, and he was now despatched by the Douglasses to meet his nephew Lennox, with the hope of conciliating his hostility, and thus averting the odium of a contest with a peer who was universally esteemed and beloved. The effort, however, proved unsuccessful. Lennox declared, with great vehemence, that he would enter the capital or die in the attempt.† On this, Arran instantly despatched a messenger to Angus, then at Edinburgh, who commanded the city bells to ring, and the trumpets to sound, for the purpose of calling the citizens to arms; and having displayed the royal banner, he obliged the king himself to mount on horseback, to give countenance to the measures of the Douglasses against his own friends. James, however, on pretext of indisposition, delayed the march of the troops as much as possible, and Angus, unable to restrain his impatience, pushed forward to the assistance of Arran, leaving the king to follow under the charge of his brother, Sir George Douglas. On reaching Linlithgow, the earl found the Hamiltons drawn up on the bank of the river Avon, about a mile to the west of the town. Arran having seized the bridge which crossed the stream at that place, Lennox was compelled, by this skilful manœuvre, to attempt a passage by a difficult ford opposite the nunnery of

called 'Skinner's Field,' by a corruption from 'Skirmish Field,' and forms part of the Abbotsford estate. A stone seat on the edge of Kaeside, about half a mile above the house of Abbotsford, marks the spot called 'Turnagain,' where Elliot turned and slew Cessford with a stroke of his lance. It was a favorite resting-place of Sir Walter Scott, and commands a magnificent view of Melrose and the vale of the Tweed.—See Abbotsford edition of the Waverley Novels, vol. v. p. 217. Cessford was the chief of the Roxburgh branch of the family of Ker, now represented by the Duke of Roxburgh.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 319—321; Lesley, pp. 134, 135; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxvii.; Lay of the Last Minstrel, Appendix, note D.

† Lesley, p. 135.

Scheme of the Earl of Lennox to free the king from his thralldom.

Encounter with the Hamiltons and Douglasses

Manuel, a little further up, and his soldiers were thus exposed to a galling fire from the Hamiltons, who occupied the high ground above the river. They made good their passage, however, and, pressing up the opposite bank, were in the act of closing with the enemy, when the shout of 'Douglas!' announcing the arrival of Angus, carried dismay into their ranks, and they gave way on all sides, and fled in great confusion. Meanwhile, the king and his escort were slowly approaching the scene of conflict. On reaching the village of Corstorphine, the distant sound of the artillery announced the commencement of the battle, and Sir George Douglas, enraged at the king's obvious reluctance to proceed, broke out into fierce reproaches and brutal menaces. 'Bide where you are, sir,' said he, 'for if they get hold of you, be it by one of your arms, we will seize a leg, and pull you in two pieces rather than part from you,'—a threat which the king never forgave.* Tidings now came from the field of battle that Angus had gained the victory, and the young king, dismayed at the news, urged his attendants to gallop forward, for the purpose of putting a stop to the slaughter, charging them especially to save the life of the Earl of Lennox. Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, one of the king's most trusty servants, arrived on the field in time to save the Earl of Glencairn, who, protected by some strong ground, was still fighting gallantly, though he had scarce thirty men left alive. But Lennox, about

Death of Lennox.

whose safety the king was so anxious, had been murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton, of Draphane, the bastard son of Arran, a bloodthirsty ruffian, who took him from the Laird of Pardovan, to whom he had surrendered himself.† Arran himself was found kneeling beside the bleeding body of his nephew, which he had covered with his scarlet cloak, and weeping bitterly he exclaimed: 'The hardest, stoutest, and wisest man that Scotland bore, lies here slain!' Along with Lennox, there fell in this conflict the Abbots of Melrose and Dunfermline, Stirling of Keir, and the Laird of Houston.

The victorious army spent the night at Linlithgow, with great rejoicings, but the young king was overwhelmed with grief on account of the death of Lennox, to whom he was warmly attached. The failure of the double attempt to rescue the king from the hated yoke of the Douglasses, served only to rivet his chains more firmly than ever, and to place the supremacy of Angus on a seurer basis. Determined to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to crush entirely the power of

his enemies, he made a rapid flight of Beaton and the queen-mother. march to Stirling, with the view of seizing the queen and the

Archbishop of St. Andrews; but they had both made their escape. Margaret, according to Pitscottie, 'gaed vagrant disguised ane lang time, for fear of the Douglasses;' while Beaton fled to the hills of Balgruno, in Fife, where he assumed the disguise of a shepherd and tended a flock of sheep for three months, in order to elude the pursuit of his enemies. The Douglasses, meanwhile, wreaked their vengeance on his estates, and pillaged the abbey of Dunfermline and the castle of St. Andrews.* These measures met with the cordial approbation of Henry VIII., who, soon after, sent letters to Angus and Arran, in which, after congratulating them on their success, he offered them his best advice for the education of his nephew, and exhorted them to crush their enemies,—especially the archbishop, the mainspring of the coalition against their authority.†

The conduct of Angus and his associates sufficiently shows that they needed no exhortations to adopt vigorous measures against all who refused to submit to their sway. A parliament was convoked at Edinburgh, on the 12th of November, in which an act was passed vindicating the conduct of Angus and Arran, in the late conflict with Lennox; sentence of forfeiture ^{of the adherents of Lennox.} was passed against the insurgent barons who had espoused his cause, and their possessions were distributed among the dominant faction. The lands of the Earl of Cassilis and Lord Evandale were allotted to Arran. The ample estates of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and of the eastern and northern barons who had supported Lennox, fell to the share of Angus, and his uncle Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy; while Sir George Douglas obtained a grant of the lands of Stirling of Keir, who fell in the battle of Linlithgow. Angus behaved with great lenity towards the queen-mother, who at the intercession of her son was forgiven, and invited to the capital, where she was treated with respect, and inducted into the same apartments in the palace of Holyrood which were formerly occupied by the regent Albany. The young king resided with her, and slept in a room over her bed-chamber, and would scarcely ever leave her company for a moment, except when he was hunting or sporting. "It is thought," wrote Sir Christopher Dacre to his brother, "that if the queen remains thus near her son, the whole court will have a turn, for the king has no affection either to the Earl of Angus or to the Earl of Arran."

The Archbishop of St. Andrews had meanwhile succeeded in making his peace ^{Reconciliation} with the Douglasses by liberal gifts ^{between Angus and Beaton.} of money, and the surrender of the abbey of Kilwinning,‡ and after the terms of the pacification were finally arranged he gave a sumptuous entertainment in his castle of St. Andrews to the king, the queen-mother, Angus and

* Letter of Magnus to Wolsey, Sep. 13th, 1526. State Papers. Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxviii.; Lesley, p. 136.

† Pitscottie, who mentions this fact, adds, that the brutal savage slew all whom he could overtake that day in the field, where there were many marked with mark, 'ane overthort the chafts' (across the jaws or chops).

* Lesley, p. 136.

† Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, 21st Sep.; Calig. B. vii. 67, 69.

‡ Sir C. Dacre to Lord Wm. Dacre, December 2nd, 1526. Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 473.

the other chiefs of the Douglas faction. "There," says Pitscottie, "he made them great banqueting and merriness, and also propined (presented) them with great gifts, that he might the better pacify their wrath towards him, and obtain their favour."* He prudently declined, however, to attend the court, or to interfere with the administration of public affairs; † whilst the Earl of Arran, who was now advanced in years, and overwhelmed with grief and remorse for the death of his nephew Lennox, shut himself up in one of his castles, and left the supreme power wholly in the hands of Angus. The Earl himself was chancellor, and had the law completely under his control, his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, was treasurer, and commanded the whole revenues of the country, while his brother Sir George Douglas, who was the object of the king's special aversion and dread, was master of the royal household. Above all, the Douglasses had possession of the royal person, and could compel the king to affix his signature to any deed or letter which their tyranny or caprice might dictate. So long as the king remained in their hands, therefore, they could wield at will the whole resources of the government, and resistance to their overgrown power therefore was certain to be visited with all the pains and penalties of treason. The nobility were either gained over by the prospect of personal advantage, or cowed into submission by the disastrous results of the recent attempts to rescue the king from his captivity; while the people groaned under the oppression of their feudal tyrants, without the possibility of resistance or the hope of redress. The tyranny of the unprincipled faction

Miserable state of the country. Authority became every day more intolerable to the nation. The arm of the law, paralyzed by their power, was unable either to repress or to punish their excesses, and crimes of the deepest dye were openly committed with impunity. 'As for the ordering of God's justice,' says a contemporary writer, 'there is none done in all Scotland.' Even during the sitting of Parliament Sir James Gordon of Lochinvar, who had murdered the Laird of Bomby at the door of St. Giles's church, had the audacity to walk openly abroad in the streets of the capital, † no one daring to arrest him, because he was an adherent of Douglas. Patrik Blackadder, Archdeacon of Dunblane, who had commenced a lawsuit against John Home, the

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 330.

† Sir C. Dacre in the letter already quoted, says, "The Archbishop of St. Andrews and they are well agreed, and so he may come to court if he will; but he will not come there till he see the court changed of another fashion. The said bishop has released and given to the Earl of Arran the abbey of Kilwinning; he has given to the Earl of Angus two thousand marks, Scots; to George Douglas a thousand marks, Scots; to Archibald Douglas a thousand marks, Scots, and he has also given to Sir James Hamilton a thousand marks, Scots. The Abbot of Arbroath (afterwards Cardinal Beaton), who is kinsman to the Bishop of St. Andrews, has been all the Parliament time in Edinburgh for the fulfilling of this agreement."

! Letter of Sir C. Dacre, Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 479

husband of Angus's niece, was assassinated by the Douglasses and Homes at the very gates of Edinburgh, though he had in his possession a safe conduct from Angus himself.* The Earl of Cassilis was murdered by Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr, at the instigation of the ferocious Hamilton of Draphane; † and Maclean of Dowart, during a visit to the capital, was surprised when in bed, and put to death, by Sir John Campbell of Calder. Shortly before this, the Laird of Drumelzier slew Lord Fleming, while engaged in the sport of hawking, and the Laird of Meldrum was assassinated by the Master of Forbes, ‡ so that the whole country seemed fast relapsing into a state of barbarism.

But although the law was too feeble to exact vengeance for these foul murders, An example of their perpetrators did not always feudal revenge. escape unpunished. Under the feudal system it was considered a sacred duty, which no lapse of time could set aside, to avenge the death of a clans man or friend, not only upon the actual homicide, but, in the phrase of the time, upon 'all his name, kindred, maintainers and upholders.' A striking example of this inveterate determination to exact blood for blood, occurred at this lawless period. A groom of the late Earl of Lennox had brooded over the murder of his master, to whom he was warmly attached, till at length he formed the resolution to avenge his death. With this intention he set out for Edinburgh, where meeting a fellow-servant in the street, he inquired if he had seen Hamilton, the bastard of Arran. Having received an answer in the affirmative, he exclaimed, 'Ungrateful wretch, didst thou suffer the villain to live who murdered our best of masters? Begone! Thou deservest to be hanged.' With these words he straightway proceeded to Holyrood, where two thousand of the Douglas and Hamilton clans were mustering in the palace yard for a projected expedition to the Borders. Singling out Sir James Hamilton, he watched him closely, till he saw him leave the assembly and enter a dark archway over the gate, when he suddenly sprung upon him, and repeatedly stabbed him with his dagger, leaving him extended on the ground with six severe wounds, none of which however proved fatal. An alarm was soon given, but as the perpetrator of this audacious deed had immediately mingled with the crowd, he might have escaped detection but for an order which was issued, that the palace gates should be shut, and all within the court should draw up in single file against the walls. The assassin was speedily seized with his dagger in his hand stained with recent blood. He boldly avowed the vengeful

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxvi.

† Ibid. chap. xxx. Cassilis had rendered himself obnoxious to the Hamiltons by haughtily declining to put himself under their protection after the battle of Avon-bridge. He was brought to trial for his share in that encounter, but pleaded that he had joined Lennox in obedience to the king's command, and offered to produce the royal letters to that effect.

‡ Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 311.

deed, and only lamented that the attempt had not been successful. He was subjected to the most cruel tortures, which he bore with unflinching courage, and when previous to his execution his right hand was cut off, he observed that it merited its fate because it had failed to do its duty.*

When robberies and murders were openly committed in the streets of the capital and at the threshold of the royal palace and the cathedral church, the condition of the more remote districts of the country must have been deplorable in the extreme. The outrages of the Borderers became so frequent and destructive that Angus was at length constrained to undertake an expedition to Liddesdale for their suppression. Some of the most notorious offenders were executed, and the chiefs of the border clans compelled to make their submission, and to give hostages for their future peaceable behaviour.† Angus next proceeded to the north for the purpose of composing a deadly feud which had raged for some years between the powerful families of Lesley and Forbes, and had plunged the districts of Mar, Garioch and Aberdeen into fierce contention and bloodshed.‡

While the more civilized provinces of the country —and of the Highlands. were thus frequently the scenes of rapine and slaughter, the Highlands, at all times in a lawless and barbarous condition, were now reduced to a state of almost total disorganization. 'Every man did that which was right in his own eyes,' without regard either to the decrees of the law or the authority of the government. Lauchlan Macintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, 'a verrie honest and wyse gentleman,' as he is styled by Lesley, 'wha keptit his whole kin, friends and tenants in honest and guid rule,' was murdered by James Malcolmson, one of his principal kinsmen, for no other reason than that he had restrained the excesses of his vassals. The assassin fled for refuge to an island in the lake of Rothiemurchus, but his retreat was discovered, and he and his accomplices were summarily put to death by their infuriated clansmen. The infant son of the murdered chief was delivered to the custody of his uncle the Earl of Moray, and Heeter, a bastard brother of Lauchlan Macintosh, was appointed to lead the clan during the minority of his nephew. The new chieftain immediately demanded that the infant should be delivered up to him (for no good purpose it was believed), and enraged at Moray's refusal he mercilessly ravaged his lands, especially the parish of Dyke, in which the castle of Tarnaway, the chief seat of the earl, was situated, sparing neither men, women, nor children in his indiscriminate fury. The ferocious savage then proceeded to the castle of Pettie, belonging to Ogilvie of Durness, the kinsman of Moray, who had been entrusted by him with the keeping of the young heir of Macintosh, and carrying the fortalice by assault, he put to death twenty-four of its inmates. Vengeance, however, speedily overtook him; for Moray, who

had procured a royal commission authorizing him to suppress these disorders, rapidly collected an army, and making a sudden onslaught upon the Macintoshes, defeated them with great slaughter. Three hundred of the principal depredators were captured and instantly hanged, but Hector himself made his escape, and neither tortures nor rewards could induce his clansmen to disclose the place of his concealment. His brother William, however, was taken prisoner and beheaded, while the chief, in despair, resolved at length to throw himself on the royal mercy; and, by the assistance of Alexander, Dean of Moray, succeeded in reaching the capital, where he was pardoned and restored to favour. But he was soon after slain in St. Andrew's by a priest named John Spence, who was executed for the crime, the motive of which is unknown.*

These scenes of violence and bloodshed, though they disturbed the tranquillity of the country, did not shake the government of Angus. He sedulously cultivated the friendship of the English court, and strengthened his party by an apparent reconciliation with Archbishop Beaton, whose great wealth and political experience rendered him a most valuable ally. Sir George Douglas in vain opposed this step, and warned his brother to be on his guard against the intrigues of the crafty prelate. The shrewd and sagacious Dr. Magnus, in a letter to Wolsey, expressed his conviction that the fatal effects of this course of policy would soon be perceived, and predicted the speedy overthrow of Angus, whom he characterizes as 'gentle and hardy, but wanting wit in the conveyance of great causes.'† Beaton was not slow to avail himself of the power which he had gained to promote the aggrandizement of the church, and the celebrated Patrick Hamilton, the proto-martyr of the Reformed Church of Scotland, fell a victim to the reconciliation which now took place between Angus and the primate. The condition of the people under the combined yoke of political and ecclesiastical despotism, seemed more hopeless than ever. The only safety lay in prompt submission. The queen-mother, alarmed, it is supposed, by an attempt on the part of Angus to deprive her of her dowry-lands, fled for refuge, along with her husband and his brother, into the castle of Edinburgh. But Douglas collected a large force, and, taking the young king with him, laid siege to the fortress, and summoned Margaret and her husband to surrender. As soon as the queen saw that her son was present with the besieging army, although she knew that he was hostile to their proceedings, she caused the gates of the castle to be thrown open, and, falling upon her knees before the king, she implored pardon for her husband and his brother, and refused to rise till the boon had been granted. But, in spite of her humble submission, they were

* Lesley, pp. 187, 188.

† Magnus to Wolsey, 10th January, 1528. Pinkerton vol. ii. p. 283.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxxi. Lesley, p. 139.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 136.

committed to prison for a short time in the castle which she had just yielded.*

James had now entered his seventeenth year, and began to develop an energy of character, and a strength of natural talent, which rendered it highly improbable that he would submit much longer to be used as a puppet in the hands of a grasping and imperious faction. The thralldom of

Plot for the
escape of the
king.

the Douglasses grew every day more hateful to him, and his mind became intently occupied with projects for his escape.

With this view, he prevailed on his mother to exchange with him her castle of Stirling for the royal demesne of Methven, to be conferred, along with a peerage, on her husband. Having thus secured a safe retreat, he committed this important fortress to the charge of a trusty governor, and probably with the assistance of Beaton, caused it to be garrisoned, and furnished with military stores and provisions. The king was now residing at Falkland, within a moderate distance of St. Andrews, so that it was easy for him to communicate with the crafty primate, of whose intrigues the Douglasses appeared to entertain no suspicion. James was apparently absorbed in the pleasures of the chase; and a long course of success, and the complete discomfiture of their enemies, had lulled his keepers into security, and thrown them off their guard. Angus had gone to Lothian on his private affairs; Archibald Douglas, his uncle, to Dundee; and Sir George Douglas, his brother, had paid a visit to St. Andrews, for the purpose of concluding some transactions with Beaton; so that only Douglas, of Parkhead, captain of the royal guard, remained with the king. The youthful monarch instantly resolved to avail himself of this favourable opportunity to escape; and to lay all suspicion asleep, he called for Balfour of Ferny, the keeper of Falkland forest, and chamberlain of Fife, and issued orders for a hunting party next morning. According to the graphic description of old Pitscottie † he "caused him to warn all the whole tenants and gentlemen thereabouts who had the speediest dogs, that they should come to Falkland wood on the morn, to meet him at seven hours; for he was determined he would slay a fat buck or two for his pleasure; and to that effect caused warn the cooks and stewards to make his supper ready, that he might go to his bed the sooner, and to have his dejune (breakfast) ready by four o'clock, and commanded James Douglas, of Pathhead, to pass the sooner to his bed, and caused bring his collation, and drank to James Douglas, saying to him, that he should have good hunting on the morrow, bidding him be early astir. Then the king went to his bed, and James Douglas thought that all things had been sure enough, and passed in like manner to his own bed. When the watch was set," continues the historian, "and all things in quietness, the king called on a yeoman of the stable, and desired him

to bring one of his suits of apparel, hose, cloak, coat, and bonnet, and putting them on, stept forth as a yeoman of the stable, and was unperceived of the watchmen, till he had passed to the stables, and caused saddle a horse for himself, and one led, and took two servants with him, namely, Jocky Hart, a yeoman of the stable, and another secret-chamber boy, and leapt on a horse, and spurred hastily his journey to Stirling, and came there by the breaking of the day, over the bridge, which he caused to be closed behind him, that none without license might win that passage. After this, he passed the castle, and was received there by the captain, who was very glad of his coming, and prepared the castle with all things needful. Then he caused shut the gates, and let down the portecullis, and put the king in his bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that night." Having thus regained his liberty, James proceeded to act with great promptitude and vigour against those who had so long held him in bondage. He immediately summoned a council, which was attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Moray, and Eglinton, with the Lords Evandale, Maxwell, Montgomery, and Sinclair, and issued a proclamation forbidding Angus or any of his adherents to approach within six miles of the court, under pain of treason.

Meanwhile, the flight of the king was still unknown to the Douglasses, who believed him secure in the palace of Falkland. Sir George Douglas, the master of the household, returned from St. Andrews at eleven o'clock on the preceding evening, and hearing from the guards that James was asleep, made no farther inquiries, but retired to his own chamber. Early next morning, a loud knocking awoke him, and Peter Carmichael, the Bailie of Abernethy, rushing in, asked him if he knew what the king was doing. 'He is still asleep in his own chamber,' replied Sir George. 'You are deceived,' exclaimed Carmichael; 'he passed the bridge of Stirling last night.' On hearing this, Douglas started up in haste, and ran to the king's chamber; and having in vain knocked for admittance, he burst open the door, and, to his consternation, discovered that the apartment was empty. Overwhelmed with apprehension and rage, he cried, 'Treason! the king is gone, and no man knows whither.' After a brief consultation, a messenger was despatched in haste to Tantallon, to convey to Angus the news of the king's escape. By this time Archibald Douglas had returned from Dundee, and within a few hours Angus himself arrived, in breathless haste, and without loss of time set out for Stirling, along with his brother and uncle, and attended by a slender retinue. But on their journey they were met by a herald bearing the royal proclamation, which interdicted their approach to court under pain of treason. Some of the Douglasses declared their determination to proceed in defiance of the royal mandate; but the earl and his brother were well aware that a single step forward would render them liable to the fearful penalties of treason, and place their lives and property at the mercy of the

* Lesley, p. 140.
† Vol. ii. p. 331.

crown. Feeling that, at such a moment, resistance to the royal authority would entail upon them certain ruin, they resolved to obey the proclamation, and accordingly retreated to Linlithgow.*

James, thus freed from a degrading restraint to which he had long submitted with ill-concealed impatience, was at liberty to follow the natural bent of his character; and though at this period little more than sixteen years of age, he speedily displayed all the qualities of an able and popular sovereign. His personal appearance was dignified and prepossessing. Though not above the middle height, he was graceful, but robust in form, remarkable for agility, and capable of severe and continued exertion; while his handsome and expressive

Personal appearance and character of James.

countenance conveyed the impression of high intelligence, combined with sweetness and generosity.

His mind, naturally acute and vigorous, had early excited the fears and redoubled the watchfulness of the faction who sought to enslave him; and the foreign ambassadors who visited the kingdom reported favourably of his dawning sagacity and prudence. In spite of the unfavourable circumstances under which his education had been conducted, and the efforts of the Douglasses to enervate his intellect by low and vicious pursuits, he had profited largely by the means of improvement within his reach. His acquaintance with the laws and institutions of his kingdom was profound and comprehensive, considering his years; and the decisions which he pronounced were in general characterized by a strict regard to justice, and an anxiety to promote the true interests of his subjects. Like his ancestor, James I., he cultivated the art of poetry; and though scarcely any of his pieces survive, contemporary authors speak of them in terms which, after all the allowance necessary in the circumstances, indicate their high excellence. In his own dress, the decorations of his palaces, and the public buildings which were reared by him, he displayed rather correctness of taste than profusion and splendour; and the beauty of the gold coins struck during his reign, together with the attention bestowed by him on the construction of the naval armament of the kingdom, which, during his minority, had become miserably inefficient, amply attest his appreciation of the elegant and useful arts. The character of James is said to have been sullied by two vices: a propensity to indulge in low amours, and a parsimony in his expenditure which bordered on avarice. The first is accounted for, and may be partly excused, by the vicious training of which he became in some degree the victim; and the second wears the aspect even of virtue, if it be regarded as an honest attempt to replenish his exchequer, which, in consequence of the profligacy of Angus, had become nearly exhausted; while the expenditure of the wealth which his prudence speedily amassed in the construction of princely edifices, and of an efficient navy, seems to exonerate him from the charge of a sordid love of money.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 331—335. Lesley, p. 140.

The sterling qualities of the young monarch more than counterbalanced his vices in popular estimation. Brave, even to rashness, and indifferent to personal fatigue, he exposed his life and health without scruple in promoting the welfare of his kingdom; while his affable manners, the ease with which he could be approached by the humblest of his people, the patience with which he listened to their complaints, and the promptitude with which he redressed their grievances, the sympathy which he manifested for the poor and the oppressed, around whom the shield of his protection was instantly thrown, and the delight which he took in visiting the houses of the peasantry in disguise, that he might learn their habits and wrongs, acquired for him the name of 'The King of the Commons,' a title of which he was justly proud.*

The measures already taken by James to secure his liberty and vindicate his authority, were followed by others equally prompt and vigorous. He left Stirling, and proceeded to Edinburgh, accompanied by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, and Brechin, the Earls of Argyle, Arran, Rothes, and Bothwell, the Lords Maxwell, Evandale, Forbes, Seton, Home, and Yester, together with three hundred spearmen, the retainers of these dignitaries and nobles. Three days after his arrival in the capital, a proclamation was issued, declaring it treason for any subject to hold intercourse with Angus, his two brothers, and uncle, and requiring the departure from the city of any of their vassals before four o'clock on that day, on pain of instant death. At a subsequent meeting of council it was agreed that parliament should assemble on the second of September following, and meanwhile Gawin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and former preceptor of James, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, in the place of Beaton, from whom Angus had wrested the seals, and who now, from age, was unfitted for the fatigues of office. Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood, was made treasurer, and the privy seal was intrusted to the Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Maxwell

Parliament summoned, and an administration appointed.

became Provost of Edinburgh, and commander of the city, and Patrick Sinclair was despatched to the English court, for the purpose of acquainting Henry with the recent proceedings, and the assumption of the supreme power by his nephew, and of removing any misunderstandings which might arise from the misrepresentations and plots of Angus.† James, though naturally indignant at the conduct of his uncle, who had scrupled at no means, however unworthy, to destroy the independence of Scotland, adopted the wise policy of disarming hostility for which he was ill-prepared, by a candid statement of the treasons of Angus, and by making overtures for a lasting peace between the two kingdoms.

* Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 167. Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lxi.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 295.

The young monarch was now surrounded by those from whom he had been estranged by the jealousy and selfish ambition of the Douglasses. His mother, and her husband, Henry Stewart, now created Lord Methven, along with Maxwell and Buecleuch, enjoyed a large portion of his friendship; and the valour of Hamilton, the bastard son of Arran, in spite of his great crimes, gained him the royal favour and confidence. Though Angus was now stripped of his authority, his daring courage and extensive resources rendered him still an object of dread to the court; and so great were the apprehensions entertained of some sudden attempt on the king's person, that the nobles and their armed retainers mounted guard over the palace by day and night; and even the king himself, dressed in complete armour, became for one night captain of the watch.* After a few days, James returned to Stirling, and the nobles retired to their estates till the meeting of parliament, where measures for the public safety were to be formally arranged. On receiving intelligence of the decisive steps which had been taken by the king, Angus retired to the

Angus retires to strong castle of Tantallon, while Tantallon castle. he provided for flight into England, if necessary, by requesting the shelter of Norham castle, from the governor, Sir Roger Lascelles. His brothers, Archibald and Sir George Douglas, entered Edinburgh, and sought to create a diversion in his favour; but the terror of the royal vengeance was sufficient to prevent any manifestation of sympathy for the fallen chiefs, and they were attacked by Lord Maxwell, and compelled to seek safety in flight. There is reason to believe that the intentions of James towards the Douglasses were upon the whole lenient, and that the compliance of Angus with the injunction to retire beyond the Spey, and to surrender his brothers as hostages for his appearance at the approaching parliament,† would have been followed by the adoption of conciliatory measures; but the haughty tone which the earl assumed, and his treasonable attempts to regain the power he had lost, roused the indignation of the young monarch, and justified the most rigorous exercise of his authority.

Accordingly, in the meeting of parliament, which was held on the 2nd of September, Angus and his brothers were formally accused of high treason, before a jury consisting of six clerical dignitaries and five peers, and an act of attainder was passed against them, mainly on the ground of the illegal restraint in which Angus had held the person of the king.‡ The

The Douglasses convicted of treason, and their estates confiscated.

forfeited estates of the Douglasses were divided amongst the supporters of the royal authority, Argyle, Arran, Buecleuch, Maxwell, and Hamilton of Draphane, James retaining only the castle of Tantallon, and the superiority of the shire of Angus.§ The more difficult task of carrying the

sentence into execution still remained, and the obstinacy and power of Angus enabled him for some time to baffle the efforts of his enemies, and seriously endanger the newly-acquired supremacy of the king. On the news of his attainder, the Earl left Tantallon for Coldingham abbey, a benefice held by his brother William, from which he could more readily cross the English border, if he should find himself unable to maintain his ground. After an abortive attempt at negotiation, James despatched a detachment of troops into Douglasdale, to besiege the castle of Douglas, while he followed in person with the main body of the army, consisting in all of eight thousand men. By the advice, however, of the peers who accompanied him, he was induced to delay his operations until the harvest was reaped; and he accordingly disbanded his forces, and returned to the capital. Scarcely had he retired, when Angus swept the country with his horsemen, and a party of the Douglasses daringly set fire to two villages on the road to Stirling, remarking with savage pleasantry, in allusion to the late escape of the king, that the light might serve him in his journey, if he set out before dawn. Irritated by these insults, James collected his troops, and proceeded to Coldingham, from which Angus retired on his approach. The custody of the abbey was committed to Lord Home, but on the same night Angus returned and drove out the royal troops from their newly-acquired possession, while the king himself fled in haste to Dunbar. Enraged at these failures, James now determined to reduce Tantallon, the chief stronghold of his enemy, and having collected an army of twelve

Angus resists the enforcement of the sentence.

Siege of Tantallon castle, and defeat of the royal troops.

thousand men, and a powerful train of artillery, brought from Dunbar and other fortresses, he sat down before the castle. After a siege of nearly twenty days, during which, in spite of all his efforts, he failed to make any impression on the sea-girt hold, he was compelled reluctantly to abandon the attempt; and, to add to his mortification, the detachment left to protect and bring off the artillery was suddenly attacked and routed by Angus, and David Falconer, captain of the royal guard, and esteemed one of the best naval officers in Scotland, was slain. The indignation of James was increased by the destruction of a richly-freighted vessel, which, having been stranded near Innerwick, was plundered by the Douglasses, and then abandoned to the peasantry, who, with ignorant wastefulness, used as fire-wood the cinnamon which formed part of the cargo.* On receiving intelligence of these disasters, the young monarch is said to have declared with an oath that, while he lived, the Douglasses should never find a resting-place in Scotland.† The task of driving the recusant faction from the kingdom having been declined by Bothwell, was ultimately assigned to the Earl

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 296.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 322—323.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 322—323.

§ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 298.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xxxviii.

† Lesley's History, pp. 140, 141. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 301.

of Argyle, who, with the assistance of the Homes, prosecuted the enterprise so vigorously, that Angus was compelled to fly into England.

During the whole of his treasonable proceedings, Douglas had maintained a close correspondence with Henry, urging the English monarch to send a strong body of troops to his assistance, or, in the event of failure, requesting an asylum in his kingdom. The conduct of the earl, however, had been so flagitious, that it was condemned even by the English envoys, and the amity of Scotland was so necessary to the safety of his own kingdom, now menaced by the ambitious designs of the Emperor Charles V., that Henry wisely declined any active interference in behalf of the banished faction; but he graciously received Angus at his court, admitted him into his privy council, and awaited the chances of diplomacy to secure his restoration to his honours and estates. Accordingly, when negotiations were commenced for a renewal of the treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, the English commissioners, Dr. Magnus and Sir Thomas Tempest, received instructions to make the amnesty of Angus an indispensable article in the agreement; and with the view of securing the compliance of the Scottish council, Magnus advanced to Berwick, where he entered into correspondence not only with the young king, but with the queen-mother, the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and Adam Otterburn, the king's advocate. These attempts, however, to procure the recal of the Douglases, were fruitless. James, in reply, professed his deep obligations to Henry for protection during the perils of his minority, intimated his willingness to become the ally of his uncle, in preference to Charles V., and, to prove his sincerity, offered a pacification for five years, instead of three, as was proposed; but he firmly declined any mediation in favour of Angus, whose life, however, though forfeited by numerous acts of treason, he promised to spare.* The answers transmitted by the Scottish council, and by the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, were couched in similar terms; and though Wolsey is said to have shed tears of rage, and the English council were filled with indignation at these refusals, they were compelled to abandon the cause of Angus as hopeless. The banished earl was forced to remain for fifteen years an exile in England; nor was he permitted to return to his native country till after the death of James, when his diminished power and the altered state of parties, rendered his presence less formidable to the public tranquillity. A treaty of peace for five years was shortly after concluded between the two countries, and ratified on the fourteenth of December, 1528.

James was now at liberty to turn his attention to the internal condition of his kingdom, many districts of which had become completely disorganized during his minority. The border clans had resumed those

habits of plunder and lawless violence which the vigorous measures of James IV. had to a great extent repressed; and their excesses were connived at by Angus, who overlooked their delinquencies in order that he might strengthen his own interests, by securing the support of the Border chiefs of England.* The scene of their forays was principally the opposite border, but not unfrequently the inland Scots were also heavy sufferers by the midnight incursions of these marauders. They affected to despise the treaties of peace which were formed between Scotland and England, declaring their independence of both James and Henry; and by their devastating inroads they perpetually endangered the pacific relations between the two kingdoms. To punish these turbulent chiefs was no easy task, as besides the number of their followers and the natural strength of their fastnesses, they were each protected by some one of the great Border barons, who profited largely by the fruits of their plunder. James, however, with characteristic promptitude and resolution, undertook the difficult task of repressing and punishing the depredations of these banditti. Having convened his council at Edinburgh, and represented the impossibility of preserving the tranquillity of the country, while the Borders remained in this disorganized state, he avowed his intention to reduce them to order, and then commanded the imprisonment of the Earl of Bothwell, Lord Home, Lord Maxwell, Scott of Buccleuch, Ker of Ferniehirst, and other powerful chiefs, whose interested opposition might have defeated his plans.† Having thus secured the principal abettors of the Border freebooters, he passed rapidly into the recesses of Eskdale and Teviotdale, with a force of eight thousand men, doing justice on various marauders as he proceeded. Execution of the Border freebooters. Cockburn of Hender- son, and Scott of Tushylaw, two notorious offenders, were arrested, and hanged before the gates of their own castles.‡ But the fate of Johnnie Armstrong, of Gilnockie, near Langholm, produced a deeper impression of terror, not unmingled with commiseration. This noted freebooter,

* Calig. B. ii. 224; Tytler, vol. v. p. 192.

† Lesley, pp. 141, 142.

‡ Scott was so distinguished a freebooter that he was usually called the King of the Border. He was hanged upon an elm tree, which still exists among the ruins of his castle. It is called the 'gallows-tree,' and it is curious to observe, that along its principal branches there are yet visible a number of nicks or hollows, over which the ropes had been drawn wherewith Scott performed his numerous executions.—See Chambers' Picture of Scotland, vol. i. p. 166.

According to tradition, Cockburn was sitting at dinner when he was surprised by the king, and without ceremony led out and hanged over the gate of his own castle. While the execution was going forward his unhappy wife is said to have taken refuge in the recesses of the Dowden, a dell formed by a mountain torrent called the Henderland Burn, which passes near the site of the tower. A place termed the Lady's Seat is still shown, where she is said to have striven to drown, amid the noise of a water-fall, the shouts which announced the close of her husband's existence. This touching incident gave occasion to the simple and affecting ballad, entitled 'The Lament of the Border Widow.'—Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iii. p. 94.

* Calig. B. vii. 107; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 303.

who levied black-mail from the inhabitants of an extensive district, comprehending even a portion of England, and is said to have spread the terror of his name almost as far as Newcastle, was generally popular throughout the western marches, both on account of the high courage and generous qualities which he exhibited, and of the exemption which his tributaries enjoyed from the exactions of other and less powerful thieves. On learning the approach of the royal cavalcade, the private advice of some courtiers, or, as others allege, a determination to brave it out before the king, induced Johnnie to present himself before James; and accompanied by forty-eight of his followers, richly arrayed in all the pomp of Border chivalry, the dauntless freebooter proffered his submission and entreated the royal grace for himself and his men. But Johnnie had entirely miscalculated the effect likely to be produced by the imposing appearance of his train, for James sternly refused to listen either to his excuses or offers of service. "When the king saw him," says Pitscottie,* "and his men so gorgeous in their apparel, and so many braw men under ane tyrant's command, he turned about his face, and said, 'What wants yon knave that a king should have?' and ordered him and his followers to instant execution." "But John Armstrong," continues this minute chronicler, "perceiving that the king kindled in fury against him, made great offers to the king: that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen, ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottishman: as, indeed, had never been his practice. Secondly, that there was not a subject in England, duke, earl, or baron, but within a certain day he should bring him to his majesty, either alive or dead." All was unavailing: James would listen to no offer, however great. At length, seeing no hope of favour, Johnnie said, very proudly, "It is folly to seek grace at a graceless face; but had I known this, I should have lived upon the Borders, in despite of King Harry and you both; for I know King Harry would down weigh my best horse with gold, to know that I was condemned to die this day." Johnnie and all his retinue were accordingly hanged on the trees of a little grove,† at a place called Carlinrig Chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, and were buried in a deserted church-yard, where their graves are still shown. The extent to which James carried his severity was, without doubt, excessive and cruel. But such was the terror which he thus struck into the Border marauders, that for a season he made 'the rush-bush keep the cow;' and, according to an old chronicler, "thereafter there was great peace and rest a long time, where through the king had great profit, for he had ten thousand sheep going

in the Ettrick Forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the lands of Fife."

Having thus vindicated his authority, and repressed for a time the insubordination of the Border chiefs, James returned to Edinburgh; and on his arrival restored the imprisoned barons to freedom, with the exception of Bothwell, whose turbulent spirit and great influence rendered him peculiarly dangerous. Meanwhile in other parts of his dominions the fierce factions of the nobility, strengthened by the long minority, were producing continual broils. The Earl of Rebellion in the Caithness sought to detach the Orkneys.

Orkneys from Scotland, and erect them into an independent kingdom under his own sovereignty. With the assistance of Lord Sinclair, he led an army to these islands; but the inhabitants, during their fifty years' connection with Scotland, had become warmly attached to the Scottish cause, and under the leadership of James Sinclair, the governor, offered such a strenuous resistance, that the invaders were ultimately defeated, though not without great loss on both sides. The Earl of Caithness himself was slain, along with five hundred of his men, and the rest, including Lord Sinclair, were taken prisoners.* The western islands also continued to be the scenes of sanguinary contests between the Earl of Argyle and the M'Leans of Dowart. The chief of that powerful clan had married a sister of

State of the Isles.
Argyle, and either from the circumstance of their union proving unfruitful, or more probably, from some domestic quarrels, he caused his lady to be exposed on a lonely rock, near Lismore, which at high water was covered by the sea. From this perilous situation she was rescued and conveyed to her brother by the crew of a fishing boat, which happened to pass by the spot. Her wrongs were speedily avenged by her brother, Sir John Campbell, of Calder, who surprised M'Lean in his bed, during a visit to Edinburgh, and put him to death, though the chief had procured letters of protection, guaranteeing his safety.† This gross breach of faith roused the M'Leans to immediate revenge, and the conduct of Argyle having excited the animosity of some of the other islesmen, they combined their forces with those of the clan Ian Mhor, and led by Alexander, of Isla, wasted the possessions of the Campbells with fire and sword. Reprisals were immediately made by the vassals of Argyle, who laid waste great part of the Isles of Mull and Tyree, and the district of Morvern, so that the western highlands became in a short time almost completely disorganized. The measures adopted by the young monarch for the purpose of quieting these disaffected districts were characterized by great wisdom and moderation. He caused extensive preparations to be made for the purpose of reducing the rebellious chiefs to obedience; but he

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

† The country people in the higher parts of Teviotdale and Liddesdale, and the adjacent districts, who hold the memory of Johnnie Armstrong and his followers in very high respect, believe that to manifest the injustice of their execution the trees immediately withered away.—See Leyden's Scenes of Infancy, and the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 402; Lesley, pp. 142, 143.

* Lesley, p. 141.

† Gregory's Highlands, &c. p. 121.

sought at the same time, by offers of forgiveness and promises of redress, to avert hostilities, and to win them back to their allegiance. The generosity and justice of the monarch completely disarmed the insurgents. Nine of the principal chiefs, with Hector McLean, of Dowart, hastened to tender their submission to the king, who immediately granted them letters of protection; and soon after John of Isla visited James at the palace of Stirling, and on expressing contrition for his offences, and promising to support the royal authority, to assist the king's chamberlain in collecting the crown rents, and to maintain the church in all her privileges,* was confirmed in his possessions, and restored to favour.

That the clemency of the king did not originate in weakness, and that relentless animosity might be engrafted on a character naturally generous, was sufficiently evinced by his conduct in one memorable instance, which occurred about the same period. Archibald Douglas, of Kil-

Implacable conduct of James towards the Douglasses.

spindie, uncle to the banished Earl of Angus, had been driven into exile along with the rest of his family. Remarkable for his

great strength and skill in martial exercises, he had early attracted the notice, and won the affection of James, who called him his 'Graystiel,' after a renowned champion, in the romance of 'Sir Egar and Sir Grime.' Weary at length of exile, and seized with irrepressible longings for home, the aged warrior recollecting the king's personal attachment to him, determined to return to his native land, and to cast himself on the royal clemency. As James was returning from hunting in the park of Stirling, the banished baron threw himself in his way; but the monarch, mindful of his oath, that while he lived no Douglass should find a refuge in Scotland, passed hurriedly on without any sign of recognition, and though Kilspindie, in spite of the heavy armour which he wore under his clothes for fear of assassination, ran by the side of the king's horse to the castle gate, he failed to move the purpose of his implacable master. He sat down at the gate weary and exhausted, and asked for a draught of water; but even this was refused by the royal attendants. The king afterwards blamed their discourtesy, but Kilspindie was obliged to return to France, where he shortly after died of a broken heart. This pitiless display of rigour to a man who had never personally injured him is a serious blot on the character of the monarch, and called forth the condemnation even of his vindictive uncle, Henry VIII., who quoted the saying, 'a king's face should give grace.†

At this period a league with Scotland became a matter of importance alike to the Matrimonial negotiation. Emperor Charles V. and the kings of France and England, who had combined to resist his ambitious views. Both parties were

eager to form a matrimonial alliance with the Scottish monarch, with the view of securing his co-operation in the event of a struggle; and Henry, by his ambassadors, had already offered his daughter, the Princess Mary, as the bride of James. Charles, on the other hand, jealous of the power which so near a connexion with the Scottish king might give to his enemies, proposed his sister, the Queen of Hungary. James, who was not indifferent to the advantages of this alliance, sent letters to Albany, then residing at the court of Francis I., urging him to secure the consent of that monarch to the completion of the match. But Albany ungenerously betrayed the plan to the English council,* who resolutely opposed the union, as dangerous to the league between France and England; and as the lady herself preferred the opulent and independent government of the Netherlands, to which, on the death of her aunt, she was likely to succeed, the proposal was speedily abandoned. Charles showed his anxiety for an alliance with the Scottish monarch by offering next his niece, a daughter of Christian II., the deposed king of Denmark, with a dowry of the whole of Norway. But as James was already the ally of Frederick, the reigning monarch of Denmark, and would, moreover, have required to win by the sword the distant and barren portion of his proposed bride, he prudently declined the connexion. Foiled in his attempts to secure a matrimonial alliance, Charles, who, notwithstanding the recent peace of Cambrai, anticipated war with Francis and Henry, sought to form a league, offensive and defensive, with Scotland; but as there was no advantage to be gained by the friendship of so remote a power as Austria, which could compensate for the sacrifice of the ancient amity of France, and the risk of war with England, James firmly declined the proposals of the emperor, who was reluctantly compelled to abandon in the meantime all attempts to secure the co-operation of Scotland in his plans.

James now proceeded to correct those evils in his kingdom which the long minority had fostered, as well as to provide for its future prosperity. In a parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the 26th of April, some severe laws were passed against the crimes of assassination and robbery, which the annals of his times exhibit as of fearful frequency. Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, had been murdered in the preceding month by the Baron of Tulliallan and his followers, among whom was a priest named Lothian. The chief criminals managed for a time to escape, but were ultimately captured by the vigour of the government, and the priest, after being solemnly degraded from his office, was, along with his lay accomplice, publicly beheaded.† An important commercial treaty between Scotland and the Netherlands, which had been concluded by James I. for one hundred years,

* Gregory's Highlands, &c. pp. 132—138.

† Godseoft, vol. ii. p. 107; Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 118, note.

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 308.

† Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 13.

was about to expire; and as the alliance had been productive of great benefit to the kingdom, James despatched Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lion King-at-arms, with David Panter as Secretary of legation, to Brussels, with proposals for the renewal of the league. The Scottish envoys were received with distinguished respect, both by the Queen of Hungary, who had now assumed the prefecture of the Netherlands, and by the Emperor Charles V., who was at that time resident at her court, and returned, after having renewed the treaty between the two countries for another century.*

As his experience increased, James was naturally led to seek aid in the internal administration of his kingdom, from those whose wisdom and long-trying fidelity justified his confidence. The breach between him and his nobles had been gradually widening. Their ignorance, ferocity, and open combinations to control or resist the authority of the crown, not only incapacitated them for any share in the government, but rendered them its worst and most powerful foes. James therefore not only relinquished those friendships, which the necessities of his position or the inexperience of his character had led him at the outset of his reign to form with some of the greater barons, but proceeded firmly to punish, without respect of persons, all who presumed to infringe the laws. Angus had been banished, Crawford was stripped of the greater portion of his estates, Argyle was imprisoned, Moray and Maxwell remained unnoticed, and Sir James Hamilton, who, in spite of his flagitious crimes, had hitherto enjoyed the royal confidence, was now treated with coldness and distrust. As the influence of the feudal aristocracy declined, that of the clergy steadily increased, and the principal counsellors of the crown were chosen from among the dignitaries of the church. Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow; the Chancellor, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and his nephew, David Beaton, Lord Privy Seal—enjoyed the chief share of the royal confidence and favour; and though the influence of this intimacy was afterwards prejudicial to the spread of the Protestant faith, it was justified by the position of the youthful monarch, and proved meanwhile most beneficial to the kingdom. The nobles viewed their waning influence with alarm, and sought to recover their ascendancy by measures which it required all the wisdom and vigour of James to

defeat. Bothwell, whose turbulent conduct had been punished by temporary imprisonment, passed at this time into the north of England; and having obtained an interview with the Earl of Northumberland, he endeavoured to enlist that nobleman, and through him the English monarch, in treasonable designs against the authority of his sovereign. After enumerating his own grievances, and representing James as in league with the worst foes of Henry,

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 310.

he intimated that the time was favourable for an invasion of Scotland, where the nobles, exasperated by the tyranny of the king, were, he alleged, ripe for rebellion; and offered his own allegiance and services, with those of one thousand gentlemen and six thousand commoners, to aid any English force which, in conjunction with the Douglasses, might attempt the conquest of the northern kingdom. He had no doubt, he said, that with his own power and that of the Earl of Angus, he would, if properly supported, be able to crown the English monarch within the town of Edinburgh in a short time.* These base and treasonable negotiations were happily discovered by James, who, on the return of Bothwell to Scotland, ordered his immediate arrest and imprisonment; but though his traitorous journey failed in its main object, it was not without influence in renewing the Border wars, which broke out shortly afterwards with a ferocity that threatened the general peace of the two kingdoms.

In the early part of the following year an important change was introduced in the Institution of the settlement of civil causes, by the College of Justice. the institution of the College of Justice, which is generally said to have been framed after the model of the parliament of Paris. Before the establishment of this new court, civil causes were determined by standing committees, consisting of the chancellor and certain members chosen by the king from each of the three Estates, who sat thrice in the year, at such places as the king should appoint. "The plan," as Pinkerton remarks, "was attended with many inconveniences: the expense to which the members were exposed rendered them reluctant in performing this duty, and precipitant in its accomplishment. And the deputies of the commons being annually changed, if a suit were prolonged, the change of judges, who were again to be instructed in the whole of the procedure, rendered the embarrassment and protraction extreme; not to mention that perhaps none of the members except the clergy were conversant in the laws."† Many serious evils also resulted from the heritable jurisdiction of the barons who held courts of their own, the decisions of which were often grossly partial; while relief could only be obtained by the tedious and expensive process of an appeal to the king and the privy council. To remedy these evils, the parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 17th of May, 1532, instituted a new court, consisting of fourteen members, one-half selected from the clergy, the other from the laity, with a president, who was always to be a clergyman. Its jurisdiction embraced all causes except those which belonged to the privy council and high court of justiciary, and its annual expenses were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy. The avowed object of the new court was to simplify

* Communications between Northumberland and Bothwell, 21st December, 1531, B. v. 216; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 312.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 313

the administration of justice, and to protect the humbler classes from the oppression of the nobles; nor can it be doubted that it was in many respects an improvement on the cumbrous legal machinery of former times; but its benefits were exposed to constant hazard by one unfortunate regulation, which provided that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and that in the settlement of any question of importance or difficulty, the king might send three or four members of his privy council to influence the deliberations. It was thus a ready-made and formidable weapon in the hands of a despotic monarch; nor are the strictures of Buchanan on its servility,—even making allowance for his Protestant leanings,—to be regarded as partial or unjust, supported as they are by many oppressive acts in this and the following reign.*

In spite of his pacific policy, James speedily found himself engaged in a harassing and pitiless

Border war. contest with England. The charge of aggression seems clearly brought home to his enemies. The representations of Bothwell as to the state of feeling in Scotland, and his promises of aid to an invading force, excited among the banished Douglasses the hope of regaining their ascendancy; and though Henry made no formal declaration of war, and even affected to regard the renewal of hostilities between the two countries as an untoward event, there is reason to conclude from the correspondence of Northumberland, that he secretly encouraged the inroad in the expectation of forcing James to renounce his connexion with the pope and the emperor.† A large English force, led by Sir Anthony Darcy and Sir George Douglas, marched from Berwick, and after burning Coldingham, Dunglas, and other towns and villages in the neighbourhood, returned loaded with plunder. On the other hand, the Scots broke across the border, and set fire to a village near Warkworth, the seat of Northumberland, who dressed himself at midnight by the blaze of burning houses.‡ The Earl threatened Kelso with a similar fate, that no place near the Border might remain to hold a Scottish garrison; but though this design failed, he detached sixteen hundred men, who burned Branxholm, the seat of Buccleuch, and, amid the sight of flaming villages, carried off a number of prisoners, and a large booty of horses and cattle. James prepared to resist this sudden inroad, though the condition of his kingdom was far from satisfactory. Argyle and Crawford, two potent nobles, had been deprived of their command in the Isles, and were ready to aid the treasonable proceedings of Bothwell and the Douglasses;§ while a great portion of the clergy had become discontented in consequence of an attempt to raise from their dioceses

a tax of ten thousand crowns within the period of one year. The refusal of parliament to sanction an impost for the maintenance of three thousand men in the Border garrisons, increased the king's embarrassment; but his measures, notwithstanding these difficulties, were prompt and vigorous. The Earl of Moray was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the military array of the country was divided into four parts, to each of which in turn the defence of the marches was entrusted for forty days;¶ while, to secure the hearty co-operation of the Border chiefs, an amnesty was proclaimed for all previous offences. McLan, who had gained the confidence of the king by his valour and fidelity, was despatched with seven thousand Highlanders to Ireland, that he might assist O'Donnel, the Irish chief, in his efforts to free that country from the yoke of England. The Scots now poured across the Border, and retaliated on their foes by devastation and plunder. Buccleuch, Ferniehirst, and Cessford compelled the English forces to retire, and after an inroad of unexampled ferocity returned loaded with booty. As the war advanced, the passions of the combatants became more exasperated, and their inroads more frequent and destructive. Nor did the rigours of winter produce any abatement in the savage strife. The contest had now raged for nearly a year, and Henry, at length convinced that neither honour nor profit was to be gained by its continuance, became anxious that it should cease. In an embassy to Francis, his ally, he detailed the inroads of the Scots, whom he stigmatized as the aggressors, and threatened to chastise them by an immediate declaration of war. Francis despatched an envoy to Scotland, with the view of mediating between the two sovereigns; but his interference was rejected by James, who was justly displeased at the preference which the French king had of late given to the interests of England over those of Scotland, the ancient ally of his kingdom. Beauvois, a second envoy from Francis, found the Scottish monarch more accommodating. He consented to a truce with England, and shortly after appointed Sir James Colville ^{Truce} with England and Adam Otterburn to meet with Magnus and the other English commissioners at Newcastle, with the view of arranging the conditions of a satisfactory peace. Negotiations accordingly commenced; but, in consequence of unforeseen difficulties, they were protracted till the month of October.‡

The war still continued to rage on the Borders, where, properly speaking, peace scarcely ever prevailed; but although the conduct of the English monarch towards his nephew was calculated to provoke his warmest resentment, James was well aware that it was for the interest of his kingdom to put a stop to hostilities with England, even at some sacrifice of personal feeling; and accordingly despatched the Bishop of Aberdeen and Sir Adam Otterburn to the English court, with full powers

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xliii.

† Ibid. book xiv. chap. xlv.

‡ Northumberland to Fox; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 318. When the Maxwells, in 1615, burnt the castle of Lochwood, they said they did so to give the Lady Johnstone 'light to her hood.'

§ Calig. B. i. 129.

• Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xlv.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 321.

to conclude a lasting pacification. After some negotiations at London with the English commissioners, Secretary Cromwell and Dr. Fox, a treaty of peace was concluded, which was to continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of him who first deceased. It was agreed that the Border fortalice of Edrington, which had fallen into the hands of the Douglasses since their banishment, should be restored to the Scots; while on the other hand, James consented that Angus, with his brother and uncle, should be permitted to reside in England, as the subjects of Henry. The treaty was concluded on the twelfth of May, 1534, and speedily ratified by both monarchs, with more than usual solemnity.* The Order of the Garter was soon after transmitted to James, by the hands of Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk; while the Emperor Charles the Fifth bestowed upon him the order of the Golden Fleece,† and Francis the First requested his acceptance of that of St. Michael.

James being thus freed, by the conclusion of peace with England, from the apprehension of external hostilities, turned his attention to the negotiation of a matrimonial alliance. His marriage was earnestly desired, both by his councillors and the great body of his subjects. He was the last of his line, and frequently exposed himself to imminent danger in the suppression of disturbances, and the apprehension of the lawless banditti who infested the remote districts of the country;‡ and at other times he hazarded his person less justifiably in private and nocturnal adventures, which he undertook from the love of enterprise and intrigue. The dagger of an assassin, or an accidental blow in a midnight brawl, might have exposed the kingdom to all the perils of a vacant throne and a disputed succession. Some overtures had already been made to the French king, for a matrimonial alliance between James and his daughter Magdalene; but the tender years and delicate health of that princess prevented the completion of the union at this time. The Emperor Charles V. having heard of this negotiation, endeavoured to induce the Scottish monarch to abandon the French alliance, by offering him in marriage his own niece, the Princess Mary of Portugal; but the proposal was courteously declined.

In the meantime the principles of the Reformation had been steadily making progress among the people of Scotland, and now began to excite great alarm among the Roman Catholic clergy. But although the king was fully aware of the idleness, ignorance, and dissolute lives of a large portion of the clergy, and had become convinced of the necessity for a reform in the general morals of this body, he was not prepared to imitate the conduct of his uncle in

shaking off the yoke of Rome. Unhappily for himself, in spite of his hatred to the Douglasses, he adopted the policy of Angus towards the reformers, and commenced a fierce persecution against those whom he doubtless esteemed the enemies of the truth. Several of the disciples of the Reformation were condemned for heresy, and brought to the stake. Some, terrified by the threats of tortures and death, submitted to make a public recantation of their opinions; and a number more were compelled, by the intolerant and cruel conduct of the king, to flee for safety to England.* They received a cordial welcome from Henry VIII., who had now entirely renounced the authority of the papal see, and used every effort to induce his nephew to follow his example. In order to open his eyes to the tyranny of the papal usurpations, he sent to James a work entitled, 'Embassy from England. The Doctrine of a Christian Man,' in which the superstitions of the Romish church were exposed; and despatched successively Dr. Barlow, his chaplain, and Lord William Howard, to request a conference with his royal nephew at York, for the purpose of discussing matters of the greatest importance to the welfare of both countries. According to the Scottish historians, the English envoys were instructed to make the most splendid offers to induce him to comply with his uncle's wishes.† But James, though anxious to maintain amicable relations with his powerful and imperious relative, did not wish, in present circumstances, to draw these ties closer. He therefore declined to accept of the treatise which Henry had sent him, acting, it was supposed, by the advice of his clerical counsellors, whom Barlow describes as 'the pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil.‡' James himself, he says, was of an excellent and generous disposition, but his ecclesiastical council was decidedly hostile to England. The royal chaplain, who was a persuasive preacher, was instructed by his master to display his eloquence before the Scottish king, if he could obtain permission; but the clergy shut up all the pulpits against him. James had at first consented to the proposal of a conference, through the importunity of the queen dowager;§ but this

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Calig. B. ii. 194; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 328.

§ The reappearance of Margaret on the political stage on this occasion shows that she still retained her old habits of treachery and intrigue. She had contrived to elicit from the king some information respecting the secret orders which he had given to his ambassador, Sir Adam Otterburn, then resident at Hampton Court, how he was not to agree to Henry's 'new constitution of religion,' and that he meant to change the place of the proposed conference from York to Newcastle, 'on account of the free sea adjacent.' She immediately wrote down an account of all that James had told her in confidence, and transmitted it by express to her brother. Her base treachery was speedily discovered, and naturally excited the king's severe displeasure. Dr. Barlow, in a letter to his master, states that the queen 'was then in high displeasure with King James, he bearing her in hand, or accusing her of receiving gifts from her brother to betray him, with many other unkind suspicious words.' (State Papers, vol. v. p. 47.) Shortly after, when Margaret was renewing her importunities, that James should accede

* Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 490—537.

† Journal of Occurrences in Scotland, p. 19.

‡ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. xlv.

step was strenuously opposed by the Hamiltons, who, after the Duke of Albany (now advanced in years and childless), were the next heirs to the throne, and were therefore unwilling that the king should marry at all; and by the clergy, who dreaded that the influence of Henry might induce their sovereign to throw off the dominion of the Romish Church. They represented to him the danger of placing himself in the power of a monarch whose ancestors had frequently acted with bad faith towards the kings of Scotland. Two aged prelates, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, implored the king with tears not to abandon the religion of his fathers, and solemnly warned him that the overthrow of the church was certain to be followed by the ruin of the kingdom; and as a last resource, the clergy bestowed lavish bribes on those courtiers who possessed the greatest influence over the king, that they might dissuade him from the dreaded interview.*

The king himself appears to have lent a willing ear to these interested representations. It was impossible but that he must have been displeased with the violent and dictatorial manner of the English monarch, the countenance he had given to the banished house of Douglas, and the intrigues which he had carried on with the discontented portion of the Scottish nobles. James must also have been well aware, that by renouncing the authority of the Pope, and confiscating the property of the church, he would inevitably forfeit the friendship of France and the other continental powers, and place himself wholly in the hands of a monarch whose haughty and imperious disposition rendered the maintenance of amicable relations with him an exceedingly difficult task. The proposed conference was therefore indefinitely postponed, and the matrimonial negotiation fell to the ground. Soon after, an embassy consisting of David Beaton, the Laird of Erskine, and Sir David

Lindsay, was despatched to the French court, for the purpose of forming a treaty of marriage between the Scottish king and Marie de Bourbon, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, the first prince of the blood royal of France. Francis was eager to promote the match, and offered to declare the lady his adopted daughter, and to endow her with a portion of a hundred thousand crowns; and in spite of the opposition of England and Spain, and the intrigues of the Hamiltons, the negotiations proceeded so far, that not only was the assent of the French monarch signified by

to his uncle's request for an interview, he sternly answered, 'If your brother means, by your aid, to betray me, I had liefer (rather) it were done while I am in mine own realm than in England.' The fidelity of Otterburn himself was not proof against the bribes of Henry. He had long been in the habit of furnishing secret information to the English court, and was afterwards imprisoned for a secret negotiation with the Douglasses.

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. li.

letters under the great seal,* but a portion of the lady's dowry was paid down beforehand.

In the autumn of this year, Clement VII. died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Paul III. The new pontiff feeling satisfied that the breach between Henry and the court of Rome was now irreparable, prepared a bull excommunicating the English monarch and his abettors, declaring him to have forfeited his crown, absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanding them to take up arms against him. He at the same time declared, that all the treaties and alliances of Henry with Christian princes were dissolved, and laboured earnestly to form a coalition against him, as the common enemy of Christendom. With the view of confirming James in his allegiance to the papal see, and inducing him to join the alliance against his imperious neighbour, the pontiff despatched his legate, Antonio

Visit of the papal legate to Scotland.

Campeggio, into Scotland, with instructions to depict, in the darkest colours, the conduct of the English king, his divorce, his scandalous marriage with Anne Boleyn, his separation from the church of Rome, and his cruel execution of Fisher and Sir Thomas More, for their refusal to acknowledge his supremacy in spiritual matters. At the same time the papal legate addressed the Scottish king by the title of Defender of the Faith, of which Henry had proved himself unworthy, and presented to him a cap and a sword, which had been consecrated by the Pope at the Feast of the Nativity, with an intimation that the weapon might be most appropriately wielded against the English heresiarch. Permission was also granted to James to levy an additional contribution upon his clergy, which was probably not one of the least powerful of the inducements held out by the legate to confirm the Scottish monarch in his attachment to the papal court.†

Meanwhile the Scottish king became impatient at the obstacles which were interposed to his marriage, principally to his unwillingness on the part of Francis to give offence to Henry VIII., who, he was aware, was intent upon accomplishing an alliance with Scotland, and adopted the romantic resolution to pay a visit in disguise to the court of his intended father-in-law, in order to obtain a view of the lady for whom he was in treaty, and to obviate the difficulties which had delayed the match. Having made the necessary preparations with the utmost secrecy, he embarked at Leith, on the 26th of July, with a slender retinue of nobles and knights, without informing any person either of the object or the destination of his voyage. It was supposed by some that he intended to proceed to the English court; but this illusion was speedily dissipated; for when the vessel in which he had

James resolves to visit the court of France.

* This document, which is dated 29th March, 1537 is preserved in the Archives of the kingdom of France.—Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 285.

† Lesley, p. 150; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 333.

embarked got out to sea, it encountered a severe gale, and the pilot inquiring what course they should steer, the reply of the king was, 'Land me on any coast except England.' When the royal purpose was understood, it proved so unsatisfactory to the nobles, that after the king fell asleep, they resolved to alter the course of the vessel, and to carry him back to Scotland; and Sir James Hamilton taking upon himself the responsibility of the deed, seized the helm, and put about the ship. When the king awoke and found himself once

—he is driven
back—

more close to the Scottish coast, he was so much displeas'd, that he threatened to hang the captain; and according to Buchanan, he was never completely reconciled to the nobles who had thus sought to frustrate his plans, vowing that 'if he lived he should remember and reward them for their good-will.*

But James, with characteristic tenacity of purpose, adhered to his design in spite of the interested opposition of a portion of his nobility; and as his intention had now become known, he resolved to make suitable preparations for his romantic expedition. A regency was appointed, consisting of the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with the Earls of Eglinton, Huntley, and Montrose, and Lord Maxwell, who were empowered to conduct the affairs of the kingdom during the absence of their sovereign; and James, after performing a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to the Chapel of our Lady of Loretto, near Musselburgh, and offering

—he renews his
voyage.

up prayers for a prosperous voyage, sailed a second time from Leith, with a fleet of seven vessels, accompanied by the Earls of Argyll, Arran, Rothes, the Lords Fleming and Maxwell, the Abbot of Arbroath, the Prior of Pittenweem, and other nobles and dignitaries, with about three or four hundred attendants. On the tenth day they landed at Dieppe; and the king having resolved, before proceeding to Paris, to obtain a view of his affianced bride, repaired in disguise to the ducal chateau of Vendôme, and mingled with the crowd of attendants and spectators who filled the lower end of the hall during a public fête. He was speedily recognised, however, by his resemblance to a miniature portrait which the princess had procured from Scotland. "Wherefore," says Pitscottie, "she past to her coffer, and took out his picture which she had gotten out of Scotland by some secret means; and as soon as she looked upon the picture it made her know the king inccontinent, where he stood among the rest of the company, and she past pertly to him, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Sir, you stand over far aside, therefore, if it please your Grace to talk with my father or me, as you think for the present, a while for your pleasure, you may if you will.'" James being thus discovered, was forthwith introduced to the Duke and his court, by whom he was received with great cordiality. "Then," continues the chronicler, "there was

* Lesley, p. 150; Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lii.; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 360.

nothing but merriness, banqueting, and great cheer, with music and playing on instruments, and all other kind of pastime for the fields, with lutes, shawms, trumpets, and organs; jousting and running of great horses, whilk pastimes were all to delight the King of Scotland. For the duke prepared ane fair palace to the king, decorated with all costlie ornaments. The walls thereof were hung with tapestry of gold, and wrought with silk; the floor laid over with green frieze; a pall (a state canopy) of gold set with precious stones was placed over the king's head when he sat at meat, and the halls and chambers were perfumed with sweet odours, very delectable to the senses of men.** In spite, however, of all these honours which the duke paid to his royal guest, and the love tokens which passed between the king and the young lady, who is said to have been deeply captivated by his handsome appearance and gallant accomplishments,† the marriage treaty was ultimately broken off; and James transferred his addresses to the Princess Magdalene, the beautiful daughter of Francis, for whose hand he had already made repeated overtures to her father. Magdalene is said, by the French historians, to have fallen in love with the Scottish monarch at first sight; and although Francis earnestly dissuaded the match, on account of the extreme delicacy of his daughter's constitution, her physicians having assured him 'that she was not strong enough to travel to a colder climate than her own, and that if she did, her days would not be long'—the youthful lovers turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances, and their nuptials were

Marriage of
James to the
Princess Magda-
lene.

solemnized with unusual splendour, on the first of January, 1537, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The president and members of the parliament of Paris, clad in scarlet robes, went in state to offer a congratulatory address to the Scottish king, and then headed the procession which preceded that monarch in his state entrance into the capital, as the affianced husband of the Princess Magdalene—an honour which had never before been paid to any foreign prince or potentate.‡ At the celebration of the marriage the Kings and Queens of France and Navarre, the Dauphin of France, the Duke of Orleans, and other French nobles, with a deputation from the Scottish nobility, and many illustrious foreigners,

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

† Francis attempted to compensate the Lady of Vendôme for her disappointment, by offering her another consort of suitable rank, but she declined all matrimonial overtures and retired into a convent.

‡ The parliament strongly objected to this unusual proceeding, and entreated Francis to consider well the bad consequences that might result from such an innovation upon their ancient customs. They also protested against any alteration in the costume of the parliament, and spent nearly a week in debating on this matter before they would submit to the royal pleasure.—See Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 303, 304. It is mentioned in the ancient account of the proceedings that James did not make any speech in reply to the complimentary address of the president, 'because he knew so little of the French language.'

surrounded the altar, and seven cardinals assisted at the ceremonial.* "There was never sic (such) solemnitie," says Pitseottie, "nor sic nobilitie seen in France in one day, as was at that time there. For through all France that day there was jousting and tournaments, with all other manly exercises, as also skirmishing of ships through all the coasts and firths; so that in towns, lands, seas, villages, castles and towers, there was no man that might have heard for the reard (roaring) and noise of cannons and other munitions, nor scarcely have seen for the vapours thereof. There was also within the town of Paris cunning carvers and profound negromancers, who by their art caused things appear which were not; dragons flying in the air, spouting fire on others; rivers of water running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder; and these wonders were seen both by the nobility and common people.†" The Scottish king and his youthful queen remained at her father's court until the spring; and such was the influence which James possessed with his father-in-law, that he is said to have disposed of civil and ecclesiastical preferments, and to have dispensed pardons to prisoners as freely as if he had been in his own kingdom; for Francis could refuse him nothing, and was entirely guided by his wishes.

Meanwhile his own subjects having become impatient under the protracted absence of their sovereign, which had now extended to nearly nine months, preparations were made for the departure of the royal couple. An application to the English monarch for permission to pass through his dominions was discourteously refused, partly, it appears, from the dissatisfaction felt by Henry at the refusal of his request for the pardon of the Douglasses, and partly from unwillingness to incur the expense of entertaining his nephew in a manner suitable to

their return to his rank.‡ James was therefore Scotland. compelled to return by sea; and having embarked at Dieppe, after a stormy passage§

* An interesting view of the ceremony is given in a curious contemporary painting which formerly decorated the gallery of the Luxembourg palace, and is now in the collection of Lord Elgin, at Broom-hall, in Fife.

† Pitseottie, vol. ii. p. 370.

‡ Tyler, vol. v. p. 214.

§ The vessel which carried the royal couple was compelled to anchor for some time off Scarborough, in consequence of the violence of the wind, and many of the inhabitants of the Yorkshire coast came out in boats to see the Scottish king, some of whom, it appears, went down on their knees to James, entreating him to enter England with an army to deliver them from the tyranny of Henry. The Duke of Norfolk, who had come to Scarborough, apparently with the hope that the stormy weather would compel the royal voyagers to land on the English coast, where there can be no doubt they would have been made prisoners, says in a letter to Cromwell, "If God had sent such good fortune that the King of Scots had landed in these parts, I would so honestly have handled him, that he and his bride should have drunk my wine at Sheriffe-Hutton before he had returned to Scotland. I was in some hope of this, for the wind was very straineable on Wednesday morning."—Norfolk to Cromwell, dated Bridlington, May 18th, 1537; Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317.

he arrived with his bride at Leith, on the nineteenth of May. They were received with great rejoicings by an immense concourse of all classes of the community, who came to welcome their sovereign home, and to see their new queen. As soon as she landed, Magdalene knelt down upon the ground, and 'kissed the moulds thereof,' whilst she returned thanks to God for having brought the king and her safely through the seas, and prayed for the happiness of her new country: an incident which seems to have greatly endeared her to the affections of the Scottish people.* Preparations were commenced on a scale of great magnificence for the coronation of the young queen, which was intended to be a day of gladness and festivity throughout the whole realm.† But scarcely had the rejoicings for her arrival ceased, when it became apparent that Magdalene was sinking under that insidious malady the seeds of which she had long carried in her constitution; young queen.

and to the inexpressible grief of her husband and the whole nation, she expired on the tenth of July, before she had completed her seventeenth year. Brantome states that "she was very deeply regretted, not only by James V., but by all his people, for she was very good, and knew how to make herself truly beloved. She had a great mind, and was most wise and virtuous." "All the great triumph and joy of her coming," says Pitseottie, "was turned to dolor and lamentation, and all the play that should have been made, was turned into soul masses and dirges; and such mourning throughout the country, and lamentation, that it was great pity for to see; and also the king's heavy moan that he made for her was greater than all the rest." She was interred with great pomp in the royal vault, in the Abbey of Holyrood, near the coffin of James II., and her epitaph was composed in elegant Latin verse, by the celebrated George Buchanan; and her untimely death occasioned the first general mourning ever worn in Scotland.‡

The conduct of Henry during James's absence in France, had not been calculated to alay those resentful feelings which must have been excited by the

Conduct of
Henry during
James's absence.

open maintenance of Angus and his brothers at the English court, and his ungenerous refusal to allow the Scottish king and his bride to pass through England on their return to their own country. Carrying out the base policy invented by Lord Daere, of sowing disunion and treachery amongst the Scottish nobles, by means of an organized system of corruption and bribery, Henry had sent into Scotland Sir Ralph Sadler, an able and crafty diplomatist, who continued for the long period of half a century to exert an injurious influence on the affairs of the northern kingdom. Sadler was

* Pitseottie, vol. ii. p. 373; Lesley, p. 153.

† Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 136.

‡ It appears from an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, 21st August, 1537, that the learned poet was rewarded by the gift of twenty pounds.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lii.

instructed to communicate with the queen-mother, to gain over the nobility to the English interest, to sound the inclinations of the body of the people on the subject of peace and war, and to ascertain the sentiments generally entertained respecting the secession of Henry from the Papal see.* He found

State of parties in Scotland. Margaret eagerly prosecuting a suit of divorce against Lord Methven, her third husband; whom she accused of wasting her estates, and burdening them with debts. She was as ready as ever to betray the counsels of the government, and to lend herself to the treacherous intrigues of her brother's agents; but her venality and falsehood, together with her unblushing profligacy, had completely destroyed her influence. The council of regency, according to Sadler, was entirely devoted to the interests of the Romish see, and had artfully fomented hostile feelings towards England in the minds of the people, as the most effectual means of arresting the progress of the reformed opinions. The knowledge of these intrigues doubtless helped to alienate the feelings of the Scottish king from his selfish and unprincipled

Policy of James. relative, and to dispose him to join in the league which the Pope was labouring to form against Henry as the common enemy of the faith. His close alliance with Francis, whom the violence and haughtiness of the English monarch had once more estranged—the influence of his clerical councillors, who dreaded the extension of the Reformation into Scotland, and his displeasure at the favour shown to the banished Douglasses, all combined to render an open rupture with England by no means improbable. An order was issued for supplying the people with arms and defensive armour, and the king laid out the greater part of his revenue in military preparations, and especially in strengthening the fortresses of Tantallon and Dunbar, and providing them with an adequate train of artillery. It is stated by Sir Thomas Clifford, in a letter to Henry, dated 26th July, 1537, that for a month past James had, at least twice in the week, secretly repaired to Dunbar at midnight, with a train of only six persons, and after remaining there a day or two, returned also by night. He adds, that the Scottish artillery was in a high state of efficiency, as the king devoted to it his whole attention; and that Berwick, from the ruinous condition of its fortifications, was exposed to imminent danger.† The insurrection which had recently broken out in the northern districts of England, in consequence of the suppression of the monasteries, as well as the hostile league now forming against Henry on the Continent, gave greater significance to these warlike preparations on the part of the Scottish king, and it was generally believed that he was revolving some important change in his policy.

At this period the life of the monarch was twice

menaced by secret conspiracy, and although the ramifications of the plots are involved in much obscurity, there is every probability that they were

Conspiracy of the Master of Forbes—

both connected with the intrigues of the faction of the Douglasses. At the head of the first was the Master of Forbes, a turbulent and bloodthirsty baron, who, under the regency of Albany, treacherously slew the Laird of Meldrum in the town of Aberdeen. Having married a sister of the Earl of Angus, he had taken a prominent part in all the treasonable intrigues and lawless deeds by which the Douglasses had sought to regain their forfeited power and possessions. In June, 1536, Forbes was accused, by the Earl of Huntley, of a design to assassinate the king as he passed through Aberdeen, and of instigating a mutiny against the governor when the Scottish army was on its march to repel an invasion of the English. He and his father, Lord Forbes, were imprisoned upon these charges, but their trial did not take place till fourteen months after. The latter was acquitted, but the son was found guilty, condemned, and executed on the same day (14th July, 1537), at Edinburgh.* Some of the Scottish historians, while they admit that Forbes deserved his fate, yet affirm that he was innocent of the crime for which he suffered, and insinuate that the jury by whom he was tried were corrupted by Huntley.† But of this there is no evidence, and the conduct of James in liberating Lord Forbes, and not only abstaining from the forfeiture of his estates, but admitting the brothers of the criminal to his favour, and one of them even to an office in his household, proves the absence of all vindictive feeling on the part of the king, together with a consciousness of his own integrity, and a confidence in the acknowledged justice of the sentence, very remarkable in that age, when revenge for any intentional injury or dishonour was deemed a sacred duty.‡

The principal actor in the second plot, which was, in all probability, a branch of the same conspiracy, was Janet Douglas, a sister of the banished Earl of Angus, and the widow of Lord Glammis, after whose death she had married a gentleman named Campbell of Skipnish. Within a week after the death of the queen, and while James was overwhelmed with grief, on account of his recent bereavement, the nation was astounded to learn that another plot against the life of their sovereign had been detected; and only two days after the execution of the Master of Forbes, Lady Glammis and her husband, her son the young Lord Glammis, then only sixteen years of age, a priest, and a barber named John Lyon, were accused of conspiring the king's death by poison, and also of having treat-

* Sadler to Cromwell, 28th January, B. ii. 283; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 343.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 350, 351.

• Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 183—187; Lesley, p. 154.

† Buchanan, book xiv. chap. liiii.; Calderwood, quoted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 183.

‡ Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 346.

sonably assisted the Earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who were traitors and rebels. Lady Glamis was found guilty, and condemned to be burned at the stake, the common mode of death in that age for all females of rank in cases of treason and murder. She suffered the dreadful sentence on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, (July 17th.) in the presence of a crowd of spectators, who were deeply moved by her noble birth, her matured beauty, and the courage with which she endured her cruel punishment. Her son, Lord Glamis, was found guilty, upon his own confession, of concealing the conspiracy, but out of compassion for his youth his life was spared, and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which he was not released till the death of James, when he was restored to his estates and honours.* Archibald Campbell, the husband of the unfortunate lady, in attempting to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was dashed to pieces on the rocks. John Lyon, her accomplice, was found guilty, (Aug. 22,) of having been art and part in conspiring the death of the king, and beheaded; whilst on the same day, Alexander Makke, or Mackay, who had sold the poison, knowing from Lyon for what purpose it was bought, had his ears cut off, and was banished from all parts of Scotland, except the county of Aberdeen.†

The horrible punishment inflicted upon Lady Glamis excited great sympathy at the time, and Buchanan, and other writers, have pronounced her innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and have ascribed her condemnation to the implacable hatred which James entertained to the house of Douglas. But a careful and candid examination of the evidence adduced against her, shows that this opinion is unfounded. There can be no question that Lady Glamis was guilty of treason in assisting her brothers in their attempts to 'invade' the king's person and re-establish their authority in Scotland, and the whole circumstances of the case lead to the conclusion that she was also guilty of the other crime laid to her charge—the compassing the death of the king.‡

James was not long a widower; within a few months after the death of his youthful and delicate queen, he despatched David Beaton, nephew to the primate, to open negotiations for his marriage with

The king's second marriage. Guise, and widow of the Duke of Longueville. The preliminary arrangements were speedily concluded, and in June, 1538, Mary landed at Balcomie, in Fife, under the escort of Lord Maxwell and an admiral of France; and the nuptials were celebrated with due pomp at St. Andrews.§ But neither the attraction of this

new alliance, nor the anxiety occasioned by the recent conspiracies, diverted the king from the line of policy which he had adopted with a view to the increase of his wealth and the extension of his authority. His efforts to extend the royal authority. Several of the lucrative offices con-

nected with the ecclesiastical establishments at St. Andrews, Holyrood, Melrose, Kelso, and Coldingham, were made to minister to his aggrandisement, being conferred upon his illegitimate children, whose minority entitled him to draw, and enabled him to appropriate, the entire revenues.* He exacted large fines from Sir Adam Otterburn and an Edinburgh merchant of the name of Chisholm, who had been lately imprisoned on a charge of treasonable intercourse with the Douglasses.† Colville, the comptroller of the royal household, was arrested, and compelled to render an account of the sums which had passed through his hands in the discharge of his official duties.‡ The Earl of Bothwell was deprived of the lordship of Liddesdale, § on the plea that a district of the country so lawless and turbulent required the immediate control of the royal authority; and similar pretexes were employed to justify the king's resumption of certain lands held by Murray, his natural brother, and his cousin, the Earl of Huntley.|| Such encroachments on the power of an arrogant church and a jealous nobility, required both tact and firmness on the part of the sovereign. But James was by no means destitute of the ability to carry out, with combined prudence and resolution, his purpose of augmenting the influence of the crown. Whatever dissatisfaction may have been awakened in the minds of the individuals immediately interested, these measures seem to have been effected without provoking any general outbreak of discontent and opposition. In the course of the same year, the enmity against the Protestants Persecution of the Reformers. found vent in fresh and violent persecutions. Jerome Russell, a learned friar, and another still more eminent supporter of the Reformation, the historian Buchanan, were among the persons seized and thrown into confinement. The latter, however, contrived to escape from prison and took refuge in England, whence he subsequently fled to France.

The relations with England were at this period in an uncertain and unstable condition. Henry the Eighth professed indeed a desire to maintain a friendly understanding with his nephew, the Scottish king; but James, either distrusting this profession, or disinclined to meet it in a similar spirit, had been strengthening Danbar and other strongholds on his southern frontier. The principal disturbing element was the conflict of religious opinions in the two kingdoms. Henry had thrown himself into the work of reformation with all the

* Lesley, p. 154.

† Piteairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. pp. 199—202, 203.

‡ A very complete and satisfactory investigation of the charges against Lady Glamis, and the evidence by which these charges are supported, will be found in the Appendix to the fifth vol. of Tytler's History. See also Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 347—350. Appendix, No. XVII.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lv.; Lesley, p. 155.

* Lesley, p. 155.

† Wharton to Cromwell, 5th September, 11. vii. 232; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 353.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

impetuous energy that characterized his disposition. James, on the other hand, though not unwilling to see some restraint placed upon the Catholic Church, was still one of its avowed adherents, and lent his countenance to its oppression of the Protestants. Either country accordingly presented a ready asylum to the persecuted refugees of the other. The victims of Popish bigotry in Scotland sought safety under the shadow of Henry's throne; and English Catholics fled from Protestant intolerance to find shelter within the territories of James. It would appear that in the latter instance, the representations of the fugitives were permitted to affect the temper of the court on whose protection they had cast themselves. The Scottish monarch was not sorry to hear their report of general discontent prevailing in the neighbouring kingdom, and of the currency there of popular rhymes which foretold his speedy accession to his uncle's throne. In a letter to the Council of York, indeed, he repudiated these predictions, and stigmatized them as 'fantastic prophecies,' which he treated with disbelief and contempt.* Nor did he hesitate to issue edicts denouncing death and confiscation against all who should be found circulating them in his dominions. At the same time he disliked, and perhaps feared, the proud impetuous temper of Henry; his recent matrimonial connection, also, tended to bias his mind more decidedly towards France; and it can hardly be doubted that, while he professed a wish to maintain friendship with England, he contemplated with some satisfaction the unsettled state of that country, as favourable to his own independence and advancement. These feelings were strengthened by the return of David Beaton, whom the

Elevation of Pope had recently elevated to the rank of a cardinal, and by the accession of that able but unprincipled prelate to the honours of the primacy, in the room of his relative, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who died in the autumn of 1539. The new primate was a man of great abilities and towering ambition. Eager and unscrupulous in his devotion to the Papal Church, he signalized his return to his native land by fanning into a fiercer flame the fire of persecution against the Protestants. In company with Chisholme, Bishop of Dunblane, whose character, like his own, was stained with the gross vices which have so often accompanied the ordinance of celibacy, he presided in an ecclesiastical court before which five individuals were tried for heresy—Keillor and Beveridge, two Dominican friars, Dean Forret, Vicar of Dollar, Simpson, a priest at Stirling, and Robert Forrester, a notary of the same town. All towards the five were, without hesitation, condemned to the stake, and the cruel sentence was executed on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the first of March, 1538-9.† And

soon after, at Glasgow, Russell, a grey friar, who had been imprisoned during the previous year, and Kennedy, a youth of eighteen, passed through a similar fiery trial to the honours of martyrdom.* The memory of James must bear, in part, the stain of these unjust and cruel proceedings. But he seems to have viewed them with no unalloyed satisfaction. He was selfish, but not bloodthirsty; a stern politician rather than a blind zealot. He had enough of candour to disapprove of the haughty and licentious spirit of the Catholic hierarchy, and sufficient wisdom to perceive that such sanguinary acts tended to injure the cause which they were designed to advance. During the remainder of his reign, the spirit of religious persecution was compelled to content itself with a bloodless sacrifice.

In the beginning of the next year, Sir William Eure, on the part of England, met Negotiations with Bellenden and Balnavis, with England. commissioners from James, for the purpose of negotiating respecting the old interminable question, the lawless and troublesome state of the Borders. It was agreed, for the ends of justice and order, that fugitives from either kingdom should be seized and sent back to answer for their crimes under the jurisdiction of their respective sovereigns. The English envoy had also a private conference with Bellenden, an aged and experienced statesman, respecting the views and feelings prevalent at the Scottish court; on the ground of which he reported to his master, that James and many of his nobles were willing to see some reformation effected in the church. This induced Henry to entrust Sir Ralph Sadler,‡ in February, with Mission of Sir Ralph Sadler to James—the task of persuading the Scottish monarch to withdraw his confidence from Beaton, to renounce the Papal supremacy, and divert the ample revenues of the monastic establishments into the treasury of the state. The embassy had reference to another matter, which was causing considerable anxiety at the English court. The conference of Francis with the emperor at Paris boded no good to England, and Henry could not avoid fearing that his nephew was a party to some secret alliance which had begun to be formed against him. To inquiries on this point James returned a satisfactory answer, denying solemnly on oath the existence of the rumoured confederacy, in so far as he was concerned; but Henry's proposal for a personal conference he dextrously evaded, on the plea that his nobility were strongly opposed to the step; and that besides, in his existing relations with France, he could not give his consent unless the French monarch should be present on the occasion. Sadler had little success in —its failure. the other department of his commission. In vain did he accuse Beaton of secret dealings with Rome, and produce in evidence letters said to have been found in a Scottish vessel which had been wrecked on the coast of Northum-

* Maxwell to Wharton, 30th January; Sir W. Eure to Cromwell Calig. B. i. 295; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 354.
 † Spottiswood, 68; Keith, Hist. 9; Buch. xiv. 55.

* Spottiswood, p. 67; Knox, Hist. p. 64.
 ‡ Sadler's Letters, 15, 55, &c.; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 359.

berland. James affirmed that the purport of these letters had been previously made known to him, and declared his conviction of the Cardinal's loyalty. In vain did the ambassador enlarge on the indolent and vicious habits of the monks; the king intimated his intention of taking order for their restraint, but refused to entertain the idea of confiscating the monastic property. It has been said that the influence of this embassy was prejudiced by the paltry present which accompanied it; and certainly the gift of a few horses from the sovereign of England to his royal nephew, contrasted unfavourably with the profusion of French gold that found its way into the service of James. But there were other considerations, more honourable and more important, which powerfully influenced the mind of the Scottish king. He was firmly attached to the Catholic Church; he needed the support of the prelates as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles; and the illiterate condition of the latter made it hardly possible to dispense with the employment of the educated ecclesiastics in many of the highest offices of state. Henry, moreover, was still showing favour to the exiled Douglasses, and there was too much reason to suspect, that under all his professed zeal for Protestant principles he was actuated mainly, if not exclusively, by ambitious and selfish motives. Few, then, will marvel that the Scottish king shrunk from the course into which the mission of Sadler was designed to urge him; nor will many regret that Henry the Eighth failed to leave the impress of his spirit on the Scottish Reformation.

On the 22nd of May, the royal residence at Birth of a St. Andrews was filled with rejoicings by the birth of a prince,*

who was named after his father: and no sooner was the health of the queen restored, than James proceeded to execute a design which he had been contemplating for some time, with a view to strengthen his authority in the northern provinces of his kingdom. He wisely judged that the insubordination and deadly feuds which still prevailed in these remote districts would be most effectually quelled by a royal progress, undertaken with such a display of pomp and power as might awaken at once admiration and fear among the rude clansmen of the highlands and isles. Accord-

James's voyage to the Western Isles.

ingly he set sail from the Frith of Forth, with a numerous and imposing retinue, in a fleet of twelve large vessels, which had been carefully fitted out and well armed for the expedition. Six of these carried his personal suite and body guard; three others were laden with provisions and stores which were required on the voyage; and the remaining three were severally assigned to the Cardinal, the Earl of Huntley, and the Earl of Arran. Beaton commanded five hundred men from Fife, and Angus; Huntley conducted a force of five hundred men from the northern shires; while

* Aglionby to Sir Thomas Wharton, May 4th, 1540, Calig. B. iii. 217.

Arran led an equal number from the western districts, besides the royal suite and many gentlemen who followed in their train. About the end of May, after the auspicious birth of the heir to the throne, the royal fleet, thus gallantly equipped and manned, quitted the Frith of Forth, sailed along the coasts of Fife, Angus, Buchan, and Caithness, and crossing the Pentland Frith, reached the Orkney islands, where the king and his attendants were hospitably entertained by Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney. The expedition next proceeded to the coast of Sutherland, for the purpose of seizing Donald Mackay of Strathnaver; and then doubling Cape Wrath it touched at the Lewia, where Roderick Macleod and his kinsmen met the king, and were compelled to accompany him in his progress. The squadron then visited in succession the islands of Harris and Uist, and crossing over to the west coast of Skye, received on board Alexander Macleod, of Dunvegen, lord of that part of the island; and coasting round by the north of Skye, the king reached the district of Trouterness, where he was met by John Moydertach, captain of the Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, and other chieftains, claiming their descent from the ancient Lords of the Isles. James next steered for Kintail, where he was joined by the chief of the Mackenzies, and then proceeding southward by the Sound of Sleat, he visited in succession the islands of Coll, Tiree, Mull, and Isla, and sweeping along the coast of Argyle he passed the promontory of Kintire, and after a short stay at Arran sailed up the Frith of Clyde, and landed in safety at Dunbarton.*

The beneficial results of this voyage did not fall short of the wisdom that planned it, and the magnificence with which it was executed. Many of the turbulent chiefs, attracted by the splendid pageant, or awed by the strong array, paid ready homage to their sovereign as he passed; others, who ventured to assume an attitude of resistance, were seized and detained in confinement until some time after the king's death. A new train of thought and feeling, favourable to the interests of order and industry, was stirred among the contentious marauding clans; and to James V. belongs the honour of having first effectually undermined and shaken the partition wall of mutual jealousy and aversion which had so long separated the Scottish people into two discordant and hostile races. Other minor advantages resulted from this laudable undertaking. The king had caused Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot and hydrographer, to attend him on the voyage; and the charts and nautical observations, which he published on his return, were reckoned of such value, that besides being printed at London, they appeared at Paris in a French translation, under the

* Lesley, p. 156; Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, pp. 147, 148. The date of this expedition has been mistaken by Lesley, Buchanan, and all our early historians, some placing it in 1535, others in 1539. Pinkerton was the first to point out that the true date is 1540.

auspices of the Royal Geographer there. It was also from information acquired in this expedition, that James was led in the close of the same year to adopt measures for checking the intrusion of foreign vessels on the fishing grounds belonging to the Orknéy and Shetland isles.

Soon after his return from his northern expedition, James received a private communication, which involved a charge of treason against Sir James Hamilton of Evandale and Draphane, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran. The knight had been a favourite with the king in former days, and during the royal minority had possessed considerable influence at court. He had subsequently fallen into disgrace, however, in consequence of various acts of cruelty and oppression, into which his fierce and passionate temper had hurried him. He was also a bigoted adherent of the Catholic church, and had taken a prominent part in the persecution of the Protestants; and no hand was more deeply stained than his with the blood of his own relative, Patrick Hamilton, who suffered in 1528. At a more recent period, when the bishops were empowered to elect a Special Justiciary, for the more effectual punishment of heretics, their choice had fallen on the knight of Evandale, in whom they were certain of finding a fierce and unscrupulous agent of their sanguinary designs.* He was now accused of having conspired, with some adherents of Angus, against the authority of the crown, and even, it is said, against the king's life. The crime, however, was of old date, twelve years having elapsed since its occurrence, though it was now revealed for the first time. James was on his way from Edinburgh to Falkland, when a young man hurriedly met him, and requesting a secret audience, gave him notice of the matter. Without interrupting his journey, the king despatched the messenger with his ring to Learmonth, master of his household, authorising him and two other officers of his court to receive the deposition of the informer, and act upon it according to their judgment of its credibility and importance. Sir James was immediately arrested and thrown into prison; and being soon afterwards

brought to trial, on the accusation of James Hamilton of Kineavil, sheriff of Linlithgow, and brother to the first Scottish martyr, he was found guilty and beheaded. To the last he affirmed his innocence; and at this day it is difficult to penetrate the obscurity which time has thrown over the facts of the case. But he seems to have had a fair assize, and his general character was not such as to affix any improbability to the question of his guilt. His death was viewed by some of the Protestants as a divine judgment against the persecutor of God's people. An old chronicler, after narrating the circumstances in detail, makes allusion to the Scripture history of Haman, and adds,

* Buch xiv. 57; Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 335; Cook's Hist. of the Re-form. vol. i. p. 290.

"Richt so the furie of Sir James Hamiltoun, quhill he thought to have exerceed upon Godis servantis, be the counsel of evill and seditious bischopis, was in the end suddenlie turned upon himself."*

This incident exerted an unfortunate influence on the mind of the king. Whether the memory of his former friendship for Hamilton awakened some train of gloomy reflection in his

Effects of these conspiracies on the mind of the king.

breast, or whether, as is more probable, a painful impression of his insecurity was forced upon him by the thought of the long concealment of the baron's crime, he became depressed and melancholy, forsaking his wonted amusements to spend the day in solitude and heaviness. Images of terror haunted his fancy, and night brought to his pillow fearful dreams, which frequently startled him from his sleep, to see in the creatures of his disordered brain vengeful and threatening apparitions of the dead.† Such is the picture presented by some historians of the period; and though its dark features are probably exaggerated, it seems to contain a basis of truth. It is not unlikely that the king's mind began to display at this time something of that morbid sensibility which, under the influence of coming misfortunes, unnerved his frame, and operated as a principal cause of his early death. These gloomy forebodings, however, if they did exist, were not of long continuance. By the close of the year, when the parliament met, James was prepared to carry on with renewed energy his schemes for the reduction of the overgrown power of the nobility, and the extension of the royal prerogatives. An act was passed, confirming an edict which he had issued three years before at Rouen, for the revocation of all the crown-rights which had been alienated during his minority. This was

Annexation of the forfeited estates to the crown.

followed by another act, annexing to the throne the Hebrides, the Orkney, and the Shetland isles, the superiority of the earldom of Angus, and the Evandale estates, with a number of other lordships, among which were Liddesdale, Glanmis, Douglas, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Preston, Tantallon, and Bothwell; the declared grounds of forfeiture being the disaffected condition of the districts, and the treasonable practices of the feudatories. At the same time the dissatisfaction which these sweeping measures tended to awaken among the aristocracy, was sought to be allayed by a general amnesty, from which, however, the banished Earl of Angus, his brother, Sir George Douglas, and their adherents, were specially exempted. Orders were also

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 389. Hamilton was Master of the Works to James V., and superintended the building or additions to the Palace of Linlithgow, Blackness Castle, and other royal edifices.

† Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 300; Buch. book xiv. chap. lviii.; Drummond, 336. All these historians mention the report that Sir James Hamilton appeared to the king in a dream, brandishing a naked sword, with which he cut off both his arms, and then threatened to return after a short time and take away his life. The superstitious connected this dream with the death of the king's two sons which took place almost immediately after.

issued for the regular holding of the 'weapon-shaws' twice a year throughout the country; and there was added a careful specification of the arms with which the various classes composing the military array of the kingdom were to provide themselves. The next meeting of parliament, held in Mareh, 1541, was chiefly distinguished by the statutes which it enacted with reference to ecclesiastical affairs. The denial of the Pope's supremacy was made a capital crime; conventicles were strictly prohibited; suspicion of heresy was declared a disqualification even for municipal office; all correspondence with protestants was forbidden, and a reward offered for the discovery of those who favoured the obnoxious faith: while over against these oppressive acts was placed a meagre general ordinance, enjoining the clergy to greater purity of life, and a more faithful discharge of their religious functions. In the matter of trade, the manufactures of the country and its commerce with foreign lands were made the subject of several regulations; in the judicial department, the recent institution of the college of justice was confirmed; notaries and other legal functionaries were required to pass through a certain course of preparatory training; and it was ordered that the acts of parliament should be printed and circulated among the people, from a copy authenticated by the signature of the elerk. Some additions were also made to the rules for the arming and training of the persons liable to military service.

The prospect of continued peace with England was becoming more and more insecure. Beaton and the clergy contemplated a rupture between the two kingdoms as the most effectual means of closing the ear of James against the arguments with which his uncle still urged him to embrace the cause of the Reformation. Their influence in the councils of their sovereign may be traced in a proclamation which appeared soon after the dissolution of parliament, ordering the preparation of sixteen large and sixty small pieces of ordnance; and enjoining the whole military array of the country to be in readiness for taking the field on a day's notice. The middle of the year, however, brought a series of events which concentrated the thoughts of the Scottish king with painful interest on his domestic affairs.

In the month of April, 1541, Mary of Guise gave birth to another son; but the joy which this event occasioned was immediately clouded by the death

of the infant; and nearly at the same moment his elder brother, the heir to the crown, was attacked with a mortal malady, and died at St. Andrews before his afflicted father could reach that town.* "The death of the two infant princes," says Pitseottie, "caused great lamentation to be made in Scotland, but especially by the queen, their mother. Yet," continues he, "the queen comforted the king, saying, they were young enough, and God would

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 371.

raise them more succession." The princely infants were buried on the same day in the royal vault at Holyrood, "and there was more dolour in all the land for their death, than there had been joy for their birth."

Shortly after the death of the infant princes, Margaret the queen dowager closed her varied and turbulent life at Methven Castle, in the fifty-second year of her age. In spite of excellent talents and great energy of character, her treacherous intrigues, violent temper, and licentious life, had lost her the confidence of all parties in the kingdom, and entirely ruined her influence. Shortly before her death, she was eagerly engaged in seeking to obtain a divorce from Lord Methven, her third husband; but, to her grievous discontent, her son pre-emptorily quashed the scandalous procedure. She was interred with great magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, at Perth, in the tomb of James the First and his queen, the founders of the monastery.*

James, thus suddenly rendered childless, felt keenly the severity of the blow; but did not long yield to the enervating influence of sorrow. He sought relief in that which, next to religion, is the best comforter—active exertion in useful enterprises. For the improvement of the breed of horses in his dominions, he began to import a superior stock from Sweden and Denmark.† The skill of the French and Flemish armourers was tasked to increase the efficiency of his military resources. A number of mechanics skilled in the ornamental and industrial arts were attracted from the continent by the promise of royal patronage and liberal remuneration. The University of Aberdeen was honoured with a visit; and for fifteen days the king and his consort were entertained with literary disputations and classic dramas enacted by the students.‡ On their return, Sir John Campbell of Lundie was despatched to the Netherlands, with instructions to procure redress for some encroachments on the Scottish fisheries. These laudable attempts to promote national interests, which were then so generally undervalued and neglected, will be viewed as interesting features in the reign of a monarch, who, with all his defects and errors, deserves to be remembered in Scotland with affection and esteem.

The Cardinal, with Panter the Secretary, proceeded, in July, through France to Rome, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining his appointment as legate in Scotland, but probably also with secret powers to communicate with the Pope, the Emperor of

* Lesley, p. 157. It is said that, on the demolition of the monastery by a mob at the Reformation, these royal remains were transferred to the east end of St. John's church. The spot is supposed to be marked by a large blue marble slab, carved in two compartments, with the royal crown of Scotland over each, adorned with *four de-lis*.

† Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 372.

‡ Lesley, p. 159.

Germany, and the French king, respecting a scheme which was understood to be under consideration, for a powerful confederacy against the haughty champion of the Reformation in England. Henry had not yet abandoned the hope of inducing James to adopt his policy; and as the absence of Beaton seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for a new effort in that direction, Sadler was

Second
embassy of
Sadler.

once more despatched on an embassy to Scotland. But Henry altogether miscalculated the spirit

of his nephew when he dictated the terms of the message which his envoy was commissioned to deliver to James. The exhortation not to be 'a brute or a stock' in the hands of the clergy; the offer of a wise man to instruct him; the reference to crafty juggling priests leading the blind by the nose,*—must have deeply offended the Scottish king; and it was only by repeated importunity that he was at length persuaded to give a reluctant consent to the proposal for an interview with Henry at York.† Ere the time fixed for this meeting arrived, the English Borderers, headed by their wardens, broke into the south of Scotland, committing the savage excesses by which such forays were usually characterized; and James reckoned this a sufficient reason for absenting himself from the projected conference.‡ Henry proceeded to York in the autumn of the year 1541, and remained there six days, in expectation of the

James fails to
meet Henry at
York.

arrival of his nephew, who, however, failed to appear. The proud temper of the English monarch at

once fired at the supposed insult. Hurrying back in deep indignation to London, he ordered immediate preparations to be made for commencing hostilities, and took steps for the revival of the old ridiculous claim of feudal superiority over the Scottish kingdom. At this crisis the Scottish king was evidently desirous to remain at peace. The security of his throne had been affected by the loss of his children; he was in debt; and he had reason to suspect that the fidelity of his nobles could not be relied on. Under these circumstances, public policy and private feeling alike made him dread hostilities with England; and he endeavoured to avert a rupture by sending an embassy to excuse his failure to appear at York, and to express a desire for reconciliation. The outbreak of hostilities was thus delayed for a time, and the risk of an open rupture might probably have passed by, had not disputes respecting the crown of Ireland, and the incessant complaints from the Borders, renewed

and strengthened the feelings of jealousy and suspicion on both sides.

The English monarchs had long borne the title of Lords of Ireland; for which Henry had recently substituted the more august designation of King of that country. But his actual possessions there were of trifling extent, and his authority in other districts was little more than nominal. Many of the insular chiefs resented his new claim to regal jurisdiction, which was the more offensive to them because his zeal in the cause of the Reformation ran counter to their own religious principles. It was natural for them to turn their eyes towards Scotland, a country with which they were connected by ancient ties of affinity; and towards James, who had lately been styled 'Defender of the Faith,' by the head of the Catholic Church. The embassy, which they sent to the Scottish king at this time, not only requested his aid, but offered

Irish embassy
to the Scottish
court.

him the titular sovereignty of their island. James in all likelihood did not contemplate, for the present at least, any decided movement in the direction to which they pointed; but his reception of their envoys was of such a kind as to aggravate the suspicion and displeasure of his uncle, who was now opportunely freed from the risk of any powerful combination against him on the continent, by a new quarrel between the Emperor and Francis. Henry was resolutely bent on war; and, though commissioners once more met, in July, 1542, to attempt an amicable adjustment of the points in dispute, their negotiations failed to prevent, and indeed scarcely retarded, the outbreak of hostilities. On which party the first acts of aggression were

War with
England.

chargeable cannot now be easily determined. The manifesto of the English king asserts, that on the 4th of July the Scots made a hostile inroad on his dominions; while James, on the other hand, maintained that his territories had been twice invaded before he instituted reprisals. The outrages referred to were, probably, Border forays, such as had often occurred, and been redressed without provoking a national contest. But the state of feeling on both sides placed insuperable obstacles in the way of a reconciliation, and the hope of avoiding a rupture was finally extinguished by the battle of Hadden-Rig, in which the English were defeated by Huntley and Home. It was in the month of August, when Sir Robert Bowes, who held the command of Norham and the wardenship of the Eastern Marches, assembled a band of three thousand horsemen, and swept across the frontier into Scotland. Accompanied by Sir John Widdrington, his brother, and several other knights, along with the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, he ravaged Teviotdale, and was preparing to advance towards Jedburgh, when he was met at Hadden-Rig, a few miles to the east of Kelso, by the Earl of Huntley, to whom James had committed the defence of the Borders. A fierce encounter took place, which was decided in

* Calig. B. l. 52—70; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 374.

† Copy of Articles, &c., in the State Paper Office, December, 1541; Tyler, vol. v. p. 242.

‡ Tyler, vol. v. p. 242; Articles delivered by the King of Scots to the Bishops of Orkney and Aberdeen relative to the depredations by the English Borderers. Pitscottie says that the bishops, in apprehension that James might follow his uncle's example in casting down the abbeyes, bribed the king to bide at home, and gave him three thousand pounds by year to sustain his house off their benefices."

favour of the Scots by the timely arrival of Lord Home with four hundred lances. The English were completely defeated, and left six hundred prisoners in the hands of the enemy, among whom were the warden himself, his brother Richard, Sir John Widdrington, Sir William Mowbray, and many other persons of note. Angus would have shared the same fate, but he succeeded in dispatching with his dagger the knight who had seized him, and saved himself by flight.*

Mortified and enraged at this defeat, Henry lost

The Duke of Norfolk invades Scotland— no time in taking measures for inflicting vengeance on the Scots.

He ordered a muster of twenty thousand men at York, and instructed the Duke of Norfolk, whom he had styled 'the scourge of the Scots,' to hasten thither for the purpose of directing the formidable array against his northern neighbours. Not fewer than six English earls joined the Duke's standard, besides Angus and his partizans; but the advance of the expedition was delayed for a month by the arrival of another embassy from James, proposing a renewal of the negotiations, and indicating a disposition to grant Henry the long-sought interview. If the Scottish king still really desired a pacification, his hope was disappointed; if he merely wished to temporize, he gained a considerable advantage by the delay which he effected. The winter had begun to set in ere Norfolk took the field; and it was with little more than half the force which had been ordered to assemble under his command at York, that he entered Scotland in the middle of October. His progress at first was unopposed; and he pillaged and burned the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh, with a number of granges and villages. But he found it impossible to carry his ravages far beyond the frontier. The inclemency of the season, and the appearance of Huntley, at the head of a powerful force, compelled him to draw his troops together, and assume a more cautious attitude. The Scottish leader prudently avoided a decisive engagement, and Norfolk was, in little

more than a week, under the necessity of retiring to Berwick, and disbanding the greater part of his army, which had begun to suffer severely from the want of provisions.

Meanwhile James had mustered an army of thirty thousand men-at-arms on the Borough-Muir of Edinburgh. But this imposing array contained elements of discord which neutralized its numerical strength. Not a few of the barons had a strong sympathy for the Protestants; others had been hoping to share in the rich spoils of the Catholic Church; and nearly all cherished suspicion and discontent under the remembrance of recent attacks on the power and privileges of their order. Their attachment to their sovereign had less effect than the presence of a hostile army within the Borders,

* Lesley, p. 162; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 394.

in drawing them to the field. Accordingly, when they reached Fala, on the verge of the Lammermuir hills, and there heard of Norfolk's retreat, they resolutely refused to proceed further. It was the anxious wish of the king to press forward with energy; but in vain did he urge the favourable opportunity presented, and the abundant means which they possessed, for carrying the war into the heart of England. The sullen leaders, conscious of their power, persisted in their refusal, magnifying the difficulty of procuring supplies at that season,

Refusal of the nobles to advance into England. and maintaining that the law of their feudal service did not require them to do duty beyond the boundaries of the kingdom. It has been confidently affirmed by some historians, that the refractory barons manifested a disposition to renew the tragic scenes of Lauder Bridge, and to execute summary vengeance on the confidential advisers of the king, but that a difference of opinion among the leaders of the revolt, respecting the selection of their victims, prevented them from carrying their sanguinary design into execution.* They all but unanimously agreed, however, in obstinately refusing to cross the Border in pursuit of the retreating invaders, alleging as their reason, the scarcity of provisions, and the advanced season of the year. It was to no purpose that James remonstrated, and entreated them, as they valued their own honour and his, not to allow their villages to be burned and their country to be plundered and laid waste with impunity. Their feelings of loyalty and patriotism, at no time very powerful, seemed now to be completely extinguished. Even the desire of revenge against the enemy yielded to a determination to make their sovereign feel the effects of their dissatisfaction with his policy; and the king was ultimately constrained to disband his mutinous troops, and return to the capital, overwhelmed with shame and indignation.

Immediately after his return, James held a council at Holyrood, on the second or third of November, when, according to Knox, a scroll was presented to him by Cardinal Beaton, containing the names of more than a hundred of the principal nobles and gentry, including the Earl of Arran, next heir to the throne, who were either tainted with heresy, or in the pay of England, and leagued with the Douglasses.† Appended to this scroll was

Insidious counsel of the prelates.

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. p. 80, edited by David Laing, Esq.; Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 400. Sir John Scott of Thirlestane was the only baron who declared himself ready to follow the king wherever he should lead. As a reward for his fidelity, James added the royal tressure to his arms, and assigned for his crest a bundle of spears, with the motto, 'Ready, eye ready.' Lord Napier is the representative of this family. See Appendix to the Lay of the Last Minstrel, note C, 2.

† This remarkable statement is corroborated by a letter of Sir Ralph Sadler to Henry VIII., dated 27th March, 1543, in which he details a conversation he had with Arran, the governor, who told him, "That a number of noblemen and gentlemen the late king had gotten written in a roll, which were all accused of heresy, of the which (he said) he was the first, and the Earl of Cassilis, the Earl of Glen-

a minute account of the possessions of the persons included in this sweeping denunciation. A similar paper had previously been laid before the king by the Cardinal and his party on the return of James (July, 1540) from his voyage round the Isles; and it was hinted to him that the crown might derive great pecuniary advantage from so many rich forfeitures. This base and selfish policy, however, was at that time peremptorily rejected by the prudent counsel of the high treasurer, James Kirkaldy of Grange, and the high-spirited monarch indignantly replied, "Pack, you javells!* get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me; or else I vow to God I shall reform you—not as the King of Denmark does, by imprisonment; neither yet as the King of England does, by hanging and heading; but I shall reform you by sharp whingaris (swords), if ever I hear such motion of you again." James, at the period when he gave this stern rebuff to his intriguing prelates, evidently contemplated a reform in the Scottish church, the abuses of which had grown to an intolerable height; but the circumstances in which he was now placed had completely alienated him from his feudal nobility, and thrown him into the hands of the clergy; and when, after the mortifying affront which he had received at Fala, the Cardinal and his friends ventured to present to him the document which he had previously rejected, and to renew their former recommendation, it was at once accepted by the king, with an expression of great regret that he had so long neglected their advice. He saw plainly, he said, that the nobility were hostile to his person, and rejoiced in his dishonour, for they would not, to please him, ride a mile to follow his enemies.†

In these circumstances the clergy, with a few of the nobles who still remained faithful to the royal cause, resolved to make another effort to re-assemble the army for the invasion of England. A force of ten thousand men was collected with great expedition and secrecy, chiefly by the exertions of Lord Maxwell, and it was determined to make a sudden inroad

cairn and his son, the Earl Marishal, and a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score, because they were all well-minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow.—Sadler's Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

* Knaves or jail-birds.

† Knox's History, vol. I. pp. 81—83, and note, Laing's Edition. From an interesting letter of Sir William Eure to Cromwell, dated from Berwick, 20th January, 1539-40, it seems that either this or a similar reprimand was delivered to the prelates by the king at Linnithgow, immediately after he had witnessed the representation of Sir David Lindsay's play, called 'Ane Satire on the Three Estates.' After describing the 'Enterlude,' Eure proceeds, "My lord, the same Maister Bellenden showed me, that after the said 'Enterlude' finished, the King of the Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow (Gavin Dunbar), being chancellor, and divers other bishops, exhorting them to reform their fashions and manner of living, saying, that unless they so did, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of England, and as they were ordered, so he would order all the rest that would not amend."—State Papers, vol. v. p. 170.

into England by the western marches, and to plunder and lay waste the country; while, in order to mislead the enemy as to the point of attack, the Cardinal and the Earl of Arran were directed to advance as far as Haddington, and to make a demonstration against the eastern Borders. James rousing himself from his depression, advanced with the army as far as Lochmaben,* where, by agreement with his council, he halted, and Lord Maxwell broke across the Border, and began to ravage and destroy the country with fire and sword, while the inhabitants were taken by surprise, and totally unprepared for resistance. The king's distrust of his nobles, however, was still undiminished, and he had given secret orders that as soon as the expedition entered the English territories, his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, should assume the supreme command. Accordingly, when the Scottish army reached the river Esk, a halt was ordered near Solway Moss, the royal banner was displayed, the trumpets sounded, and the new general was elevated on the bucklers of the soldiers, whilst the royal commission appointing him to the supreme command was produced and read aloud by a herald.† This imprudent step was speedily followed by the most disastrous consequences. Many of the nobles were indignant at the preference thus unwisely given to the royal minion, and declared that they would not serve under such a leader; a spirit of discontent, and almost of open mutiny, spread from rank to rank; discipline and order were at an end; and the whole army fell into a state of hopeless confusion. At this critical moment a party of the English Borderers, consisting of three hundred horse, under Thomas Daere and John Musgrave, two active leaders, advanced to reconnoitre, and approaching near enough to perceive the disordered condition of the Scottish forces, though ignorant of the cause, they instantly availed themselves of the favourable opportunity, and boldly charged them with levelled spears. The effect of this surprise was instantaneous and fatal. The Scots, panic-stricken at the sudden attack, and taking their assailants for the van of a powerful army, threw away their weapons, and fled without even attempting resistance.

* Knox's History, vol. i. p. 83. Lochmaben was a royal castle, and was in ancient times the property of King Robert Bruce. Lesley, however, states, that during the time of this raid, the king remained in Caerlaverock,—a castle belonging to Lord Maxwell. Pitscottie agrees with Knox that the king 'was in the castle of Lochmaben.' The distance of either place from the Solway Moss was not considerable.

† Drummond mentions a report which has been adopted both by Pinkerton and Sir Walter Scott, that Sinclair was only raised to read the commission appointing Lord Maxwell general. This story, which is in itself extremely improbable, is contradicted by the direct testimony of Buchanan, Pitscottie, and Lesley. Oliver Sinclair was the third son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin. He was not a young favourite, but an old attached servant of the crown, and held the office of a gentleman of the bed-chamber when James V. was an infant. He was entrusted with the charge of Stirling castle, when the king took refuge there on his flight from Falkland. After the expulsion of the Douglases he was appointed governor of Tantallon castle.

In the confusion the greater number made their escape, a few were slain, but a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, including the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, Oliver Sinclair, the Masters of Rothes and Erskine, Home of Ayton, and almost every person of distinction who was engaged in the expedition. It is alleged that not a few of the nobles, who were in the pay of the English monarch, were taken willing prisoners, and that others chose rather to surrender to the enemy than to escape to their own country, and encounter the displeasure of their offended sovereign. A considerable number, according to Bishop Godwin, entangled themselves in the neighbouring morass, and were captured by the Scottish freebooters, and sold to the English.

The king had remained at Lochmaben, that he might earlier receive the intelligence, which he eagerly expected, of the success of the expedition.

When the news of the shameful discomfiture of his army first reached him he broke out into furious transports of rage against the perfidy of his nobles, under the conviction that they had conspired to betray the independence of their country, in order to gratify their personal revenge. His mind, already overstrained by previous disappointments and anxieties, sunk under the blow, and he fell into a state of the deepest melancholy and despair. After a sleepless night, during which he continued to reiterate at intervals the melancholy exclamation, 'O fled Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en?' he returned next day (November 25th) to Edinburgh, where he remained till the 30th, in strict seclusion. The queen was then at Linlithgow, in hourly expectation of her confinement; but as if desirous to avoid her presence in the hour of despondency and gloom, he secretly quitted the capital, and crossing over to Fife, went to Hallyards, the residence of the High Treasurer, where he was received with respectful sympathy by Lady Grange, a venerable and pious matron. He was accompanied only by William Kirkaldy, afterwards the celebrated Laird of Grange, and a few of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. At supper his hostess observing his depression began to comfort him, entreating him to take the will of God in good part. 'My portion of this world is spent,' he mournfully replied, 'for I shall not be with you fifteen days.' When his servants came to inquire of him where he wished preparation made for his Yule, or Christmas festival, which was near at hand, he answered with 'a disdainful smirk,' as Knox terms it, 'I cannot tell—choose ye the place; but this,' continued he, 'I can tell you, ere Yule day ye will be masterless, and this realm without a king.' From Hallyards he proceeded to Falkland, where he shut himself up brooding over his disgrace, and refusing to listen to any consolation. A slow fever preyed upon his frame, the result of a wounded spirit, a malady for which human physicians can devise no remedy. He would sit for hours in speechless despondency,

or would only mutter at intervals the old strain: 'Fy! fled is Oliver! Is Oliver ta'en? All is lost!' This could not last; 'he became,' says Pitscottie, 'so heavy and dolorous, that he neither eat nor drank anything that had good digestion, and became so vehement sick, that no man had hope of his life.' When in this hopeless condition, 'the post come out of Linlithgow, showing the king good tidings that the queen was delivered.' He briefly inquired 'whether it were man or woman that had been born to him.' The messenger replied that it was 'ane fair daughter.' The unhappy monarch, who had lost his two sons, had clung to the hope that his next child might be a boy, and was again met by disappointment. He seemed to have drained the cup of sorrow to the dregs, and his thoughts wandering back to the time when the crown of Scotland was brought into the Stewart family by the daughter of Bruce, he uttered the melancholy remark, 'Fare well, it cam wi' a lass, it will gang wi' a lass.' (It came by a girl, it will go with a girl.) 'And so,' continues the chronicler, 'he commended himself to Almighty God, and turned his back to his lords and his face to the wall.' The silence of this solemn moment was broken by Cardinal Beaton, who vociferated in the deafening ear of his royal master, 'Take order, sir, with your realm! Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? Ye have known my services, what will ye have done? Shall there not be four regents chosen, and shall not I be principal of them?' Whatever was the nature of the king's answer, the Cardinal succeeded in obtaining the royal signature to what his enemies affirmed to have been a blank sheet of paper, in which he afterwards wrote anything he pleased.* In this mournful condition the king remained for some time, but sense and consciousness appear to have remained till the last moments of his existence, for he turned him about once more, looked upon the few faithful nobles and councillors who stood round his bed, and as the chronicler expresses it, 'gave a little laughter,' kissed his hand to them in mute farewell, and then stretched it out for them to perform their last act of homage by pressing it to their lips, and this done, he 'held up his hands to God and yielded up his spirit.†

James V., who was thus cut off in the flower of his age, by a death far more painful than that of his father at Flodden, was undoubtedly one of the ablest sovereigns of his age. His natural talents were of a very high order; and in spite of his vicious and neglected education, his mental vigour

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 406; Knox's History, vol. i. p. 91. The statement of Knox is confirmed by Sadler, on the authority of the Governor Arran, who, on the 12th of April, 1543, said, "We have other matters to charge the Cardinal with, for he did counterfeit (quoth he) the late king's Testament; and when the king was even almost dead (quoth he), he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper."—Sadler's Papers, vol. i. p. 133. See also Lesley, p. 169, and Buchannan, book xv. chap. l.

† Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 407; Lesley, pp. 163, 166.

and energy of character enabled him to make up for the time which he had lost in youth, and to become as distinguished for his mental accomplishments, as for his skill in those athletic exercises which were the great objects of ambition among the nobles and princes of that period. He possessed a remarkable genius for the fine arts, and more especially for poetry and architecture. He managed the revenues of his kingdom with prudence and economy, 'encouraged fisheries, wrought mines, cultivated waste lands, and understood and protected commerce.' He was frank and affable in his manners, and easy of access to the poor; and he manifested the most praiseworthy zeal to punish the oppressors of his people, and to administer strict justice to all classes of the community. "The dangers of the wilderness," says Pinkerton, "the gloom of night, the tempests of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpless, to punish the guilty, to enforce the observance of the laws. From horseback he often pronounced decrees worthy of the sagest seat of justice; and if overtaken by night in the progresses which he made through the kingdom, or separated by design or by accident from his company, he would share the meal of the lowest peasant with as hearty a relish as the feast of his highest noble." According to Buchanan, James

was sparing in his diet, and very rarely used wine; patient of fatigue, cold, heat, and hunger; and in the depth of winter often continued day and night on horseback, that he might surprise the robbers in their lurking-places. On the other hand it must be admitted, that with many virtues the character of this unfortunate monarch was stained by great vices. His licentiousness must be in part attributed to the wicked counsels of those unscrupulous courtiers who sought in this way to degrade and weaken his mind, in order that they might prolong their ascendancy over him. His violent passions, implacable resentment, and immoderate love of power, led him, fatally for himself and for his kingdom, to adopt a course of policy which ultimately alienated from him the affections of his nobility, threw him entirely into the hands of the clergy, and induced him, in opposition to his better judgment, to support a cruel and rapacious hierarchy, in all their vindictive measures against the professors of the reformed faith. He died (13th December, 1542) in the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign, leaving one legitimate child, Mary, his successor, and six natural children, amongst whom was James, afterwards the celebrated Regent Moray.*

* Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lxii.; Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 384



Engr'd by W. Edwards



MARRIED JAMES V. OF SCOTS

JAMES V.

From a Painting in the Duke of Beaufort's Collection

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A.D. 1436—1542

The history of the church during the earlier part of this period presents few incidents deserving of notice. James I., who sought to enlist the clergy in his plans for repressing the insolence and tyranny of the nobles, and promoting the social improvement of the country, had wisely guarded their ancient privileges, and secured the restoration of church lands which had been alienated during the preceding reigns; but he vindicated at the same time the independence of the ecclesiastical establishment, by forbidding the purchase of pen-

sions and benefices from the pope, and permitting no clerk to pass beyond the seas without the royal licence, and security being given that he would not be guilty of simony. The same wise but jealous policy was adopted by James II., who procured from a provincial council of the clergy held at Perth in 1457, a declaration that the king had an undoubted right, by the ancient law and custom of Scotland, to the ecclesiastical patronage of the kingdom, by which it belonged to him to present to all benefices during the vacancy of the see. The prerogative thus firmly asserted does not appear to have been often used, nor was the freedom of election by the clergy to the higher ecclesiastical offices in any way interfered with until the reign of James III., who assumed not only the right of nomination to vacant benefices, but openly sold them to laymen. This monarch, whose character and conduct have been severely arraigned by the ecclesiastical historians of that age, has been accused by them of having unscrupulously invaded the rights and privileges of the church, whenever these interfered with the gratification of his favourites, and the replenishment of his exhausted treasury. In 1481, in order to give the sanction of law to his proceedings, an act was passed, declaring that "it is ordained by the king and his three Estates, concerning the privilege of the crown used and observed in all times past in the presentation to benefices during a vacancy in the sees of bishops, that our sovereign lord and his successors shall in future, during the vacation of a see, have power to present to benefices till the bishop show his bulls to the king's highness and to the chapter. And in case that our sovereign lord, of his special grace and favour, admit any prelate to his temporalities before he show his bulls, such admission shall imply no prejudice or harm to his highness concerning the said privilege or right of presentation."* Such enactments, which occur more frequently in the statute-book as we advance, may be accounted for and vindicated by weighty considerations of political expediency. The wealth and power of the church had reached

a height which seriously endangered the welfare of the community. During many years, the practice of bequeathing money or land to the church, with the view of averting the consequences of a wicked life, had been so successfully fostered by the priesthood, that more than one-half of the wealth of the kingdom had passed into their hands. The right of presentation to the church livings thus munificently endowed, had been at first conceded to the original donors and their heirs; but gradually and by the same process which had secured the grant of the benefice, the power of nomination was ceded by the laity, and the patronage annexed to one of the bishoprics, abbeys, or priories of the kingdom. The clergy had thus become absolute proprietors of a great portion of Scotland, while their subjection to the see of Rome and their freedom from the control of the civil law, rendered their influence in the state alike anomalous and dangerous. It became, therefore, the policy of the king and nobles not only to check the farther growth of this system, but to reduce it within such limits as would neutralize the evils which it necessarily produced. The assertion of the royal right of presentation to vacant sees, and the recovery of lay patronage, seemed the easiest and least objectionable mode of gaining these desirable ends. The policy or superstition of James IV. led him, indeed, to restore freedom of election to the clergy in 1493; but he imposed a salutary check on the encroachments of the Romish See, by enacting that no legate was permitted to enter the kingdom unless he was a cardinal or native of Scotland; and vigorous efforts were at the same time adopted to induce all the king's subjects, whether clergymen or laymen, who had pleas depending in the papal court, to withdraw their litigation, and submit to the decisions of their own sovereign.* In the following year, in consequence of the impoverished state of the kingdom, he forbade the exportation of money to Rome, under the penalties of rebellion and treason. In the last parliament of James V., the same heavy penalties were denounced on all intruders into bishoprics and abbeys during a vacancy. These measures were not without effect in restraining the cupidity of the clergy, and guarding the independence of the kingdom; but so exorbitant had the power of the church become, that at the period of the Reformation only two hundred and sixty-two benefices out of the whole number, consisting of nine hundred and forty, were not under its absolute control.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of the church was such that it provoked the contempt and indignation of the people, whose minds were gradually becoming imbued with the simple and scriptural doctrines disseminated by the Lollards. As the wealth of the ecclesiastical establishment increased, its higher offices were more eagerly coveted by men who were utterly disqualified for the sacred duties of the priesthood; and appointments to vacant sees were secured by intrigue and acts of

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

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. v. p. 284.

unblushing simony which outraged the ordinary decencies of life. Some of the bishops were men of dissolute habits, who lived in a state of open concubinage, and had large families, which were amply provided for from the patrimony of the church; and while surrounded by every luxury which their wealth could at this time command, they manifested a selfish indifference alike to the temporal condition and spiritual necessities of the people. Nor were the inferior clergy more favourable specimens of their order. The monks and friars were seldom restrained by the vows which bound them to a life of devotion and good works, but encouraged by the example of their superiors, became idle, dissolute, and profane. There were not wanting, indeed, among the dignitaries of the church, men of saintly character, who deplored the increasing corruptions of the priesthood, and sought to reform the abuses which they saw were slowly undermining the establishment. The venerable Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, was a model prelate, learned, pious, thoroughly conscientious, and devoted to his office, which he zealously employed in securing from his clergy the due administration of the ordinances of religion, and in the removal of hirelings and profligates from the ministry; but his exertions, though successful for a time in arresting the tide of degeneracy, failed to produce any permanent improvement. His successor, Patrick Graham, imbued with a similar spirit, succeeded in raising his bishopric to a metropolitan see, and returned from Rome armed with full powers from the pope to prosecute the work of reformation; but the clergy took instant alarm, and by bribing the king, secured the degradation and imprisonment of the prelate on the ground that he had violated the law, by leaving the kingdom and corresponding with the pope without the royal license.† Shevez, who had been the chief agent in the prosecution of this unfortunate prelate, succeeded him in the primacy, and by his unscrupulous and profligate conduct increased the evils which his predecessors had vainly endeavoured to remove. The clergy being responsible only to their diocesans or superiors, were able in a great degree to set at defiance the popular indignation which their vices provoked; but public opinion found expression in the satirical effusions

Satires of
Dunbar and
Lindsay.

of the poets belonging to this period,
who lashed with no lenient hand
the follies and crimes of the priest-

hood. Among these satirists, Dunbar and Lindsay occupy the chief place, and their poems, abounding in broad humour and biting wit, furnish a sad picture of clerical ignorance and profligacy. Dunbar represents his abbot as having a concubine; sending his sons to be educated at Paris; and though unable to preach, as skilful in playing at cards, dice, and tables; and Lindsay execrates the extortions of the vicar, whom he accuses of grinding the faces of the poor under the cloak of religion; while in the par-

* See ante, pp. 347—8.

† Ante. p. 351.

doner, or vagabond who hawks about his false relics, and sells indulgences for sins, he has given us a graphic picture of impudent knavery. These plays, some of which were not only printed, but acted in different parts of the kingdom, tended to swell the gathering tide of public indignation, and gave a powerful impetus to the progress of Protestant opinions which afterwards assailed and overthrew the ancient establishment.

The dissolute lives of the clergy were not re-deemed by the possession of great professional learning or aptitude for the general Ignorance of the duties of their office. In spite of clergy, and their the erection of the universities neglect of their duty. and colleges, their theological requirements were lamentably deficient, and contrasted unfavourably with those of the same class in England. A ludicrous example of ignorance, even in a dignity of the church, is mentioned by Lindsay of Pitscottie, who states, that Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, being called to Rome on business connected with the church, entertained the pope and his cardinals at dinner, and was requested, as the host, to say grace. The bishop, "who was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin, began rudely in the Scottish fashion, in this manner, saying, 'Benedicite,' believing that they should have answered 'Dominus,' but they answered 'Deus' in the Italian fashion, which put this noble bishop by his intendment that he wist not how to proceed forward; but happened out in good Scottish in this manner, the which they understood not, saying, 'The devil I give you all false carles to, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' Amen, quoth they. Then the bishop and his men laughed. And the bishop showed the pope the manner that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendment, and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scottish. And then the pope laughed among the rest."* Comparatively few of the higher clergy condescended to inculcate by preaching the doctrines and duties of religion, and those of inferior grade were either disqualified for the office, or entirely neglected it. This flagrant omission of duty, along with the progress of Lollard opinions, led to the institution of the order of preaching friars, who Preaching of the perambulated the country, preach- friars. ing to the people, and deriving their subsistence from the charitable gifts of their hearers. These

* Pitscottie, vol. i. p. 255. It is but fair to state, however that though grossly ignorant of their own profession, and in many cases totally unacquainted with the Sacred Scriptures, the Scottish clergy were still greatly superior to the nobility in general information, and in talents for political management. Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter to a member of the English privy council, in 1540, bears testimony to their great ability and experience in the conduct of public business. "To be plain with you," he says, "though the noble men be well-minded, and diverse others that be of the council and about the king; yet I see none among them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience to set forth the same, or to take in hand the direction of things. So that the king so far as I can perceive is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here."

men were in no respect superior to the regular clergy, either in learning or morals; but their discourses, though crude and coarse, and frequently directed rather to the enforcement of the superstitious practices of the church, than to the exposition of the simple and sublime principles of Christian faith, tended nevertheless to keep alive the spirit of national piety. Sir David Lindsay, in his poem of the Papingo, written in 1530, says,

"War nocht * the preaching of the begging frieris,
Tynt † war the faith among the secularis."

As these mendicant friars were regarded with feelings of mingled jealousy and contempt by the regular clergy, and from their associating on familiar terms with the common people caught something of the popular spirit and opinions, they began to assail, with no ordinary vehemence, the wealth, indolence, and pride of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and contributed to increase the odium in which

these were generally held. The censures of the church, which at first inspired the greatest dread, began gradually to lose their terrors; and even so early as the reign of James II. it became necessary to enforce them by civil penalties. This result was chiefly owing to the clergy themselves, who, by their scandalous abuse of this grand engine of priestly power, brought it at last into general contempt. The defence of William Airth, a friar, who was summoned to answer to the charge of having calumniated the clergy, may be cited as an illustration. Airth appeared at St. Andrews, before his judges, consisting not only of the doctors and masters belonging to the University, but of several of the dignitaries of the church; and having selected for his theme, "Verity is the strongest of all things," proceeded to argue, that cursing, if it were rightly used, was the most fearful thing on the face of the earth, for it was the very separation of man from God; but that it should not be used rashly, nor for every light cause. But now, said he, "the avarice of the priests, and their ignorance of their office, has caused it altogether to be vilipended; † for the priest, whose duty it is to pray for the people, will stand up on Sunday, and exclaim, 'Anne has lost her spindle.' 'There is a flail stolen behind the barn.' 'The good woman on the other side of the way has lost a horn spoon.' 'God's curse and mine I give to them that know of these things, and restore them not.'" In proof of the contempt into which this desecration of the censures of the church had brought the office of the ministry, the friar proceeded to relate to his audience a 'merry tale.' "After a sermon that he had preached at Dunfermline, he said he entered a house where gossips were drinking their Sunday's penny; and he being dry, asked drink. 'Yes, father,' said one of the gossips, 'ye shall have drink, but ye maun first resolve ane doubt which is risen amongst us, to wit, What servant will serve a man best on least expense.' 'The good angel,' said I, 'who is man's keeper, and makes great ser-

vice without expense.' 'Tush,' said the gossip, 'we mean no so high matters, we mean what honest man will do the greatest service for the least expense.' And while I was musing, said the friar, what that should mean, he said, 'I see, father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials servo us husbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last for a year, to curso all that look over our dyke (fence); and that keeps our corn better nor the sleeping boy, that will have three shillings of fee, a sark (shirt) and pair of shoon (shoes) in the year. And if their cursing do anything, we hold the bishops the best cheap servants in that behalf that are within the realm.' " The testimony of Airth is entitled to respect, as besides being a worthy specimen of his order, he was warmly attached to the church, and remained through life its devoted adherent. When driven from Scotland by the persecutions of his enemies, he fled to England, where he was imprisoned for defending the claims of the Pope, and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, against the encroachments of Henry VIII. †

While the scandalous lives of many of the clergy and their ambition and avarice were rapidly alienating the affections of the people from the church, the doctrines of the Lollards were making silent but rapid progress in the country. The tenets of Resby and Paul Crawar werestill cherished by great numbers of the Scottish people, though the fate of these intrepid martyrs prevented for a time any open display of sympathy for their opinions. At first little notice seems to have been taken by the bishops of the spread of these new doctrines, either because they were ignorant of the extent to which they prevailed, or had ceased to fear their influence; but at length in 1494, during the reign of James IV., Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned no less than thirty persons from the districts of Kyle

* Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 36—39.

† The Scottish parliament passed an act on the subject, on the 12th of June, 1533, in which the cause of this disregard of the censures of the church is mainly attributed to "the dampnable persuasions of heretick and their perversit doctrine," which, it is added, "gave occasion to lightly (or despye) the process of cursing and other censures of holy kirk." (Acts. of Parl. vol. ii. p. 342.) There is a singular production by one of the early Scottish poets, a priest named Sir John Rowll, called his 'Cursing,' which exemplifies the abuses to which this process was perverted. It was written between 1492 and 1502, and is directed chiefly against the stealers, among other articles,

"Of fyve fat geese of Sir John Rowll,
With caponis, hennis, and uther fowls;"

but it also contains a general invective against persons who defraud the clergy of their tithes or dues. It appears from certain entries in the Treasurer's Books that even ecclesiastical persons were not exempted from such censures, for on the 3rd of November, 1533, payment was made of forty shillings to Sir John Smyth, notary, "to pass and to execute the process upon the Abbot of Melrose and the Prioress of Jedburgh, for non-payment of their taxes;" and on the 1st of June, 1534, the sum of twenty shillings was made to "ane chaplain to pass to curse the Prioress of North Berwick and Eccles for non-payment of their taxes."—Knox's History, vol. i. p. 33, note.

* But for.

† Vilified disesteemed.

† Lost.

and Cunningham, in Ayrshire, to appear before the Lollards of council, to answer on a charge of heresy. These were not illiterate and unimportant individuals, but comprehended George Campbell of Cessnock, John Campbell of Newmilns, Adam Reid of Barskimming, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, and the Ladies Stair and Polkellie, besides other persons of note in the subsequent struggles for religious freedom. They were designated the Lollards of Kyle, and stood charged with no less than thirty-four articles of heresy, the more prominent of which consisted in condemning the worship of images; veneration for relics; and the offering of prayers to the Virgin Mary; the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the denial of the lawfulness of tithes, the supremacy of the Pope as the successor of Peter, and that the mass is of the nature of a sacrifice for sin. The issue of the trial signally disappointed the expectations of their enemies. So ably was the defence conducted by their leader, Adam Reid, a man of strong judgment and ready wit, that the king who was present treated the proceedings with ridicule; and it was thought prudent to dismiss the accused with a caution to beware of new doctrines, and content themselves with the faith of the church. Their peculiar opinions became thus generally known, and the failure of this attempt to suppress them by force gave a powerful impetus to the progress of Scriptural truth.*

An interesting incident of a similar kind, which occurred about this period, affords satisfactory evidence that the New Testament in the vernacular tongue, in manuscript, was in existence and in use among the Scottish people under the reign of James IV. The narrative is contained in the reply of Alexander Ales to the calumnies of Cochæus, published in 1534.† Arguing in favour of the reading of the Scriptures, especially in families at home, and addressing James V., the writer says:—"I will now add the decisions of princes; and, that I may omit others, I will relate to you a domestic example. I remember the most excellent king, your father, a very brave prince, by a remarkable testimony approved of this domestic practice. There was in your kingdom a man, not only of rank, but also distinguished for his exalted piety—John Campbell, Laird of Cessnock. His house might have been an example of Christian instruction, for he had a priest at home, who read to him and his family the New Testament in their vernacular language; and the morals, both of himself and of his family, corresponded with the glad tidings. He also assisted the poor in all kind offices; and although he had learned from the Gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God; that he might not seem partial to any rank, he was wont to receive also the monks into his hospitable abode. There, when he at times would familiarly converse with

his guests upon Christian doctrine, certain hypocrites, as it happened, understood that he attacked some of their superstitions. At last, his mind having been often sounded, the monks, violating the law of hospitality, and, as it is said, 'passing by the eating-table and the salt,' they carried his name to the bishop, and accused him of heresy.

"In that suit, when, after a long disputation, it appeared that both he and his wife were in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the king. Although the monks were grievously offended that the king should call the cause before himself, still he thought it belonged to his good faith and humanity that to good and noble men he should not fail to do his duty. He therefore graciously heard the cause on both sides; and when the husband, from natural reserve, and not a little agitated by fear of the monks, answered with modesty, the king commanded the wife to plead the cause. She then, quoting the Scriptures, refuted the charges brought against them so distinctly and wisely, that the king not only acquitted the defendants, Campbell, with his wife and the priest; but also, rising up, he caressed the woman, and extolled her diligence in Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened, that if ever after they created trouble of this sort to such honourable and innocent persons, he would punish them severely. To Campbell himself, indeed, he presented certain villages, that there might remain an honourable token of his decision, and of his good-will towards him; lest there should be supposed to lurk in his (the king's) mind any suspicion against Campbell because of the accusation of the monks."

With regard to the first introduction into Scotland of the sacred Scriptures in a printed form, it has recently been discovered, that Tyndale's version of the New Testament was imported into the country in the year 1526, nearly about the same time that it found its way into England. The proof of this interesting fact is furnished by a letter of John Hackett, the English ambassador to the Netherlands.* It appears that a considerable number of copies of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had been discovered in Antwerp, and that Hackett had exerted himself to procure the destruction of these books, 'for the preservation of the Christian faith.' At this period a considerable traffic was carried on between Scotland and the Low Countries; and certain of the Scottish merchants, who, by the authority of parliament, generally went along with their goods, had purchased a considerable number of the obnoxious volumes, and conveyed them to their own country, before Hackett was able to 'see justice done' upon them. In a letter which this busy agent of the English Romanists addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, dated from Mechlin on the 20th of February, 1526-7, there is the following account of this incident:—"I trust by this time that your Grace

Introduction of the New Testament into Scotland.

* Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 7-10, p. 2; Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 60.

† Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.

* Cotton MS., Galba b. vi. 4; Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. p. 409.

has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow (now Bergen-op-Zoom) upon all such English books as we could find in these countries, similar to three such other books as your Grace sent unto me, with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature. By my last writing to Mr. Brian Tuke, I advertised him how that there were divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such-like books, and took them into Scotland;—a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St. Andrew's. For the which cause, when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand—for there the said books were laden—I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a fire of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; but fortune would not that I should be in time; for the foresaid ships were departed a day afore my coming. So I must take patience for all my labour, with leaving my Lady Margaret's letters, and good instructions with my Lord of Bever, and [the Scottish Conservator in Flanders, Mr. John Moffat,] concerning the foresaid business."

When this important event took place the Scottish primate was a fugitive, in terror of his life, in consequence of his quarrel with the Douglasses; so that the importation of the sacred volume appears to have been carried on without hinderance for several years.

During the concluding years of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, no persecuting measures deserving of notice were employed against the adherents of the new faith. The untimely death of James IV., and the distracted condition of the country during the minority of his son, engrossed the attention alike of the ecclesiastical and civil rulers; while the contests for supremacy between the rival sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow, were favourable to the spread of the reformed doctrines, by suspending for a time the vigilant jealousy of the church. On the elevation, however, of James Beaton to the primacy of St. Andrews, matters speedily took a less favourable turn; and under the direction of this active prelate, the ecclesiastical courts, now thoroughly alive to the dangers which menaced the hierarchy by the circulation of the writings of Luther and the other reformers, took prompt and vigorous measures to prevent the increase of the principles of the Reformation. The first victim of priestly intolerance was Patrick Hamilton, a noble youth, whose eminent acquirements, unfeigned piety, and resolute bearing amid the horrors of martyrdom, have deservedly embalmed his name in the grate-
 Martyrdom of
 Patrick Hamil-
 ton—
 and the grandson of the Lord Hamilton who married

a sister of James III. His mother was a daughter of John Alexander, Duke of Albany, the second son of King James II. From his birth he was designed for the church, and accordingly in childhood had conferred on him the abbacy of Ferne.* It is uncertain at what period he adopted the religious opinions for which he afterwards suffered; but his altered manner, combined with the preference which he manifested for ancient literature instead of the barren philosophy taught in the schools, and his condemnation of the abuses of the church, appear early to have drawn on him the suspicions of the priesthood. With the view of escaping the consequences of this jealousy, and of acquiring a deeper insight into the reformed opinions, that he might afterwards more intelligently explain and defend them, Hamilton left Scotland for Germany, then heaving under the impulses of that new life which the Reformation had created. In the city of Wittenberg he visited Luther, and his amiable colleague Melancthon, who, won by the genius, piety, and thirst for knowledge displayed by the young Scotsman, entered warmly into his plans of study; and after instructing him in the principles of Scriptural truth, recommended him to the care of Francis Lambert of Avignon, who then presided over the College of Marbourg. Under this learned and devoted reformer, who had given up an excellent situation in his own country for the sake of his principles, Hamilton made rapid progress in learning, and mastered the great points of controversy between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. He was now seized with an irresistible desire to revisit Scotland, for the purpose of disseminating among his countrymen the views which he had adopted. He returned therefore in 1527, and began a course of preaching in which the distinctive doctrines of Christianity were boldly proclaimed, and the errors of the Romish church as faithfully exhibited and denounced. His noble birth, great talents, youthful appearance (he was then only twenty-eight), and winning rhetoric, attracted crowds who listened with eager delight to his discourses; and the clergy becoming greatly alarmed resolved to destroy him. This however could not be easily effected; for besides his near relationship to the king, the young reformer manifested a prudent caution in his public discourses, contented himself with proclaiming the simple truths of the gospel, so that it was difficult to fasten upon him the charge of heresy. It was at last resolved to obtain possession of his person, and by artful means to draw from him such admission of his views as would justify the summary proceedings which were contemplated. He was accordingly decoyed to St. Andrews, under the pretext that the clergy desired a free conference with him on important matters of Christian faith

* Hamilton however was merely titular Abbot of Ferne, and was not in holy orders. Ferne is a parish in the eastern part of the shire of Ross. The abbey was founded by Farquhard, first Earl of Ross, in the reign of Alexander III.

* Sir Patrick was slain in the skirmish of 'Clean-the-Causeway,' in the streets of Edinburgh, 30th April, 1520. See ante, p. 423.

and practice; and when he arrived in the city, Beaton, the archbishop, instructed Alexander Campbell, a Dominican friar, to insinuate himself into his confidence, and under pretence of conscientious doubts regarding the disputed points, to extract from him an avowal of his opinions. This base scheme was completely successful. Hamilton, interested by the well-feigned anxieties of the friar, and encouraged by what seemed the gradual triumph of truth over error, disclosed every secret of his mind; and the unscrupulous tool, having gained his end, returned to his employer, and reported the gratifying result of his visits. The plot was now deemed ripe for execution, and Hamilton was apprehended during the night, and committed to the castle. On the following day he was summoned before the ecclesiastical court at which Beaton presided, assisted by the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Brechin, besides many other dignitaries of the church. Campbell appeared as his accuser, and charged him with holding the following tenets:—1. That corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin as long as he liveth. 4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and an ill man ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented, do not make an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he that hath one of them hath all, and he that wanteth one wanteth all. 8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense,—that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn he cannot but sin. 9. That it is devilish doctrine to teach that by any actual penance remission of sin is purchased. 10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. 11. That there is no purgatory. 12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. 13. That the Pope is antichrist; and 14. That every priest hath as much power as the Pope.*

To the first seven of these articles Hamilton gave an unqualified assent, "whereunto he offered to set his hand; the rest he said were disputable points, but such as he could not condemn unless he saw better reason than yet he had heard." The council, after some discourse with the accused, deliberated upon the articles, and pronounced the whole of them to be heretical and contrary to the faith of the church; on which sentence was immediately passed against the accused, condemning him to the flames; while to give to it greater weight, not only were the signatures of the bishops and ecclesiastics present attached, but those of persons of rank attending the university, among whom was the Earl of Cassilis, a boy only thirteen years of age. Hamilton received sentence of death on the

28th of February, 1528;* and in the afternoon of that day he was conducted to the stake, which had been erected in front of the College of St. Salvador,† his judges being desirous it is said to anticipate the return of the king, who was absent at that time on a pilgrimage to St. Duthoc, in Ross-shire,‡ as well as to strike terror by his sudden and terrible fate. The calm and intrepid demeanour of the young martyr, during the closing scene of his life, is narrated with simple pathos by Spottiswood. "Being come to the place he put off his gown, and gave it, with his bonnet, coat, and other apparel, to his servant, saying, 'This stuff will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good. I have no more to leave thee but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit that denieth Christ before the congregation.' Then was he tied to the stake; about it a great quantity of coal, wood, and other combustible matter was heaped, whereof he seemed to have no fear, but seriously commending his soul into the hands of God, held his eyes seriously fixed on the heavens. The executioner firing the powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the side of his face were a little scorched therewith; yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon some were sent to the castle to bring more powder; whilst this was bringing, he uttered divers comfortable speeches to them that stood by: the friars all that time molesting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*. Amongst them none was more troublesome than friar Alexander Campbell, who, as we said, kept company with him at his first coming to the city; often he besought him to depart and not to vex him; but when he would not cease his crying, he said, 'Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didest confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.' The powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to say, 'How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this realm? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men?' and then closed his speeches with these words, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!'"§

The death of Patrick Hamilton produced consequences altogether different from —its influence those which his murderers had anticipated. His fate excited gene- in propagating the truth. ral sympathy, and drew attention to the principles

* Andrew Duncan, the Laird of Airdrie, had concerted a scheme for the rescue of Hamilton, but it was discovered and defeated.

† See Appendix, Note XVIII., for a copy of the sentence pronounced upon the martyr, and of a letter from the doctors of the University of Louvaine to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, commending him for the execution of 'the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton.'

‡ Knox, vol. i. p. 16. The accuracy of the statement, however, has been called in question apparently on good grounds.

§ Spottiswood, p. 63—64.

• Lindsay of Pittscottie, vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

for which he suffered. The harmony of these with Scripture became more apparent from examination; and the heroism which the youthful martyr had displayed during his trial and execution, attested their wonderful influence in supporting the soul amid the most execrating tortures. A little treatise in Latin, composed by Hamilton, containing a brief but clear statement of the plan of salvation, and a commentary on the Christian graces, was extensively circulated, and contributed to deepen and perpetuate the impressions which his preaching had produced.* Nor was the miserable end of Campbell, his betrayer, without its influence in strengthening the general persuasion that he had suffered for the truth. Stung by the reproaches of conscience, and unable to dismiss from his memory the horrid scene which he had witnessed, and the dying abjurations of his victim, the reason of the unhappy friar at last gave way, and he died at Glasgow about a year afterwards, in a frenzy of madness. It was a common saying at the time, "That the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected as many as it blew upon."† In St. Andrews, the scene of the tragedy, and the head-quarters of the persecutors, the opinions of the martyr made daily progress. Gawin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's College, and John Winram, the sub-prior, taught the principles of the Reformation to the students of the university, and the younger monks and noviciates of the abbey; so that it was customary to say of a suspected Lutheran, that he had drunk of the well of St.

Inre-
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confessor.

Leonard's. The king's own confessor, Alexander Seton,‡ a Dominican friar, became imbued with the new opinions, and boldly denounced the corrupt doctrines of the priests. He was in the habit of teaching that the law of God had been obscured by their traditions; that Christ was the end and perfection of the law; that man has no power to forgive sins, but that pardon can be obtained only by repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. His commanding eloquence and ready access to the king rendered his influence doubly dangerous; and having in a public sermon at St. Andrews not only vindicated the doctrines he had previously taught, but openly declared that according to the Scriptures bishops ought to preach, and that they who did it not were dumb dogs, who fed not the flock, but their own bellies, he was summoned to appear before the archbishop, to answer for his language. "Your informers, my

lord," said the friar, "must have been very ignorant persons, who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah and Zechariah, and Friar Alexander Seton. I said indeed that St. Paul declared that bishops ought to preach; and that the prophet Isaiah that they who feed not the flock are dumb dogs; but of my own authority I affirmed nothing, but merely declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced at whom, my lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justly be offended at me." The archbishop was highly indignant at this mode of reasoning, but he was afraid to take any open measures against Seton (for he was a person of great learning, courage, and influence), until by artful misrepresentations he succeeded in poisoning the king's mind against him. This was not difficult to accomplish, as James had been galled by his confessor's honest reproofs of his licentious conduct; and Seton, perceiving that 'the king's countenance towards him was changed,' retired from Scotland, and sought shelter in Berwick; from whence he wrote a letter to the king, offering to justify himself in his presence from the charges of his accusers, if he were allowed a safe conduct, and liberty of speech. To this offer no answer was vouchsafed; and Seton ultimately proceeded to London, where he became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, under whose protection he continued till his death, in the year 1542.*

The clergy were now thoroughly alarmed at the progress of the new opinions, and strove to extirpate them by the adoption of the most sanguinary measures. During the ten years which followed the death of Patrick Hamilton, a considerable number of persons in various parts of the country suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the cause of truth. Henry Forrest, a Benedictine monk, a native of Linlithgow, was arrested and thrown into prison by Archbishop Beaton, probably about the year 1532, on the charge that he had termed Patrick Hamilton a martyr, and affirmed that he was unjustly put to death, as the articles for which he was condemned were true. According to Foxe, he had expressed these sentiments under the seal of confession, to a friar named Walter Laing, who immediately reported them to Beaton. Forrest's confession was produced in evidence against him, and he was condemned to the flames as a pestilent heretic, 'equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton.' After being degraded from his holy orders, he was burnt at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrews, "to the intent," says Foxe, "that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine."† Two years later (27th August, 1534), David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, a priest, were condemned to the stake. Straiton was a gentleman of good family, brother to the Laird of Lauriston. He had

* Knox, p. 8.

† This expression was first employed by a gentleman named John Lindsay, a friend of the archbishop's, who, when Forrest was to be burnt for heresy, said to Beaton, "My Lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye will burn them, let them be in how (low) cellars, for the reek (smoke) of Master Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."—Knox, vol. i. p. 42.

‡ Seton was the youngest son of Sir Alexander Seton of Auch and Tillibody, in Stirlingshire, who fell at the battle of Flodden, in 1513. His mother was a daughter of Alexander, Lord Home.

* Knox, vol. i. pp. 45—52, and appendix. p. 531; Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 87—93, Wodrow Society Edition.

† Foxe, p. 896. Knox, vol. i. p. 53; Spottiswood, p. 60.

quarrelled with the Vicar of Ecclesgreig,* respecting the payment of tithes; and indignant at the exactions of the priest, he had directed his servants to cast every tenth fish they caught into the sea, and to bid the vicar's men seek their tax where he found the stock. In consequence of these violent proceedings, the thunders of the church were directed against him, and when these produced no effect, he was summoned to answer for heresy. Meanwhile he had received instruction in the principles of the Protestant faith, from the celebrated John Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest of the reformers, and had undergone a great change in his character and conduct. "He had before been very stubborn," says Calderwood, "and despised all reading, specially of good purposes; now he delighted in nothing but reading, albeit he could not read himself; and exhorted every man to peace and concord, and to the contempt of the world." It is related that, listening to a portion of the New Testament, which was read to him by the Laird of Lauriston, he came upon that passage where our Saviour says, 'He that denieth me before men, I will deny him in the presence of my Father and before his angels;' upon which he was deeply moved, and falling down on his knees, and extending his hands, he earnestly prayed, that although he had been a great sinner, God would never permit him to deny Him or his truth, from the fear of death or bodily torment. Norman Gourlay, who was 'a man of reasonabell condition,' was accused of having denied the existence of purgatory, and having affirmed that the Pope was antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. He had been abroad, and had married upon his return, which was the chief offence for which he suffered. For as Pitscottie remarks, while the utmost licentiousness was freely tolerated by the ecclesiastical courts, "they would thole (suffer) no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the dead."† Straiton and Gourlay were cited to answer for their alleged heretical opinions before an ecclesiastical court, which was held in the abbey of Holyrood. Henry, Bishop of Ross, presided as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the king himself took his seat upon the bench, completely clothed in scarlet, the judicial costume of the time. Every effort was made to induce Straiton to purchase his pardon by abjuring his faith; but he steadily refused to listen even to the earnest solicitations of the king himself, who seemed anxious to save his life. He was executed along with his fellow-sufferer, at the Rod or cross of Greenside, on the Calton-hill of Edinburgh.‡

On the death of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, his nephew, David Beaton, was appointed to the vacant see; and the elevation of this

able but profligate prelate to the dignity of a cardinal and the primacy of the Scottish church, was speedily followed by a renewed and more inveterate persecution of the reformers. —of friar Keilor, a black friar; Sir Dunean Simpson, a priest; John Beveridge, also a black friar; Forrester, a notary in Stirling; and Dean Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar, and canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch—were summoned to appear before a council, presided over by Cardinal Beaton, and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane,* and were all condemned to the stake. Friar Keilor had, according to the custom of the times, composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which, under the character of the chief priests and Pharisees, who persuaded the people to reject our Saviour, and Pilate to condemn him, he painted in vivid colours the conduct of the bishops, who induced princes and judges to persecute the disciples of Christ. This play, which was acted before the king at Stirling, on the morning of a Good Friday, appears to have excited the most lively indignation among the clergy. The Vicar of Dollar, who suffered along with Keilor, belonged to the house of Forret, or Forest, in Fife, and was the son of the Master of the royal stables in the reign of James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in his native country, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a noble lady, for the purpose of completing his education at Cologne. Returning to Scotland, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons respecting their allowance, and the latter got the book of the foundation, that they might examine into their rights. The abbot took the book from them, and gave them in its stead a volume of Augustine, which was in the monastery. "O happy and blessed was that book to me," did Forret often say, "by which I came to the knowledge of the truth." The study of the sacred Scriptures led him to embrace the doctrines of the reformed faith, and with the simple fearlessness of his nature he imparted his new views to his brethren in the monastery. He was successful in his efforts to convert the younger canons, 'but the old bottles,' he used to say, 'would not receive the new wine.' The abbot frequently advised him to say as others said, and to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord," was his reply, "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word that I have spoken, ye shall see this body of mine consumed to ashes, and blown away with the wind." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, where he rendered himself obnoxious to his superiors by his diligence in preach-

* Now called St. Cyrus, in Kincardineshire. Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii. p. 470.

† Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 357.

‡ Knox, vol. i. pp. 58—60; Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 106—108; Spottiswood, p. 66.

* It is stated by Keith, that Chisholm alienated the revenues of his bishopric in order to provide portions for his three natural children.—Keith's Catalogue, p. 105.

ing to his parishioners, a duty then invariably abandoned to the orders of friars, and by his generosity in relieving them from oppressive exactions. He taught his flock the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue; and also prepared a little catechism for the instruction of the young, and exhorted them all to look for salvation only through the blood of Christ. He was a diligent student, especially of the sacred Scriptures, and was most assiduous in the discharge of all the duties of the pastoral office. In his visitation of the sick and poor of his parish, he was in the habit of carrying provisions in his gownsleeve, to relieve their temporal wants while he fed their souls with the bread of life. When the agents of the Pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but solely by the blood of Christ." He incurred the enmity of his clerical brethren by refusing to exact what was termed the corpse-present, consisting of the best cow and uppermost cloth belonging to the deceased, which were claimed as a due by the vicar of the parish.* At the instigation of the friars, he was repeatedly summoned before the Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose diocese he resided, and accused of preaching and explaining the mysteries of the Scriptures to the people in the mother tongue. The Bishop, who seems to have been favourably disposed towards Forret, remonstrated with him, respecting his practice of preaching every Sunday, observing with great simplicity, that by so doing he might make the people think that the prelates ought to preach likewise. "It is enough for you," he added, "when you find any good epistle or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone." Forret replied that he had read both the Old and the New Testaments, and had never found an ill gospel or epistle in any of them; but if his lordship would point them out, he would preach the good and omit the evil. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the bishop, "for I thank God I never knew either the Old or New Testament.† I will know nothing but my breviary and my pontifical; but go your way, and leave these fancies alone, else you will repent it when you may not mend it." When brought to

—his execution.

Castle-hill of Edinburgh (March 1, 1538-39), he was annoyed by the impertunity of a friar named Hardbuckle, who urged him, but in vain, to pray to the Virgin Mary. The New Testament was then plucked from his bosom by one of the attendants, who held it up before the people, and cried 'heresy! heresy!' Then the crowd shouted, 'Burn him! burn him!' To which the

martyr meekly responded, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' He was then fastened to the stake, and continued to recite portions of the Psalms as long as consciousness remained.* Foxe says, that three or four men of Stirling suffered death at the same time, because they were present at the marriage of "the Vicar of Tullibody, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal."

In the same year Jerome Russell, a grey friar, and Ninian Kennedy, a youth of ^{Martyrdom of Russell and Kennedy} eighteen years of age, were convicted of heresy, and burnt at Glasgow, in spite of the intercession of Archbishop Dunbar,† that their lives might be spared. Kennedy, who is said by Knox to have possessed a fine genius for Scottish poetry, quailed for a moment at the prospect of a death so dreadful, and it was expected that he would recant; but the exhortations of his fellow-sufferer, Russell, speedily restored his fortitude, and falling upon his knees, he expressed in ardent language his gratitude to God, who had saved him from the guilt of apostasy. "Now," said Russell, addressing his persecutors, "I defy death. Do what you please. I praise God I am ready. Now is your hour and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you, falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities.‡"

Besides those who suffered martyrdom, many persons, chiefly belonging to the ^{Protestant exiles.} inferior clergy, who had adopted the new opinions, were compelled to consult their safety by a hasty flight from the kingdom. Gawin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, who contributed so much to spread the reformed doctrines, became at last suspected by the clergy, and found it necessary to consult his safety by escaping to England in 1533. Alexander Aless, a canon of St. Andrews, was so well versed in the chief points of the Lutheran controversy, that he undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from his heresy; but the conversation of the martyr, and his constancy in death, produced so powerful an impression upon the mind of Aless, that he became a convert to the new faith. A discourse delivered by him against the vices of the clergy, brought upon him a charge of heresy, and he was thrown into prison, from which, however, after a year's confinement, he escaped to the Continent, and in 1540, became professor of divinity in

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 128. See Appendix, Note XIX.

† Petrie, the Church Historian, says, "Because Bishop Gawin Dunbar was thought cold in the business, Messrs. John Lander, Andro Oliphant, and Friar Maitman were sent from Edinburgh to assist him." But for the real of these inquisitors, whom Knox terms "Serjeants of Satan," Russell and Kennedy would, in all probability, have escaped martyrdom. Spottiswood, pp. 66, 67.

‡ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 216; Knox, vol. i. pp. 64—66.

* Sir David Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.

† From this saying arose a common proverb, 'Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither the new nor the old law.'

the University of Leipsic.* John Fyfe also, who prosecuted his studies under Gawin Logie, at St. Andrews, fled in company with Ales to the Continent, where he obtained considerable academical distinction. His name is inscribed as Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the Registers of the University of Frankfort, in 1547: he was created a doctor, and chosen rector in 1551; and he died in 1562, in the 72nd year of his age.† About the same time, John McBee, better known by his classical surname of Maccabæus, fled to Denmark, where he became professor of divinity at Copenhagen; and besides rendering important service to Christian III., in the settlement of the reformed religion in his dominions, he assisted in translating the Scriptures into the Danish language. The researches of Dr. McCrie have discovered the singular fact, that the real name of this eminent Scotsman was McAlpine, and that he belonged to the proscribed clan of McGregor—a circumstance which sufficiently accounts for his changed patronymic.‡ In this list of illustrious refugees, we must include the name of the celebrated George Buchanan, who in consequence of a biting satire against the order of Franciscan monks was imprisoned, but escaped by the window of his bedchamber, while his keepers were asleep.§ At a later period (1540), Sir John Borthwick, a younger son of William, third Lord Borthwick, who was slain at Flodden, was cited before Cardinal Beaton, and other prelates, at St. Andrews, on a charge of heresy contained in twelve articles of accusation. He disappointed the vengeance of his enemies, by escaping to England; but he was nevertheless condemned and excommunicated, besides being burned in effigy at the market-cross of St. Andrews. Soon after these proceedings Borthwick wrote a defence of himself, in the form of answers to the several articles of accusation. This production, which has been preserved by Foxe in his Latin Commentaries, contains, besides the vindication of his own conduct, a spirited and caustic attack on the Papal pretensions and the abuses of the church. While danger and death thus hung over the advocates of the reformed faith, it continued to make rapid progress in the country. The national character, at once patient in investigating truth, and cool and resolute in maintaining it, had secured for the new opinions the assent, not only of a large portion of the common people, but of considerable numbers of the nobility and gentry. In 1540, the following persons were already recognised as the earnest abettors of the reformation. William, Earl of Glencairn; his son, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs; William Earl of Errol; William Lord Ruthven; his daughter Lilius, married to the

Master of Drummond; John Stewart, son of Lord Methven; Sir James Sandilands, with his whole family; Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount; Erskine, of Dun; Melville, of Raith; Balnaves, of Hall-hill; Straiton, of Lauriston, and William Johnston and Robert Alexander, advocates.*

It appears that the importation of the works of the continental reformers had contributed greatly to the diffusion of Protestant principles in Scotland, and repeated attempts were made by the legislature to prevent their dissemination. In 1525, it was enacted, that no foreign ^{Enactments} merchants should bring into ^{against the im-} the realm 'any books or works of the ^{portation of Pro-} great heretic Luther, and his disciples,' under the ^{testant works.} pain of imprisonment, and the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes.† From this it appears, that in the first instance, the books and opinions of the reformers were circulated by strangers, who came into Scotland for the purpose of trade; but it was soon found necessary to extend the penalties of the act to natives of the kingdom; and in 1627 it was declared by the chancellor and lords of the council, that "all other the king's lieges assistaris to sic opinyons be punist in semeible wise, and the effect of the said act to strike upon them." The rehearsal or discussion of these heresies was strictly forbidden, unless "it be to the confusion thereof, and that by clerks in the schools alenarlie," (alone). These enactments were embodied in another statute, which was adopted by the parliament in 1535; and all persons who had any of the alleged heretical works in their possession were commanded to deliver them up to their ordinary, within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment.‡

In May, 1536, a public proclamation was made, prohibiting the selling or reading of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, § and the sacred volume was openly denounced by the clergy as the cause of 'all the din and play' which had taken place in the church. Two years later, the statutes against the possession and perusal of heretical works were enforced with increased rigour, and a considerable number of wealthy individuals were imprisoned and stript of their property for 'breaking his Highness' proclamation in having and using such books as are suspected of heresy, and are prohibited by the Kirk.¶

As the principles of the Reformation continued to gain ground, the apprehensions of the clergy were manifested by the increasing severity of the statutes against heresy. In the parliament of 1540 it was made a capital crime to argue against the authority or spiritual infallibility of the Pope, all private conventicles, or meetings for the discussion of religious subjects, were strictly prohibited, and rewards were promised to those who

—and against
heretics and
conventicles.

* For an account of Ales's epistle against the decree of the Scottish bishops forbidding the perusal of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue, and his controversy with Cochleus, see *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 425—467.

† Appendix to Knox's History, vol. i. p. 527.

‡ Appendix to M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 357—372.

§ Buchanan, book xiv. chap. lv.

* Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

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

‡ Ibid. p. 349.

§ State Papers, vol. v. p. 48.

¶ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

revealed where they were held. No person even suspected of heresy was to be admitted to any office or privilege, either in the boroughs or elsewhere. Those who had fled from trial were to be held as confessed, and sentence passed against them; and so anxious was the church to protect her faithful subjects from the contamination of heresy, that all intercourse was forbidden with those who had at any time held heretical opinions, even although they had abjured their errors and received absolution. The exhortations which were at the same time given to the churchmen to reform their lives, and to attend more faithfully to their duties, show that the national council was well aware that the danger which now threatened the Popish church might be traced directly to the idleness, corruption, and ignorance of the clergy. A law which was

passed by this parliament against the demolition of the shrines and images of the saints makes it evident that the iconoclastic spirit which afterwards raged with such violence in Scotland, had already manifested itself among the lower classes of the community.* During the last years of the reign of James V., the clergy obtained a predominant influence in the royal councils, and the project of Beaton, and the prelates, for the wholesale condemnation of the reformers, shows the desperate measures to which the hierarchy were prepared to resort for the extirpation of the new doctrines. And there can be little doubt that if the life of the unhappy monarch had been prolonged, an open struggle between the professors of the old and the new faith could not have been much longer averted.

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

CHAPTER XXIV.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE PERIOD.

THE progress of literature during this period was considerable, and the establishment of several schools of learning indicated a desire at least to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. In the month of January, 1450, at the request of Bishop Turnbull, a bull was granted for the foundation of a university in the City of Glasgow, by Nicholas V., 'a Pope distinguished by his talent and erudition, and particularly by his munificent patronage of Grecian literature.' The pious bishop did not leave the institution which he had founded to languish for lack of support. He endowed it out of his own revenues, establishing a chancellor, rector, dean of faculty, a principal who taught theology, and three professors of philosophy. Other royal and episcopal charters were subsequently granted by James II. (20th April, 1453), by Bishop Muirhead (1st July, 1461), and by King James III., (10th Dec., 1472). And in 1460 the first Lord Hamilton bestowed upon the infant university a piece of ground, with the buildings upon it, in the High-street of the city, on which the college stands at the present day. At first, however, it was very scantily endowed, and such was the insecurity of the times, and the general indifference to learning, that so late as the year 1521 it was attended by a very small number of students.* A second university was founded at St. Andrews about the year 1455, by the excellent Bishop Kennedy, a nephew of James I., and † one of the most illustrious names in Scottish history. In the first foundation charter which was conferred by Pope Nicholas V., the college is said to be built for theology and the liberal arts. It was dedicated to the honour of God, of our Saviour, and the Virgin —of St. Salvador's Mary, and was named St. Salvador's College— College. The institution was established for the maintenance of a provost, licentiate, and bachelor, who were all to be in holy orders and to lecture on theology on certain days in the week, —four masters of arts, and six 'poor elergymen.' The good bishop endowed the college with the tields of the parishes of Cults, Kemback, Denino, and Kilmany, and several chapelrics, all of which had till then belonged to the bishopric; and as

* Major de Gest. Scotorum, p. 19.

† The mother of this eminent prelate (see ante, p. 347) was Mary, a daughter of Robert III., who gave birth to the last Bishop and first Archbishop of St. Andrews, and was married four times: first to the Earl of Angus, by whom she had two sons, William and George Douglas, who successively became Earls of Angus; second to Sir James Kennedy, of Dunure, by whom she had two sons, James, the bishop, and Gilbert, afterwards created Lord Kennedy, the ancestor of the present Marquis of Ailsa; third to Lord Graham, of Dundresmore, by whom she had two sons, James Graham the first Laird of Fintray, and Patrick Graham the first Archbishop of St. Andrews; and fourth to Sir William Edmiston, of Culloden.

Martine informs us, bestowed upon the new institution "not only stoles for the priests, dalmatic tunics and copes, but chalices, goblets, basins, ewers, candelabras, censers, and crosses, and an image of the Saviour two cubits long, besides various gold and silver utensils; also large bells, small musical bells, and silk tapestry for adorning the church: in short, there was nothing outside or inside the college which did not evince the piety, taste, and munificence of the founder."* In the year 1512 a third college was founded at St. Andrews, under the title of St. Leonard's College, by Prior —and of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. John Hepburn, in conjunction with King James IV., and his son Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who fell along with his father in the fatal field of Flodden.† It was endowed with the tithes of St. Leonard's parish, with the revenues of an hospital which had been built for the reception of pilgrims who formerly repaired hither in great numbers to adore the relics of St. Andrew, and also with a variety of property which belonged to the prior and canons. The college was intended chiefly for the education of the members of the convent, but it soon acquired such a high reputation that many of the sons of the nobility and gentry repaired to it for instruction. The students, among other branches of education, were carefully instructed in sacred music, and became so celebrated for their skill in that art, that after the Reformation many of them were employed in teaching it.‡

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, King's College, Aberdeen, was erected at Of King's College, Aberdeen. the instance of the celebrated Bishop Elphinstone, who persuaded James IV. to apply for a bull from the Pope to carry the project into execution. Accordingly, in compliance with this application, a rescript was issued by Pope Alexander VI., 10th Feb., 1494, establishing a university in Old Aberdeen for the teaching of theology, canon and civil laws, medicine, and the liberal

* The Chapel of the College, a handsome Gothic edifice, still exists. It contains the monument of its founder, a most beautiful structure.

† Alexander Stewart studied at Sienna, under the celebrated Erasmus, who speaks in the highest terms of the progress of his pupil in Greek rhetoric and law, as well as in the practice of music. 'Even at meals he did not intermit his studies; the chaplain always read some useful book. At other times he would listen to tales, but short and connected with literature; and if he had any spare time he employed it in reading history, in which he took great delight. Nor did that happen to him which sometimes happens to others, 'the more apt at letters the less apt at morals,' for his morals were pure, yet mixed with uncommon prudence. Though his feelings were acute, he was remarkable for the mildness and moderation of his character. He greatly enjoyed wit and humour, but it was of a literary kind and not too caustic; in a word, he was religious without being superstitious. No king was ever blessed with a more accomplished son.' However great might be the merits of the royal student, it was certainly a gross abuse to elevate a youth of eighteen to the primacy of the Scottish Church. In the Appendix, Note XX., will be found two letters written by young Stewart, from Padua, to his father, which will serve to show the scandalous manner in which the patronage of the Church was disposed of in that age.

‡ Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. i. p. 254.

arts, and conferring upon the new institution all the privileges enjoyed by the universities of Paris and Bologna, two of the most highly favoured in Europe. It appears that the chief object of King James and the learned prelate in erecting this college was to introduce civilization and learning into the northern districts of the kingdom. In his letter to the pontiff the king gives a most deplorable account of the barbarous state of this part of his dominions. "The inhabitants," he alleges, "were ignorant of letters, and almost uncivilised; there were no persons to be found fit to preach the word of God to the people, or to administer the sacraments of the Church; and, besides, the country was so intersected with mountains and arms of the sea, or distant from the universities already erected (at St. Andrews and Glasgow), and the road so dangerous, that the youth had not access to the benefit of education in these seminaries. But," adds the king, "the City of Old Aberdeen is situated at a moderate distance from the highland country and northern islands, enjoys an excellent temperature of air, abundance of provisions, and the conveniency of habitations, and of everything necessary for human life." In allusion to these representations the bull states, that notwithstanding there were already two universities in Scotland, a third could in no sense be injurious, as "science has this distinguishing quality, that the diffusion of it tends, not to diminish, but increase the general mass." The members of the College were originally thirty-six in number; but by a second foundation, prepared by Bishop Elphinstone, but not published till 1531, seventeen years after his death, the number was raised to forty-two: namely, four doctors, in the faculties of theology, canon law, civil law, and medicine; eight masters in arts, three students of law (all the above, except the mediciner, to be ecclesiastics), thirteen poor scholars, eight prebends for the service of the College church, and six singing boys. No efforts were spared by the munificent prelate and his royal master to make the new university complete in all its educational arrangements. It was liberally endowed by the bishop during his life, and at his death he bequeathed to it the sum of £10,000 Scots—in those days a very large sum of money. Thus fostered, King's College soon became the most flourishing educational institution in Scotland. It was placed under an excellent system of management, and endowed with professors of eminent ability and learning; and it is not unworthy of notice that Hector Boece, the well-known biographer and historian, was its first principal.

In a parliament held during the same year in which King's College was founded, a remarkable law was passed, the chief object of which was to improve the attendance at the schools. Statute enjoining mainly, it is said, through the influence of Bishop Elphinstone, which is justly considered one of the most interesting acts of the Scottish legislature. By this memorable enactment it was ordained that, throughout all the realm, all barons and freeholders "that are of sub-

stance should put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools fra they be six or nine years of age, and to remain at the grammar schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin; and thereafter to remain three years at the schools of arts and jure (law), so that they have knowledge and understanding of the laws: Through the quick justice may remain universally through all the realm; so that they who are sheriffs, or judges ordinary, under the king's highness may have knowledge to do justice, that the poor people should have na need to seek our sovereign lord's auditor for ilk small injury; and what baron or freeholder of substance that holds not his son at the schools, having no lawful excuse, he shall pay to the king the sum of twenty pounds."*

A few years after the passing of this judicious act, the memorable invention of Introduction of printing, which had been imported printing into England by Caxton, as early as the year 1474, found its way into Scotland. Walter Chepman, a citizen of Edinburgh and a servant of the king's household, was the first Scottish printer. In the year 1508 he printed a volume of pamphlets and several of the poems of Dunbar; and in the following year the 'Breviary of Aberdeen.' His royal master, who in spite of his fondness for idle and frivolous amusements was a liberal friend to letters as well as to the useful and ornamental arts, patronized the ingenious typographer, both by purchasing books from him, and by granting him a royal patent to exercise his mystery.†

There can be no doubt that the establishment of the various colleges and schools throughout the country, together with the invention of printing and the importation of the works of continental authors, must have exercised a powerful influence upon the minds of the Scottish barons and gentry; softening the ferocity of their manners, and introducing among them a taste for liberal education. The unusual tranquillity, too, which, under the vigorous and wise administration of James IV., the nation enjoyed for a period of twenty-five years, must have been highly conducive both to the general prosperity of the country, and to the advancement of literature and art. Accordingly, we find that at this period there flourished in Scotland a considerable number of writers, whose learning and genius entitle them to rank with the most celebrated cotemporary authors, either in England or on the Continent. Among those distinguished Scotchmen, who, in the words of Warton, adorned the fifteenth century "with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate," the chief place is due to Life of William Dunbar WILLIAM DUNBAR, who has been styled by the highest authority, "an excellent

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 228.

† The grant, which was issued under the Privy Seal, was made to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, and is dated Sept. 15th, 1507.

poet, unrivalled by any which Scotland ever produced." Of the personal history of that great genius little or nothing is known except what may be gathered from a few obscure hints, contained in his own verses. He describes himself as a native of Lothian, and appears to have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century, not later than the year 1460. Kennedy, a cotemporary poet, represents him as related to the Earl of March, and Mr. Laing conjectures, with great probability, that he was either the son or nephew of William, son of that Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beill who signalized himself on many occasions, and in 1426 was one of the hostages for James the First.† In the year 1475, when he was probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, Dunbar was sent to St. Andrews, the most flourishing seat of learning and science at that period in Scotland. This fact Mr. Laing has ascertained from the old registers of the University, in which the name of William Dunbar is entered, in 1477, among the *Determinantes* or Bachelors of Arts, in St. Salvator's College; a degree which the students were not entitled to claim until the third year of their attendance. And two years later, in 1479, the name of the poet again occurs in the registers, as then having taken the degree of Master of Arts. From the colophon of one of his poems, there is reason to suppose that he also studied in the University of Oxford. At an early period of his life he was a novitiate of the order of St. Francis, and in that character travelled over England and a part of the Continent. This is evident from his poem entitled 'The Visitation of St. Francis.' Satan, in the guise of the Saint, appears to the poet in a vision, shortly before the dawn of day; and holding a religious habit in his hand, exhorts him to clothe himself in these vestments and to renounce the world. But at the sight of the seeming saint and his habit, the poet was scared like one who sees a ghost, and excuses himself with thanks for the intended benefit; observing, that in holy legends he had read of many bishops, but of exceeding few friars, that had been admitted to the honour of canonization,—

'Wherefore ga bring to me ane bishop's weid,
Gif ever thou wald my soul yeid unto heaven.'

He allows, however, that in his early years he had worn the obnoxious habit.

'Gif ever my fortune was to be a frier,
The date thereof is past full many a year,
For into every lusty town and place,
Of all England, fro Berwick to Cales,
I have unto thy habit made gude cheer.

'In freiris weid full fairly have I fleicht; †
In it have I in pulpit gone and preicht;
In Derrton Kirk and eke in Canterbury;
In it I past at Dover oure the ferry,
Thro' Picardy, and there the people teicht.

* Sir Walter Scott, in "Memorials of George Bannatyne," v. 14. Elsewhere he says, "The genius of Dunbar and Gavin Douglas is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance."

† See the interesting Memoir prefixed to Mr. Laing's edition of the works of Dunbar, vol. ii. p. 8.

‡ Entreated.

'As lang as I did bear the freiris style,
In me, GOD wit, was mony wrink and wile;
In me was falsheit with ilk wight to flatter,
Whilk might be flemit* with na holy water;
I was ay reddy all men to beguile.'

There can be no doubt, as Mr. Laing observes, that it was to this period of Dunbar's life that Kennedy alludes in his 'Flying,' when he taunts him with his pilgrimage as a pardoner, begging in all the churches from Ettrick Forest to Dumfries.

'Fra Ettrick Forest farth ward to Dumfries
Thou beggit with ane pardoun in all kirks,
Collapis, † curds, meill, ‡ grottis, § gryce, || and geiss, ¶
And under nycht whils thou stall staigis** and stirkis ††
Because that Scotland of thy begging irkis
Thou schapis in France to be a knycht of the field;
Thou has thy clamschellis, ‡‡ and thy burdoun keild§§
Unhonest ways all, wouroun, thot thou wirkis.'

It is not known how long Dunbar continued to lead this wandering life, nor how he employed himself after he had relinquished the character of friar. It seems certain, however, that he had visited foreign lands before he became attached to the Scottish court. In one of his poems he speaks of his long and faithful services to the king, and of his having been employed in many foreign countries, in England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. His biographer conjectures with great probability, that in these extensive peregrinations he accompanied as 'ane clerk' the frequent embassies which James the Fourth was in the habit of sending to the continental courts; as the literary attainments of the clergy peculiarly fitted them for employment in such negotiations. In the register of the Privy Seal, 15th August, 1500, we find mention of a grant by King James IV. to Dunbar, of an annual pension of ten pounds 'for all the days of his life,' or until he be promoted by the king to a benefice of the yearly value of forty pounds, or upwards; and from this period the poet became an attendant upon the court of this gay and gallant monarch. It appears from the treasurer's accounts, that the payment due at Martinmas, 1501, was deferred on account of Dunbar's absence in England; a circumstance which shows that in all probability he accompanied the ambassadors who were sent to the English court to conclude the negotiations for the king's marriage in October, 1501, and that he remained to witness the ceremony of affiancing the Princess Margaret, which took place at St. Paul's Cross, with great solemnity and splendour, on the 25th of January, 1502. Under this supposition, there can be little doubt that Dunbar was the person then styled 'THE RHYMER OF SCOTLAND,' who received £6 13s. 4d. in reward from Henry VII., on the 31st of December, 1501, and a similar sum on the 7th of January following. |||

The Princess Margaret remained in England

* Washed away. † Collops. ‡ Meal.
§ Groats. ¶ Pigs. ¶ Geese.
** Young horses. †† Young cows.
‡‡ Scallop shells, as worn by pilgrims.
§§ Pilgrim's staff marked with ruddle.
||| Poems of Dunbar, vol. i. p. 20.

till July, 1503, and three months before her arrival in Scotland, on the 9th of May, Dunbar commemorated that auspicious event in his fine poem, 'The Thistle and the Rose,' which has been pronounced one of the most beautiful, and certainly the noblest, of all Prothalamia. It commences with the following exquisite stanzas:—

'When March was with varying winds past,
And April had, with her silver showers,
Tane leave of nature with an orient blast;
And Insty May, that mother is of flowers,
Had made the birdes to begin their hours,
Among the tender colours, red and white,
Whose harmony to hear it was delight.

'In bed ae morrow, sleeping as I lay,
Methocht Aurora, with her cristall ene,
In at the window lukit by the day,
And halsit me* with visage pale and grene,
Upon whose hand a lark sang fra the splene,
Awake, Invars, out of your slumbering,
See how the lusty morrow does up spring.

'Methocht fresh May before my bed np stood,
In weeds depaynt of mony divers hue,
Sober, benign, and full of mansactnde,
In brycht attire of flouris forgit new;
Hevinly of colour, white, red, brown, and blne,
Balmitt in dew and gilt with Phoebus' bemyss,†
While all the house illumit of her lemys.‡

'Sngird, she said, awake anone for shame,
And in my honour something thou go write;
The lark has done the merry day proclame,
To raise np luvars with comfort and delyt;
Yet nocht incressis thy courag to indyte,
Whose hart sum tyme has glad and blissful bene,
Sangis to mak under the leaves grene.'

Somewhat ungraciously the poet excuses himself on account of the inclemency of the season, and May, soberly smiling, bids him rise and follow her, which he does into a garden redolent and resonant of all delight, for all flowers are there, and the birds are singing like the morning stars.

'The purple sun, with tender beams red
In orient brycht as angel did appear
Through golden skys putting np his head,
Whose gilt tresses shone so wonder clear,
That all the world tuke comfort, far and near,
To luke upon his fresh and blissful face
Doing all sable from the heaven's chase.

'And as the blisful sound of cherachys
The fowlis sang throw comfort of the licht;
The birds did with open voices cry,
O Invars foe, away thon dully nycht,
And welcome Day that comforts every wicht,
Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora|| schene,
Hail Princess Nature, hail Venus, luvis queen.'

Nature herself then appears to the poet, and for his sake bids Æolus calm the air, and Neptune the sea, and Jove the sky. No sooner said than done; and then she wills that all her worshippers, animate and inanimate, shall hail her advent, and do obseiance to her, 'their Maker.'

'She ordained eik that every bird and beist
Before her Hiennes suld annone compeir,
And every flower of verten, most and leist,
And every herb be field far and neir,
As they had wont in May, fro yeir to yeir.
To her their maker to mak obediens,
Full low inclynand with all due reverens.'

* Saluted me. † Beams. ‡ Glitters.

§ Like the holy sound of the angelic host.

|| Elegaut, beautiful.

She sends the roe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow or snow-wort to summon the flowers. In the twinkling of an eye they are all in the May-garden.

'All present were in twinkling of an ee,
Baith beast, and bird, and flower, before the Queen,
And first the lion greatest of degree
Was called there, and he most fair to see,
With a full hardy countenance and keen,
Before Dame Nature came, and did incline
With visage bold, and courage leonine.

'This awful beast was terrible of cheir,
Piercing of look, and stout of countenance,
Right strong of corps, in fashion fair, but fer,
Lusty of shape, light of deliverance,
Red of his colour, as the ruby glances;
On field of gold he stood full mightily,
With flower de luces circled pleasantly.'

The reference in this noble description is to the Scottish royal arms,—a red lion rampant, upon a field of gold, encircled with a border of fleurs-de-luces. Nature lifts up his clear claws, and letting him lean upon her knee, crowns him with a diadem of radiant stones, enjoins him to 'exercise justice with conscience,' and on no account to let the smallest of his subjects 'suffer scaith or scorn from the great,' and concludes her charge to the monarch of the beasts with what Warton well calls 'a beautiful stroke, indicating the moral tenderness of the poet's heart.'

'The lady lifted np his claws clear,
And let him lightly lean upon her knee,
And crowned him with diadem full dear
Of radiant stones, most royal for to see,
Saying, The King of Beasts make I thee,
And the protector chief in woods and shaws,
Unto thy lieges go forth, and keep the laws.

'Justice exerce with mercy and conscience,
And let no small beast suffer scaith nor scorn
Of great beasts that bene of more puissance,
Do law alike to apes and unicorns,
And let no bowgile* with his baistrous horn
The meek plough ox oppress, for all his pride,
But in the yoke go peaceful him beside.'

As soon as Lady Nature ceases to speak, all beasts, great and small, fall down at the lion's feet, and cry, 'Laud! Vive le Roy!' She then crowns the Eagle king of Fowls—another image of the Scottish king—sharpening his pennons like steel darts, and enjoining him to be just to fowls of all degree.

'Syne crowned she the Eagle King of Fowls,
And as steel darts sharpit she his pens,
And bad him be as just to whaupis and owls
As unto peacocks, papingoes, or cranes,
And make ae! law for wycht fowls and for wrens,
And let no fowl of rapine do eferay,
Nor devonar birds but his own proper prey.

Nature then calls on all the flowers to hold up their heads and hear, and first of all she beholds the 'awful thistle,¶ and seeing him well guarded with a bush of spears, and able for the wars, she makes him her champion, to protect the softer plants from harm.

* Wild ox. † Carlews. ‡ Adright.

¶ Pinkerton has remarked that the first authentic appearance of the Thistle as a Scottish badge is in this poem, and in the account of Margaret's reception and wedding, where it is called a 'chardou.'

'Then called she all the flowers that grew on field,
Discerning all their fashions and effeirs,*
Upon the awful THIRSSIL she beheld,
And saw him keepit with a bush of spears;
Considering him so able for the weirs,†
A radiant crown of rubies she him gave,
And said 'in field go forth and fend the lave.‡

She proceeds to counsel him, since he is king, to act discreetly; to love only 'herbs of virtue and sweet odour;' to let no rude nettle be fellow to the goodly fleur-de-luce; no wild weed 'compare her to the Lily's nobleness;' but far beyond and above all other flowers to honour the Rose, 'the fresh Rose, of colour red and white,' the emblem of the English princess, in whom the Roses of York and Lancaster are blended.

'So full of virtne, pleasure, and delight,
So full of blissful angelic beauty,
Imperial birth, honour, and dignity.'

Nature then crowns the Rose queen of flowers, and eulogizes her peerless qualities in the following graceful strains,—

'Then to the Rose she turned her visage,
And said, O lovely daughter, most bening,
Above the Lily, illustrious of lynage,§
From the stock royal rising fresh and ying,||
But ony spot or macall doing spring,¶
Come, bloom of joy, with gems to be crown'd,
For o'er the lave thy beauty is renown'd.

A costly crown with clarified stones bright,
This comely queen did on her head enclose,
While all the land illumined was with light,
Wherefore methought the flowers did all rejoice.
Crying at once,—Hail be thon, richest Rose;
Hail herbs empress, hail freshest queen of flowers,
To thee be glory and honour at all hours.'

The birds, led by the mavis, the blackbird, the lark, and the nightingale, all at once hail their queen with a triumphant song of gratulation, so melodious and yet so loud, that the poet suddenly awoke, and with a start turned him about to see this brilliant court; but all had vanished into empty air.

Another allegorical poem, called 'The Golden Targe,' is of a more extended range, and displays more creative power, though as a whole, says Professor Wilson, it is much inferior to the 'Thistle and the Rose,' which is as perfect as anything in Spenser. The subject of the poem is the power of love; the insufficiency of the golden targe or the shield of reason to afford protection against the assaults of 'Love's mighty Queen,' and her train. The opening stanzas are remarkably picturesque, and breathe the truest and sweetest spirit of poetry.

'Bright as the star of day began to shine,
When gone to bed were Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by a rose-tree did me rest;
Up sprung the golden candle matutine,
With clear deparit beams crystalline,
Gladding the merry fowls in their nest;
Or Phoebus was in purple cape reveat.**
Up rose the lark, the heaven's minstrel fine,
In May, in till a morrow mirth fullest.

* Qualities. † Warn. ‡ Defend the rest.
§ Lineage. The lily is the emblem of France, and the poet prefers the house of Tudor to Valois.
|| Young. ¶ Springing without spot or taint.
** Dressed.

'Full angel-like these birds sang their hours
Within their curtains green, into their bowers,
Apparled white and red, with bloomes sweet;
Enamelled was the field with all colours;
The pearly drops shook in silver showers;
While all in balm did branch and leaves flete*
To part fra Phoebus did Aurora greave,†
Her crystal tears I saw hang on the flowers,
Which he for love all drank up with his heat.

For mirth of May, with skipkis and with hoppis,
The birds sung upon the tender croppis,
With curious notes, as Venus' chapel clerks;
The roses young, new spreading of their knoppis,‡
Were powdered bright with heavenly beriall§ drops,
Thro' beams red, burning as ruby sparks;
The skies rang for shouting of the larks;
The purple heaven, ower skaled in silver slopps,
O'er-gilt the trees, branches, leaves, and barks.

'Down through the ryce|| a river ran with streams,
So instly agayn thai lykand temys,¶
That all the lake as lamp did leme** of light,
Which shadowed all about with twinkling gleams,
That boughs bathed were in fecund++ beams
Through the reflex of Phoebus' visage bright;
On every side the hedges raise on hicht,
The bank was green, the brook was full of bremys,
The stanners‡‡ clear as stars in frosty night.

'The crystal air, the sapphire firmament,
The ruby skies of the orient,
Cast brightest beams on emerald boughs green,
The rosy garth-depaynt§§ and redolent,
With purple, azure, gold, and gowlis gent,|||
Arrayed was by dame Flora the queen,
So nobly, that joy was for to see;
The rock against the river resplendent,
As low¶¶ illumined all the leaves schene.'***

The poet falls asleep, lulled by the harmony of the birds and the rushing of the river, and sees a vision of a white sail approaching the shore, swift as a falcon pouncing on her prey. The ship anchors, and a hundred ladies leap from its deck, as fresh as flowers in May, clad in green kirtles, with golden tresses, and 'paps white and middles small as wands.' Amongst these the poet recognises Venus and Aurora and Flora and Juno, Clio, 'the help of Makars' (poets), Pallas, and prudent Minerva, all with crowns upon their heads. May, 'the queen of mirthful months,' is then seen advancing between her sisters April and June, all three walking up and down the garden, amid the music of birds. The poet then sees Nature present May with a gown,

'Rich to behold, and noble of renown,
Of every hne under the heaven.'

Nature is saluted by her subjects, 'the merry fowls.'

'And every bloom on branch, and eke on bank
Open'd and spread their balmy leaves dank (moist)
Full low inclining to their queen so clear,
Whom of their noble nourishing they thank.'

They then salute on the 'same wise' Dame Flora, and after her the mighty Queen of Love. To her

* Flow. † Weep. ‡ Bnds.
§ Beryl. ¶ Brushwood. ¶¶ Pleasing sunbeams.
** Shine. †† Rich, abundant, fertilizing.
‡‡ Small stones, gravel. §§ Garden painted.
||| Pretty marigolds. ¶¶¶ Flame.

*** Beautiful.

'They sang ballads in love, as was the gyse (fashion)
With amorous notes lusty to devise,
As they that had love in their hearts green;
Their honey throats opened for the spleen (heart)
With warbles sweet did pierce the heavenly skies,
While loud resoun't the firmament serene.'

But, lo! another court, of which Cupid is the
ting.

'With bow in hand ybent,
And dreadful arrows grundin* sharp and square,
There saw I Mars, the god armipotent,
Awful and stern, strong and corpulent;
There saw I crabbed Saturn, auld and hairet
His look was like for to perturb the aire;
There was Mercurius, wise aad eloquent
Of rhetoric, that found the flowers faire.'

'There too was Priapus, the god of gardens, and
Phanus, and Janus, and Neptune, and Eolus the
god of winds, with varying look, 'right like a
ord unstable,' Bacchus and Pluto, 'the clirch
ucubus'

'In cloak of green, this court used no sable.'

The gods with song, lute, and harp, win the
oddeses to dance, and the poet drawing near
o behold this joyous scene, and creeping through
he leaves, is discovered by Venus, who commands
Beauty, Fair-Having, Pleasance, and others of her
rchers, who attend on her, to seize the culprit;
ut when they are drawing their bows to pierce
im to the heart,

'Reason came, with shield of gold so clear,
In plate of mail, like Mars armipotent,'

nd defended him from their assault. The archers
e then joined by Youth and her young virgins,
nnocece, Modesty, Dread, and Obedience, but
heir efforts are all harmless against Reason's
olden Targe. Then came Sweet Womanhood
with a formidable train of artillery, served by
Virture, Lowliness, Patience, Good Fame, Dis-
cretion, and other 'ladies full of reverence;' but
their sharp assays' could not hurt the poet, pro-
ected by Reason's shield. A reinforcement arrives
nder High Degree, followed by Estate and Digi-
ity, Honour, Noble Array, Riches, Freedom, and
ther allegorical personages, marching under ban-
ers displayed, and discharging a cloud of arrows
ke a shower of hail. They too are repulsed; and
enus brings up her reserve, composed of Pre-
ence, Fair Calling, Cherishing and Homeliness,
ho brings Dame Beauty to the field again,

'With all the choice of Venus' chivalry,'

nder the guidance of Dissymulance; but though

'The shower of arrows rappit on as rain,'

hey yet make no impression on the Golden Targe.
t length Presence, by whom, according to War-
on, the poet understands that irresistible incentive
oeruing to the passion of love, by being often
dmitted to the society of the beloved object,

* Ground.

+ Hoary.

throws a powder into the eyes of Reason, who is
suddenly deprived of his sight, and reels like a
drunken man. The poet having thus lost his pro-
tector, receives a deadly wound, and is taken
prisoner by Beauty, who now appears more lovely
as the clear eye of Reason grows dim. Dimin-
ulation then tries all her arts to deceive the pri-
soner. Fair Calling smiles on him, Cherishing
feeds him with fair words, New Acquaintance
embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave,
and is never seen again. At last Danger ap-
proaches the unhappy poet, and on her departure
delivers him to the custody of Heaviness; Eolus
then blows his bugle, the pageant dissolves into
empty air,

'Leaving no more but birds and bank and brook.'

The enemy re-enbark in the twinkling of an eye,
unfurl their sails, and swiftly proceed on their
course, celebrating their victory with a discharge
of artillery, re-echoed by the rocks, as if 'the
rainbow brake.' The poet starts up in affright,
and finds that it was but a dream.

The conception of the Golden Targe, it has been
justly remarked by Professor Wilson, is wonder-
fully vivid; but the execution is imperfect; and
Dunbar can scarcely be said to have succeeded in
the main object of the allegory. The expectation
excited by the splendid poetry of the introduction
is disappointed by the huddled and hurried action
which follows, and which, brief as it is, propor-
tionably to the other parts of the poem, wearies
the reader by its excessive sameness.

This fine piece, which was much admired in the
days of its author, concludes with an address to
Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, whose chief excel-
lences he is thought by some critics of no mean
name to have equalled.

'O, reverend Chaucer, rose of rhetors* all,
As in our tongue a flower imperial,
That rose in Britain ever who reads right.
Thou bear'st of makers the triumph royal.
Thy fresh enamelled works most colicall.
This matter could illumined have full bright.
Wast thou not of our English all the light?
Surmounting every tongue terrestrial,
As far as May's morning doth midnight.

'O moral Gower and Lydgate laureate,
Your sugar'd lips and tongues most arreate;
Have to our ears been cause of great delight.
Your angel voices most melliflute.
Our language rude has clear illuminats,
And gilded o'er our speech that imperfect.
Stood till your golden pens began to write,
This isle till then was bare and desolate
Of rhetoric or lusty fresh indyte.]

'Thou little quair,] be ever obedient,
Humble, subject, and simple of intent,
Before the face of every sunning ¶ night.
I know that thou of rhetoric art schent, ..
Of all her lovely roses redolent
Is none into thy garland set on light;
Ashamed be then, and draw thee out of sight,
Rude is thy weed, distained, bare, and rent,
Well may'st thou be afraid to face the light.

* Orators, rhetoricians.

† Celestial.

‡ Golden.

§ A discourse, writing.

¶ Monk.

¶ Knowing, skillful.

.. Shorn, deprived.

James IV. was an avowed patron of literature, and at this period, says Mr. Laing, "Dunbar appears to have lived on terms of great familiarity with the king, and to have participated freely in all the gaieties and amusements of the Scottish court; his sole occupation being that of writing ballads on any passing event which might serve to exercise his fancy or imagination, and thus contribute to the entertainment of his royal master." We learn from the treasurer's accounts, that besides his yearly pension of ten pounds, the poet received occasional grants of money from the royal purse. On the 17th of March, 1504-5, Dunbar for the first time said mass in the king's presence, and on that occasion he received a gratuity of seven French crowns, or £4 18s. in Scottish money—a larger sum than was usually given by his majesty on hearing 'a priest's first mass.' At Martinmas, 1507, his pension was 'newly eiked,' or augmented, the king having ordered it to be increased to the annual sum of £20, and three years afterwards it was raised to £30, to be paid as before at the stated terms of Martinmas and Whitsuntide, 'for all the days of his life, or until he be promoted to a benefice of £100, or above.' The poet's pension, however, seems to have been scarcely sufficient to supply his ordinary wants; for in his address to the 'lords of the king's exchequer,' he tells these grave personages that they need not 'tire their thumbs in reckoning up their rents and farms, or make their counters clink, or consume their ink and paper in the receiving of his sums.' The story is very short. He received a sum of money from the Lord Treasurer, which is all gone. Not a cross or copper is left, as his empty purse will testify. 'I cannot tell,' he adds, 'how the money has been spent; but well I wot it is all gone, and that methinks ane compt o'er sair' (too sore a reckoning). There can be no doubt that the poet was a favourite of his royal master, who was no niggard to his servants; but James, though kind-hearted and generous, was thoughtless and passionately fond of amusement, and often lavished his bounty on the most unworthy objects, to the neglect of the modest and deserving. In his 'Remonstrance to the King,' Dunbar has portrayed, in most graphic terms, the extravagance of the monarch, and the worthless character of the multifarious crowd of suitors, whom his indiscriminate patronage attracted to the Scottish court—astrologers, musicians, minstrels, jugglers, jesters, tale-bearers, flatterers, sharpers, Monsouris of France, importunate Irish beggars, and innumerable others who

—'ken none other craft nor curis (profession)
But to mak' thrang within the duris.'

all came in for a large share of the regal bounty. The poet speaks with just commendation of the king's liberality to men of science and talent; but when he witnesses his indiscriminate favour bestowed on the crowd of importunate, idle, and worthless characters who infest the court, while he

is passed over, his very heart is ready to burst for despite.

'My heart near bursts then for tayne*
Whilk may not suffer nor sustene
So great abuses for to see
Daylie in court before my ee.
My mind so fer† is set to flyte‡
That of nocht else I can indyte,
For either maun§ my heart to break,
Or with my pen I maun me wreik.
And since the tane must needs be,
Into melancholy to dee,
Or let the venom ische all out—
Beware anon, for it will spout,
Gif that the treacle come not tyt||
To swage the swalme¶ of my despite.'

In another Address to the King, the burden of the song still is, 'my painful purse still prickells me.' The thought of its utter emptiness of all but pain comes across him when he would blithely write ballads, or when he sets himself to dance or sing, and drives all pleasant pastime from his remembrance. And worse than that—

'When men that have purses in tone
Passis to drink or to disjone**
Then maun I keep ane gravitie,
And say that "I will fast till noon;"
My painful purse so prickells me.

'My purse is made of sic ane skin,
There will na crosses†† bide it within;
Strait as fra the fiend they flee,
Wha ever tyme‡‡ wha ever win;
My painful purse so prickells me.

'I have inquired in mony a place
For help and comfort in this case,
And all men say, My lord, that ye
Can best remeid, for this mal-ease
That with sic pains prickells me.'

The grand object of Dunbar's ambition, however, as Mr. Laing observes, "was preferment in the church, which, independently of any other claims he might possess, he was entitled to expect from the terms of the grant of his yearly pension. It is somewhat amusing to observe with what ingenuity and address he varies his continuous and importunate petitions. In general he seems to found his chief claims for preferment upon former services which he had rendered, his youth having been spent in the king's employment; while he intimates that his wants would be easily satisfied. But whether in the form of a satirical or of a pathetic appeal to the king, or simply as a congratulation on the new year, or whether under some humorous personation he brought forward his request, still the burden of Dunbar's song was "a benefice." From the strain of his earlier poems, it appears that he had at one time entertained sanguine hopes of advancement, but as years passed on and left him still unbeneficed, and a mere dependent on the bounty of his royal master, his heart began to sink within him at the prospect of the future.

* Anger, sorrow. † Fierce. ‡ Scold. § Must.
|| Quick. ¶ Tumour. ** Breakfast.
†† Money. ‡‡ Lose.

The influence of 'hope deferred which makes the heart sick' is painfully manifested in his later compositions. The long expected benefice, he says, might in shorter time have come from Calicut, or the new found Isle (America) over the great ocean-sea, or the deserts of India, 'whilk to consider is ane pain.' It has been so long in coming to him, that he dreads that it has gone entirely astray, or has turned backward again. Some men have seven benefices, he adds, while he has not one, though he will be contented with 'a kirk scant covered with heather.' In his lines 'To the King, when many Benefices vakit,' he opportunely asks :

'Sir! whether is it alms mair,
To give him drink that thirsts sair,
Or fill ane full man till he burst,
And let his fellow die for thirst,
Whilk wine to drink as worthy were?

'It is no glad collation,
Where ane makes merry, another looks down,
Ane thirsts, another plays cup out;*
Let ane the cup go round about,
And win the covan's bennisoun.†

The gross abuse of church patronage in those days, is a frequent theme of indignant complaint on the part of Dunbar. In his 'Dream,' the poet gives a description of Sir John Kirkpakker, the pluralist, and draws a humorous contrast between himself, who had waited long and patiently for some preferment, and this 'mighty undertaker,' already possessed of seven, and trusting soon to have eleven churches :

'There came anon one called Sir John Kirkpakker,
Of many cures, a mighty undertakker;
Quoth he, I am possessed of churches seven,
And soon I think they grow shall to eleven,
Before he come to one, you groaning ballad-maker.'

And in one of his numerous addresses to the King, which contains 'the finest mixture of satire and sadness, pathos and fear, despondency of spirit and discursiveness of fancy,' he draws a graphic picture of the ignorant unprincipled parasites, who monopolised the church livings to the exclusion of him, the scholar and the poet, 'ane simple vicar who can nocht be' :

'Jock that was wont to keep the stirks,‡
Can now draw him ane cleik of kirks,
With ane false cairt§ into his sleif,||
Worth all my Ballads under the birks :
Excess of thought does me mischief.

'Twa cures or three has upland Michell,
With dispensations bound in a knitchell;¶
Tho' he frae nolt** had new tane leaf,††
He plays with totum, and I with nichell:‡‡
Excess of thought does me mischief.'

'The pangs of deferred hope,' says Mr. Tytler,

* Drinks all that is in the cup.

† The cup's blessing.

‡ Young bullocks.

§ Card. || Sleeve.

¶ With a waulful of dispensations for incapacity, non-residence, &c.

** Oxen.

†† Oxen. ‡‡ Leave.

‡‡ An allusion to the game of chance called 'T-totum;'

'Nichell,' nothing.

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feelingly, 'the pride of insulted genius, the bitter repentance that he had devoted himself to so thankless and ill-requited a service, and the biting satire against kings and favourites by which many of his productions are distinguished, all form a painful but instructive commentary on the history of a man of letters, who has relinquished the more humble walk in which, with a little labour, he might have provided for his own wants, and finds, when it is perhaps too late, that distinction is not synonymous with independence. It seems to have been in one of these moods that he indited his indignant complaint addressed to the king' :—

'Of wrangs and of great injuries,
That nobles in their days endures,
And men of virtue and cunning,*
Of wit and wisdom in guiding;
That nocht can in this court compass,
For lawte, love, or long service.'

From the wish which he expresses 'To the King that he were John Thomson's man,' it may be inferred that Queen Margaret was anxious to promote the poet's interest. The tenor of his prayer is that the king would lend a favourable ear to the requests of his consort, for then would the poet no longer remain unbeficed, and his hard fortune would speedily be ended.

'My advocate, baith fair and sweet,
The hale rejoicing of my spirit,
Wald speed with my errand than;
An ye were ane John Thomson's man.†

But the most singular and not the least affecting of the poet's supplications, is his address to the king in the character of the 'Grey Horse, auld Dunbar,' complaining that when idler steeds are tenderly cared for, and clothed in gorgeous trappings, he who had done his majesty good service is neglected in his old age.

'When I was young and into ply,‡
And wald cast gambols to the sky,
I had been bocht in realmes by,
Had I consentit to be sauld.
Sir, let it never in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yald.¶

'With gentill horses when I wald knupp,¶
Then is there laid on me a whip,
To coalavers* or then man I skip,
That scabbit are, have cruik and cauld.
Sir, let it never in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yald.

'Though in the stall I be nocht clappit,
As coursers that in silk be trappit,
With ane new house I wald be happit,
Against this Christmas for the cauld.
Sir, let it never in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yald.

* Skill.

† A proverbial expression to describe a man who is ruled by his wife. Pinkerton supposes that the original proverb was 'Joan Thomson's man.'

‡ Flight, condition.

¶ A useless old horse, turned into a straw yard at Yalo, or Christmas.

¶ Eat or crop grass.

** Horses that drag coal carts.

'Suppose I was ane auld yaid aver,*
Shot furth our cleughst to pull the claver,†
And had the strength of all Stranaver,
I wald at Yuill be housit and stall'd.
Sir, let it nevir in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yaid.

'I am ane auld horse as ye knaw,
That evir in dule does drings and draw,
Great court horse putts me fra the staw,
To fang the fog|| by frith aud fald.¶
Sir, let it nevir in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yaid.

'I have ruu lang forth in the field,
On pastures that are plane and peil'd,**
I micht be now taue in for eild;—
My bones are spruning†† high and bald.
Sir, let it nevir in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yaid.

'My mane is turned into white,
And thereof ye half all the wyte;‡‡
When other horse had bran to bite,
I got but grass, knip if I wald.
Sir, let it nevir in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yaid.

'The court has done my curage cool,
And made me ane forriddin mule;
Yet to weir trappons§§ at this Yuill,
I wald be spurred at everie spald.||||
Sir, let it nevir in town be tald,
That I suld be a Yuillis yaid.'

Attached to the petition is a reply in the form of a mandate, addressed to the Treasurer by his Majesty, which is supposed by Chalmers and Tytler to have been actually written by the King himself, though it may have been added in his name by the poet as an ingenious mode of enforcing his request:—

RESPONSIO REGIS.

'After our writings, Treasurer,
Take in this Grey Horse, auld Dunbar,
Who in my aucht,¶¶ with service true,
To lyart*** changed is his hue;
Gar house him now against this Yule,
And busk him like a bishop's mule;
For with my hand I have indost,
To pay whate'er his trappous cost.'

There can be little doubt that Mr. Laing is right in his conjecture, that the true cause of the King's neglect of the incessant importunities of the poet was his reluctance to be deprived of the society of a man whom he admired and loved. And it has been questioned whether Dunbar himself could, after all, have been very desirous to give up his £80 a year at court, where he must have been a great favourite, for £100 a year, with a cure of country souls. Yet as years moved on, and left him still unprovided for, he must have looked to the future not without those fears that make the heart sink in the midst of merriment, for who knows what a day may bring forth? 'With all his cheerfulness and elasticity of spirit,' says Mr. Laing, 'Dunbar had reached a period of life when

he must have felt more keenly the misfortune of continuing so long a dependant on court favour.' The following simple stanzas, entitled 'On his Heidake,' and addressed to the King, give a very touching picture of the state of mind of 'auld Grey Dunbar' at this period:—

'My heid did yak yesternight,
This day to mak that I na might,
So sair the megrim does me menyie,*
Piercing my brow as ouy ganynie,†
That scant I look may on the light.

'And now, sir, lately after mass.
To dyt‡ though I begouthe evil to dress,
The sentence lay full evilt till find,
Unsleepit in my head behind,
Dullit in dullness and distress.

'Full oft at morrow I upryse,
When that my courage sleeping lies,
For mirth, for menstrallie and play,
For din, nor dancing, nor deray,||
It will nocht walkin me no wise.'

Another poem of a higher order of merit, entitled 'Meditation in Winter,' breathes the same mournful spirit, and 'presents a very interesting picture of Dunbar's melancholy under the pressure of age. The addresses of the several personifications to him are fine: that of Age pathetic and that of Death even sublime:¶¶—

'In to thir dark and drublie** days,
When sable all the Heaven arrays,
With misty vapours, clouds, and skies,
Nature all curage me denies,
Of sangs, ballattis, and of plays.

'When that the night does lengthen hours,
With wind, with hail, and heavy showers,
My dull spreit does lurk forsoir;††
My heart for langour does forloir,‡‡
For lack of summer with his flowers.

'I walk, I turn, sleep can I nocht,
I vexit am with heavy thought;
This World all our I cast about,
And ever the mair I am in doubt,
The mair that I remeid have sought.

'I am assayit on every side,
Despair says ay, In tyme provide,
And get something whereon to live;
Or with great trouble aud mischief,
Thou shall into this Court abide.

'Then Patience says, Be nocht agast,
Hald Hope aud Truth within thee fast,
And let Fortune work furthe her rage,
When that no reason may assuage,
While that her glass be run and past.

'And Prudence in my ear says ay,
Why wald thou hald that will away?
Or crave that thou may have no space,
Though tending to another place,
A journey going every day.

'And then says Age, My friend come near,
And be nocht strange I thee require.
Come, Brother, by the hand me take,
Remember thou hast compt to make,
Of all the time thou spendit here.

* Worn out horse. † Ravines, narrow glens.
‡ Clover. § Drag slowly. || Lay hold of the moss.
¶ A forest, woods. ** Bare and worn out.
†† Rising, projecting. ‡‡ Blame. §§ Trappings.
|| Joint or bone. ¶¶ Possession. *** Grey.

* Hurt. † Dart. ‡ Indite, to make verses.
§ Began. || Noise. ¶ Pinkerton.
** Gloomy. †† Dejected.
‡‡ Become useless from langour.

'Syne Death casts up his yetts* wyd,
Saying, 'Thir open sall ye byd;
Albeid, that thou was never so stout,
Under this lyntall sall thou lowt:
Thair is nain uther way besyd.

'For fear of this all day I droop;
No gold in kist, nor wine in cup,
No ladies' beauty, nor love's bliss,
May let me to remember this,
How glad that ever I dine or sup.

'Yet when the night begins to short,
It does my sp'rit sum part comfort,
Off thoct oppressit with the showers.
Come, lusty summer, with thy flowers,
That I may live in some disport.'

But though the poet thus moralized on the brevity of existence, the shortness and uncertainty of all worldly enjoyments, and the wickedness and woes of mankind, he was by no means disposed habitually to take gloomy or desponding views of life. His morality, as Ellis remarks, was of a cheerful kind; and 'among the many moods of his mind—even the sad ones—there often broke in cheerful lights upon the shadows, making the chequered light on the whole, beautiful and happy, the image of a poet's dream.' What can be finer than the pious poem, entitled

NO TREASURE AVAILS WITHOUT GLADNESS.

'Be merry, man, and take nocht far in mynd,
The wavering of this wretched world of sorrow.
To God be humble and to thy friend be kynd,
And with thy neighbours gladly lend and borrow;
His chance to-night, it may be thine to-morrow;
Be blyth in heart for any adventure,
For oft with wise men it has been said aforrow,†
Without Gladness avails no Treasure.

'Make thee gude cheer of it that God thee sends,
For warld's wark but welfare nocht avails;
Na gude is thine save only that thou spends,
Remenant all thou brukis but with baills:
Seek to solace when sadness thee assails;
In dolour lang thy life may not indure,
Wherefore of comfort set up all thy saills;
Without Gladness avails no Treasure.

'Follow on pity, flee trouble and debate,
With famous folkis hald thy company;
Be charitable and humble in thyne estate,
For warldly honour lastes but a cry;
For trouble in earth take no mellancoly;
Be rich in patience, if thou in gudes be poor;
Who lives merrily, he lives mightily;
Without Gladness avails no Treasure.

'Thou sees thir wretchis sit with sorrow and care,
To gather gudes in all their lives space;
And when their bags are full their selves are bare,
And of their riches but the keeping has:
While others cum to spend it that has grace,
Which of thy wyning no labour had nor cure,
Take thou example, and spend with merriness;
Without Gladness avails no Treasure.

Though all the work that ever had living wicht,
Wer only thyne, no more thy part dois fall,
But meat, drink, claes, and of the lave a sicht,
Yet to the Judge thou shall give compt of all;
Ane reckning richt cumis of ane ragment § small:
Be just and joyous, and do to none injure,
And Truth shall make thee strang as ony wall;
Without Gladness avails no Treasure.'

Perhaps the most remarkable of all Dunbar's oems, as it is certainly the most vigorous and ori-

ginal, is the Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins. On the eve of Lent, a general day of confession, the poet, in a dream, has a vision of heaven and of hell. Mahoun, or the Devil, proclaims a dance of those accursed wretches, who in the other world had never made confession to the priest, and had consequently never received absolution. The 'Seven Deadly Sins' immediately appear, and present a mask or mummery with the newest gambols just imported from France. The poem, it has been justly remarked, is in ghastly keeping with the subject. Each 'Deadly Sin' is figured before the eye by a few fearless strokes, that at once invest him with his most hideous and hateful attributes. Pride, appropriately takes the precedence, dressed in the first fashion of that period, his hair loosely thrown back, his bonnet placed on one side of his head, and his gown flowing to his heels in ample folds. Anger, next makes his appearance, 'his hand ay upon his knife,' attended by a band of ruffians, who follow in pairs, all equipped for war in short coats of mail and steel head-pieces, their legs covered with chain armour; and as they move along they wound each other with swords and sharp knives. Envy, follows accompanied by a train of dissemblers, flatterers, and backbiters, with whisperers of false, injurious reports, from whom the poet expresses his regret that the courts of princes are never free. Next in the dance comes Covetousness, 'the root of all evil,' with a despicable retinue of catiff-wretches,—usurers, misers, and hoarders, who discharge at each other, out of their throats, torrents of molten gold. Sloth, after being twice called, joins reluctantly in the dance, attended by many a lazy, tun-bellied sloven, and many a sleepy, slothful drab, and as he draws them after him in a chain Baliol lashes their loins, and because they are 'slow of feet' quickeneth them with fire. They are followed by Lust, neighing like a stallion, who is led by Idleness, and accompanied by many foul associates that have died in their sins. The foul monster Gluttony next presents himself, followed by many a drunkard and thriftless prodigal. The terrific exhibition closes with a Highland pageant, and the shouting of the Coronach, which affords the poet an opportunity of expressing, with humorous malice, the scorn which he felt for his Celtic countrymen. Dunbar's 'Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins,' says Thomas Campbell, "though it would be absurd to compare it with the beauty and refinement of the celebrated Ode on the Passions, has yet an animated picturesqueness not unlike that of Collins. The effect of both pieces shows how much more potent allegorical figures become, by being made to fleet suddenly before the imagination, than by being detained in its view by prolonged description. Dunbar conjures up the personified sins, as Collins does the Passions, to rise, to strike, to disappear. They 'come like shadows, so depart.'"[•]

The following stanzas of this remarkable poem

* Gates. † Before. ‡ Without.
§ Rhapsody, discourse.

• Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets, Second Edition, p. 17

will show that the high commendation bestowed upon it is well merited:—

'Of Februar the fifteenth night,
Full lang before the day is licht,
I lay intill a trance;
And then I saw baith heaven and hell:
Mechocht amangs the fiendis fell
Mahoun gart cry ane dance,
Of shrewis that were never shriven,
Agains the fast of Fastern's Even,
To mak their observance;
He bade gallands gae graith a guise,*
And cast up gamonds† in the skies,
As varlots does in France.

* * * * *
'Let see, quoth he, who now begins.
With that the foul Seven Deadly Sins
Begond to leap at anes.
And first in all the Dance was Pride,
With hair wiled back, and bonnet on side,
Like to make vaistie wanes;‡
And round about him as a wheel,
Hang all in rumples§ to the heel
His kethat || for the names.¶
Mony proud trumpon with him trippit;
Through scaldand fire aye as they skippit,
They grinned with hideous granes.

'Then Ire came in with sturt and strife;
His hand was aye upon his kuife,
He brandished like a bear,
Boasters, braggerts, and bargainers,
After him passit into pairs,
All boden in' feir of weir.**
In jacks, and scrips, and bonnets of steel;
Their legs were chained down to the heel;
Froward was their effeir:
Some upon other with brands beft,††
Some jaggit others, to the heft,
With knives that sharp could shear.

'Next in the Dance followed Envy,
Filled full of feid and felony,
Hid malice and despite:
For privy hatred that traitor trembled;
Him followed mony freik‡‡ dissembled,
With feigned wordis white:
And flatters into men's faces;
And backbiters in secret places,
To he that had delight;
And ronners of fals lesings,
Alas! that courts of noble kings,
Of them can never be quit.

* * * * *
'Next him in Dance came Covetice,
Hoot of all evil and grund of vice,
That never could be content:
Caitiffs, wretches, and ocherars,§§
Hood-pykes,||| hoarders, and gatherers,
All with that warlock went.
Out of their throats they shot on other
Het molten gold, methought a fother,¶¶
As fire-flaught maist fervent;
Ay as they toomit them of shot,
Ficnds filled them new up to the throat
With gold of all kind prent.***

'Synne Sweriness,††† at the second bidding,
Cam like a sow out of a midden,
Full sleepy was his grunnie;‡‡‡

Mony sweir bumbard belly-huddron,*
Mony slute daw, and sleepy duddron,†
Him servit ay with sunyie.‡
He drew them furth intil a chenye,
And Belial with a bridle reinyie,
Ever lashed them on the lunyie.§
In dance they were sae slaw of feet,
They gave them in the fire a heat,
And made them quicker of counyie.||

* * * * *
'Then the foul monster Gluttony,
Of wame insatiable and greedy,
To dance he did him dress:
Him followed mony foul drunkart,
With can and collop, caup and quart,
In surfeit and excess.
Full mony a waistful wally-drag,
With wames unweildable, did forth wag,
In creish that did incress.
Drink! ay they cried, with mony a gape;
The Fiends gave them het lead to lap,
Their levery¶¶ was nae less.

* * * * *
'Nae menstrels playit to them, but doubt,
For gleemen they were halden out,
By day and eke by nicht;
Except a menstral that slew a man,
Sae till his heritage he wan,
And entered by brief of richt.'

The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins is followed by a Tournament—'The Justis betuix the Tailzour and Sowtar'—conducted according to the laws of chivalry, and written in a style of the broadest farce, and full of very coarse yet ludicrous images. Mr. Laing well remarks, that 'he who could, with the view of enlivening the sports of Holyrood, produce such a living picture as the Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins, and then pass without effort to conjure up in the infernal regions an exhibition of such broad and coarse humour as the mock tournament between a tailor and a sutor, might truly be regarded as a poet whose imagination was capable of any effort whatever: at one time revelling uncontrolled in the fields of allegory;—upon other occasions rising from some homely exhibition of the ordinary events of life, and reaching even 'the brightest heaven of invention.' Mr. Laing goes on to compare the genius of Dunbar with that of Burns. He considers the former pre-eminent in expressive personation and allegorical imagery; while in strength of satire, richness of humour, vivid description of external nature, and characteristic delineations of life and manners, it would be difficult, he thinks, to say which is entitled to the highest praise. It must be admitted, however, that Dunbar's coarseness is often most offensive, and that in his 'comic and familiar pieces there prevails such a grossness both of language and of sentiment as destroys the effect of their remarkable force of humour.' Much of this is no doubt to be attributed to the coarse manners of that early period, so that the grave faults referred to were rather those of the age, than of the individual. A similar apology has been pleaded in extenuation of Dunbar's 'Dirge to the King at

• Prepare a mask. † Gambols. ‡ Unknown.
§ Large folds. || Robe. ¶ For the occasion.
** Arrayed in the accoutrements of war.
†† Gave blows. ‡‡ Many contentious persons.
§§ Usurers. ||| Misers. ¶¶ Great quantity.
*** Every coinage. ††† Laziness. ‡‡‡ Visage.

• Dirty, lazy tipplers. † Slow and sleepy drabs.
‡ Excuse. § Loins.
|| Circulation as coin. ¶ Reward.

Stirling,' which has been justly termed by Sir Walter Scott a profane and daring parody of the services of the Roman Catholic Church, and in a moral point of view is the most objectionable of all the poet's compositions. "But at that period," says Mr. Laing, "the license given to such open violations of religious observances, as took place under the direction of lords of misrule or abbots of unreason, might have rendered such satirical effusions like this dirge less obnoxious." The character of James the Fourth, to whom this poem was addressed, was composed of strange inconsistencies or contradictions. "He was wont," says Sir Walter Scott, "during his fits of devotion, to assume the dress and conform to the rules of the Order of Franciscans, and when he had thus done penance for some sin in Stirling, to plunge again into the tide of pleasure; probably, too, with no unusual inconsistency, he sometimes laughed at the superstitious observances to which at other times he subjected himself." He was in the habit also of undertaking pilgrimages to the distant shrines of St. Ninian, at Whithorn, in Galloway, and St. Duthac, in Rosshire, which were no doubt held as atoning for his sensual indulgences, and his reckless pursuit of idle amusements. To relieve the King out of the state of penance and purgatory in which he is represented as living at the time, the service of the church of Rome is burlesqued by Dunbar; a humorous contrast is drawn between the opulence, the good living, and the amusements which Edinburgh afforded, and the meagre fare, the dull solitude, and 'the pyne and wo' of Stirling. "In the works of the Northern Makers of the fifteenth century," says Mr. Campbell, "there is a gay spirit and an indication of jovial manners which forms a contrast to the covenanting national character of subsequent times. The frequent coarseness of this poetical gaiety, it would be more easy than agreeable to prove by quotations; and if we could forget how very gross the humour of Chaucer sometimes is, we might, on a general comparison of the Scotch with the English poets, extol the comparative delicacy of English taste; for Skelton himself, though more burlesque than Sir David Lindsay in style, is less outrageously indecorous in matter. At a period when James IV. was breaking lances in the lists of chivalry, and when the court and court poets of Scotland might be supposed to have possessed ideas of decency, if not of refinement, Dunbar at that period addresses the Queen, on the occasion of having danced in her majesty's chamber, with jokes which a beggar wench of the present day would probably consider as an offence to her delicacy."

'The Flying' of Dunbar and Kennedy is an extraordinary example of coarse invective and scurrility, in which the rival poets load each other with the most opprobrious epithets and vulgar abuse. "It is difficult," says Mr. Tytler, "to determine whether the enmity and rivalry of two poets, who gave themselves up to this coarse sort of buffoonery,

was real or pretended. The probability seems to be, that it was considered both by the authors and the audience as a mere pastime of the imagination—a license to indulge in every kind of poetical vituperation—a kind of literary *maternalis* or licentious badinage which, in its commencement, and in the received principles by which it was regulated, did not imply any real hostility of feeling, but was very likely to lead to it. Lord Hailes, who was the first to conjecture that this 'Flying,' or poetical contest, had not arisen from anything like personal animosity—has well remarked, that Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco, although dear and intimate friends, for their own amusement and the gratification of their readers, have indulged in a similar species of abuse; and it seems impossible to believe that the affectionate regret with which Dunbar mentions Kennedy, in his 'Lament for the Death of the Makars,' could have proceeded from an enemy." The example of Dunbar and Kennedy found several imitators among the Scottish poets of the sixteenth century. About the year 1536, James V. 'fyted' with Sir David Lindsay, his *Lion King-at-Arms*; and a few years later a noted contest took place between Alexander Montgomery, author of 'The Cherrie and the Slae,' and Sir Patrick Hume, of Polwarth. Prefixed to the earliest edition of their 'Flying,' are some verses which expressly state that the altercation of these writers was not the result of any personal quarrel:

'No cankring envy, malice, nor despite,
Stirr'd up these men so eagerly to fyte,
But generous emulation.'

Among the poems ascribed to Dunbar on highly probable grounds, though not certainly his, is a tale entitled the 'Friars of Berwick.' Its object was to expose the licentious lives of some of the monkish orders at this period, and it exhibits great satirical powers, as well as a large fund of genuine humour. "This tale," says Dr. Irving, "to whatever author it may be referred, undoubtedly exhibits a most admirable specimen of the comic mode of writing. Without suffering by the comparison, it may be ranked with the best tales of Chaucer. The story is most skilfully conducted; and in its progress the poet displays an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the diversities of human character. His humour seems peculiar and undervalued. His descriptions are at once striking and appropriate. The different characters introduced are supported with the utmost propriety, and with a power of conception and of delineation which has not very frequently solicited our attention." Mr. Tytler remarks that there are few of Chaucer's tales which are equal, and certainly none of those which are superior to this excellent piece of satire. "I have dwelt upon it the rather," he adds, "because without the coarseness and licentiousness which affects the poetry of the age, it gives us a fine specimen of its strength and natural painting. The whole management of the story, its quiet comic humour, its variety and natural delineation of human character, the freshness and brilliancy of

* Specimens of the British Poets Second Edition, p. 18.

its colouring, the excellence and playfulness of its satire upon the hypocritical and dissolute lives of many of the monastic orders, and the vigorous versification into which it is thrown, are entitled to the highest praise."

But, although the satires, the tales, and the allegorical and descriptive poetry of Dunbar are all admirable, and full of fancy and originality, it is the opinion of Warton that the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast. His short moral pieces, according to Pinkerton, have a terseness, elegance, and force only inferior to those of Horace. "This darling of the Scottish Muses," observes Sir Walter Scott, "has been justly raised to a level with Chaucer, by every judge of poetry, to whom his obsolete language has not rendered him unintelligible. In brilliancy of fancy, in force of description, in the power of conveying moral precepts with terseness, and marking lessons of life with conciseness and energy, in quickness of satire, and in poignancy of humour, the Northern Makar may boldly aspire to rival the Bard of Woodstock."

The most solemn and impressive of the moral poems of Dunbar, is one in which he represents a merle, or thrush, and a nightingale, taking opposite sides on a debate on earthly and spiritual affections. Besides its great poetical merit, the poem bears on every stanza the stamp of sincerity and truth.

THE MERLE AND THE NIGHTINGALE.

' In May, as that Aurora did up spring,
With crystal een chasing the claddes sable,
I heard a Merle, with merry notes, sing
A sang of love, with voice right comfortable,
Again* the Orient beamis, aimable,
Upon a blissful branch of laurel green;
This was her sentence, sweet and delectable,
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' Under this branch ran down a river bright,
Of balmy liquor, crystalline of hne,
Again' the heavenly azure skyis light,
Where did upon the tother side pursue
A Nightingale, with sugared notis new,
Whose angel feathers as the peacock shone;
This was her song, and of a sentence true,
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.

' With notis glad, and glorious harmony,
This joyful Merle, so salust she the day,
While rung the woodis of her melody,
Saying, Awake, ye lovers of this May;
Lo, fresh Flora has flourished every spray,
As Nature has her taught, the noble Queen,
The field been clothit in a new array;
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' Ne'er sweeter noise was heard with living man,
Na made this merry gentle Nightingale;
Her sound went with the river as it ran,
Out through the fresh and flourished lusty vale;
O Merle! quoth she, O fool! stint of thy tale,
For in thy song good sentence is there none,
For both is tint, the time and the travail
Of every love but upon GOD alone.

' Cease, quoth the Merle, thy preaching, Nightingale;
Shall folk their youth spend into holiness?
Of young saints grows auld fiends, but fable;
Eye, hypocrite, in yeiris tenderness,

Again' the law of kind thou goes express,
That crookit age makes one with youth serene,
Whom nature of conditions made diverse:
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' The Nightingale said, Fool, remember thee,
That both in youth and age, and every hour,
The love of GOD most dear to man suld be;
That him, of nought, wrought like his own figour,
And died himself, fro' dead him to succour;
O! whether was kyth* there true love or none?
He is most true and stedfast paramour,
And love is lost but upon him alone.

' The Merle said, Why put GOD so great beauty
In ladies, with sic womanly having,
But gif he would that they suld Invit be?
To love eke nature gave them inclining,
And He of nature that worker was and king,
Would nothing frustir put, nor let be seen,
Into his creature of his own making;
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' The Nightingale said, Not to that behoof,
Pnt GOD sic beauty in a lady's face,
That she suld have the thank therefore or luv,
But He, the worker, that put in her sic grace;
Of beauty, bounty, riches, time or space,
And every gudness that been to come or gone,
The thank redounds to him in every place:
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.

' O Nightingale! it were a story nice,
That love suld not depend on charity;
And gif that virtue contrar be to vice,
Then love maun be a virtne, as thinks me,
For, aye, to love envy maun contrar' be:
God bade eke love thy neighbour fro' the spleen; †
And who than ladies sweeter neighbours be?
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' The Nightingale said, Bird, why dost thou rave?
Man may take in his lady sic delight,
Him to forget that her sic virtue gave,
And for his heaven receive her colour white:
Her golden tressit hairis redomite, ‡
Like to Apollo's beamis tho' they shone,
Suld not him blind fro' love that is perfit;
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.

' The Merle said, Love is cause of honour aye,
Love makis cowards manhood to purchase,
Love makis knights hardy at essay,
Love makis wretches full of largeness,
Love makis sweirs folks full of business,
Love makis sluggards fresh and well be seen,
Love changes vice in virtuous nobleness;
A lusty life in Lovis service been.

' The Nightingale said, True is the contrary;
Sic frustis love it blindis men so far,
Into their minds it makis them to vary;
In false vain glory they so drunken are,
Their wit is went, of woe they are not waur,
While that all worship away be fro' them gone,
Fame, goods, and strength; wherefore well say I daur,
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.

' Then said the Merle, Mine error I confess:
This frustis love is all but vanity;
Blind ignorance me gave sic hardness,
To argue so again' the verity;
Wherefore I counsel every man that he
With love not in the fendis net be tone, ||
But love the love that did for his love die
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.

* Against.

• Shown. † From the heart. ‡ Bound, encircled.
§ Slothful. || Ta'en, taken.

'Then sang they both with voices loud and clear—
The Merle sang, Man love God that has thee wrought;
The Nightingale sang, Man love the Lord most dear,
That thee and all this world made of nought;
The Merle said, Love him that thy love has sought,
Ere' heaven to earth, and here took flesh and bone;
The Nightingale sang, And with his dead the bought;
All love is lost but upon Him alone.

'Then flew thir birdis o'er the boughis sheen,
Singing of love among the leavis small,
Whose eidant plead yet my thoughts grein,*
Both sleeping, waking, in rest, and in travail.
Me to recomfort most it does avail,
Again for love, when love I can find none,
To think how sung this Merle and Nightingale,
All love is lost but upon GOD alone.'

After the untimely death of his royal patron at Flodden, the name of Dunbar disappears from the treasurer's accounts, and nothing whatever is known of the manner in which his declining years were spent. In his poem entitled a 'Lament for the Makars,' composed in all probability during his last sickness, he pathetically laments his having survived all his tuneful brethren, except Walter Kennedy, who lay at the point of death.

'Since he has all my brethren tane,
He will not let me live alane,
On force I maun his next prey be,
Timor mortis conturbat me.'

He is conjectured to have died about the year 1520, but the spot where the mortal remains of the greatest of all Scotland's early Makars were deposited, is entirely unknown.

Another celebrated poet who flourished at this period was GAVIN DOUGLAS, Bishop of Dunkeld. This learned and amiable prelate was the third son of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, the celebrated 'Bell-the-Cat,' and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Lord Boyd, High Chamberlain of Scotland. He appears to have been born about the year 1474, and would no doubt receive an education suitable to his noble birth, and the profession for which he was destined. Having entered into holy orders, he was at an early age presented to the rectory of Hawick, in Roxburghshire, where, amid the beautiful pastoral scenery of Teviotdale, his life glided on serenely in the discharge of his professional duties, and in happy literary employments. Dr. Irving thinks it highly probable that he had completed his education on the Continent, and had thus given his studies a more elegant and classical direction than was common among the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period. The intimacy of his acquaintance with ancient literature was in that age rarely paralleled. His favourites amongst the ancient poets were apparently Virgil and Ovid, and among the Christian fathers St. Augustin, whom he denominates the Chief of Clerks. His knowledge of the Latin language was undoubtedly extensive; and as he has informed us that Lord Sinclair requested him to translate Homer, we may conclude that he possessed also an acquaintance with Greek: an accomplishment rarely to be met with at that time in Scotland. We learn also from

* Whose close disputation yet moved my thoughts.

his ancient biographer, Mylne, that he was profoundly read in theology and in the canon law.*

Some time before the year 1500, Douglas was appointed by the King provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh: a situation of no small dignity and emolument, which he appears to have held along with his other benefice. In 1513 his two elder brothers, George, Master of Angus and Sir William Douglas, of Glenbeira, fell with their sovereign in the fatal battle of Flodden, and the aged earl, their father, overwhelmed with grief on account of the calamities of his house and his country, retired to St. Maina, in Gallway, where he soon after died. His title and estates devolved upon his grandson, Archibald, whose personal attractions gained the affections of the widowed Queen, and their nuptials were solemnized with indecent haste only a few months after the death of the King. By this unfortunate union the fortunes of Douglas became intermingled with those of the Queen and her youthful husband, and, unhappily for himself, he became implicated in the fierce struggles for promotion which now took place among the higher clergy. Among the churchmen who fell in the battle of Flodden, was the King's natural son, Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Abbot of Aberbrothock. The primacy was offered to the celebrated Bishop Elphinston, of Aberdeen, but he died before his translation, and the Queen then nominated Gavin Douglas to the vacant See. He accordingly took possession of the archiepiscopal palace, but his claims were fiercely opposed by John Hepburn, Prince of St. Andrews, who had been elected by the canons, and by Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, and commendator of Dryburgh and Pittenweem, a wealthy and grasping prelate, who had found means to obtain from the Pope a grant of the benefices lately held by Alexander Stewart Hepburn, at the head of a strong force, laid siege to the castle, expelled the servants of Douglas, and kept possession of the fortress in spite of an attempt to retake it on the part of the Earl of Angus at the head of two hundred horsemen; whilst Forman having obtained the assistance of the chamberlain, Lord Home, at this time one of the most powerful noblemen in Scotland, at the head of ten thousand men, proclaimed the Papal Bull at the market cross of Edinburgh, and then marched to St. Andrews to expel his rival and take possession of his new dignity. Douglas, whose conduct throughout was characterized by great moderation, withdrew in disgust from the unending contest, which ultimately terminated in Forman's obtaining possession of the primacy.

In the following year the See of Dunkeld, considered at that time the third in the kingdom in point of emolument, became vacant by the death of Bishop Brown, and the Queen again nominated Douglas, and by the influence of her brother, Henry VIII., obtained a Papal Bull in his favour. In the meantime, however, the Earl of Athole had induced the chapter to elect his brother, Andrew Stewart,

* Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. ii. p. 27

Prebendary of Craig, and the postulate bishop, at the head of a strong body of his clansmen, seized the palace and the cathedral, and declared his resolution to retain possession by force of arms. To add to his misfortunes, Douglas was accused of having violated the laws of the realm, by procuring bulls from Rome, and having been found guilty, he was committed to the custody of his former rival, Hepburn, and successively imprisoned for more than a year in the castles of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Dunbar. A compromise at length took place between the two parties: Douglas was restored to liberty, and was consecrated at Glasgow by Archbishop Beaton. "Having first visited on his journey the metropolitan city of St. Andrews, he proceeded from thence to Dunkeld, where all ranks exhibited the utmost delight at his arrival, extolling to the clouds his learning and virtues, and uttering their thanks to heaven for the gift of so noble and eminent a prelate." The Papal Bull was then read with the usual solemnities at the high altar, and the newly-consecrated prelate retired to the house of the dean, by whom he was hospitably entertained. The episcopal palace and cathedral were still held by the retainers of Stewart, who had even garrisoned the steeple, so that the bishop was constrained to perform divine service in the deanery, where he also administered the oaths to his canons in the afternoon, while engaged in holding a consultation with the nobles and gentry by whom he was accompanied. Their deliberations were interrupted by the discharge of cannon from the palace and the cathedral, while at the same time intelligence was received that Stewart was on his march at the head of a body of troops to support his retainers. Lord Ogilvie, the Master of Crawford Campbell, of Glenorchy, and other feudal friends, who surrounded Douglas, prepared to repel force by force, and messengers having been immediately sent off to Fife and Angus, so powerful a reinforcement arrived next morning, that Stewart durst not hazard an attack, and retired to the neighbouring woods. His supporters being summoned to capitulate, on pain of excommunication, after some delay at last thought it prudent to comply, so that Douglas obtained possession of his See without the effusion of blood, 'a circumstance,' says Sage, 'very acceptable to the good bishop, who, in all the actions of his life, discovered a gentle and merciful disposition, regulating the warlike and heroic spirit that was natural to his family by the excellent laws of the Christian religion.* Stewart ultimately agreed to relinquish his pretensions to the See of Dunkeld, on condition that he should retain the revenues which he had already collected, and be confirmed in the possession of the churches of Alyth and Casgill, two of the best benefices in the diocese.

Having thus at length been left in undisturbed possession of his rights, Douglas proceeded to discharge the duties of his office in the most exemplary manner. Though the various contests in which he

had been involved had encumbered him with debt, he performed many acts of charity and munificence. But his discharge of his episcopal functions was speedily interrupted by the distractions of these 'troubulous times,' and his near relationship to the powerful Earl of Angus, involved him in the vicissitudes of fortune which befel that ambitious and turbulent noble. An account has already been given of the attempt, so worthy of his Christian character, to mediate between the rival factions of the Hamiltons and Douglasses in the skirmish of 'Clean-the-Causey,' and of the manner in which he rescued Archbishop Beaton from the fury of his victorious antagonists. Shortly after this occurrence the party of Angus was overthrown, and that nobleman, with his uncle, Bishop Douglas, was compelled to take refuge at the court of Henry VIII., where he not only found an asylum, but had a liberal pension allotted to him for his support. The palace of the English monarch was at this time according to Erasmus, the favoured seat of learning, and of the best studies; and here the exiled prelate enjoyed the society and literary converse of various eminent scholars. One of these was the well known Polydore Virgil, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. For his information, Douglas prepared a brief commentary on the early history of his country—the only pure composition which he appears to have written. "The publication of Main's History of Scotland," says Dr. Irving, "in which that author ventured to expose the Egyptian fables of his predecessor, had excited the indignation of such of his countrymen as delighted to trace their origin to the daughter of Pharaoh. Douglas was studious to warn his new friend against adopting the opinions of the writer, and presented him with a brief commentary, in which he pursued the fabulous line of an ancestry from Athens to Scotland. This tractate, which was probably written in Latin, seems to have shared the common fate of the writings entrusted to Polydore, who, to secure the faults of his work from the danger of detection, is said to have destroyed many invaluable monuments of antiquity."†

Meanwhile, the party of Albany and the enemies of the Douglasses had obtained complete predominance in Scotland, and on the 21st of February, 1522, the bishop was denounced as a traitor, sentence of proscription was passed against him in his absence, the revenues of his cathedral were sequestered, and all persons were interdicted, under the penalties of treason from holding communication with him, or affording him any pecuniary assistance. Letters were at the same time addressed to the Pope by the governor and the Three Estates, beseeching his holiness to beware of nominating the traitor, Gavin Douglas, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews and the Abbaey of Dunfermline. Beaton, who was determined at all hazards to secure the primacy which had now become vacant by the death of Forman, evidently dreaded that Douglas would be a formidable rival, and sought to blast his reputation by addressing a

* Irving's Lives, vol. ii. p. 10.

• See ante, p. 422.

† Irving's Lives, vol. ii. p. 17.

letter as chancellor of the realm to the King of Denmark, requesting that monarch to represent Douglas to the sovereign pontiff as a person altogether unworthy of his favour or protection. These artifices and intrigues were, however, superfluous. Douglas had been cited to appear at Rome, and, according to his own declaration, he intended to obey the summons. But he was suddenly seized with the plague, and died at London in the year 1522, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was interred in the Savoy Church beside Thomas Halsay, the Irish Bishop of Leighlin. The character of Douglas is thus drawn by the classical pen of Buchanan. 'He died at London, having proceeded so far on his journey to Rome, to the great regret of all those good men who admired his virtues. To splendour of birth, and a handsome and dignified person, he united a mind richly stored with the learning of the age, such as it then existed. His temperance and moderation were very remarkable; and living in turbulent times, and surrounded by factions at bitter enmity with each other, such was the general opinion of his honesty and uprightness of mind that he possessed a high influence with all parties. He left behind him various monuments of his genius and learning of no common merit, written in his native tongue.'

The earliest work of Douglas of any extent was an allegorical poem entitled 'King Hart,' intended to represent the progress of human life. Of this ingenious, but intricate and somewhat heavy allegory, the author himself has given a condensed and striking analysis. 'The heart of man,' he says, beand his maist noble part, and the fountain of his life, is here put for man in general, and holds the chief place in the poem under the title of 'King Hart.' This mystical king is first represented in the bloom of youth, with his lusty attendants, the attributes or qualities of youth. Next is pictured forth the palace of Pleasure, near by the castle of King Hart, with its lovely inhabitants. Queen Pleasance, with the help of her ladies, assails King Hart's castle, and takes him and most of his servitors prisoners. Pity at last releases them, and they assail the Queen Pleasance, and vanquish her and her ladies in their turn. King Hart then weds Queen Pleasance, and solaces himself long in her delicious castle. So far is man's dealing with pleasure; but now when King Hart is past middle comes another scene. For Age arriving at the castle of Queen Pleasance, with whom King Hart dwelt ever since his marriage with her, insists for admittance, which he gains. So King Hart takes leave of Youthheid with much sorrow. Age is no sooner admitted than Conscience comes also to the castle and forces entrance, beginning to chide the king, whilst Wit and Reason take part in the conference. After this and other adventures Queen Pleasance suddenly leaves the king, and Reason and Wisdom persuade King Hart to return to his own palace; that is, when

* Buchanan's History, book xiv. chap. xiii.

pleasure and the passions leave man, reason and wisdom render him his own master. After some other matters, Decrepitude attacks and mortally wounds the King, who dies after making his testament.

It must be admitted that the poem as a whole is tedious and uninteresting, but it contains many vivid descriptions and stirring incidents. The opening canto presents us with a spirited view of the allegorical monarch in all the fervour of youth, surrounded by his subjects and vassals.

'King Hart into his comely castel strong,
Closed about with craft and meikle art,
So seemly was he set his folk among,
That he no doubt had of misadventure,
So proudly was he polished plain and pure,
With Youthheid and his lusty levis green,
So fair, so fresh, so likely to endure,
And also blyth as bird in summer schene.

'For was he never yet with showris schot,
Nor yet o'errun with rouk; or ony raine,
In all his lusty lecam; not ane spot,
Nor never had experience into paine,
But alway into lykyng mocht to layne,
Only to love and very gentleness,
He was inclinid cleanlie to remain,
And woun ¶ under the wing of Wantonness.'

Thus slightly modernized by Mr. Tytler—

'King Hart sat in his comely castle strong,
All closed about with craft and cunning cove,
So proudly was he placed his folks among,
That he no doubt had of misadventure,
His state did promise it should long endure,
His youth was fresh, his lusty leavis were green,
His cheek show'd mantling blood as ruby pure,
His voice was blyth as bird in summer schene.

'Like goodly tree whom tempest ne'er had torn,
Or fresh blown rose, whose beauty ne'er could wane,
King Hart stood firm, his curling locks unshorn,
Play'd round his brows, he never dreamt of pain,
But always thought in liking soft to layne**
Love's servant, nurst in lap of gentlemen,
He fondly dreamt that he should aye remain,
And won beneath the wing of Wantonness.'

The poet proceeds to tell us that this 'worthy night king' did not enjoy entire freedom, for Nature had commissioned various 'inward scivitours,' such as Strength, Rage, Jealousy, Envy, Wickedness, Freedom, Pity, and other personages of the same character to guide and govern him. Five of his vassals—the senses—are placed at the outer works of his castle, to defend him against treason, but they are sometimes guilty of betraying their master. Honour arrives at the gate, but is denied admittance by these warders. He forces his way, however, by means of an engine, and hastily ascends the great tower.

'Honour perservit to the King's yet,††
Thir folk said all that wald not let him be,
Because that said the laird to feast was set,
With all his lusty servants more and mair,‡‡
But he ane port had entered with a gear,
And up he came in haist to the great tower,
And said he suld it perall; all with fear,
And fresh delight with many a richest tower.'

• Strong. † Toil. ; Moisture. § Body.
|| Might incline to pleasure. ¶ Live. ** Lie.
†† Gate. ‡‡ More and less. §§ Decorate it.
3 R

At a small distance from the castle of King Hart stands the delightful palace of Pleasance or Pleasure,

'The quhilk was paralld all about with pride,'

and from this fair dwelling the beauteous queen, attended by a train of lovely nymphs, issues on a day to take her sport in the forest.

'Happend this worthy queen upon a day,
With her fresh court arrayet weill at rycht,
Hunting to ride her to disport and play,
With mony a lustre ladie fair and brycht,
Hir banner schene displayit, and on hycht
Was seen above ther heedis where they raid;
The green ground was illuminyt of the lycht;
Fresch Beauty had the vanguard and was guide.'

The queen and her troop of attendant ladies happening to approach the castle of King Hart, the warders, alarmed at the unusual appearance, hasten to inform their master, and recommend that he should send out a messenger to reconnoitre and ascertain their intentions. Youthheid and Delight instantly offer their services, and sally forth to 'see what may this muster mean,' but are dazzled and disarmed by Beauty, and captured by Fair Calling, who leads them in triumph to the castle of Pleasure, and binds them with the bands of Venus. The description of their adventure is highly poetical.

'Youthheid forth far'd—he rode on Innocence,
A milk-white steed that ambled as the wind,
Whilst Fresh Delight bestrode Benevolence,
A palfrey fair that would not bide behind.
The glorions beams had almost made them blind,
That forth from Beauty burst beneath the cloud,
With which the goddess had herself enshrined,
Sitting like Eastern queen in her pavilion prond.

'Bnt these young wights abased at the sight,
Full soon were staid in their courageous mood,
Instant within them died all power and might,
And gazing, rooted to the earth they stood;
At which Fair Calling, seeing them snbnded,
Seized on their slackened rein with rosy hands,
Then to her castle swift away she guid,*
And fastened soon the twain in Venus' silken bands.'

Love, Wantonness, and other messengers are then despatched on the same enterprise, but they, too, are seized and detained. King Hart, beholding from the battlements the discomfiture of his second party, calls to arms, and, at the head of his host, issues forth to attack his assailants. The conflict terminates in his total defeat and capture. He is delivered to Beauty in order to have the wound dressed which he had received in battle from the hand of Queen Pleasure, and is closely confined within a grated chamber near the 'donjon' tower. The prisoners, however, by the assistance of Pity, one of the attendants of Pleasure, succeed in effecting their escape, and having made themselves masters of the fortress, the queen in her turn becomes a captive. She requests an interview with King Hart, who is deeply smitten with her charms, and espouses the fair enchanter. Twenty years pass away in ease and delight, but at length the enjoyments of the royal pair are interrupted by the arrival of an unwelcome visitor.

* Went.

'Wha is at ease when baith are now in bliss,
But fresche King Hart that cleirlie is above,
And wantis nocht in world that he culd wis,*
And trusts nocht that e'er he sall remove,
Score years and more, Sir Liking and Sir Love,
Of him they have the cure and governance;
While at the last befell and sa behove,
Ane changinge new that grievit Dame Pleasance.

'Ane morning tide, when that the sun so schene
Out-raschet had his beams from the sky,
Ane auld gude man before the yett† was seen,
Upon ane steed that raid full easilie,
He rappit at the yett—but curtasilie;
Yet at the stroke the great dungeon gan din;
Then at the last he shouted felonny,
And bade them rise, and said he maun‡ come in.'

A sad change now takes place in the life of poor King Hart, and his gay and merry subjects speedily desert him. Youthheid falls on his knees before him, and craves to be dismissed with his merited reward. Disport and Fresh Delight rush out at a postern gate, without taking formal leave of their former master; whilst Conscience appears before the walls, and demands how long he is to be kept in a state of exile. He is instantly admitted by Age, and meeting Sin in the court, or inclosure, he lays a 'felloun rout on his rig-bone,' but hurts his own breast by the violence of the blow. Folly and Vice, terrified at these proceedings, skulk away and conceal themselves in a corner. Wisdom and Reason now began to knock loudly at the gate, and to demand immediate admittance. The door is at once opened by Conscience, who asks the keys, and assumes the office of porter. Disgusted with the loss of her pleasantest servants, and the intrusion of these disagreeable guests, the queen collects her train and deserts the castle whilst her royal consort is asleep. The unhappy monarch thus abandoned in his hour of need, and attacked by Jealousy and Disease, is counselled by Wisdom to leave the desolate palace of Queen Pleasure, and return home. He complies with the advice, but on reaching his own castle he meets with a cold welcome, for Languor receives him at the gate, and Strength, who had still remained with him, now 'cowers upon his houghs,' and creeps out at the postern:—

'Though Strength was now much faded in his flowers,
Still with the aged king he did abide;
But at the last upon his houghs he cowers,
And privily out at the yett did slide:
Then stole away and went on ways wide.
Full soon he Youthheid and his fellows found
(Nor missed the road, albeit he had no guide)
Behind a hill, they lay npon a grassy mound.'

On the departure of Strength, Decrepitude, accompanied by a hideous host, is descried coming over the 'muir,' as Wisdom and the king sit conversing together.

'Right as they two in talk the hours beguill'd,
A hideous host they saw come o'er the muir:
Decrepitude (his banner torn and soil'd)
Was near at hand with many a chieftain stur;§
A bony steed, full thin, that caiffif bore,
And crooked were his loathly limbs with eld;
No smole e'er grac'd his countenance demure;
No fere|| dar'd joke with him—with rigour all he quell'd.'

• Wish.

† Gate.

‡ Must.

§ Stern.

|| Companiou.

This formidable leader, assisted by Palsy, Cough, Headache, and other warriors, lays siege to the fortress, and after a fierce contest, batters the barmekin to pieces, casts down the great tower, and having gained possession of the citadel, inflicts a mortal wound on King Hart, who immediately prepares for death. The curious and fanciful testament of the dying monarch concludes the poem, which, though deformed by tedious and intricate personifications, and by not a few inaccuracies of thought and language, yet contains many beautiful descriptions, and displays poetical talents of a high order.

The next great work of Douglas, and the longest of his original compositions, is 'The Palace of Honour;' a complex allegory, displaying much learning and versatility of fancy, and containing many charming passages, often marred, however, by incongruous figures and tedious and confused descriptions. 'The poet's excellent design,' says Bishop Sage in his *Life of Douglas*, 'is to represent, under the similitude of a vision, the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to show that a constant inflexible course of virtue and goodness is the only true way to honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes as a magnificent palace, situated on a very high mountain, of most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with a variety of examples, not only of those noble and heroic souls whose eminent virtues procured them admittance into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding all their worldly state and grandeur. The work is addressed to James IV., on purpose to inspire that brave prince with just sentiments of true honour and greatness, and incite him to tread in the paths of virtue, which alone could conduct him to it. To make it more agreeable and entertaining, the poet has adorned it with several incident adventures, discovering throughout the whole a vast and comprehensive genius, an exuberant fancy, and extraordinary learning for the time he lived in. He seems to have taken the plan of it from the 'Palace of Happiness' described in the picture of Cebes; and it is not improbable that his countryman Florentius Volusenus had it in view, and improved his design in his admirable but too little known book, 'De Tranquillitate Animi.' " "This praise," Mr. Tytler remarks, "is somewhat too encomiastic and indiscriminate; for the 'Palace of Honour' cannot lay claim either to a high moral tendency or to much unity of composition and effect. It is, on the contrary, confused in its arrangement, often obscure in its transitions, and crowded with persons and scenery of all ages and countries, heaped together 'in most admired disorder;'—palaces and princes, landscapes and ladies, groups of Pagan ages and Christian heroes, populous cities and silent solitudes, succeed so rapidly, that we lose ourselves in the profusion of its actors, and the unconnected but brilliant variety of its scenery. Yet it is justly characterised as exhibiting in many

places an exuberant fancy, and an extraordinary extent of learning for the age in which it was written. The learning, indeed, is rather ambitiously intruded, in many parts, communicating a coldness and tedium to the narrative, and betraying an anxiety in the author to display at once the whole extent of his stores; whilst making every allowance for the obscurities which are occasioned by a pure Scottish dialect, it is impossible not to feel that the poetry is inferior in genius to Dunbar. There is not that masterly clearness of outline and brilliancy of colouring in his grand groups—that power of keeping under all minor details—the perspective of descriptive poetry, which is necessary for the production of a strong and uniform effect. All is too much of equal size crowded into the foreground; and the author loses his purpose in the indiscriminate prominence of his details."*

One lovely morning in the month of May, the poet rises before dawn, and entering a delightful garden, is regaled by the delicious fragrance of the flowers and the melodious songs of the birds.

'The fragrant flowers, blooming in their seats,
Ourspread the leaves of Nature's tapestries;
Aboon the quhilk with heavenly harmonies,
The birdes sat on twistes and on greis,
Melodiously making their kindly gles.
Wha's shrill notis foredoon'd all the skyes;
Of reperussit air the echo cryd,
Among the branches of the bloom'd trees,
And on the laurels silver droppis lyt.

'While that I roamed in that paradise,
Replenish'd and full of all delice: ¶
Out of the sea Eous lift his head,
I mean the horse which drawis at device
The assitrie and golden chair of prios
Of Tytan, which at morrow seemis red;
The new colour, that all the night lay dead,
Is restorit, bath fowls, flowers, and rice, ¶
Recomfort was, throu Phebus' goudly head.

'The daisy and the marigold unslappit,
Which all the nycht lay with their leaves happit,
Them to preserve fra reumes** pungitive,
The umbrate trees, that Titan about wappit,
Were portrait and out fra earth yschappit,
By golden beams vivificative,
Where amene heat is maist restorative,
The grasshoppers amangst the vergerie: † gnappit,
And bees wrocht material for their hive.

'Richt wholesome was the season of the year,
Phebus forth yet depured beams clear,
Maist nutritive to all things vegetant;
God Eolus of wind durst nocht appear;
For auld Saturne with his mortal spear,
And bad aspect—contrair to every plant,
Neptunus dar'd not within that palace haunt.
The bereall; ‡ streams running men might hear;
By banks green with glaucous variant.'

The poet falls into an ecstasy or swoon, and is presented with a remarkable vision. He seems to roam through a huge forest, close by the margin of a hideous sea, full of grisly fishes, y-illing like elves. No herbs or grass are visible, and the trees are all withered and leafless. Finding himself in this doleful region,§§ he begins to complain of the

* Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 182.
+ Season. † Twigs and grass. ‡ Reounded through.
|| Delight. ¶ Bushes. ** Names, or fruit.
‡‡ Small brushwood. †† Clear, like a berry.
§§ Irving's Lives, vol. ii. pp. 38—39.

injustice of Fortune; but his attention is soon attracted by the arrival of a magnificent cavalcade 'of ladies fair and guidlie men,' who pass before him in procession. After they have gone by, two catiffs approach, one mounted on an ass, the other on a hideous horse, who are discovered to be the arch-traitors, Sinon and Achitophel. From the former the poet learns that the brilliant company which he had just beheld is Minerva, the Queen of Wisdom, with her court, who are journeying through this wilderness to the palace of Honour. He inquires how such villains were permitted to attend upon the goddess; and receives for answer, that they appear there in the same manner as thunder and earthquakes sometimes mar the beauty of the lovely and placid month of May. The poet now betakes himself for shelter to a thick covert, where he hears the merry horns of the hunters; and an unhappy stag, who proves to be Actæon, is seen pursued by his own dogs, who are cheered on by Diana, mounted upon an elephant, and surrounded by her buskined nymphs. To this stirring scene succeeds the most melodious music, like the songs of angels, and the court of Venus approaches, composed of every hero and heroine of scriptural, classical, and romantic story. The Queen of Love is seated on a gorgeous car, attended by her son Cupid, and accompanied by a band of musicians, whose skill surpasses even that of Pan and of Amphion, whose lyre raised the walls of Thebes, and of King David, though the sounds of his harp exorcised the evil spirit that tormented Saul. Mars follows behind, mounted on a barded courser, 'stout and bald' (bold). The description of the God of War is exceedingly graphic.

'Everie invasabil* weapon on him he bear,
His look was grim, his bodie large and square,
His limbs weel entailyeit† to be strang,
His neck was grit,‡ a span-breadth weil or mair,
His visage bald, with crisp brown curling hair;
Of stature not our grit nor yet our lang,
Beholding Venus, Oh, ye my love! he sang;
And she again with dalliance sa fair
Her knight him cleips§ where sa he rade or gang.'

The poet, on witnessing all this brave array, laments his own hard fate and misfortunes, and begins to denounce Venus and all her retinue. The lovely queen is seen to bite her lip, and her court rein in their horses, and make search for the poet who has dared to offer such an affront to their mistress. The luckless complainant is quickly dragged from his retreat, and arraigned at the august tribunal of the goddess. Mars and Cupid act as assessors; the accusation is read by 'a clerk cleipit Varius,' and the trial proceeds in due form. The prisoner objects to the competency of the court,—pleads that ladies cannot legally sit as judges, and moreover, that he is a spiritual man, and ought to be remitted to his judge ordinary. But Venus expresses great indignation at this appeal, and commands the clerk to write his sentence of condemnation. The unhappy culprit is in great consternation, when fortunately the court of the Muses

* Invulnerable. † Well-knit. ‡ Great. § Calls.

makes its appearance, and relieves him from his perilous situation. This new court is composed of 'wise eloquent fathers and pleasant ladies of fresh beauty.' Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, and other Latin poets, Petrarch and Boccaccio, the peerless Chaucer, 'moral John Gower,' Lydgate the monk, and 'great Kennedy and Dunbar, yet undeid' (alive), appear in this cortège, who are all directing their course to the Palace of Honour, and cheering the tedium of the journey by rehearsing Greek and Latin histories, and chanting to their lyres Sapphic and Elegiac odes.

The train of the Muses having reached the spot where Venus is engaged in trying the luckless poet, Calliope intercedes in his behalf; and the offended goddess at length agrees to pardon his crime, on condition that the culprit shall compose a poem in her honour, in reparation of his offence. He immediately pours forth an unpremeditated lay, and Venus declares that she is satisfied. She then takes her departure with all her train, and leaves the poet with the Muses, who commence a most marvellous journey, and after roaming through many regions, at last reach the Castalian fount:—

'Beside that christall well, sweet and digist,*
Them to repose, their horse refresh and rest,
Alichtit‡ doun thir Muses clear of hue.
The companie all haillelie, lest and best,
Thrang to the well to drink, which ran south-west,
Throughout an mead where alkin‡ flouris grew,
Among the lave§ full fast I did persue
To drink, but sa the great press me opprest
That of the water I might not taste e'en a drew.¶

'Our horses pastured in an plesant plain,
Low at the foot of ane fair green mountain,
Amid ane mead schaddowd with cedar trees,
Safe fra all heat there nicht we weil remain;
All kinds of herbs, flowers, fruit, and grain,
With everie growing tree there man nicht cheis,¶
The boerliel streams running o'er stannerie greis,
Made sober noise; the schaw dinnit** agane,
For birdis sang and sounding of the bees.

'The ladies fair, on divers instruments,
Went playing, singing, dancing our the bents;‡‡
Full angelic and heavenly was their sound.
What creature amid his hart imprints
The fresh beautie, the gudeliel represents,
The merry speech, fair having, high renown,
Of them, wad sit a wise man half in swoun;
Their womanlines wrytheth the elements,‡‡
Stoneist the heaven, and all the earth adoun.

'The world may not consider nor deserve §§
The heavenly joy, the bliss I saw belive;
Sa ineffable above my wit sa hie,
I will na mair thereon my forehead rive,
But briefly forth my feeble prose drive:
Low in the mead ane palyeon picht¶¶ I see,
Maist gudeliest and richest that might be;
My governor, aftner than times five,
Unto that hald to pass commandit me.'

In obedience to the injunctions of his guide, the poet enters the pavilion, and there sees the Muses sitting two and two on 'deissis,' or elevated seats of distinction, served by 'familiaris with ippocras and mead,' and partaking of delicate meats and varied dainties. After the feast, Calliope commands

* Wholesome. † Alighted. ‡ All kind.
§ Crowd. ¶ Prop. ¶ Choose. ** Resounded.
‡‡ Fields. ‡‡ Charmed the elements. §§ Describe.
¶¶ A pavilion pitched.

Ovid, her 'Clerk Register,' to declare 'wha were maist worthy of their hands;' and this favoured poet proceeds to chaunt the deeds of the heroes of ancient days, and is followed by Virgil and other eminent bards. At length the trumpet sounds to horse, and the Muses, with their attendants and followers, mount their steeds, and gallop on 'o'er many a goodly plain, o'er waters wan, and through woods green,' till they reach a pleasant valley, wherein stands a huge rock, which forms the termination of their journey. In this part of the poem there is a most incongruous and profane mixture of the Pagan mythology with the doctrines of the Christian faith. We learn that the palace built upon the rock is intended to shadow forth the bliss of heaven, and that by Honour we are to understand that heavenly honour and distinction to which the Christian aspires. From the summit of the enchanted rock the poet beholds a multitude of people tossed in a stormy sea, and many of them perishing in the waves. A goodly bark is seen labouring against the fury of the storm, and at length bulging against a sand-bank. A portion of the crew are swallowed up by the billows, while others reach the shore and begin to ascend the rock. The attendant nymph informs him, that the multitude who are seen struggling with the waves are the faithless, who know not God, and follow their own pleasure, and who shall all perish at last; that the ship is called the 'Carvel of the State of Grace,' into which men are admitted by baptism. But if they fall again into sin, the ship is broken, and they shall all be east away, except by faith they find the plank, which shall bring them safe to land. The bad taste of all this is unquestionable, and it cannot fail to give offence to every pious reader.

The poet is now presented with a view of the palace of Honour, the magnificence of which surpasses description. After witnessing many stately tournaments and jovial sports within the gate, the nymph conveys him to a garden, where he beholds Venus seated on a splendid throne, having before her a magic mirror, which possesses the power of reflecting 'all things gone like as they were present.' The most remarkable events recorded in history float over the surface of this mirror before the poet's view, and among other ancient worthies he sees 'great Gowmacmorne and Fyn Mae Cowl,—the mighty Fingal, and Gaul, the son of Morni, the renowned heroes of Ossian. In this magic mirror he also beholds the tricks of legerdmain performed by the famous Roger Bacon, and other necromancers, who are seen amusing themselves by changing a nutmeg into a monk, a penny pie into a church, and 'other subtill points of jugglery.' The poet is next conducted to an eminence, from which he observes the attempts of the multitude to obtain admission into the palace, and the manner in which many of them are baffled in their efforts. Equity stands as warder on the battlements, denouncing vengeance against Covetousness, Envy, and Falsehood. Patience, who officiates as porter, admits the poet and his guide into the palace, which

is described in very glowing terms. He is so overcome by the splendour of the scene and the severe look of the potent monarch, that he falls into a swoon, and is conveyed to the open air by his attendant nymph. On his recovery, she offers to conduct him to a delightful garden, where the Muses are employed in gathering the choicest flowers of poesy, and where the trees bear precious stones instead of fruit. The only access to this garden lies beyond a moat, across which a tree is thrown. Over this precarious bridge the nymph passes with ease, but the poet in attempting to follow her becomes giddy, slips a foot, and is immersed in the stream. The agitation occasioned by this misadventure awakens him from the trance into which he had fallen. He then composes a lay in praise of Honour, and concludes the poem by dedicating it to his Sovereign, James IV.

In his interview with Venus in the garden, connected with the Palace of Honour, the poet informs us that the goddess presented him with a copy of Virgil's *Æneid*, commanding him to translate it into his native language,—'a task,' says Dr. Irving,* 'which he has performed with remarkable felicity. It is to be regretted,' continues this learned critic, 'that he did not devote a much longer period to this undertaking: he might thus have been enabled to render his versification more terse and finished, but the work in its present state is a singular monument of his genius and industry.† . . It is certainly the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original, and command of a rich and variegated phraseology, peculiarly qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. Indeed, whether we consider the state of British literature at that era, or the rapidity with which he completed his work, (it was the labour of but sixteen months,) he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration. In either of the sister languages few translations of sacred authors had been attempted, and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. Even in English, no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared, except of *Boethius*, who scarcely merits that appellation. On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a species of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French, and the English reader was taught to consider this motley and ludicrous composition as a version of the *Æneid*. Douglas, however, bestows severe castigation on Caxton for his presumptuous deviation from classical story, and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil than the Devil resembles St. Austin. He has, however, fallen into one error which he exposes in his predecessor—proper names being often so disfigured in his translation as only to be recognised with the greatest difficulty. In many instances, too, he has been guilty of the bad taste of modernizing the notions of his original; converting the Sibyl into a nun, and admonishing *Æneas*, the Trojan baron, to

* Irving's Lives, vol. ii. pp. 54—60.

† Encyclop. Britan. vol. viii. p. 128.

be fearful of any neglect in counting his beads. Of the general principle of translation, however, he appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. His version is neither rashly licentious, nor too tamely literal. In affirming that he has invariably rendered one verse by another, Dempster and Lesly betray their ignorance of the work of which they speak; and Douglas well knew that such a project would have been wild and nugatory. The verses of Virgil and his translator most commonly differ in length by at least three syllables, and they may even differ by no fewer than seven.

The original poems styled 'prologues,' which the translator affixes to each book, are esteemed amongst his happiest pieces. The following beautiful description of a morning in May, forms part of the prologue to the twelfth book:—

'As fresh Aurora, to mighty Tithon sponse,
Ished of* her saffron bed and ivor house,
In cram'sy clad and grained violate,
With sanguine cape, and selvage purpurate,
Unshet† the windows of her large hall,
Spread all with roses, and full of balm royal,
And eke the heavenly portis chrystalline
Un warps braid, the world till illumine ;
The twinkling streamers of the orient
Shed purpor sprangs, with gold and azure ment;‡
Eons, the steed, with ruby harness red,
Above the seas lifts furth his head,
Of colour sore,§ and somedael brown as berry,
For to alichten and glad our emsperry ;
The flame ont-bursteu at the neisthirls,|
So fast Phaeton with the whip him whirle.
While shortly, with the bleezand torch of day,
Abnyit in his lemand¶ fresh array,
Furth of his palace royal ishit Phœbus,
With golden crown and visage glorious,
Crisp hairs, bricht as chrysolite or topaz ;
For whose hue nicht nane behald his face.
The auriate vanes of his throne soverane
With glitterand glance o'erspread the oceane ;**
The large fludes, lemand all of licht,
But with ane blink of his supernal sicht.
For to behold, it was ane glorie to see
The stabled windis, and the calmed sea,
The soft season, the firmament serene,
The loune illuminate air and firth amene.
And lusty Flora did her bloomis spread
Under the feet of Phœbus' sulyart;†† steed ;
The swarded soil embrode with selcouth‡‡ hues,
Wood and forest, obnumbrate with bewes.§§
Towers, turrets, kirnals,|| and pinnacles hie,
Of kirks, castles, and ilk fair cite,
Stude painted, every fane, phiol,¶¶ and stage,***
Upon the plain ground by their own nembrage.
Of Eolus' north blasts havand no dreid,
The soil spread her braid bosom on-breid ;
The corn crops and the beir new-braid
With gladsome garment revesting the yerd.†††
The prai;‡‡ besprent with springand sprouts dispers
For caller humours§§§ on the dewy nicht,
Rendering some place the gorse-piles their licht ;
As far as cattle the lang summer's day
Had in their pasture eat and nip away ;
And blissful blossoms in the bloomed yerd,
Submits their heids to the young sun's safeguard.
Iry leaves rank o'erspread the barmkin wall ;
The bloomed hawthorn clad his pikis all ;

Furth of fresh bougeois* the wine grapes ying†
Endland the trellis did on twistes hing ;
The loukit bntons on the gemmed trees
O'erspreadand leaves of nature's tapestries ;
Soft grassy verdure after balmy shouirs,
On cur'land stalkis smiland to their flours.
The daisy did on-breid her crownal small,
And every flouer unlappt in the dale.
Sere downis small on dentilion sprang,
The young green bloomed strawberry leaves amang ;
Jimp jeryflours thereon leaves unshet,
Fresh primrose and the purpor violet ;
Heavenly lillies, with lockerand toppis white,
Opened and shew their crestis redemite.
Ane paradise it seemed to draw near,
Thir galyard gardens and each green herbere
Maist amiable wax the emerant meads ;
Swarmis souchis throughout the respand reeds.
Over the lochis and the fludis gray,
Searchand by kind ane place where they should lay.
Phœbus' red fowl,‡ his cural crest can steer,
Of streikand furth his heckle, crawand cleer.
Amid the wortis and the rutis gent
Pickand his meat in alleys where he went,
His wivis Toppa and Partolet him by—
A bird all-time that hauntis bigamy.
The painted pownes¶ acad with plumes gym,
Kest up his tail ane proud plesand wheel-rim,
Ishrouded in his feathering bright and sheen,
Shapand the prent of Argus hundred een.
Amang the bowis of the olive twistis,
Sere small fowls, workand crafty nests,
Endlang the hedges thick, and on rank aiks
Ilk bird rejoicand with their mirthful makes.
In corners and clear fenestres of glass,
Full busily Arachne weavand was,
To knit her nettis and her wobbis slie,
Therewith to catch the little midge or fie.
So dusty powder upstours in every street,
While corby gaspit for the fervent heat.
Under the bowis been in lufely vales,
Within fermance and parkis close of pales,
The bsteuous buckis rakis furth on raw,
Herdis of hertis through the thick wood-shaw ;
The young fawns followand the dun daes,
Kids, skipand through, runnis after raes.
In leisurs and on levis, little lambs
Full tait and trig socht bletand to their dams.
On salt streams wolk|| Dorida and Thetis,
By rinnand strandis, Nymphis and Naiadis,
Sic as we clepe wenches and damysels,
In gersy graves¶ wanderand by spring wells ;
Of bloomed branches and flowers white and red,
Plettand their lusty chaplets for their head,
Some sang ring-songes, dances, leids,** and rounds,
With voices shrill, while all the dale resounds.
Whersot they walk into their caroling,
For amorous lays does all the rockis ring.
Ane sang " The ship sails over the salt faern,
Will bring the merchants and my leman hame."††
Some other sings, " I will be blythe and licht,
My heart is lent upon so goodly wicht."‡‡
And thoughtful lovers rounis§§ to and fro,
To leis||| their pain, and plein their jolly woe.
After their guise, now singand, now in sorrow,
With heartis pensive the lang summer's morrow.
Some ballads list indite of his lady ;
Some livis in hope ; and some all utterly
Despairit is, and sae quite out of grace,
His purgatory he finds in every place.
Dame Nature's menstrals, on that other part,
Their blissful lay intoning every art,
And all small fowlis singis on the spray,
Welcome the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
Welcome fosterer of tender herbis green,
Welcome quickenner of flourist flours sheen,
Welcome support of every rute and vein,
Welcome ecnfort of all kind fruit and grain,

* Issued from. † Opened.
‡ Purple streaks mingled with gold and azure.
§ Yellowish brown. || Nostrils. ¶ Glittering.
** Ocean. †† Sultry. ‡‡ Uncommon.
§§ Boughs. ||| Battlements. ¶¶ Cupola.
*** Storey. ††† Earth. ‡‡‡ Meadow.
§§§ Cool vapours.

* Sprouts. † Young. ‡ The cock.
§ The peacock. || Walked. ¶ Grassy groves.
** Lays. †† Songs then popular.
‡‡ Whisper. §§ Runneth. ||| Relieve.

Welcome the birdis beild* upon the brier,
 Welcome master and ruler of the year,
 Welcome welfare of husbandans at the plows,†
 Welcome repaire of woods, trees, and bews;‡
 Welcome depainter of the bloomit meads,
 Welcome the life of every thing that spreads,
 Welcome storer of all kind bestial,
 Welcome be thy bricht beamis, gladdand all'.

Perhaps a still finer specimen of Douglas's poetical genius is furnished by the description of winter in the prologue to the seventh book, which has been justly pronounced equal to anything of the kind to be found in the whole range of ancient Scottish poetry. The poet tells us that 'the sun had just entered the cloudy sign of Capricorn,' and approached so near his winter stage, that his heat perceptibly declined. Everything is melancholy and dreary; the trees leafless and bare: the rivers running red in spate.§ The burns, or smaller streams, so sweet and quiet in summer tide, tearing down their banks; the surges dashing on the shore with a noise louder than the roar of a chafed lion; the heavens dark and lowering, or, if the sky clears for a moment, only opening to show the wintry constellations, rainy Orion, and the chill, pestilential Saturn, 'shedding infection from his tresses hoar.' The earth, says the poet, pursuing his fine winter picture, is now barren, hard, and unlovely; the meadows have put on their brown and withered coats; Hebe, the beautiful daughter of Juno, hath not even a single flower with which she may adorn herself; and through a cold and leaden atmosphere the mountain-tops are seen capped with snow. As these melancholy images present themselves, shadowy dreams of age and death steal into the mind.

'Gousty schadowis of eild and grisly dede.'

All living creatures seem to sympathise with the decay of the year. The deer are seen retreating from their high summer pastures into the more sheltered valley; the small birds, congregating in flocks, change their pleasant songs into a melancholy chirm, or low complaining murmur; the wind, either carrying all before it, tears the forest in its strength, or sinks into a subdued or ominous moaning. The poor husbandmen and labourers, with their shoes covered with clay, and their garments drenched with rain, are seen toiling about the doors; the little herd-boy, with his silly sheep, creeps under the lee of some sheltered hill-side, whilst the oxen, horses, and 'greater bestial,' the tuskit boars and fat swine comfortably stabled and housed, have the well-stored provender of the harvest thrown down before them. As the night approaches, the sky clears up; the air, becoming more pure and penetrating, at length settles into an intense frost; and the poet, after having bekited, or warmed himself at the fire, and armed his body against the piercing air by 'claithis thrynfald,' threefold trappings, retires to rest. For some time he is unable to sleep; he watches the moon shedding her rays through his casement; he hears the

owl hooting in her midnight cave, and when she ceases a strange sound breaks the stillness of the night,—he listens, and recognises the measured creaking strokes proceeding from the wings of a flock of wild geese, as they glide high in air over the city—an inimitable picture, true to nature, and eminently poetical. He is at last surprised by sleep, nor does he waken till the cock—Phœbus' crowned bird, the clock of the night—had thrice clapped his wings, and proclaimed the approach of day. The same truth and excellence which mark the preceding part of the picture, distinguish this portion: the jackdaws are heard chattering on the roof, the moon is declining near the horizon; the glee or kite, taking her station on the high leafless tree beside the poet's window, whistles with that singular and characteristic note which proclaims the dawning of a winter-day; and having had his fire stirred and his candle lighted, he rises, dresses himself, and for a moment opens the casement to look out upon the scene: but it is only for a moment; the hailstones hopping on the leads, and the gust of cold and rimy air which sweeps in, admonish him that this is no time for such observation, and quickly closing the lattice, he hurries, shivering with cold, to the fireside. As he warms himself, the faggots crackle on the hearth, the cheerful blaze lights up his chamber, and glancing from the precious and richly-gilded volumes which are ranged in their oaken presses, his eye lights upon 'Virgil' lying open on a reading-desk. He is thus reminded of how much of his task yet remains, and addresses himself diligently to his translation. It is difficult to conceive a more pleasing or picturesque description than what is here given. It is distinguished by a minute observation of nature, a power of selection and grouping, rich colouring, and clearness of outline, which we invariably trace in the works of a true poet.**

'As bright Phœbus, shene sovaine heavens o'
 The opposite held of his chymmys hie,
 Clear shining beams, and golden summer's hue,
 In laton colour altering hail of new;
 Giving no sign of heat by his visage,
 So near approached he his winter stage;
 Ready he was to enter the third morn,
 In cloudy skies under Capricorn,
 Altho he be the heart and lamp of hevyn,
 Forfeilt wox his lemande gilded levyn;
 Thro the declining of his large round spher.
 The frosty region ringes of the year,
 The time and season bitter, cold, and pale,
 Tha short days that clerks clepe† brumall;
 When bryin‡ blasts of the northern art
 O'erwhelm'd had Neptunus in his cart,
 And all to shake the leaves off the trees,
 The raging storm o'erweltring wally seas;
 Rivers ran red on spate with water brown,
 And burns hurl all their banks downe,
 And landbrist rumbling rudely with silk bear,**
 So loud ne rumist†† wild lion or bear;
 Floods monsters, sik as meirwine or whales,
 Fro the tempest low in the deep devals.
 Mars occident, retrograde in his spher.
 Provoking strife, reignéd as lord that year;

* Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. pp. 172—176.

† Flaming, shining. ‡ Flames of light.

§ Reigns. || Call, name. ¶ Fierce.

** Rattling noise. †† Bellow, roar.

* Shelter. † Ploughs. ‡ Boughs.

§ A stream overflowing its banks, from heavy rains, is said in Scotland to be in spate.

Fainy Orion with his stormy face
 Bewait oft the shipman by his race,
 Forward Saturn, chill of complexion,
 Through whose aspect death and infection
 Been caused oft, and mortal pestilence,
 Went progressive the greis° of his ascens;
 And lassy Hebe, Juno's daughter gay,
 Stand spulyett[†] of her office and array.
 The sea yowpit[‡] into water wak;[§]
 The firmament ourcast with rokis^{||} blak.

Beauty was lost, and barren showed the lands,
 With frosts boar o'erfret the fields stands.
 Seir[¶] bitter bubbs, and the showers well,
 Seem'd on the sward a similitude of hell,
 Reducing^{**} to our mind, in enery sted,^{††}
 Gousty shadows of eild and grisly dead,
 Thick drumly skuggis darken'd so the heaven,
 I'm skies oft furth warpit fearful levin,^{‡‡}
 Flags of fire, and mony fellow flaw,
 Sharp sopp^{§§} of sleet, and of the nipping snaw.
 The dolly ditches were all dank and wet,
 The low vale flooded all with spate,
 The plain streets and every hie way,
 Full of floschia, dnbs, myre, and clay;
 Lagged leys wallowed farnys show,
 Brown murs kythit their wisnit mossy hew,
 Bank, brae, and boddum, blanched was and bare,
 For gurl weddir grew beasts hair;
 The wind made wave the red weed on the dyke,
 Bedowyn in donks deep was eury sike;
 O'er crags, and the front of rocks seir,
 Hang great ische schowchliis^{§§§} lang as ony spear;
 The ground stood barren, withered, dosk or gray,
 Herbs, flowers, and grasses, wallowt away;
 Woods, forests, with naked boughs blont,
 Stood stripped of their weid in eury hown.
 So boisterously Boreas his bugil blew,
 The deer full dern^{|||} down in the dales drew;
 Small birds flocking through thick rony^{¶¶} thrang,
 In chyrming^{***} and with cheeping changed their sang,
 Seeking hidlis and hymis them to hide
 Fra fearful thuddis of the tempestuous tide;
 The water lym^{§§§} rowts, and eury lynd
 Whirlit and brayt of the soughing wind.
 Pair labourers and busy husband men
 Went wet and weary draglit in the fen:
 The silly sheep and their little herd grooms
 Lark under lee of banks, woods, and brooms;
 And other dantit greater bestial,
 Within their stables seisit into stall,
 Sick as mules, horses, oxen and kye,
 Fed tuskyt boars, and fat swyne in sty,
 Nastynt were by man's governance
 On harvist and on simmers purveyance,
 Wyde wher with force so Eolus shoutis schill,
 In this coegelit season sharp and chill,
 The caller air, penetrative and pure,
 Doojng^{†††} the blood in every creature,
 Made seek warm stoves and bein^{‡‡‡} fires hot,
 In double garment clad and wily-coat,
 With michty drink, and meats comforyte,
 Against the stern winter for to strive.
 Hopyrrit weel, and by the chimney bekty^{§§§}
 At even be tyne down in aue bed I me strekyt,^{|||}
 Wrapit my head, caat on claiths threefold,
 For to enpel the perilous piercing cand:
 I crossit me, syne bownyt^{¶¶¶} for to sleep:
 Where, lemand^{****} thro' the glass, I dyd tak kepe
 Latouya, the lang irksome night,
 Her cubtel blink^{****} shed and watery licht,
 Fell high up whirrit in her region,
 Till Phobus richt in opposition,
 Into the Crab her proper mansion draw,
 Holding the hight although the sun went low.

The horned bird, whilk we clepe the nicht owl,
 Within her cavern hard I shout and youl,^{*}
 Laithly[†] of form, with crooked camsho[‡] beak,
 Ugum[§] to hear was her wild elrich shriek:
 The wild geese claking eke by night's tide,
 Atour^{||} the city fleeing heard I glide.
 On slumber I slaid full sad, and sleepit sound
 While the orizon upward 'gan rebound.
 Phoebus crowned bird, the nicht's orliger,[¶]
 Clapping his wings thrice had erawin clear,^{¶¶}
 Approaching near the greking of the day,
 Within my bed I wakenit whar I lay;
 So fast deelynes Cynthea the moon,
 And kays kekke^{**} on the roof aboon:
 Palamedes birds crowpyng in the sky,
 Fleeing on randoun, shapen like ane Y,
 And as a trumpet rang their voices sound,
 Whose cries bene prognosticatioun
 Of windy blastis and ventositatis:
 Fast by my chalmyr,^{††} in high wysynt^{‡‡} trees.
 The soir gled^{§§} whissles loud with mony a pew,
 Whereby the day was dawyn weel I knew:
 Bade beit^{|||} the fire, and the candle alyght,
 Syne blessit me, and in my wedis dygt;^{¶¶}
 A sehat wyndo onsehet a little on char,^{***}
 Percievit the morning bla, wan, and har,^{†††}
 With cloudy gum and rak o'erwhelm'd the air,
 The sulye, stythly, hasart, rough, and hair;^{‡‡‡}
 Branches bratlyng, and blacken'd shew the brays,
 With hirstis harsk of wagging wyndil-strays;
 The dew drops congelit on stibbil and rynd,
 And sharp hailstanes, mortfundeit^{§§§} of kynd,
 Hoping on the thak and on the causway by:
 The schot I clocit, and drew inwart in hy,
 Shivering for cauld, the season was so snell;
 Schupe with hay^{|||} flamb^{¶¶} to fleyrn the freezng fell.
 And, as I bownyt me to the fire me by,
 Baith up and down the house I did espy:
 And seeing Virgil on a lettron stand,
 To write anon I hynt a pen in hand,
 Fortil before the poet grave and sad,
 Whom sa far furth, or than begun I had;
 And wox annoynt sum deal in my heart
 There restit uncomplete sa great a part.
 And to myself I said; In gud effect
 Thou maun draw furth, the yoke lies on thy neck.
 Within my mind compassing thoct I so,
 Na thing is done while ought remains to do;
 And though I weary was, me list not tyre,
 Full laith to leave our wark so in the myre,
 Or yet to stynt for bitter storm or rain:
 Here I assayt to yoke our plench again;
 And, as I could with afald deligence,
 This next buke following of profoud sentence,
 Have thus begun in the chill winter cald,
 When frostis doth ourfret baith firth and fald.'

These extracts will serve to show that Douglas possessed an exuberant imagination and great descriptive powers. 'The beauties of external nature he seems to have surveyed with the eyes of a poet, the various aspects of human life with those of a philosopher. There is in his works a perpetual occurrence of those picturesque and characteristic touches, which can only be produced by a man capable of accurate observation and original thought.' But he wants the vigorous sense, the graphic force, and close nervous style of Dunbar. His descriptions are often prolix, and his imagery is redundant and tediously profuse. The manner of Douglas is essentially that of a scholar, and his

* Degross. † Spoiled. ‡ Swept.
 § Best, moist. || Clouds. ¶ Several, many.
 ** Bringing back, recalling. †† Place.
 ‡‡ Lightning. §§ Isicles. ||| Secret, secluded.
 ¶¶ Fumblers. **** Making a mourning sound.
 ††† Captifying, benumbing. †††† Cosy.
 §§§ Warm'd. |||| Stretched. ¶¶¶ Made ready.
 **** Flaming, shining. ††††† Glances.

* Yell. † Ugly. ‡ Stern-looking. § Frightful.
 || Above. ¶ Clock. ** Jackdaws' cackle.
 †† Chamber. ‡‡ Withered. §§ Kite.
 ||| Add fuel. ¶¶ Garments dressed.
 **** Half opened. ††† Livid, wan, and hoary.
 ††† The ground stiff, gray, and rough.
 §§§ Deadly cold. |||| Hot. ¶¶¶ Flame.

style is deformed by false ornament and alliteration, and a fondness for words formed from the Latin; and many of his epithets are so inappropriately applied as to show that they are used merely in accordance with literary fashion, and without any definite meaning being attached to them. It has been frequently remarked, that the phraseology of Douglas is more obscure than that of James I., or Dunbar, or Henryson; and that whilst the works of the latter may be understood by a merely English reader with comparative facility, there are not a few passages in the 'Palace of Honour,' and still more in the 'Translation of the Æneid,' of which no Englishman could make out the meaning without guessing at every other word. It is evident from this fact, that though the living language of the Scottish people was radically identical with that which was spoken in the south, it had yet by this time assumed decisively the character of a separate dialect. It retained much more of the antique than the English did; because it had not received nearly so thorough a development in literature, and wanted especially the cultivation which would have been given by a free use of literary prose. It had also contracted, through the provincial isolation of the country, many peculiarities, which were neither old Saxon nor modern English; and these were now receiving continual accessions.* The distinction which had thus gradually arisen between the English and the Scottish dialect is expressly referred to by the translator of Virgil, who tells us in his prologue to the first book, that he 'keipit na Soudron (Southern) ut our awin langage.' We give the passage in its original spelling.

'And yet, forsoith, I set my bissy pane,
As that I couth+ to mak it brade and plane,
Kepand no Soudron, but our awin langage,
And speke as I lerned quhen I was ane page;
Na; yet sa clene all Soudron I refuse;
Bot some worder I pronounce as nychebouris dois;
Like as in Latine bene, grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit§ quhilums|| or than be dum,
Sam bastard Látyné, Frensche or Ynglis, ois;¶
Quhairé scant was Scottis; I had nane uther chois:
Not that our toung is in the selvin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth** of langage want.'

It appears from the following curious passage, noted in 'Hailes' Life of John Hamilton,' that in the time of James V., those Scotchmen who spoke the English dialect were regarded as traitors to their country. 'James the Fyft hearing ane of his subjectis knap Suddrone declarit him anc trateur.' It was not so late as the reign of James VI., Winzet speaks of his being 'nocht acqnyntit with your itheroun,' and knowing only to speak his 'pro-langeage conforme to our auld brade (broad) sttis.††

Douglas informs us that the translation of the Æneid was undertaken by him at the request of Henry Lord Sinclair, his cousin, and a liberal and

learned patron of literature; that it occupied only sixteen months, and was completed on the 22nd of July, 1513, about twelve years after he had composed his 'Palace of Honour.' In less than two months from this date, the fatal battle of Flodden was fought, in which the two elder brothers of Douglas fell, along with two hundred gentlemen of their name. The poet, deeply affected by this event, so disastrous to his family, as well as to the king and country, bade farewell to his poetical studies; and in the conclusion of his translation of the Æneid, intimates in striking and characteristic terms his resolution of devoting the remainder of his life to the glory of God and the good of the commonwealth; intimating at the same time his confident expectation that his fame would be perpetual.

'Now is my work all finished and complete,
Whom Jovis ire nor fire's burning heat,
Nor trenchant sword shall defays* nor down thring,†
Nor long process of age, consumes all thing:
When that unknawin day shall him address,
Whilk not but on this body power has,
And ends the date of this uncertain eild;‡
The better part of me shall be upheid
Above the sternis§ perpetually to ring,||
And have my name remain but¶ impairing;
Throwout the isle yelptit Albione,
Read shall I be, and sung by many a one.
Thus up my pen and instruments full zore,**
On Virgil's post I fix for evermore,
Nevir from thence sic matters to describe:
My muse shall now be clene;†† contemplative
And solitair; as doth the bird in cage
Since far by worn, all is my child's age;
And of my days near passit the half date,
That nature should me granting, weil I wate;‡‡
Thus since I feel down sweyand§§ the balace.
Here I resign my younkens observance,|||
And will direct my labours evermoir
Unto the commonwealth and God's gloir ¶¶
Adieu, gude readers, God give you all gude night,
And after death, grant us his heavenly light.***

SIR DAVID LINDSAY, the most popular, though not the greatest of the ancient Scottish poets, was descended from Sir David Lindsay, a younger branch of the family of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, originally resident at Garmynton, in East Lothian. The exact period and place of his birth are unknown, but it was probably at the Mount, the family seat near Cupar, Fife, in or about the year 1490. He was sent to the University of St. Andrews in 1505, the year of Knox's birth, and left it in 1509, at the age of nineteen. There is reason to believe that he travelled in Italy during the following year; but he must have returned to Scotland before the 12th of October, 1511, when we learn from the records of the Lord Treasurer he was presented with a play-coat for the play performed in the king and queen's presence in the Abbey of Holyrood.' It is

* Waste, decay. † Thrust. ‡ Old age. § Stars.
|| Reign. ¶ Impairment. ** Expert. †† Complete.
‡‡ Wot. §§ Inclining. ||| Observance of my youth.
¶¶ Glory.

*** The Æneid of Virgil, translated into Scottish verse by Gavin Douglas, vol. ii. p. 904. Published by the Bannatyne Club.

Spaulding's History of English Literature, p. 188.
Could. † Nor. § Behoved. || Sometimes.
Grandsons, derivatives. ** Plenty.
+ Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. i. p. 59.

probable that he held some office in the household of James IV., and he was appointed gentleman-usher to the eldest son of that monarch, afterwards James V., on the 12th of April, 1512, the day of the prince's birth. In the succeeding year he was an eye-witness of the extraordinary attempt made to deter James from his intended invasion of England by the pretended apparition of the Apostle John, at Linlithgow, and furnished both Pitscottie and Buchanan with a description of the striking scene.* After the death of the infatuated monarch in the battle of Flodden, Lindsay continued his attendance on his infant successor, and discharged the duties of his office with the greatest fidelity and affection. In his poem, called the 'Dream,' he reminds the king how, when he was young and had not begun to walk, he bore him tenderly in his arms, and warmly wrapped him in his little bed, and sweetly sang with lute in hand to give him pleasure, or danced riotously, or played farces before him on the floor. And in his 'Complaint,' he recalls to his sovereign's recollection how 'he lay nightly by his cheek,' and carried him on his back as a pedlar does his pack.† Lindsay continued his attendance on the youthful prince till 1524, when he was removed from his office along with the rest of the royal household by the unprincipled intrigues of the queen-mother. Bellenden, the learned translator of Livy and Boece, who was dismissed at the same time, in the proem to his 'Cosmographie,' thus speaks of this unfortunate revolution:—

'And first occurrit to my remembering,
How that I was in service with the king;
Put to his grace in years tenderest,
Clerk of his comptis,—tho' I was inding;
With heart and hand and every other thing,
That might him please in any manner best,
Till his envy me from his service best,
By them that had the court in governing,
As bird but plumes herryit out of the nest.'

But although Lindsay was ejected from his office, his services were not altogether overlooked or forgotten, for his pension continued to be regularly paid, in consequence, it appears, of the interference of the youthful monarch himself. In narrating this part of his history he says—

'But I slace! or ever I wist,
Was trampit down into the dust,
With heavy charge, withoutin moir;
But I wist never yet, wherefore;
And hastily before my face
Another slippit in my place,
Who lichtelee gat his reward,
And stylit was the ancient laird;
That time, I might make na defence,
Hut took perforce in patience:
Praying to send them aie mischance
That had the court in governance;
The quhilk against me did maling,¶
Contrair the pleasure of the king;
For well I knew his graces mind
Was ever to me true and kind,
And contrair their intention,
Gart pay me weil my pension;
Though I aie quhille wantit presence,
He let me have na indigence.'

During the next four years the youthful monarch continued to be used as a puppet in the hands of a grasping and imperious faction; but at last, in 1528, when every other effort to overthrow the domination of the Douglasses had failed, James, by his own vigour and address, succeeded in escaping from their odious thraldom.* An important change immediately took place in the administration of public affairs, and the former 'Keeper of the King's Grace,' as he is styled in the Treasurer's accounts, lost no time in availing himself of the favourable opportunity to improve his own fortunes. Aware of the youthful monarch's love of literature, and especial predilection for poetry, he produced, about the end of the year 1528, his poem entitled 'The Dream,' which has been characterized by Warton and Ellis as the most poetical of his compositions. It has been justly remarked, however, by Mr. Tytler, that 'the subject is too similar to various poems of Dunbar: 'There is, indeed, an unpleasant and somewhat monotonous sameness in the subjects of the ancient Scottish poets; nor can we exclude from the same censure their great contemporaries of the English school. It is their fashion to be too constantly composing dreams or visions; some of their finest pieces, although they do not assume the title resolve into the same thing, and we almost invariably find the poet dropping asleep. It is better, indeed, that these soporific propensities should be exhibited by the poet than his readers but their perpetual recurrence is tedious. Chaucer Gower, James I., Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Sir David Lindsay, may all be arraigned as guilty of this fault; and it is to be found running through the works of many of their contemporaries whose names are unknown. It seems almost to have grown by frequent use into an established and accredited mode of getting rid of one of the greatest difficulties with which a writer has to struggle—the natural and easy introduction of his main subject. 'The King's Quhair,' 'The Thistle and the Rose,' 'The Golden Terge,' 'The Palace of Honour,' 'The General Satire,' 'The Praise of the Vision of Dame Vertue,' 'all in greater or less degree commence after the same monotonous manner; the poet either walks into a delicious garden, where he falls asleep, and, of course, is visited by a dream, or he awakes from sleep, rises from his couch, walks into a garden and reclining in some flowery arbour, again falls asleep, and sees a vision.† In the present case the poet, after having spent a long winter night without sleep, rises from his bed and bends his course towards the sea-shore. His description of the faded winter landscape is beautifully expressed—

'I met dame Flora in dule‡ weed disguisit,
Which into May was dulce and delectable,
With stalwart§ storms her sweetness was surprisit,

* See ante, p. 404.
‡ Cast.

† Ibid. p. 432.
§ Without.

‡ Unworthy.
§ Malign.

* See ante, p. 440.

† Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 203.

‡ Sad.

§ Fierce.

Her heavenly hues were turned into sable,
Which unquihile* were to lovers amiable,
Fled from the frost the tender flowers I saw,
Under dame Nature's mantle lurking law.†

'The small fowls in flocks saw I flee
To Nature making great lamentation,
They lightit down beside me on ane tree,
Of their complaint I had compassion.
And with ane piteous exclamation,
They said, Blessed be summer, with his flowers !
And wairyt‡ be thou Winter, with thy showers !

'Allace, Aurora ! the sillie lark can cry,§
Where hast thou left thy balmy liquor sweet,
That us rejoiced, we mounting in the sky ?
Thy silver drops are turned into sleet :
Of fair Phœbus ! where is thy wholesome heat ?
Why thoes|| thou thy heavenly pleasant face
With misty vapours to be obscured, allace ?

'Where art thou, May, with June thy sister schene, ¶
Weill bordourit with daisies of delight ?
And gentle July with thy mantle green,
Enamilit with roses red and white ?'

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern, sits down 'to register in rhyme some merry matter of antiquity.' But feeling an indisposition to labour, he wraps himself in his cloak, and is lulled asleep by the whistling of the wind among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. In his sleep he is favoured with 'ane marvellous vision,' and fancies himself accosted by a lady of great beauty and benignity of aspect, who informs him that she comes to bear him company and to soothe his melancholy. Accompanied by his fair guide, he is instantaneously carried into the centre of the earth, and enters the lowest hell, where he sees popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, and archbishops in their pontifical attire, 'proud and perverse prelates out of number,' and ecclesiastics of every degree, who have been condemned to this noisome pit as a punishment for their covetousness, lust, and ambition. He next beholds 'a den full dolorous,' where princes, and lords temporal of every rank, are tortured for their 'cruel oppression, frangous conquest,' and other crimes. 'Common people of every state' are seen 'flichtering in the fyre,'—mansworn (perjured) merchants, hoarders of gold, and common usurers, false men of law, right cunning in quirks, thieves, robbers, and public oppressors, dishonest labourers and craftsmen out of number.

Having surveyed this dreary region, the poet next obtains a view of purgatory, of the region to which unbaptized infants are consigned, and of theimbus of the souls of men who died before Christ. He then re-ascends with his guide through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the mines of gold, silver, and precious stones, and mount through the ocean which is supposed to environ the earth, through the air, and next through the fire. They then enter the sphere of the moon, who is styled

'Queen of the sea and beauty of the night ;'

and after visiting in succession Mercurius and Venus, they pass

'————— to the sphere of Phœbus bright,
That lusty lamp and lantern of the heaven,
And gladder* of the stars with his light :
And principal of all the planetis seven,
And set in midst of them all full even,
As king royal rolling in his sphere,
Full pleasantly into his golden chair.'

And the poet describes with great force

'————— his diadem royal
Bordourit with precious stones shining bright,
His golden car or throne imperial,
The four steeds, that drawith it full right.'

They now pass through the 'chrySTALLINE' heaven, and are admitted to the 'Empyrean,' or heaven of heavens, the glorious inhabitants of which are described at great length. Remembrance and the poet leaving the celestial regions, survey the earth, which is represented as divided into three parts, no mention being made of America, although that quarter of the globe had been recently discovered. The poet then inquires concerning the terrestrial paradise, and is presented with a view of that 'glorious garth or garden of every flower,' which is described as situated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual serenity, and enclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel.

The poet is next gratified with a distant view of his native land; and after dilating with great complacency on its seas teeming with fish, its fruitful mountains and vales, its pleasant rivers and lochs, its forests full of doe and roe, and hart and hind, and its fresh fountains, whose wholesome crystal streams water the green meads, he expresses his surprise that a country possessed of such natural advantages, and inhabited by a race of great ingenuity and strength, 'great deeds to endure,' should yet be sunk in a state of poverty and wretchedness. Remembrance informs him that wealth can never increase where 'policy,' or good government, does not exist, and that justice can only reside with peace. A nation must of necessity be unprosperous when those who ought to administer justice are guilty of slumbering on the tribunal. The miseries of Scotland are therefore all to be traced to the faults of its rulers—the want of justice, policy, and peace. While the poet and his conductress are thus discoursing, their attention is attracted by the sudden apparition of a remarkable figure,—

'And as we were speaking to and fro,
We saw ane bustoons beirne† come o'er the bent,
But horse on fute‡ as fast as he might go,
Whose raiment was all raggit, riven and rent,
With visage lean as he had fastit Lent :
And forward on his ways he did advance,
With ane richt melancholious countenance—

'With scrip on hip and pyke-staff in his hand,
As he had bene purposit to pass fra hame,
Quoth I, "Gndeman, I wald fain understand,
Gif that ye plesit, to wit, what were your name ?"

* Formerly. † Low. ‡ Cursed.
§ Began to cry. || Suffers. ¶ Shining, bright.

* Comforter. † A boisterous person.
‡ Without horse and on foot.

Quoth he, " My son, of that I think great shame ;
But sen* thou wald of my name have ane feil,†
Forsooth they call me JOHN THE COMMONWEILL."

Sir Commonweill then enters into a lengthened description of the miserable state of the country. His friends, he says, are all put to flight. Policy is returned to France. His sister Justice has almost lost her sight, and is no longer able to hold the balance. Plain-wrong is now appointed captain of the ordinance, so that Equity and Reason are completely excluded. Over all the south of Scotland, from Berwickshire to Lochmaben in Annandale, he could not distinguish an honest man from a thief. In the Highland and Isles he could find no place of rest, and he was ignominiously driven from the Lowlands, where he attempted to find refuge. He had sought to 'make his moan' to the spiritual estate, but they had refused to listen to his complaint.

'Fryde has chased far from them humilitie :
Devotion is fled unto the friars,
Sensual pleasure has banished chastitie.'

And the prelates go like seculars, taking more pleasure in counting their money than in performing the duties of their office. Liberty, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour are all fled,

'And Cowardice with lords is laureate.'

He declares that he has therefore formed the resolution of abandoning a country where he has experienced nothing but neglect or insult from people of every description; and that no Scotchman shall again find favour with him until the kingdom be governed by 'ane auld prudent king,' who shall delight in executing justice, and in bringing strong traitors to condign punishment.

'As yet I say to thee ane other thing,
I see right weill that proverb is right true,
Woe to the realm that hath ane ow'r young king :
With that he turned his back and said Adieu.'

Remembrance then conducts the poet back to the cave on the sea shore, and he is speedily awakened by a discharge of artillery from a ship which at this juncture appears under sail. The poem concludes with 'Ane Exhortation to the King's Grace,' in which the poet, with great freedom and boldness, warns his sovereign against the faults which had proved fatal to his predecessors, and exhorts him, in strong terms, to attend carefully to the interests of the 'commonweill,' to drive flatterers from his presence, to deal evenhanded justice to great and small, to be an example to his people in all virtuous and honourable deeds, to shun avarice and sensuality, to use the counsel of his prudent barons, and not to follow the bent of his own individual will, and, finally, to remember that life is short and uncertain, and that none high or low can escape the stroke of the great leveller, death; and that as he must sooner or later put off this mortal frame, he should seek grace from Him who bled and died to confirm our peace.

* Since.

† Information.

In the epistle to James V. prefixed to 'The Dream,' Lindsay speaks in affectionate terms of the services which he rendered to the king when a child,* and expresses his hope that he will receive 'anegudely recompence.' In 'The Complaint,' written in the following year (1529), he recurs to the subject, and after a graphic description of his own services, remonstrates with great freedom against the neglect with which he had been treated. His friends, he says, all blame his negligence in not seeking some recompence; and when he is asked why he has not got a piece of land as well as others, he is so ashamed that he can make no reply. He is assured, however, that his majesty will certainly reward him before he die, although he does not clamour 'like ane bard.' The blame of so long overlooking his services does not rest with the king. Had I solicited like the rest, he says,

'My reward had nocht bene to crave :
But now I may weill understand
Ane dumb man yet wan never land,
And in the court men get na thing
Withouten opportune asking.'

While the greedy courtiers were eagerly bent on promoting their own interest, he had no other care but to give pleasure to his youthful charge, who requited him with the fondest affection.

'I wat thou loved me better than
Nor now some wyfe does her gudeman ;
Then men till other did record,
Said Lyndesday wald be made ane lord :
Thou has made lords, sir, by Sanet Geill !
Of some that has nocht servit so weill !'

The poet then proceeds to describe the manner in which his hopes were blasted by the revolution which took place in the government in 1524,† and portrays in striking colours the manner in which the tender age of the prince was corrupted by the designing profligacy of his attendants. His censure of their base and selfish conduct is given in remarkably bold and spirited terms. They took the young prince from the schools, he says, where he was learning virtue and science,

'And hastily put in his hand
The government of all Scotland :
As who when roars the stormy blast,
And mariners are all aghast,
Through dangers of the ocean's rage,
Would take a child of tender age,
That never had been on the sea,
And to his bidding all obey,
Putting the rudder in his hand,
For dread of rocks and the foreland.'

'I may not call their counsel treason,' he continues, 'but I must pronounce it folly and madness. I pray God that I may never again see in this realm so young a king.' The passage has already been given in which the poet denounces with honest indignation the conduct of those wicked counsellors by whom the youthful monarch was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations, and studiously initiated in vicious pleasures.‡ He describes, with

* See ante, p. 432.

† Ibid. pp. 429, 433.

‡ Ibid. p. 434.

much spirit and humour, the interested and avaricious motives by which the courtiers and governors of the prince were actuated, and the manner in which they contrived to engross and divide among themselves the richest offices.

'Roukand* and whispering to each other,
Tak thou my part, quoth he, my brother;
Be there between us stedfast bands,
When aught shall vaik† into our hands,
That each man stand to help his fellow;
I hold thereto man by all hallow,‡
And if the Treasurer§ be our friend,
Then shall we get bath tack and teind,||
Tak he our part then who dare wrong us,
But we shall part¶ the pelf amang us.

So hastily they made a band,
Some gather'd gold, some conquest land:
Sir, some would say by St. Denis,
Give me some lusty benefice,
And ye shall all the profit have;
Give me the name, take thou the lave; **
But e'er the bulls were weil come hame,
His conscience told him twas a shame;
An action sinful and prodigious,
To make such paction with the lieges—
So to avoid the sin and scandal,
'Twas right bath name and rent to handle.††

While this sad scene of selfishness and misgovernment was going on, the poet, deprived of his office, and afraid to appear openly at court, could only hide himself in a corner, from which he watched the unprincipled proceedings of those who had seized the government and person of the young king:—

'When I durst neither peep nor look,
I yet could hide me in a nook;
To see these wondrous governors,
And how like any busy bees
They occupied their golden hours,
With help of their new governours.'

The poet then proceeds to describe in vigorous strains the torn and distracted state of the country, in consequence of the struggles for power among the hostile factions; the rapid revolutions which took place in the government; the expulsion of the Douglasses by Archbishop Beaton and the Regent Albany—

'And others took the governing,
Weill worse than they in ilka thing'

The return of Angus to power; the tumult, misery, and bloodshed by which it was accompanied, while on every side there was bloodshed; and the court was thronged with 'tyrants, traitors, public oppressors, murderers, and common thieves;' and finally, the unexpected escape of the king, with the precipitate flight of those who had kept him in irksome and ignominious thralldom—

'When of their lives they had sic dreed,
That they were fain to trot o'er Tweed.'

With this miserable state of things Lindsay dexterously contrasts the prosperous condition of the country after James had taken the reins of government into his own hands. Justice had been executed on the highland katerans and on Johnnie Armstrong, and other noted border freebooters; Oppression and his accomplices had been hanged; Poverty had fled to the Hebrides; idle rogues were condemned to the galleys, and the husbandman rejoiced in his security, now that 'the rash-bush kept the cow.' In describing the effect of the famous expedition which James undertook against the border thieves, and the other vigorous measures adopted by him for the repression of disorder and crime, soon after his assumption of the supreme power, the poet employs the following striking and picturesque personifications:—

'Now Justice holds her sword on high
With her balance of Equity;
And in this realm has made sic ordour,
Baith thro' the Hieland, and the Bordour,
That Oppression and all his fellows
Are hanged high upon the gallows;
Dame Prudence has thee by the head,
And Temperance doth thy bridle lead,
I see dame Force mak assistance,
Bearing thy targe of assurance;
And lusty Lady Chastity
Has banished Sensualitie:
Dame Riches takes on thee sic cure,
I pray God that she lang endure,
That Poverty dare not be seen
Into thy house for bath her een,
But fra thy grace fled many miles,
Among the hunters in the Isles:
Dissimulance dare not show her face,
Quhilk wont was to beguile thy grace,
Folly is fled out of the town,
Quhilk aye was contrair to reason;
Policy and Peace begin to plant,
That virtuous men can nothing want;
And masterful and idle lowis;
Shall banished be in the Galzeowns;‡
John Upland ben full blyth I trow,
Because the rash-bush keeps the cow.¶

'Everything in the realm,' he continues, 'is now brought into good order except the spiritual estate,' and he exhorts the king to compel his clergy to attend to the duties of their office; to preach with sincerity; to administer the sacraments according to the institution of Christ; and not to deceive the flock with vain traditions, such as superstitious pilgrimages, and prayers to graven images, contrary to the express command of God. He alludes to the punishment which overtook Jeroboam and other princes of Israel, who countenanced idolatry, and were therefore justly rooted out of their kingdoms, and encourages the king to incline his heart

'To keep the blessed law divine,'

by the example of the patriarchs and of many faithful kings of Israel, who overthrew idolatry, and would suffer no images to stand in the temple, because they were forbidden by Divine command. The picce, which, to use the words of Warton, is

* Standing close. † Any office shall become vacant.

‡ All saints.

§ This poet treasurer was Archibald Douglas, the uncle of the Earl of Angus.

|| Lease and tithes.

¶ Divide. ** Remainder.

†† Poems, vol. i. pp. 262—264; Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 212.

* See ante, p. 443.

† Eyes.

‡ Fellows.

§ Galleons, galleys.

¶ Poems, vol. i. pp. 272—274.

written throughout with vigour, and occasionally with much tenderness and elegance, concludes with a hint that, since his majesty is the richest monarch that ever reigned in Scotland, it will be for his credit not to overlook the merits of his old servant; and if,—he quaintly adds, his grace will lend him

'Of gold ane thousand pounnd or tway,'

he will give him a sealed bond, obliging himself to repay the loan when the Bass and the Isle of May are set upon Mount Sinai, or the Lomond Hills, near Falkland, are removed to Northumberland, or

'When kirkmen yairnis* na dignity,
Nor wives na soveranitie.'

'If not,' says he, in a tone of calm Christian philosophy, 'my God

' Shall canse me stand content
With quiet life and sober rent,
And take me in my latter age,
Unto my simple hermitage,
To spend the gear my elders won,
As did Diogenes in his tun.'†

The 'Complaint' of the poet was not made in vain, for in the following year he was appointed Lion King-at-arms; an office of great dignity and importance, as the Lion was not only the chief judge within the realm of all matters connected with heraldry, but was also the official ambassador from his sovereign to foreign countries. The earliest notice of this official is at the coronation of Robert II. in 1371, though it is probable that the office itself is of as high antiquity as the bearing of coats armorial. In a manuscript account of the coronation of the Scottish kings, it is stated, that when Robert was inaugurated, the Lion King-at-arms was called in by the Lord Marshal, attended by the heralds, who came in their coats or tabards. The Lion then sat down at the king's feet, and the heralds went to the stage prepared for them; after which the Marshal, by the mouth of the Bishop of St. Andrews, did swear the Lion, who being sworn, put on his crown ordained him to wear for the solemnity.‡ The Lion King himself, when he was appointed to his office, was inaugurated with great state and solemnity. The ancient crown of Scotland was placed on his head by the king himself, and it was his privilege on the day of his coronation to dine at the royal table, wearing the crown during the continuance of the feast.§

Shortly after his promotion, Lindsay appears to have written the 'Complaint of the King's Papingo,' a satirical poem, which, as Mr. Tytler remarks, may be regarded as his first open declaration of war against the abuses of the Romanist religion in Scotland. 'The fiction,' he continues, 'of throwing his observations into the mouth of this feathered satirist, so well known for its petulance, garrulity, and licentiousness of remark, was inge-

nious and prudent; ingenious, because it enabled him to be severe under the disguise of being natural; and prudent, as in the case of any threatened ecclesiastical persecution, it permitted him to substitute the papingo for the poet.*

In the introductory stanzas the poet enumerates the 'poets auld,' Dunbar, Kennedy, Douglas, and other illustrious brethren of the lyre, who have written 'in style heroical of every matter, tragedy, and story,' and whose genius far transcends the 'dull intelligence of poets now.' And even though he had 'ingyne,' he complains that he knows not what to write, for every rich and resplendent flower in the garden of poetry has been already plucked by these master spirits; he must therefore be contented with 'The Complaint of a Wounded Papingo, or Parrot.' The poet's description of his feathered heroine is exceedingly graceful and pleasing:—

'Ane papingo, right pleasant and perfyte,†
Presentit was till our most noble King,
Of whom his Grace ane lang time had delyte—
Mair fair of form I wot flew ne'er on wing:
This proper‡ bird he gave in governing
To me, who was his simple servitoure,
On whom I did my diligence and cure.

'To learn her language artificial,
To play "plafute," and whistle "futebefore,"§
But of her inclination natural,
She counterfeit all fowls less or more,
Of her courage.|| She wald without my lore,
Sing like the merle, and craw like to the cock,
Pew like the gled,¶ and chaunt like the laverock.**

Bark like a dog and kekill like a kae,††
Blait like a hog‡‡ and buller like a bull.
Wail like a gonk§§ and greit when she was wae,|||
Climbe on a cord, syne lauch and play the fule,
She might have been ane minstrel against Yule:
This blissit bird was to me so pleasad,
Where'er I went I bore her on my hand.'

Accompanied as usual by this amusing companion, the poet, one pleasant morning, strolled into his garden to repose among the 'flowers, fresh, fragrant and beautiful,'

'Walking alane, none but my bird and I.'

He wishes to repeat his morning prayers, and in the interval places his talkative friend on a branch beside him. But she, delighted with her liberty, began to climb from twig to twig, till she reached so great a height as to alarm the poet for her safety.

'Sweet bird, said I, beware! monnt not our high,
Return in time, perchance thy feet may fallzie;
Thon art richt fat, and nocht weill used to flie,
The greedie gled I dread she thee assailzie.
I will, said she, ascend vailzie quod vailzie,¶¶
It is my kyne*** to climb aye to the hicht;
Of feather and bone I wat weill I am wicht†††

'So on the highest litle tender twist,†††
With wings displayed, she sat full wantonly;
Bnt Boreas blew ane blast or e'er she wist,
Which brake the branch and blew her suddenly
Down to the ground with mony careful cry.

* Devote earnestly.

† Works of Sir D. Lindsay, vol. i. p. 279;—Lives of Scotch Worthies, vol. iii. p. 219.

‡ Chalmers' Life; Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 13.

§ Ibid. p. 81.

* Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 221. † Accomplished.
‡ Elegant. § Popnlar games and tunes.
|| Of her own self. ¶ Hawk. ** Lark.
†† Jackdaw. ††† A young sheep. §§ Cuckoo.
||| Sorry. ¶¶ Happen what may. *** Nature.
††† Strong. †††† Twig.

'Trow ye, if that my heart was wo-begone,
To see that fowl flychter* among the flowers,
Quhilk, with great murning, gan to make her moan:
Now coming are, she said, the fatal hours
Of bitter death; now must I thole the showers; †
Oh, dame Nature! I pray thee of thy grace,
Lend me leisure to speak ane little space,

'For to complain my fate unfortunate,
And to dispense my geir‡ or I depart;
Since of all comfort I am desolate.
Allane, except the death here with his dart,
With awfull cheir ready to pierce my heart.
And with that word she took ane passion,
Synne flatlings fell and swappit into a swoon.§

'With sorry heart, pierced with compassion,
And salt tears distilling from mine e'ne,
To hear that bird's lamentation
I did approach under ane hawthorn green,
Where I might hear, and see, and be unseen;
And when this bird had swooned twice or thrice,
She gan to speak, saying upon this wise.'

In this sad condition the dying papingo first of all laments the feckleness of fortune, and her own contempt of prudent counsel; and then proceeds to address an epistle, first to her sovereign lord the king, next to her brother at court; and lastly she enters into a 'communing' with her holy executors, a magpie, a raven, and a hawk, who personate the characters of a canon regular, a black monk, and a holy friar. 'In this manner, somewhat inartificial, if we consider that the poem is long, and the papingo in the agonies of death, Lindsay contrives to introduce his advice to the king, his counsel to the courtiers and nobles, and his satire upon the corruptions of the clergy. Much in each of these divisions is excellent, the observations are shrewd, the political advice sound and honest, the poetry always elegant, often brilliant, and the wit of that light and graceful kind which, unlike some of his other pieces, is not deformed by coarseness or vulgarity.'¶ In the epistle to the king, after alluding to his fine natural genius and accomplishments, he reminds him that he is only the vassal of the King of kings, who will bestow upon him an inestimable reward, if he prove a faithful and diligent ruler, and will assuredly inflict upon him condign punishment if he prove slothful or negligent. He therefore exhorts his majesty to apply his vigorous intellect to the study of the duties of his office—to show himself an example to his subjects in honour and virtue—to choose wise counsellors, and to follow their advice—to gain the hearts of his nobles, and to mix mercy with justice in the correction of their faults—to shun the errors which had ruined many of his predecessors, and to entreat the blessed Saviour to keep him from evil deeds,

'That na poet report of thee but gude.'¶

The epistle to his brother at court describes in terse and spirited terms the feckleness and mutability of courts—the 'painful pleasure' of the de-

pendents on the favour of the Sovereign, living 'sometime in hope, sometime in discomfort,'—the feigning fools and flatterers who often obtain great rewards for small service—the pickthanks, pretenders, and tell-tales, who

'Sometime in court have mair authority
Nor devout doctors in divinitie.'

He anathematizes in strong language the conduct of the sons of Belial who infest the royal palace, and by their wicked counsel entice their sovereign to gambling and licentiousness, and declares that if he had the power, such knaves should be punished more severely even than traitors. He then goes on to tell

'What travers,* trouble, and calamity,
Hath been in court within thy hundred years;
What mortal changes and what misery,
What noble men bene brought upon their biers.'

and to show that neither prince nor page is exempt from these calamities, he refers to the miserable fate of the various sovereigns of the Stuart family. The assassination of the unfortunate Duke of Rothsay, the broken heart of his royal father, Robert III., the execution of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and the ruin of his family, the long captivity and cruel murder of James I., 'the pattern of prudence, gem of ingyne, and pearl of policy,' the sudden death of his successor, the rebellion of the nobles and of his own son against James III., the hanging of Cochran and his 'captive company' over Lauder Bridge, are rapidly sketched with great discrimination, and in vigorous and condensed language. The character of the gallant and chivalrous James IV., and the description of his gay and brilliant court, and energetic and popular government, are given with remarkable power and brevity.

'Allace! where bene that right redoubted Roy,
That potent prince, gentle King James the Feird,
I pray to Christ his soul for to convoie;
Ane greater noble rang not in the eird. †
Oh, Atropos! waye‡ we may thy weird, §
For he was mirror of humility,
Lodesterre and lamp of liberality.

'During his time did justice sa prevail,
The savage Isles then tremblit for terrour,
Eskdale, Euesdale, Lidsdale, and Annandale,
Durst nocht rebel douting his dintis dour; ¶
And of his lords had sic perfyte favour,
So for to show that he afeid not ane,
On thro' his realm he wald ride him alane.

'And of his court thro' Europe sprang the fame,
Of lusty lords and loresome ladies ying. ¶
Triumphant tournays, justings, kniebly game,
With all pastime according for a king:
He was the glorie** of princely governing:
Quhilk through the ardent love he had to France,
Against England did move his ordinance.'

The poet then proceeds to describe, in feeling terms, the 'great misrule and strange adversities' which befell the country, the 'robbery, murder, and mischance' which prevailed everywhere,

'When our young prince could neither speak nor gang.'

* Flutter. † Bear the sorrows. ‡ Wealth.

§ Sunk over in a swoon.

¶ Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 226.

¶ Lindsay's Works, vol. i. pp. 297—304; see ante, pp. 432, 433.

* Cross accidents.

† Earth.

‡ Curse.

§ Destiny.

¶ Dreading his sore stroke.

** Glory.

¶ Young.

‘Sometimes the queen exercised supreme authority, sometimes the Duke of Albany; sometimes the realm was ruled by regents, sometimes by lieutenants, leaders of the law. Lawlessness was so common, that few or none stood in awe of each other. Oppression blew his bugle so loudly, that no man durst travel unless in full armour, and Jock Upland (John the countryman) lost his mare.’

After depicting the successive changes which took place in the government of the realm during that troubled period; the high authority and speedy overthrow of Queen Margaret; the rise and fall of Archbishop Beaton, who from being chancellor and primate was reduced to such misery that he was compelled to skulk through the country in the disguise of a freebooter; the domination, and subsequent banishment, of the ‘doughty earls of Douglas;’ and exhorting his ‘brother dear’ not to trust in vain prosperity, but to put his confidence in God alone, and to serve his prince with a single and honest heart; the poet directs the mind of his youthful sovereign, with great solemnity, to the only unchanging court of which Christ is king, where sorrow and mutability are unknown, and into which ‘disimulation, flattery, and false report’ shall never enter. Resuming the character of the papingo, which he had for a time forgotten, the epistle of the dying favourite to his brother at court concludes with a highly poetical address to Edinburgh, Stirling, Lathgow, and Falkland, in whose palaces and gardens he had spent so many happy hours.

* *Adieu, Edinburgh! thou high triumphant town,
Within whose bounds right blithful have I been,
Of true merchandis the rufe* of this region,
Most ready to receive court, king, and queen;
Thy polley and justice may be seen,
Were devotion, wisdom, and honesty,
And credence unt they might be found in thee.*

* *Adieu, fair Snowdown! with thy towers hie,
Thy chapel-royal, park, and table round,
May, June, and July would I dwell in thee,
Were I a man to hear the birdis sound,
Which doth against the royal rock redound.
Adieu, Lathgow! whose palace of plesance
Meets not its peer in Portingale or France.*

* *Fairwall, Falkland! the forteress of Fife,
Thy velvet park under the Lomond law;
Sometime in thee I led a lusty life,
The fallow deer to see them raik on raw, †
Court men to come to thee they have great awe
Slaying thy burgh bene to all burrows baill, ‡
Because in thee they never got good ale.*

In the ‘Communing between the Papingo and her holy executors,’ the jay, the hawk, and the raven, there is a vigorous and biting exposure of the abuses of the spiritual estate, exhibiting much learning combined with playful wit. But the expostulation, besides being out of keeping with the situation of the bird, fluttering and bleeding among the flowers, is much too long, and is occasionally tedious and rambling. The papingo is entreated by her executors that as she has acquired experience by travel, is acquainted with the qualities of

all countries, and knows the judgment of ‘the vulgar people,’ she should tell them in what estimation they are held.

‘The veritie declare withouten lees,*
What thou hast heard by land or by seas,
Of us kirkmen baith gude and evil report,
And how they judge, show us we thee exhort.’

Thus objured, the papingo informs her clerical friends that the sanctity of their peerless predecessors, apostles, martyrs, confessors, was celebrated over all the world, and they were held in the highest honour for their labours, sufferings, and holy lives. In these primitive and purer ages of Christianity the church was wedded to Poverty, whose children were Chastity and Devotion. The Emperor Constantine unfortunately took upon him to divorce this holy couple, and without asking or obtaining a dispensation, espoused the church to Property. The marriage was ratified by Pope Silvester, upon which Devotion retired to a hermitage. In due time Dame Property produced two daughters, named Riches and Sensuality, whose beauty attracted universal admiration. They speedily obtained the complete control of all spiritual matters; through their influence the priests forgot to study, pray, and preach, and thought it a tiresome task to instruct the poor;—marriage was prohibited, and Dame Chastity stole away for shame, and through the influence of Sensuality was exiled from Italy and France. She attempted, but in vain, to find protection in England. She then sought refuge in the court of Scotland, but was driven away with oaths and threats, and ordered to tell her story to the priests. The bishops, alarmed at her appearance, protested that they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome, and sent her to the nuns, who welcomed her with processions and other honours; but Riches and Sensuality having received immediate information of her friendly reception among the nuns, the hapless wanderer was again turned adrift. She next applied to the mendicant friars, who declared that they could not take charge of ladies. At last she found refuge in the nunnery of the Borough-moor, near Edinburgh, † where she met with her mother Poverty, and her Sister Devotion, and where the pious sisterhood are so strongly fortified and defended by six great pieces of artillery, Perseverance, Constancy, Conscience, Austerity, Labour, and Abstinence, that they are able to set at defiance all the assaults of their enemy.

The poet then proceeds to denounce in vehement language the flagrant vices of the prelates, whose trafficking in benefices, ignorance, licentiousness, and insatiable greed of filthy lucre, have almost driven religion out of the country. The abuse of patronage on the part of princes, who dispose of their benefices to reward their courtiers—men often of the most abandoned character—is one cause of

* Lies.

† Founded by the Countess of Caithness, and dedicated to St. Catherine of Sienna, from whom the place received the name of Siennes, or Sheens.

* Foundation.

‡ Thy burgh is the most wretched of all. † Walk in a row.

these great enormities. 'Were I a man worthy to wear a crown,' he adds, 'when a benefice became vacant, I would call a meeting of the principal prelates, the most cunning (knowing or skilful) clerks of the universities, and the most celebrated fathers of the church, and make the appointment by their advice. I should dispose of all pastoral offices to doctors of divinity or law: I should compel the barons to send their sons to the schools to learn science, and then promote those who were the wisest and most worthy.' What a contrast this would present to the present state of matters!

'Great pleasure it were to hear ane bishop preach,
Ane dean, or doctor in divinity,
Ane abbot, who could weill his convent teach;
Ane parson, flowing in philosophy:
I tyme* my time to wish what will not be;
Were nocht the preaching of the begging friars,
T'yt were the faith among the seculars.'

And not only do the clergy neglect preaching and every other spiritual duty, but they have become so fond of rich dresses, that

'They have renounced russet and raploch+ white:
Cleikand‡ to them scarlet and cramosey,§
With miniver,|| martik,¶ gryss,** and rich ermyne;
Their ance low hearts exalted are so high,
To see their papal pomp it is ane pyne;††
More rich array is now with fringes fine,
Upon the trappings of a bishop's mule,
Nor e'er had Paul or Peter against Yule.'

The poor papingo having thus unburdened her conscience, makes her confession, and is shriven by the gled, or hawk, who pretends to be a friar. The scene which follows is described with great felicity and humour. After giving her absolution, the hawk, holding up her head, whilst the raven stands on one side and the magpie on the other, inquires tenderly to which of the three she chooses to leave her fortune and goods:—

'Choose you, she said, which of us brethren here,
Shall have of all your natural geir;‡ the curis,
Ye know nane bene more holy creaturis,

'I am content, quoth the poor papingo,
That ye Friar Gled, and Corbie§§ Monk, your brother,
Have cure of all my goods and no mo,|||
Since at this time friendship I find none other.
We shall be to you true as to our mother,
Quoth they, and swore to fulfil her intent;
Of that, said she, I take ane instrument.'

The magpie is appointed 'overman,' or umpire, and the papingo proceeds to make her last will and testament. She leaves her green mantle to the solitary and unobtrusive owl, her golden and brilliant eyes to the bat, her sharp and burnished beak to the gentle pelican—

'To help to pierce her tender heart in twain,'
her angelical voice to the cuckoo, 'who has nae

* Lose.

+ A coarse woollen cloth of home manufacture, made from the wool in its natural state.

‡ Catching, laying hold of. § Crimson. || White fur.

¶ Fur of the marten.

** A rich foreign fur.

†† Pain, torment. ‡‡ Goods, money. §§ Crow.

||| No more.

sang but ane,' her eloquence and 'tongue rhetorical' to the goose, her bones, which she directs to be enclosed in a case of ivory, to the Arabian phoenix, her heart to the king her master, and her intestines, liver, and lungs to her three executors. Having thus disposed of her effects, the papingo falls into 'her mortal passion,' and after a severe struggle at last breathes out her life. Her executors immediately proceed to divide her body in the most summary manner:—

'The Raven began rudely to rug and ryve,
Full gourmandlike his empty throat he fed;
Eat softly, brother, said the greedy Gled.'

In a twinkling there is nothing left of the luckless bird, except the heart, which the magpie, feeling some twinges of conscience, vindicates as belonging to the king. But the portion is too tempting to his confederates. 'May I be hanged,' says the raven, 'if this piece shall be given either to king or duke.' The magpie threatens to complain to the Pope; a tussle ensues, the greedy hawk seizing the heart in his talons, soars away, whilst the others pursue him with loud cries, and disappear in the air. Thus ends the 'little tragedy' of the papingo; the poet, according to the custom of the age, dismissing his book with an acknowledgment of its rudeness and imperfection—'a very unnecessary apology,' says Mr. Tytler, 'for it is, in point of elegance, learning, variety of description, and easy playful humour, worthy to hold its place with any poem of the period, either English or Scottish.'

Soon after writing this poem, in April, 1531, Lindsay was despatched to Brussels along with David Panter, secretary to the king, and Sir James Campbell, of Lundie, for the purpose of negotiating the renewal of the commercial treaty, concluded by James the First, between Scotland and the Netherlands. The Scottish ambassadors were received with great state and solemnity by the Queen of Hungary, who had recently succeeded to the prefecture of the Netherlands, and by her brother, the Emperor Charles V., and were completely successful in every point of their mission. Sir David seems to have been greatly delighted with the splendid entertainments which he witnessed at the imperial court. In a curious epistle from Antwerp to the Scottish secretary of state, he thus expresses himself:—'It were too langsome to write to your lordship the triumphs that I have seen since my camin to the court imperial, that is to say, the triumphs and joustings, the terrible tournaments, the fighting on foot in barras, the names of lords and knights that were hurt that day of the great tournament, whose circumstances I have written at length in articles to show the King's Grace at my home coming.'* These 'articles' containing the remarks of so shrewd an observer as Lindsay must have been exceedingly interesting, and it is to be regretted that no trace of them can be discovered. On his return from his mission, about the close of the year 1531, Lindsay married a lady of the name of Janet

* Chalmers' Life, p. 14.

Douglas. There is reason to suspect that the marriage of the poet was unhappy. He had no children, and from the terms in which he usually talks of the female sex, it has been plausibly conjectured that his wife was not possessed of a very amiable disposition.*

About the close of the year 1535, Lindsay wrote his celebrated 'Satire of the Three Estates,' one of the most interesting and valuable of his poetical productions. In Scotland, as in the other European kingdoms, the earliest dramatic exhibitions were the miracle-plays, or mysteries, which were usually founded on the narratives of the Bible, or on the legends of the saints, and were acted in churches and other sacred edifices.† These rude dramas were succeeded by the more complicated representations known by the name of Moralities, in which such allegorical characters as Charity, Hope, Faith, Sin, and Death, were introduced, for the purpose of satirizing prevailing vices; and from thence the transition must have been natural and easy to such dramatic pieces as the Satire of the Three Estates. At an early period, ridiculous and profane parodies of the rites and ceremonials of the church, under the superintendence of a personage called the Abbot of Unreason, were very common and highly popular in Scotland;‡ and the representation of Robin Hood seems to have been as favourite a pastime among the Scottish people as among the merry men of Yorkshire. The first Scottish drama of which we have any notice, was a 'Mystery,' called the 'Haliblude,' which was acted on the Windmill-hill at Aberdeen, in 1445; but jugglers, minstrels, buffoons, and masqued characters, appear at the Scottish court at a much earlier period. Drummond of Hawthornden mentions, that during the reign of James I. masques were not only licensed, but studied and admired. In 1503, at the celebration of the nuptials of James IV. with the Princess Margaret of England, a company of English comedians, who had accompanied the young queen from Windsor, entertained the court with a dramatic representation. 'After dinner,' says John Young, Somerset Herald, 'a morality was played by the said Master Inglisho and his companions, in the presence of the kyng and quene; and then daunces were daunced.' In 1515, when John Duke of Albany arrived from France, to assume the regency, we learn from Lesley that when he entered the capital he 'was received by many lords and barons, who met him, and that sundrie farces and gude plays were made

by the burgesses of the town to his honour and praise.*

Lindsay appears to have been frequently entrusted with the management of the plays and public pageants, which were exhibited during the reign of James V.; and in 1535 he produced the morality entitled 'The Satire of the Three Estates,' in commendation of virtue and vituperation of vice, which is the earliest specimen of the genuine Scottish drama that has come down to our day. 'Whether,' says Chalmers, 'the matter or the manner of this drama be considered, it must be allowed to be a very singular performance, and to have carried away the palm of dramatic composition from the contemporary moralities of England, till the epoch of the first tragedy in Gorboduc, and of the first comedy in Gammer Gurton's Needle.' This singular production, in which the follies and vices of the king and his courtiers, and the abuses of the church, are attacked with equal boldness and freedom, contains many noble and even pious sentiments, mingled with passages so coarse and licentious that they cannot be read without disgust and astonishment. 'The spirit of Aristophanes, in all its good and evil,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'seems to have actuated the Scottish King-at-arms.' The fact that such a composition was acted before an audience composed not only of the king and his nobles, but of the queen and the ladies of the court, together with the leading ecclesiastics, certainly gives us a low picture of the morality and delicacy of the age. 'The boldness of the author, and the liberality or folly of the audience, are equally conspicuous. The representation took place before the king, with his favourite ministers and advisers; yet it lashes his youthful excesses, and their profligate and selfish devices, with unsparing severity. It was performed in presence of the bishops and clergy, and before an immense multitude of the people, the burgesses, the yeomen, the poor labourers, and tacksmen; and yet it exposes with a poignancy of satire and a breadth of humour, which must have made the deepest impression, the abuses of the Catholic religion, the evils of pluralities and non-residence, the ignorance of the priests, the grievance of tithes, the profligacy of the prelates, and the happy effects which would result from a thorough and speedy reformation. Hitherto what had been written against these excesses had never reached the people; it was generally shut up in a learned language which they did not understand; if composed in English, there were few printing-presses to multiply books, or if printed, the great body of the people could not read them. But Lindsay, when he wrote a play in the language of the people, and procured permission to have it acted before them, at once acquired a moral influence over the times, and gave a strength and edge to his satire, which probably neither the king, the clergy, nor the author himself contemplated. Had it been otherwise, it is difficult to believe that the prince

* The Treasurer's accounts contain various entries of payments to 'Janet Douglas, spouse to David Lindsay, master usher to the king,' for 'sewing of the kingis lynning shakles,' and for 'sewing the kingis sarkis' (shirts).

† Among the mysteries exhibited at Chester in the year 1537, at the expense of the different trading companies of that city, mention is made of 'The Fall of Lucifer,' 'The Creation,' 'The Deluge,' 'Abraham, Melchizedec, and Lot,' 'Moses, Haleb, and Halsem,' 'The Salutation and Nativity,' 'The Transfiguration,' 'The Last Supper,' 'Christ's Passion,' &c.—See Warren's History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 25, 26a. edition.

‡ See Sir Walter Scott's Abbot, chap. xiv. and note.

* Lesley's Hist., Bannat. Ed. p. 102; Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, vol. i. p. 203.

or prelates would have or any author have dared the trial of such an experiment.*

The 'Satire of the Three Estates' was first enacted at Cupar, in the year 1535. The performance, like that of the ancient drama, took place in the open air, on a large green mound, of much natural beauty, called the Moot Hill. In 1539, it was performed in the open fields at Linlithgow, by the express desire of the king, who, with the ladies of the court, attended the representation. It was subsequently acted in the amphitheatre of St. Johnston, or Perth, and in 1554 it was performed at Edinburgh, in the valley of Greenside, which skirts the northern base of the Calton Hill, in presence of the queen regent, and an immense concourse of the nobility and common people.

The extraordinary length of this curious drama shows that its representation must have occupied nearly the entire day. We are informed, indeed, by Charteris, the bookseller, who was himself present, that its exhibition, in 1554, before the queen regent, lasted 'fra nine hours afore noon till six hours at even.†' It appears, however, from one of the stage-directions, that a short pause took place in the representation of the play, during which the spectators had an opportunity of taking some refreshment.

The 'Satire of the Three Estates' is divided into three parts, which are connected by an extremely simple plot. Among the 'Dramatis Personæ' are such allegorical personages as King Humanity, Diligence, Good Counsel, Homeliness, Verity, Chastity, Correction, together with such disreputable interlocutors as Flattery, Falsehood, Sensuality, and Theft. Intermingled with these figures are characters representing directly the various classes of the community. Among them are the Bishop, Abbot, Parson, Prioress, and Pardoner—the Shoemaker and Tailor, with their wives—the Friar, who is Flattery in disguise, and the Doctor, who delivers a sermon on the text, 'If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments.' The proceedings open with an address by Diligence, who announces himself as a messenger from 'a right noble and redoubted King Humanity, who has been long absent, but is now about to appear, in order to punish all evil-doers.' He then makes proclamation that the Three Estates of the Realm are to appear and pay their homage to their sovereign, and beseeches the audience to be patient till they 'have heard our short narration,' as he curiously terms this lengthened exhibition, and to remember that no satire is intended against any person in particular, that all is general, spoken in pastime, and to be heard in silence. 'Therefore,' he says, 'let every man keep his one tongue without permitting it to wag against us, and every woman her two.'

* Prudent people, I pray you all,
Take na man greif in special,

For we shall speak in general,
For pastime and for play;
Therefore till all our rhymes be rung,
And our mistuned songs be sung,
Let every man keep well ane tongue,
And every woman twae.'

King Humanity is then brought upon the stage, followed by Placebo, Solace, Flattery, and Falsehood, by whose evil counsel he is seduced into wicked courses—a satirical stroke directed against the base and vicious courtiers by whom James the Fifth was misled in his youth. Good Counsel attempts to obtain an audience of the monarch, but is dragged out by Flattery and Deceit; Verity enters and exhorts all judges to execute justice with impartiality, and rulers to set a good example to their subjects. But at the sight of the New Testament 'in English tongue, and printit in England,' which she carries in her hand, Flattery cries out 'Heresy! heresy! fire! fire!' and with the assistance of Deceit puts Verity in the stocks—a piece of good service which Spirituality rewards with a guerdon of ten crowns. Chastity, repulsed in succession by the Prioress, the lords of Spirituality, the Abbot, the Parson, and Temporality, takes refuge with the Tailor and the Shoemaker, but is chased away by their wives, and ultimately placed in the stocks beside Verity. At last Divine Correction appears, and after releasing Good Counsel, Chastity, and Verity, rebukes King Humanity for his offences, and succeeds in reclaiming him from his evil habits. The penitent monarch then expresses his willingness to follow the counsel of his monitor, and to punish all crimes and to redress all grievances. Correction advises him immediately to proclaim a parliament, and Diligence is ordered to summon the Three Estates of the Realm to assist their sovereign with their counsel, which he forthwith proceeds to do in the following terms:—

'At the command of King Humanitie,
I warn and charge all members of Parliament,
Baith spiritual estate and temporalitie,
That till his Grace they be obedient,
And speed them to the court incontinent,
In gude order, arrayit royallie,
Wha beis absent or inobedient,
The king's displeasure they shall underlie.
Also I make you exhortatioun,
Since ye have heard the first part of our play,
Go tak ane drink, and mak collatioun,
Ilk man till his marrow • I you pray.'

The second part opens with a conversation between a poor mendicant and Diligence, in which a severe attack is made upon the avarice of the clergy, and the extreme severity with which they exacted their ecclesiastical dues. The pauper asks charity for himself and his six motherless bairns, and informs Diligence that he belongs to the neighbourhood of Tranent, and is on his road to St. Andrews to 'seek law,' for he has been reduced to beggary by the extortions of these clerical enormants. He thus tells his story, which there is every reason to believe does not exaggerate the

• Fellow-companion.

* Lives of the Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 237.

† Chalmers' Life, p. 357.

manner in which the poor were at that time
served by their clerical superiors :—

' My father was ane auld man, and an hoir,
And was of age fourscore of years and more;
And Maud, my mother, was fourscore and fyftene;
And with my labour I did them haith sustene.
We had ane meir that carryit salt and coal,
And every year she brought us hame ane foal.
We had three kye, that were baith fat and fair,
Nane tylder into the toun of Air.
My father was sa weak of blude and hane,
That he deit,* wherefore my mother made great mane.†
Then she deit within ane day or two,
And there began my poverty and woe.
Our gude gray mare was haitand; on the field,
And our lands laird took her for his heryeild;‡
The vicar took the best cow by the head,
Incontinent, when my father was dead.
And when the vicar heard tell how that my mother
Was dead, fra hand, he took to him ane nither:
Then Meg, my wife, did murn baith even and morrow,
Till at the last she deit for very sorrow:
And when the vicar heard tell my wife was dead,
The third cow he cleikit by the head.
Their upmost clayis,§ that were of raploch gray,
The vicar gart¶ his clerk bear them away.
When all was gane I might make na debate,
But with my bairns past for till beg my meat.
Now have I told you the hlack verity,
How I am brocht into this misery.'

To add to the misfortunes of this luckless wight,
the parson had excommunicated him for his tithes,
and refused him the Sacrament at Easter. He has
nothing left except an English groat, which he pur-
poses to give to 'ane man of law.' Diligence tells
him,

' Thou art the daftest** fool that ever I saw;
Trows thou, man, by the law to get remeid
Of men of kirk? Na nocht till thou be dead.'

A Pardoner, or retailer of the Papal indulgences,
now enters, denouncing in vehement terms 'the
wicked New Testament' and its translators, and
imprecating vengeance on those who brought it
to this country, and wishing

' That Martin Luther, that false loun,
Black Hellinger and Melanchthoun,
Had been smorde in their cude.††
By him that bore the crown of thorn,
I wald Sanct Paul had never been born
And als I wald his bukis;‡
Were never read in the kirk,
Bot amongst friars into the mirk,
Or riven among rukis.‡‡

Pardoners were well-known characters at the
epoch of the Reformation, and by their knavish
and licentious conduct brought great discredit upon
the church which sanctioned their nefarious traffic.
Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, introduces a char-
acter of this description, with his wallet 'brimful
of pardons come from Rome,' and containing among

* Died. † Moan. ‡ Feeding.
§ The due paid to the landlord on the death of his vassal
or tenant.

|| Uppermost clothes, which, along with the best cow,
were claimed as a due by the vicar of the parish on the
death of a parishioner.

¶ Canned.

** Most foolish, mad.

†† Smothered in their 'cude,' or face-cloth with which the
child was covered at baptism.

‡‡ Hooks.

§§ Hooks, applied to the building of rooks' nests.

other sacred curiosities, the Virgin Mary's veil, and
part of the sail of St. Peter's ship; and Lindsay, in
the same manner, holds up his Pardoner to ridicule,
by enumerating the ludicrous collection of relics
with which he sought to impose on the credulity of
the people.

' My patent pardons ye may see,
Come fra the Cam of Tartary,
Weill seal'd with oyster shells.
Though ye have na contritioun,
Ye shall have full remission,
With help of bukies and bells.
Here is ane relic, lang and braid,*
Of Fyn Mac Coul, the right chaft blaid,†
With teeth and all together:
Of Collin's cow here is ane horn,
For eating of Mac Connal's corn,
Was slain into Balquidder.‡
Here is ane cord, baith gret and lang,
Whilk hangit Johnnie Armstrong,
Of gude hemp saft and sound:
Gude holy people I stand for'd,
Whaever heis hangit with this cord,
Needs never to be drown'd.
The culum§ of Sanct Bryde's cow,
The grunt|| of Sanct Anton's sow,
Whilk bure his holy hell:
Wha ever he he hears this bell clink,
Give me ane ducat for till drink,
He shall never gang to hell.

* Come win the pardon, now let see,
For meal, for malt, or for money,
For cock, hen, goose, or gryse.¶

During the dialogue which takes place between
the Pardoner and the Pauper, the Three Estates of
the Realm issue from the 'palzoun,' or tent, in
procession, but to the astonishment of the audience
they approach the king's presence, not in the usual
fashion with their faces turned toward the sove-
reign, but going backward. Correction inquires
the cause of this strange procedure,—

' My tender friends, I pray you with my heart,
Declare to me the thing that I wald speir,**
What is the cause that gang ye all backward?
The veritie thereof fain wald I hear.

' SPIRITUALITE.

' Sovereane, we have gane so this mony a year,
Howbeit ye think we gang indecently,
We think we gang right wondrous pleasantlie.

' DILIGENCE.

' Sit down, my lords, into your proper places,
Syne let the King consider all sic cases.
Sit down Sir Scribe, and Dempster†† sit down too,
And fence the court‡‡ as ye were wont to do.'

The sovereign now announces his determination
to redress all abuses, but is reproved for his hasty
resolution by Spirituality, who advises him to post-
pone the sitting of parliament to a future time; upon
which Correction declaring his disapprobation of

* Broad.

† Jaw-bone.

‡ A parish in the western extremity of Perthshire, re-
markable as the last residence of the famous Rob Roy, whose
grave is pointed out in the churchyard. 'The Braes of Bal-
quidder' are celebrated in Scottish song.

§ Tail.

|| Snout.

¶ A pig.

** Inquire

†† The officer who pronounced the 'doom' or judgment of
the court.

‡‡ Proclaim the sitting of the court.

such criminal counsel, orders Diligence to make public proclamation, that every man who feels himself aggrieved should give in his bill of complaint. No sooner is this announcement made, than John the Commonweill comes forward in great haste to tell his story. Honest John is very poorly clad, and in answer to the inquiries of the king, he accounts for his forlorn condition by presenting a long catalogue of grievances under which he has long laboured. The reverend fathers of the church are led by Covetousness and Sensuality. Temporality has for a long time been under Public Oppression, and the merchants and craftsmen are misled by Falsehood and Deceit.

'What marvel though the Three Estates backward gang,
When sic an evil company dwells them amang,
Whilk has ruled this rout mony deir days,
Whilk gars John the Commonweill want his warm claes.'

Flattery, Falsehood, and Deceit are then put in the stocks, and Covetousness and Sensuality take to their heels. Good Counsel, as one who knows both the canon and the civil laws, is called in to assist the parliament in their deliberations, and John the Commonweill proceeds with the detail of his complaints, which furnish a most interesting sketch of national manners, and of the condition of the people at this period. St. Paul, he says, has declared, that he who does not work shall not eat, and therefore he invokes the penalties of the law upon all sturdy beggars, jugglers, jesters, gamblers, tale-bearers, and vagabond bards—and upon all 'great fat friars,' Augustines, Carmelites, and Cordeliers, and all other cowl-wearers who labour not, and yet are well fed. He next denounces the partial and unequal administration of justice, alleging that while a petty thief who steals a single ewe is consigned to the gallows, the robber who carries off a fold of cattle escapes with a fine; and that while picking and piddling thieves are hanged,

'Ane cruel tyrant, ane strang transgressor,
Ane common public place oppressor,'

by means of bribes obtains the favour of the public officials, and is let off on easy terms. Temporality, on this, expresses contrition, and promises amendment, but Spirituality alleges that it is not good to act too hastily in such matters, which require careful consideration. John is then asked if he has any other complaints to make against the spiritual lords; but he desires to be excused from saying more on this subject, as it is no jest to find fault with the clergy. Being encouraged however by Correction, he goes on to complain of the extortions of the vicar, in his merciless exaction of the corpse-present from poor widows and orphans, and of the covetousness and inefficiency of the parson, who cares about nothing but the receiving and spending of his tithes, and will not want a single sheaf of barley to which he has a claim, though his parishioners may be left without preaching for seventeen years. These charges are indignantly denied by the parson, who significantly reminds his accuser of the fiery

doom in store for heretics and calumniators of the clergy:—

'To speak of priests be sure it is na bourdie,
They will burn men now for reckless words,
And all these words are heresie in deid.'

The merchants recommend, that to prevent the rise of rents and the expulsion of the husbandmen from their farms, all the estates of the temporal barons should be let on feu or freehold, to 'men that labour with their hands,' and not to 'gearking (vain, showy) gentill men,' so that the king may have soldiers equipped with harness, bow, and spear, ready for war. This advice is approved of by Good Counsel, and passed into a law. With regard to the clerical exactions complained of, he states that nothing can be done without the consent of the prelates and clergy, which is at once peremptorily refused. Spirituality declares,

'We will want nothing that we have in use,
Kirkle nor cow, tiend lamb, tiend gryse, nor guse.'

The misdeeds of the bishops and dignified clergy are then brought under review. They are accused of obtaining presentations to their benefices by means of large bribes to the Romish court; of grasping a plurality of livings; and of habitual neglect of the duty of preaching. Correction, declares that shoemakers and tailors are far more expert 'in their poor craft and in their handie art' than prelates are in their vocation, a statement which tends to corroborate an exceedingly characteristic anecdote of the poet, related by his first editor. The king, it is said, being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobles and prelates, Lindsay approached him in a reverential manner, and presented an humble petition that his majesty would instal him in an office which had lately become vacant. 'I have,' said he, 'servit your grace lang, and look to be rewardit as others are, and now your master tailor, at the pleasure of God, is departit: wherefore I wald desire of your grace to bestow this little benefite upon me.' The king replied that he was amazed at such an application from a person who could neither shape nor sew. 'Sire,' rejoined the poet, 'that makes nae matter; for you have given bishoprics and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouthier teach nor preach; and why may not I as well be your tailor, though I can nouthier shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane tailor.'

Diligence is ordered to make search through all the towns and cities and universities for doctors of divinity, licentiates of law and theology, 'with the maist cunning clerks in all the land,' who can 'preach prudently,' or 'stir up the people to good works,' in order that they may be advanced to the places of those who can do nothing but 'flatter and

* Jest.

† Tithe lamb, pig, nor goose.

§ H. Charteris' Preface to *Lyndsay's Works*; Irving's *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 79

‡ Careless.

feich.* Diligence soon returns with a doctor of divinity and two licentiates, 'men of gravity.'

'Three famous clerks of great intelligence,
For to the common people they can preach,
And in the schools in Latin tongue can teach.'

Correction then orders strict inquiry to be made in the manner in which the various ranks of the community discharge their respective duties, in order that those who are careless and negligent may be expelled from office, and good men and true be installed in their room. Spirituality is first called on to tell how he has attended to the duties of his situation. After noticing the unprecedented nature of the inquiry, he declares that he has 'used his office well,' he makes up his accounts twice a year with unfailing regularity; he takes care that all his tithes shall be paid, together with his offerings and dues of every kind, 'wanting nocht of his tiend and boll of bear' (barley); he bestows rich portions upon his sons, and marries his daughters to lairds; he rides upon an ambling mule, and makes better cheer than any temporal lord in the land; and finally, he pays a yearly pension to certain powerful barons,

'To that intent that they with all their heart
In right and wrong shall plainlie tak my part.'

As for preaching, which some people foolishly imagine to be the principal duty of a bishop, he keeps a friar, who acts as his substitute, and what more would any reasonable man ask? The Abbot is next required to state 'how he has used his abbey.' He tells his examiners plainly that he and his monks live a right easy life, enjoying good cheer and drinking wholesome ale. With respect to his monastic vows, he frankly admits that he kept them only until he received the bulls from Rome confirming him in his office; after that he lived 'as did his predecessors.' The Parson states that, though he cannot preach, he can play at the 'catch,' that he excels in the game of football,

'And for the cards, the tables, and the dice,
Above all parsons I may bear the prize.'

In the end, the king, after consulting with the temporal estate, deprives the ecclesiasties of their offices, which he immediately bestows on the 'three cunning clerks sapient.' The Bishop, Abbot, Parson, and Prioress are then ignominiously stripped of their clerical robes, and dismissed, lamenting their hard fate.

Among the evils which the poet exposes with such unsparring severity, conspicuous notice is taken of the gross abuses of the Consistory Court, which the Pauper affirms to have more need of reformation than the court of Pluto. And it is curious to learn, that the complaints made in our own day respecting the delays and the ruinous expense of lawsuits, are merely a re-echo of the grumbings of our ancestors upwards of three hundred years ago, when a man might expend 'half a fold of cattle in prosecuting a suit for a single cow.' The Pau-

* Cajole, wheedle.

per's description of the law's delay is exceedingly graphic. He had brought an action for the recovery of damages against a neighbour, to whom he had lent his good grey mare:—

'I lent my gossip my mare to fetch hame coals,
And he her drownit in the quarry holes:
And I ran to the Consistore to pleinzie,*
And there I happt among ane greedy meinzie;†
They gave me first ane thing the call *citandum*,
Within aucht‡ days I gat but *debellandum*,
Within ane month I gat *ad opponendum*,
In half an yeir I got inter *loquendum*,
And syne, how call ye it? *ad replicandum*;
But I could ne'er ane word yet understand him;
And then they gart§ me cast on mony plakkis,||
And gart me pay for four-and-twentie actis;
But or they cam half gate¶ to *concludendum*,
The fiend ane plack was left for to defend him.
Thus they postpō'd me twa yeir with their traine,
Syne *hodie ad octo* bade me come again.
And then thir rukis they rowpit** wonder fast,
For sentence silver they cry'd at the last;
Of *pronunciandum* they made wonder fain,
But I gat never my gude grey mare again.'

Well might Temporality say on hearing this
'our true tale,'

'My lords we maun reforme thir consistory laws,
Wha's great defame above the heavens blaws.'††

After the expulsion of the worthless drones from the church, John the Commonweill is clothed in gorgeous apparel, and seated among the Estates in the parliament. Correction then declares,—

'All virtuouse people now may be rejoysit,
Since Commonweill has gotten ane gay garment,
And ignorants out of the kirk deposit;
Devout doctors and clerks of renown
Now in the kirk shall have dominion,
And Good Counsel, with lady Veritie,
Are ministers to our king's majestie.
Blest is that realm that has ane prudent king,
Whilk does delight to hear the veritie,
Punishing them that plainly do maling
Contraire the commonweill and equitie.'

The Acts of the Parliament are then proclaimed by Diligence, with the sound of a trumpet. It is declared that the Church of Christ and his religion should be defended; that all the temporal lands should be let in feu, after 'the form of France,' to diligent labourers; that those barons who protected freebooters and thieves should be punished; that justice-courts should be erected in Elgin or Inverness, that justice might be properly dispensed in the northern districts; that a College of Justice should be instituted in Edinburgh, the expense of which should be defrayed out of the revenues of the nunneries; that the Consistory Courts should henceforth take cognizance only of spiritual matters; that benefices should be conferred only on men of learning, 'mighty in the Scriptures,' of unblemished reputation, and qualified either to preach to the common people, or to teach in famous schools; that the prelates should not, under the penalty of treason, purchase from prince or

* Complain. † Multitude. ‡ Eight.
§ Made. || Pennies. ¶ Halfway.
** Those rooks croaked fast.
†† Whose abuses cry to heaven.

pope an injunction against the ordinance abolishing the corpse present; and that all mortuary gifts, either to the laird or priest, should be abolished; that every bishop should reside in his diocese, and every parson in his parish, 'teaching their folk from vices to refrain;' that no money should be sent to Rome to purchase any benefice, except the great archbishoprics; that the law of celibacy should be abrogated; and finally, that the temporal barons should not marry their children to the illegitimate offspring of the clergy, under the penalty of degradation from their rank, until, by the payment of a fine, they should obtain the restoration of their privileges.

An underplot of a less serious description is carried on throughout this curious composition, by the introduction of Common Theft, as a border freebooter, come to Fife to steal the Earl of Rothes' best hackney, and Lord Lindsay's brown jennet; the marauder is taken, and in violation of Horace's precept, executed on the stage, after uttering a ludicrously pathetic lament on his hard fate, and a farewell to his 'brother reivers of the border dales.' A similar doom is inflicted on Deceit and Falsehood after they have severally addressed the people, and made some curious revelations respecting the knavish tricks practised by the merchants and tradesmen of that day. Flattery and Folly obtain a reprieve, and the piece concludes with an epilogue by Diligence, entreating the audience to take 'this lytill sport' in patience, and promising in the name of the poet and performers,—

'— if we live another year,
Where we have failed we shall do diligence,
With mair pleasure to make you recompence:
Because we have been some part tedious,
With matter rude, denude of eloquence,
Likewise, perchance, to some men odious.'

An interesting account of the effect which the representation of the play at Linlithgow had upon the mind of the king, is given in a letter from Sir William Eure (envoy from Henry VIII.) to the Lord Privy Seal of England, dated 26th January, 1540. It appears that Sir William had been commissioned by his sovereign to sound the Scottish monarch as to his disposition to follow his uncle's example in the reformation of the church. 'I had divers communings,' says Eure, 'with Sir Thomas Bellenden, one of the said councillors for Scotland, a man by estimation appearing to be the age of fifty years or above, and of gentle and sage conversation touching the state of the spirituality in Scotland. And gathering him to be a man inclined to the sort used in our sovereign's realm of England, I did so largely break with him in those behaves as to move to know of him what mind the king and council of Scotland was inclined to concerning the Bishop of Rome, and for the reformation of the misusing of the spiritualitie in Scotland. Whereunto he gently and lovingly answered, showing himself well contented of that communing, and did say that the King of Scotland himself, with all his temporal council, was greatly given to the reform-

ation of bishops, religious persons, and priests within the realm; and so much that by the king's pleasure, he being privy thereunto, they have had an interlude played in the feast of the Epiphany of our Lorde last paste, before the king and queen at Lithgow, and the whole council spiritual and temporal. The whole matter thereof concluded upon the declaration of the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, called the Consistory courts, in Scotland, and misusing of priests. I have obtained a note from a Scotsman of our state being present at the playing of said interludes, of the effect thereof, which I send unto your lordship by this bearer. My Lord, the said Mr. Bellenden showed me that after the said interlude finished the King of Scots did call upon the Bishop of Glasgow, being chancellor, and divers other bishops, exhorting them to reform their factions and manner of living, saying, that unless they so did, he would send six of the proudest of them unto his uncle of Englonde; and as those were ordered, so he would order all the rest who would not amend.* Row, who mentions that Sir David Lindsay's Satire was acted at Perth 'before King James V. and a great part of the nobility and gentry fra morn to even,' adds that it 'made the people sensible of the darkness wherein they lay; of the wickedness of their kirkmen, and did let them see how God's Kirk should have been otherwise guided than it was; all whilk did much good for that time.†

It was part of the duties of the Lion King-at-Arms to officiate as the representative of his sovereign in foreign countries; and in 1536, Sir David Lindsay was despatched, along with Sir John Campbell of Lundie, to the court of France, to demand in marriage for James V. a daughter of the house of Vendôme; but the king going over in person espoused Magdalen, daughter of Francis, who died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, amid the universal lamentation of the people. On this occasion Sir David composed a 'Deploration of the Death of Queene Magdalen,' a pathetic tribute to the memory of her whom he calls—

'The flower of France and comfort of Scotland.'

It appears that a pageant of remarkable brilliancy, invented by Lindsay, was produced for exhibition on the coronation of the youthful queen; and he avails himself of the opportunity afforded by his lamentation for her untimely death, to describe the superb ceremonies which were intended to grace the royal procession through the streets of the capital to the old abbey of Holyrood;—the scaffolding painted with gold, and azure fountains spouting wine; troops of actors disguised like divine creatures; rows of lusty fresh gallants in

* Appendix to Pinkerton's Hist. vol. ii. p. 494, where the 'note' of the play transmitted along with this letter is given at length, and clearly proves that the interlude acted at Linlithgow, in 1540, must have differed considerably from the play, as published by Lindsay.

† History of the Kirk, p. 6, Wodrow Soc. edit.

splendid apparel; yeomen and craftsmen with their bent bows in their hands, gallantly arrayed in green, and burgesses clothed in scarlet; the provost and magistrates and senators clad in silk; the great lords of parliament, barons and bannerets; the venerable dignitaries of the church, surrounded by the inferior clergy; the din of trumpets and of clarions; the heralds in their 'awful vestments,' and the macers preserving order with their silver wands; the lovely princess herself walking under a canopy of gold, borne by burgesses in robes of silk, marshalled by the great master of the household, and followed by the king's train; a troop of beautiful virgins, crying 'Vive la Reine;' the 'ornate' harangues of the clergy and councillors; and the banquetings and tournaments with which the splendid spectacle was to have concluded. The whole description gives a most interesting view of the manners and customs of the age, and of the nature of those state pageants of which our ancestors were so fond.

'O, traitor death! whom none may countermand,

Thou might have seen the preparation
Made by the Three Estates of Scotland,
With great comfort and consolation,
In every city, castle, tower, and town,
And how ilk noble set his hail intent,
To be excelling in habiliment.

'Thief! saw thou not the great preparatives
Of Edinburgh, the noble famous town,
Thou saw the people labouring for their lives,
To make triumph, with trump and clarion.
Sic pleasour never was in this region
As could have been the day of her entrance,
With great propynis† given to her grace.

'Thou saw making, richt costlie scaffolding,
Depaintit weill with gold and azure fine,
Beady preparit for the upsetting,
With fountains, flowing water clear, and wine,
Disygist folks; like creatures divine,
On ilk scaffold to play ane syndrie story,
Het all in greiting‡ turned thou that glory.

'Thou saw mony ane lusty fresh galland,
Weill ordourit for receiving of their queen;
Ilk craftsman with bent bow in his hand,
Full gallantly in short clathing of green;
The honest burges, cled suld thou haif seen,
Some in scarlet and some in clath of grane,||
For to have met their lady soverane.

'Provest, bailies, and lords of the town,
The senatouris, in ordour consequent,
Cled into silk of purple, blake, and brown,
Synne the great lords of the parliament,
With mony knightly baron, and barrent, ¶
In silk and gold, in colours comfortable,
Het thou, alas! all turned into sable.

'Synne all the lords of religion,
And princis of the priests venerable,
Full pleasantie in their procession,
With all the cunning clerks honorable,

'Synne next in ordour passing through the town,
Thou could have heard the din of instruments,
Of tabouris, trumpet, schalme, and clarion,
With reard** redounding through the elements:
The heralds, with their awful vestments;
With masseris†† upon either of their hands,
To rule the preis‡‡; with burneist silver wands.

• Entrance. • Presents. † Actors. § Weeping.
• Probably cloth dyed in grain. ¶ Banneret.
• Used. ** Macers, ushers. †† Crowd.

'Synne last of all, in ordour triumphal,
That maist illustre princis honorable,
With her the lusty ladies of Scotland,
Who should have been ane sight maist delectable,
Her raiment to rehers, I am not able,
Of gold, and pearl, and precious stones bright,
Twinkling like stars in ane frostie night.

'Under ane pall of gold she should have past,
By burgeois borne, clothed in silks fine,
The great maister of household, all their last,
With him, in ordour, all the king's tryne,*
Whose ordiance were langsum to define;
On this manner she passing through the town,
Should have received mony benisoun,†

'Of virgins and of lusty burgess' wives,
Which should have been ane sight celestial;
Vive la Reine! crying for their lives,
With ane harmonious sound angelical;
In every corner myrth musical:

'Thou should have heard the ornate oratouris,
Making her highness salutation,
Both of the clergy, town, and councillors,
With many a notable narration;
Thou should have seen her coronation,
In the fair Abbey of Holyrood,
In presence of a mirthful multitude.

'Sic‡ banqueting, sic awful tournaments,
On horse and foot, that time which should have been,
Sic chapel royal, with sic instruments,
And crafty music, singing from the splene,§
In this country was never heard, nor seen;
But all this great solemnitie and game,
Turned thou hast in requiem æternam.'

The poem concludes with a patriotic wish very gracefully expressed.

'Tho' death has slain the heavenly flower of France,
Which wedded was unto the thistle keen,
Wherein all Scotland saw their whole plesance,
And made the lion joyful from the splene;
Tho' root be pulled and shed its leaves so green,
The fragrance ne'er shall die—despite of thee,
'Twill keep these sister realms in peace and amitie.'

On the subsequent marriage of James with Mary of Guise, Sir David's ingenuity was put into requisition to provide masques, shows, and pageants, to welcome the princess on her arrival in Scotland. The king was then resident at St. Andrews, and as soon as he heard that she had landed at Balcomie, in Fife, 'he rode forth,' says Pitscottie, 'with his hail lords, both spiritual and temporal, and met the queen, and received her with great joy and merriness of farces and plays made for her. And first she was received at the New Abbey yett (gate). At the east side thereof there was made to be ane triumphant arch by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King-of-Arms, who caused a great cloud to come out of the heavens above the gate, out of the whilk cloud came down ane fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hand, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace, with certain orations made by the said Sir David to the queen, desiring her to fear God and to serve him, and to reverence and obey her husband. This being done the queen was received into her lodging, whilk was called the New Inns, and there she lodged for that

* Train. † Blessing. ‡ Such. § Heart.

night, till on the morn at ten hours she passed to the Abbey Kirk, where she saw many lusty lords and barons, well arrayed in their habiliments against her coming, also the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, and canons regular made great solemnity in the abbey, with mass songs, and playing on the organs. Thereafter the king received the queen in the palace to her dinner, when there was great mirth of shawms, trumpets, and divers other instruments all that day. The king and queen remained forty days at St. Andrews with great merriness, such as justing, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with singing and dancing in masquery, and playing, and all other princely games, according to a king and queen.* It was during these festivities that the Lion King composed his satirical poem, entitled 'The Justing between James Watson and John Barbour,' the one a 'Mediciner,' the other a 'Leech' of the royal household, in which his object was to ridicule the justs and tournaments of chivalry. It is a heavy, dull, and laboured production, and has been justly pronounced the least happy of all his compositions. It was probably about this period that he also wrote the 'Supplication directit to the King's Grace in contemptioun of Side Tails'—the long trains then worn by the ladies. Camden informs us that this obnoxious article of female attire owes its origin to Anne, the queen of Richard II., and we learn from Hemingford that a zealous ecclesiastic of that age was so provoked by this fashion that he wrote a treatise 'Contra Caudas Dominarum.' Chaucer makes his parson cry out against the 'costlie claithing'† both of men and women, especially reprobating the superfluity in the length of the ladies' gowns.‡ The Scottish parliament repeatedly directed its thunders against this extravagance of female ornament, but apparently without effect; and now Lindsay's zeal, as a reformer of manners, induced him to try the effect of the more potent weapon of ridicule. 'Your majesty,' says he, 'has now reduced both the Highlands and the Borders to quietness and order, but there is yet ane smallault which requires reformation.'

'Sir, tho' your Grace has put great order,
Baith in the Highland and the Border,
Yet make I supplicatioun,
To have some reformation,
Of ane small fault which is not treason
Tho' it be contrair unto reason;
Because the matter is so vile,
It may not have an ornate stile;
Therefore, I pray your Excellence,
To hear me with great patience.
Sovereign, I mean of their *syde-tails*,
That thro' the dust and dubb§ trails,
Three quarters lang behind their heels,
Express against all commonweills.
The bishops in pontificalls,
Have men for to bear up their tails,
For dignity of their office.
Right so a king or an empress,
Howbeit they use such dignity,
Conforming to their majesty.

* Pitscottie, vol. ii. p. 376.

† Works of Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 196.

‡ Puddles, pools of water.

Though their robe-royals be upborne,
I think it is a very scorn,
That every lady of the land
Should have her side-tail sa trailland
How high soe'er be their estate,
The queen they should not counterfeit.
Where'er they go it may be seen
How kirk and causeway they sweep clean.
The images into the kirk
May think of their side-tails irk,*
For when the weather bene maist fair,
The dust flies highest in the air,
And all their faces does begarie,†
Gif they could speak they wald them warie.‡
To see I think a pleasant sight,
Of Italie the ladies bright,
In their claithing maist triumphant
Above all other Christian land;
Yet when they travel through the towns,
Men see their feet beneath their gowns,
Four inch abone§ their proper heels,
Circular about, as round as wheels.'

All classes were infected, he says, by this evil custom. Poor draggel-tail sluts that have scarcely two marks for their fees, will wear two ells of cloth beneath their knees. Kitty that was hatched last night will mimic the state of the queen; and Muirland Meg, that milks the ewes, will neither abide in barn nor byre without a long train to her kirtle. Above all, the censor is indignant to see 'men of religion,' the dignitaries of the church, followed by train-bearers bearing their tails through the street, and contrasts the luxury of these self-styled successors of the apostles with the poverty and self-denial of 'Peter, Paul, and Saint Andrew.'

The Lion King is as much scandalized at the veiled faces of the ladies as at their long trains. The Scottish females of that period had, it seems, adopted the evil custom of covering up their faces, so that nothing is seen but their eyes.

'Another fault, Sir, may be seen,
They hide their face all but their een;
When gentlemen bids them gude day,
Without reverence they slide away:
Unless their naked face I see,
They get no more gude days fra me.'

This fashion had excited the displeasure of the parliament, as well as the wrath of the Lion King, for a sumptuary statute, enacted during the reign of James II., ordains 'that na woman come to the kirk, or market, with her face mussaled, that she may not be kend, under the pain of the escheat of the church.' Lindsay purposes to deal with the nuisance in a summary manner—

'Wald your Grace my counsell tak,
Ane proclamation ye should mak,
Baith through the land and burrowstouns,‡
To shaw their face and cut their gowns.'

On the 14th of December, 1542, the untimely death of James V. closed the connection between him and his Lion King, which had continued for the long period of thirty-one years, during which the love and respect of the accomplished but unfortunate monarch towards his faithful and devoted 'servitor,' had never varied. Lindsay was one of the little company who attended the dying prince

• Pain, uneasiness.

† Desmear.

‡ Revile.

§ Burgha.

§ Above.

at Falkland, and closed his eyes; and as Lion King he must have directed the mournful ceremony of the funeral rites, when James was laid by the side of his first wife, Queen Magdalen, in the chapel of Holyrood-house.* In the parliament which met at Edinburgh, on the 13th of March following, Sir David represented the burgh of Cupar, situated within a mile of his seat; and in the struggle for the regency, which took place between the Earl of Arran and Cardinal Beaton, he supported the pretensions of the former, and he is mentioned by Knox as having 'travelled with other men of counsel, such as Kirkaldy of Grange, Henry Balmaves, and Thomas Ballenden, to promote the governor, and to give him faithful counsel.' The keen invectives of Lindsay against the abuses of the church had already excited the enmity of the ecclesiastical party, his writings were read by all classes of the Scottish people, and the popish party regarded him as an adversary not less dangerous than Buchanan and Knox.† Hence when the feeble and vacillating regent was gained over by the cardinal, Lindsay and other 'honest and godly men' were compelled to retire from the court. His services, however, were again called into requisition in March, 1543-4, when he was sent as ambassador by the regent to the Emperor Charles V., for the purpose of re-delivering the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been conferred by that monarch on the Scottish King, James V. On his return to Scotland he sat as representative for Cupar in the parliaments which met at Edinburgh in November, 1544; at Linlithgow, in October, 1545; and at Edinburgh, in August, 1546.

On the 29th of May, 1546, Beaton, the able, but unscrupulous primate, was murdered at St. Andrews by a band of conspirators, who appear to have been influenced partly by private animosity, partly by public zeal, and the instigation of Henry VIII., who scrupled at no means, however base, to accomplish his purposes. Lindsay, and many of the reformers, appear to have thought that

'Though the deed was foully done,
The loon‡ was weill away;'

and in his 'Tragedy of the Cardinal,' he gives expression to the feelings which he and his friends entertained towards the most formidable enemy of the Reformation. As he was sitting in his oratory after the hour of prime,§ perusing Boccaccio's work, 'On the Downfall of Illustrious Men,' a spectre appears suddenly before him, with a pale visage, and the blood flowing over his gorgeous ecclesiastical robes of velvet and of crimson satin. His visitor, who announces himself as

* Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 27.

† Knox, Lindsay, Buchanan, Villoxii, aliorum, impia scripta inconstanter manibus teruntur: opus erat antidoto, ne latus venenatum corporeret.—Dempter. Scotia Illustrior, p. 84; Irving's Lives, vol. ii. p. 81. Lindsay is enumerated among those who concurred in inviting John Knox to preach in the castle of St. Andrews, 10th April, 1547.

‡ Knaure.

§ The first canonical hour—six to nine o'clock in the

'David that careful cardinal,
That umphyle* had sa great pre-eminence,'

addresses the poet with feeble voice, 'as man oppressed with pain,' saying,

'— my friend, go read, and read again,
Gif thou find by true narration,
Of ony pain like to my passion:
Right sure I am were John Boccace alive,
My tragedie at length he wald describe.'

The ghostly visitant then entreats the poet to commit his story to writing as he shall relate it; and having received his assent to this proposal, he proceeds to describe the principal events of his own life, and to make full confession of his ambition, extravagance, and oppression. From his own sad fate he takes occasion to admonish his brethren, the prelates, to repent and amend their wicked lives, and to warn all earthly princes against bestowing ecclesiastical benefices upon ignorant and unworthy pastors,

'That in the kirk can neither sing nor say.'

He tells them that, if when they want a baker, or brewer, or master cook, 'ane trim tailor, or cunning cordinar' (cordwainer), they search over all the land for the fittest persons to fill these offices,

'Ane browster, † whilk can brew maist wholesome ale,
Ane cunning‡ cook, whilk best can season cale, §
Ane tailzeour, whilk has been bred in France,
That can make garments of the gayest gyse, ||

much more should they act on a similar principle in filling up vacant benefices—

'Gar search and seik baith into burgh and land,
The law of God wha best can understand.

'Mak him bishop that prudently can preach
As doth pertain till his vocation;
Ane parson whilk his parochoun can teach,
Gar vicars make due ministracion;
And als, I mak yon supplication,
Mak your abbots of right religious men,
Whilk Christ's law can to their convent ken.'¶

The advice thus put into the mouth of the once proud and powerful cardinal is unimpeachably sound; but the 'Tragedy' must be pronounced exceedingly dull and prosaic throughout. It must be admitted that the subject was unhappily chosen, and it is not relieved by any felicity in the execution, or elegance in the diction.

The last embassy of Sir David Lindsay was to the court of Denmark, in 1548, in order to negotiate for a free trade with Scotland, and to solicit ships to protect the Scottish coast against the English. After his return from this embassy, about the year 1550, he wrote the History of Squire Meldrum, which has justly been pronounced the liveliest of his works, and is peculiarly interesting and valuable on account of the light which it casts upon the private life and manners of the times. The 'History' was founded on the adventures of a

* Lately. † Brewer. ‡ Skillful, expert.

§ Broth. A dish formerly so popular in Fifeshire, that a person from that county is said jocularly to be one of the 'kale-suppers of Fife.'

|| In the gayest fashion. ¶ Ken here means, to teach.

contemporary and friend of the poet, 'William Meldrum, unquihyle (lately) Laird of Cleish and Binns,' a gallant feudal squire, whose exploits had gained him great renown, both in Scotland and France. It appears to have been composed as a token of the admiration and regard which Lindsay entertained for the hero, and for the amusement of the family of Lord Lindsay of the Byres, under whose roof 'tho noble and valiant squiro' was long domiciled. 'In this tale,' says Mr. Campbell, 'we lose sight of the reformer. It is a little romance, very amusing as a draught of Scottish chivalrous manners, apparently drawn from the life, and blending a sportive and familiar with an heroic and amatory interest. Nor is its broad careless fiction, perhaps, an unfavourable relief to the romantic spirit of the adventures which it portrays.'

The poet draws a very pleasing picture of his youthful hero. He was of noble birth, he tells us, and of unsullied honour, 'stalwart and stout in every strife.'

'He was but twenty years of age
When he began his vassalage;
Proportionate weil, of mid stature,
Feirie and wicht, † and nicht endure;
O'erset with travel both nicht and day,
Right hardie baith in earnest and play;
Blythe in countenance, richt fair of face,
And stude weil ay in his ladie's grace:
Because he was sa courageous,
Ladies of him were amorous.
He was a lover for a dame,
Meek in chalmer like a lamb;
But in the field ane champion,
Rampan'd like ane wild lyon;
Weill practikit with spear and sheild,
And with the foremost in the field;
No chieftain was amangst them all,
In exposures mair liberal.
In everilk play he wan the prize:
With that he was virtuous and wise;
And sa because he was weil proved,
With every man he was weil loved.'

His first exploit was at the sack of Carriekfergus by the Earl of Arran, in 1513, † where he distinguished himself by his praiseworthy exertions to save women, priests, and friars, from the fury of the brutal soldiery. One young lady, of great beauty and high rank, had fallen into the hands of two men of war, right cruel and keen, who had tripped her of her rich garments, and wore treating her with great cruelty. On Meldrum's interposing for her protection, and remonstrating with the ruffians on account of their brutality and meanness, they instantly turned upon him with great fury; but the struggle ended in his slaying them both, and saving the lady from the dreadful fate with which she had been threatened. Overcome with gratitude for her unexpected deliverance, and admiration of the valour and manly beauty of her protector, she informs him that she is the heiress of a noble and wealthy baron, and in very unequivocal terms offers the squire her heart and her hand. But honour forbade him to desert the banner of his lord; and he tells her that he must pass on to take his

fortune in France. The lady then offers to dress herself as a page, and follow him but for love. 'Nay,' said the squire, 'thou art too young to sail the sea, especially with men of war; but when this expedition is brought to an end, and peace is made, I will be right glad to marry you.' The trumpet now sounded, summoning the soldiers on board, and Meldrum hastens to embark, after having received a love-token from the lady—a rich ruby set in a ring.

The Scottish fleet then sets sail, and on reaching the shores of Brittany the troops are disembarked, and Meldrum is entrusted with the command of five hundred men. The English army, under their sovereign Henry VIII., were at that time lying at Calais, while the French king, with his soldiers, lay encamped at no great distance in Picardy, and daily skirmishing took place between the hosts. Squire Meldrum, on learning the position of the hostile armies, immediately selected a hundred spears, the best men in his company, and repaired to the French camp, where he was courteously welcomed by the king. It happened that at this juncture an English warrior, named Talbart or Talbot, 'a stout man and a strang, who used to wear in his bonnet 'silver tokens of war,' had challenged any of the French knights to break a spear with him for his lady's sake. But his defiance having remained unanswered, he next addressed the Scottish band who had newly arrived. Meldrum, without a moment's hesitation, took up the gage, and offered to fight the redoubted champion either on horseback or on foot. Talbot, with great kindness, endeavoured to dissuade the youthful adventurer from a contest in which he represents him as certain to lose his life.

'— my gude child,
It were maist like 'hat thou wer wild:
Thou are too young, and has no might,
To fight with me that is so wight:
To speak to me thou should have fear,
For I have sic practik in veir^e
That I would not esseiritt^e be
To mak debate against sic three;
For I have stood in mony a stour,^e
And ay defendit my honour:
Therefore, my bairn, I counsel thee
Sic interprises to let be.'

Meldrum, however, perseveres in his resolution to meet him in single combat, and expresses his confidence, that as David overcame Goliath, God will give him the victory.

'I trust that God shall be my guide,
And give me grace to stanche thy pride;
Tho' thou wert great as Gow Mak Morne,
Trust weil I shall you meet the morn.'

Talbot now returns to his comrades in the camp, and informs them of the engagement which a young Scot had made to fight him on the morrow beside Montreuil. He speaks slightly of his antagonist's prowess, and has no doubt, he says, that he will send him back beaten and stripped of his armour.

* Specimens of the British Poets, p. 18.

† Active and strong. ‡ See supra, p. 403.

* War.

† Afraid.

‡ Battle, contest.

'Quoth they, "The morn that shall we ken,
The Scots are haldin' harly men."'

When it was reported to Monsieur D'Aubigny † that Squire Meldrum had undertaken to fight with the renowned English champion, he greatly commended his courage, and immediately sent for him to his tent, in order that he might receive from his own lips an account of the affair. The squire, on being interrogated, modestly acknowledged that he had, for the honour of Scotland, taken on hand to fight with Talbot, adding that, if he were only well horsed, he had little doubt of the victory. Upon this, D'Aubigny immediately sent out, and collecting a hundred horse, bade the squire select the best. He did so accordingly, and lightly leaping on his back, pushed him to his speed, and then checking him in his course, expressed himself delighted with his new acquisition, for no horse ever ran more pleasantly. Next morning he was early on foot, and ready for the encounter. The appearance of the youthful warrior, clad in complete panoply all except the head, his spear, shield, and helm borne before him by his squires, is depicted in the most picturesque manner.

'He took his leave, and went to rest,
Then early in the morn him drest
Wantonly in his warlike weed,
All well enarmit save the head.
He lap upon his courser wicht,
And stretched him in his stirrups richt.
His spear, and shield, and helm, was borne
By squyers that rode him before;
A velvet cap on head he bare,
A coif of gold to hald's his hair:
The squire bore into his shield
An otter in a silver field;
His horse was barded full richlie,
Covered with satin cramosie.
Then forward rode this champion,
With sound of trumpet and clarioun,
And speedilie spurrit o'er the bent,
Like Mars, the god armipotent.'

Talbot, in the meantime, is greatly disturbed by a dream, in which he sees a great black otter rise from the sea, and fiercely assail him, pulling him down from his horse. He relates this vision to his comrade, who ridicules his fears, and exhorts him to 'behave himself valiantly;' and, dismissing his apprehensions, he arms himself at all points, and, lightly leaping upon his horse, 'barded full bravely and covered with broidered work and velvet green,' with St. George's cross on all his equipments, he proceeds to the lists.

'Then clarions and trumpets blew,
And warriors mony hither drew;
On every side come mony a man,
To behald wha the battel wan. ||
The field was in a meadow green,
Where every man might well be seen.
The heralds put them sa in order,
That no man past within the bordour,
Nor pressit to come within the green,
But heralds and the champions keen.
The ordour and the circumstance
Were lang to put in remembrance.

* Know. † Esteemed.
† Robert Stewart, created a marshal of France in 1515,
when there were only four marshals in the kingdom.
‡ Countess. || Won.

When thir twa noble men of weir*
Were well accountrit in their geir,†
And in their hands strong bourdouns,‡
Then trumpets blew and clarions;
And heralds cryit, high on hicht,§
Now let them go!—God schaw the richt!||
Then speedilie they spurrit their horse,
And ran to other with sic force,
That bath their spears in sindrie flew.'

After a fierce and protracted contest, Talbot was vanquished, and man and horse were thrown to the ground with such violence, that his companions believed him dead. The squire leaped hastily from his charger, and raising his wounded adversary in his arms, courteously supported and comforted him; but when Talbot looked up and saw his shield with the device of an otter upon a silver field, 'Now,' said he, 'my dream has proved true: yon is the otter that hath caused me to bleed; but here I vow, that I shall never just again: according to our agreement, I surrender to thee my horse and harness.'

'Then said the squire courteously,
Brother, I thank you heartily;
Of you, forsuith, nothing I crave,
For I have gotten that I wald have.'

His valour and generous courtesy drew forth the warm encomiums of the English host, and the captain, taking Meldrum by the hand, led him into the pavilion, where he was served with a collation. Meanwhile Talbot's wounds were dressed, and the courteous squire, before taking his leave, embraced him, and bade him be of good cheer, for this was but the chance of arms. He then mounted his horse, and was convoyed back to his own camp by a large body of the English knights.

On the termination of the war, Meldrum resolved to leave France, and though asked in marriage by a lady of great possessions, youth made him so haughty, that he would not accept of her hand; and having fitted out 'a gay vessel' for himself and his soldiers, well furnished with artillery, hackbut, bow, and spear, besides abundance of provisions and the best wine he could select, he set sail from Dieppe to Scotland. On the voyage, he was attacked by an English man-of-war, of greatly superior size and strength, but disdainful to flee, he boldly grappled with the enemy, and boarding the hostile 'galzeoun' at the head of his men, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, captured the vessel.

On his arrival in Scotland, where the fame of his gallant exploits had preceded him, he was welcomed with great delight, and sumptuously feasted by all his friends. Shortly after, he met with an adventure in Strathern, which terminated in his gaining the heart of a beautiful and wealthy young widow, Lady Gleneagles, the daughter of Lawson of Humbie, provost of Edinburgh. It turns out however, that as he was near of kin to her late husband, a dispensation must be procured from Rome before the marriage can be legally performed and while waiting for its arrival, as they have plighted their troth to each other, the squire continues to reside in the castle of his betrothed lady

* War. † Warlike accountments.
‡ Strong spears. § Height. || Right.

The account which the poet gives of the amusements in which he spent his time shows what were the peaceful and domestic occupations of the feudal barons at this period.

'And sa he lived pleasantlie,
Ane certain time with his ladie;
Sometime with hawking and hunting,
Sometime with wanton horse running;
And sometime like ane man of weir,*
I'll galzeardlie wald rin ane speir.
He wan the prize above them all,
Baith at the butts and the futeball;
Till every solace he was abill.
At cards and dice, at chess and tabill.'

Their happiness, however, was interrupted by an occurrence which strikingly marks the unsettled and lawless character of the age. A messenger arrived at their residence to inform Lady Gleneagles that a Highland baron, named Macfarlane, had seized one of her castles in the Lennox, and had plundered and laid waste the surrounding country, leaving her 'nouthor cow nor horse.' The squire, in great wrath at this outrage, swore that if he found Macfarlane in that hold, it should be a dear purchase to him; and having assembled his men, and armed himself, with his lady's right-hand glove in his helmet, he rode day and night till he reached the castle. After an obstinate defence, he carried the fortress by escalade, exhibiting great clemency towards the garrison, whom he pardoned and set at liberty. A sad reverse, however, was at hand, for, as the poet remarks,

'Of warldlie joy, it is weil kend,†
That sorrow bene the fatal end,
For jealousy and false envy
Did him pursue richt cruellie.
I marvel not tho' it be so,
For they were ever lovers' foe.'

Stirling of Keir, 'a cruel knight,' who resided near this lady's castle, in Strathern, had long entertained a bitter grudge at the squire, in consequence of his having defeated a plan which he had formed, to espouse the lady to Luke Stirling, a relation of his own; and had laid a cowardly plot for his destruction. Accordingly one day, in August, 1517, when Meldrum and his lady were on their journey from Edinburgh to Fife, with only eight servants in their company, they were waylaid by Keir at the head of sixty men. In spite of the fearful odds, the indomitable squire disdained to fly, and after performing prodigies of valour, he was left for dead on the field, pierced by innumerable wounds. Intelligence of this cowardly and brutal outrage was immediately carried to Sir Anthony de la Bastie, who, as deputy of the Duke of Albany, administered the affairs of the kingdom at this time; and so vigorously did he pursue the assassins, that in the course of a few hours he succeeded in apprehending Stirling, and lodging him in prison.† On the 17th of September, however, De la Bastie was himself foully murdered by Home of Wedderburn. Keir was soon after set at liberty, and was ultimately successful in compelling Lady Gleneagles to marry his kinsman in spite of the

strongest resistance on her side. Meanwhile Meldrum's case excited the utmost sympathy, and the wisest physicians in the country, repaired unsought to his residence, for the purpose of endeavouring to save his life. In the end he recovered from his wounds; and so much did he profit by their instructions, and the experiments which they had made on his body, that he himself became a skilful 'medieinar' and 'chirurgian,' and wrought many cures, especially among the poor, to whom he prescribed gratuitously. The remainder of his eventful life the squire passed under the roof of 'ano aged lord,' Patrick, the fifth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who courted his society, and prevailed upon him to become his chief marshal and auditor of his accounts. He was also made sheriff-depute of Fife, and proved himself both an impartial judgo and a protector of the poor. For the love he bore to his betrothed mistress he remained single through life; and as a token of his fidelity to his vow, the poet tells us—

'That each year for his lady's sake,
A banquet royal he wald make,
With wild fowl, venison, and wine,
With tart and flam,* and frutage fine;
Of bran and geill† there was na scant,
And Ippocras he wald not want.
I have seen sitting at his tabill
Lords and lairds honorabill,
With knights and mony a gay squyar,
Which were too long for to declair:
With mirth, music and minstrelsy.
All this he did for his lady:
And for her sake during his life,
Wald never be weddit to ane wife.
And when he did decline to age,
He failit never of his courage.
Of ancient stories for to tell,
Above all other he did precell;‡
So that everilk creature
To hear him speak, took great pleasure.'

At length, after spending a number of years in these benevolent and delightful pursuits, Squire Meldrum was seized with a mortal illness, and expired at the Struther, in Fife, the seat of his noble friend and patron Lord Lindsay; and the 'Testament' of the dying warrior, written during his sickness, concludes this remarkable 'historie,' which there is every reason to regard both as in all essential particulars an accurate narrative of the squire's adventures, and a truthful picture of the manners and principles of the age. This interesting document, it has been justly said, 'breathes from beginning to end the soul of chivalry.' It begins with an acknowledgment on the part of the writer, of the brevity of human existence, and his consciousness of his own approaching end. He then proceeds to nominate three noble lords, all of the name of Lindsay, to be his executors,—David Earl of Crawford 'wise and wicht,' John Lord Lindsay his 'master special,' and Sir Walter Lindsay, Lord of St. John, 'a noble travelled knight.' 'The surname of Lindsay,' he says, 'never failed to the crown, and will never fail to me. After resigning his immortal spirit to

* Flawn, a custard.

† Drawn and jelly.

† Known.

‡ Supra, p. 420.

‡ Excel, surpass.

• War.

God, he requests his executors to dispose of his wealth to his next of kin as they may think fit. 'It is well known,' he adds, 'that I was never addicted to hoarding, or heaping up riches or rent. I cared no more for gold than for glass.' He then entreats all his friends and kinsmen without fail to attend his funeral feast, knowing as they do how strenuously he has defended to his latest breath that fame which is dear to them all. As to the disposal of his body, he directs first that it should be disembowelled and well washed with wine, and then anointed with delicious balm, cinnamon, and precious spices, and enclosed in a costly carved shrine of cedar or cypress—

'In cases twa, of gold and precious stanes,
Enshrine my heart and tongue right craftily,
My sepulture then gar make for my banes,*
Into the temple of Mars triumphantly,
Of marble stanes, carved right curiously,
Wherein my kist, and banes ye shall inclose,
Within that sacred temple to repose.'

Squire Meldrum and his biographer were not free from the belief in astrology so widely prevalent in these times; and the dying warrior, after giving directions respecting his interment, proceeds to bequeath his body to Mars, his tongue rhetorical to Mercury, and his heart to Venus, 'because,' he says, 'the constellations of Mars, Venus, and Mercurius, all three presided over my nativity, and gave me my natural inclinations;—expressions which, intermingled as they are with the really pious sentiments uttered by the testator, present a strange and profane mixture of Christian doctrine and pagan mythology; though it is evident that they were regarded by the poet and his contemporaries as entirely unobjectionable.

Next follow minute and exceedingly curious directions respecting the funeral procession, which is to be superintended by the Lion King-at-Arms—

My friend, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
Shall put in order my procession.
I will that there pass foremost in the front,
To bear my pennon,† a stout champion,
With him a band of Mars religion—
That is to say, instead of monks and friars,
In gods order are thousand hagbutlers.

'Next them a thousand footmen in a rout,
With spear and shield, with buckler, bow, and brand,
In one livery, young stalwart men and stout;
Thirdly in order there shall come a band
Of noble men, still to wark their harmes;‡
Their captain, with my standard in his hand,
On hardy steeds, a hundred men-at-arms.'

He next directs that his banner, with the three sable otters in a silver field, is to occupy a conspicuous place in the procession, accompanied by tabret, trumpet, clarion, and horn, and followed by his helmet, sword, gloves of plate, and shield, and a strong champion, clothed in complete panoply, and mounted on a Spanish jennet, carrying his coat-armour on a spear. Then come his bier, with the 'corpse-present,' his barbed horse, and his spear, borne by some honourable man of his own

kindred. 'Let there be no monks or friars,' he adds, 'or anything in a black livery about my bier;—

'Duil weeds* I think hypocrisie and scorne,
With hoods heklit‡ down athwart their ene;‡
By men-at-arms my body shall be borne;
Into that band see that no black be seen,
But let the liveries be red, blue, and green.'

Around his bier there shall ride a multitude of earls, lords, and knights, clothed in his livery, and bearing each a laurel branch in their hands, as an ensign of victory, because the warrior whom they are carrying to the grave never fled from any field, or yielded himself a prisoner to an enemy. The minstrels who accompany the procession are to sing and play only mirthful airs, whose pleasant notes shall resound throughout the sky; and a solemn soul-mass is to be performed—

'With organ, timpane, trumpet, and clarion,
To show their music duly them address;
I will that day be heard na heaviness;
I will na service of the requiem,
But alleluia with melodie and game.'

Having arrived at the cathedral, after the gospel and the offertory, the squire directs an orator to ascend the pulpit, where 'solemnlie, with ornate eloquence and at great leasure,' he is to read the book of 'the legend of his life from end to end. 'Then,' says he, 'enclose my body in its sepulture, there to repose till the great judgement; but

'Let not be rung for me that day soul knells,
But great cannons gar them crack for bells.'

His shield, spear, coat-armour, basnet, and banner, are then to be hung up above his sepulchre and his epitaph inscribed in golden letters, telling the name of the invincible warrior who lies below.

After these minute directions respecting his funeral rites, he bids an affectionate adieu to the noble lords and ladies of his acquaintance, Lord Lindsay, his heir Maister Patriek,§ young Norman his brother, and their sisters; to the fair ladies of France and of London, and the flaming lamps of loveliness which illuminate the north, and will for his loss, be shrouded in the darkness of grief; but above them all, he bids ten thousand times adieu to the

'Star of Stratherne, my Lady Sovereign,
For whom I shed my blood with meikle pain.'

'Brethren in arms, adieu! in general,
For me I wist your hearts will be full sore.
All true companions into special,
I say to you, adieu! for evermore,
Till that we meet again with God in gloir.'

He then requests the priest to give him the chrism with the holy sacrament, and concludes the remarkable 'Testament,' by devoutly and humbly resigning his soul into the hands of his Saviour:

* Mourning garments. † Pulled. ‡ Eyes
§ Afterwards that Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who
brutal violence was so conspicuous in the memorable scene
which occurred in Lochleven castle, when Queen Mary was
compelled to resign her crown.

* Ibidem. † Chest, coffin. ‡ A pennon, a small flag.
§ To atone their wrongs. † Caparisoned.

' My sp'rit hartlie I recommend,
In manus tuas Domine ;
 My hope to thee is to ascend
Res quia redimisti me.
 From sin reurrescisti me,
 Or else my saul had been forlorn !
 With sapience docuisti me—
 Blest be the hour that thou wast born.'

After his return from his embassy to the court of Denmark, in 1488, Lindsay appears to have taken no further part in public affairs, and to have spent the latter years of his life in virtuous retirement. In 1553, he completed his last, and in various respects, greatest work, 'The Monarchie,' which, from its extent and elaborate character, must have occupied his attention for several years. It embraces the history of the most famous monarchies that have existed in the world, commencing with the creation and extending onward to the general judgment. It would be unfair, however, to regard the work as a mere compendium of universal history. 'The poet's principal object,' says Dr. Irving, 'is not to narrate events, but by means of the great occurrences recorded in sacred or profane history to illustrate general positions. The work is replete with various learning, and may be regarded as comprising the accumulated maxims of a long life of alternate action and contemplation. It presents us with contributions to the history of manners, with specimens of the learning which was then cultivated, and with prospects of the deplorable state of a tottering church.'

Disturbed by his musings on the wretchedness and instability of human affairs, the poet rises early from his couch, and walks forth on a May morning into a delightful park,

' Where he might hear the free birds sweetly sing,
 And smell the wholesome herbs medicinal.'

He is greatly comforted and refreshed by the beautiful scene which he beheld. The drops of balmy dew hung like orient pearls upon the branches, and the tender fragrant flowers emitted their aromatic odours. The lord of day swiftly springing up into the east, ascended his imperial throne, in his glorious robes brighter than gold or precious stones; whilst Cynthia, the horned queen of night, waxed paler, and cast a misty veil over her visage. The birds, rejoicing at the rising of their monarch, sang their morning welcome to the day, and made the sky resound with their melodious notes.

' The pleasant pawme,* pruning his feathers fair,
 The mirthful mavis made great melody,
 The blithesome lark ascending in the air,
 Numerand her natural notes craftily ;
 The gay gold spink, the merle † right merrily,
 The warbling of the noble nightingales,
 Redoundit through the mountain meads and vales.'

For a brief space the charming scene inspires cheerfulness in the pensive bosom of the aged bard, but he soon returns to his mournful theme—the miseries and calamities of human life. Such sorrowful thoughts, he says, should be expressed

* Peacock.

† Blackbird.

in melancholy strains. 'Wherefore I will make no vain invocations to Minerva or Melpomene, or any other fabled muses, for I never slept on Parnassus, as did the ornate Ennius and other poets of ancient times; nor did I ever, with Hesiod of Greece, the perfect poet sovereign, drink of the mellifluous famous fresh fountain Helicon, the source of eloquence.' 'Were I,' he continues, 'to invoke any muse, it would be reverend Khamnasia, the goddess of despute; but I scorn all such vain superstitions, and only implore the great God, who created heaven and earth, who gave wisdom to Solomon, grace to David, and strength to the mighty Samson, to inspire me with his Heavenly Spirit, so that I may write nothing opposed to his holy will. Let me repair, then, not to Mount Parnassus, but to Mount Calvary, that I may be refreshed, not by the fabled Heliconian rill, but by the blessed fountain which flowed from the pierced side of my Redeemer.' After offering up an earnest prayer to his Saviour for assistance and direction, he proceeds to describe an interview which he had in the park with an aged man, whom he found sitting under a holly, his beard descending down his breast, his white locks scattered over his shoulders, and whose grave deportment and placid courtesy inspired him with mingled reverence and affection.

' Into that park I saw appear
 An aged man, that drew me near,
 Whose beard was full three quarter lang.
 His hair down o'er his shoulders hang.
 The whilk as ony snaw was white,
 Whom to behold I thought delight.
 His habyte, angelyke of hue,
 Of colour like the asphire blue.
 Under a holly he reposit,
 Of whose presence I was rejoysit.
 I did salute him reverentlie,
 Sa did he me right courteouslie ;
 To sit down he requested me,
 Under the shadow of that tree,
 To save me from the sun's heat,
 Among the flowers, soft and sweet,
 For I was weary for walking ;
 Then we began to fall in talking.
 I speirit his name with reverence,
 I am, said he, EXPERIENCE !'

The poet immediately avails himself of this opportunity to ask counsel of a sage so venerable and renowned. In answer to an inquiry which Experience makes respecting his calling, he thus describes his past career, and the feelings with which he now regarded the turmoil of life and the struggles of human ambition—

' I have, quoth I, bene to this hour,
 Since I could ride, ane courtoeur ;
 But now, father, I think it best,
 With your counsel to live in rest :
 And from henceforth to take mine ease,
 And quietly my God to please :
 And renunce curiositie ;
 Leaving the court, and learn to die.
 Oft have I sailed o'er the strande,
 And travellit through divers lands,
 Baith south and north, east and west.
 Yet can I never find where rest
 Doth mak his habitation,
 Without your supportation ;

* Three quarters of an ell.

† Streams.

When I believe to be best eisit,
Maist suddenlie I am displeisit;
From trouble when I fastest flee,
Then find I maist adversitie.
Show me, I pray you, heartfulie,
How I may live maist pleasantlie;
To serve my God of kingis King,
Since I am tyrit of travelling;
And learn me for to be content,
With quiet life and sober rent;
That I may thank the King of Glore,*
As though I had ane million more:
Since everilk court been variant,
Full of envy and inconstant:
Micht I but+ trouble live in rest.
Now in my age I think it best.

Experience tells him that it is foolish and vain to expect perfect happiness here below, for mutability and suffering, 'trouble, travail, and debait,' are found in every condition of life. 'The cause of all this wretchedness and sorrow,' he adds, 'is sin, from which hunger and famine, plague, pestilence, and cruel war, all proceed; and this sin and misery entered our world in consequence of the disobedience of Adam our progenitor. The venerable sage then goes on to describe the redemption procured by our Lord Jesus Christ, and to explain the nature of faith and charity, without which no man can be saved.'

At this stage of the narrative the poet interrupts the dialogue between Experience and the Courtier, and speaking in his own person, introduces an 'Exclamation to the reader, touching the writing of his poem in the vulgar and maternal language.' He vindicates the course he had adopted by the unanswerable argument that he wrote for Jock and Tom, colliers, and carters, and cooks, and therefore made use of their own language, which they could alone understand. Moses, he says, wrote the law on tables of stone, in the common Hebrew tongue, that all the children of Israel might understand its meaning. Aristotle and Plato did not communicate their philosophy in Dutch, or Danish, or Italian,

* But in their most ornate tongue maternal,
Whose fame and name does ring perpetual.'

Virgil and Cicero wrote not in Chaldee or Sarcenic, but in the Roman tongue, which was their proper language. St. Jerome, it is true, translated the Bible into Latin; but if the holy man had been born in Argyleshire he would have translated it into Gaelic. St. Paul too declares, that there is more edification in speaking five words which the hearers can understand, than in uttering ten thousand in an unknown tongue. 'Sic patterer he considers not worth two peas.' Therefore he thinks it a complete mockery; he says,

'To hear the nuns and sisters night and day,
Singing and saying psalms and orisonn;
Not understanding what they sing or say:
Not like a starling or a poppingay;
Whilk learnit are to speak by lang usage;
Them I compare to birds in ane cage.'

Not that he despises or undervalues an acquaintance with the learned languages; on the contrary, he thinks it a great pleasure for young students to

* Glory.

+ Without.

‡ Parrot.

labour diligently to acquire a knowledge of 'Latin, Greek, and auld Hebrew,' and sorely repents that he does not belong to this number. But with regard to all books needful for our faith, he would have them written in the vulgar tongue. He therefore regards with contempt women and children mumbling their matins, paternosters, aves, and creeds in Latin, and speaks with great severity of the conduct of the priests, who conduct their sacred services in a language which the common people cannot understand—

'Unlearned people on the holy day,
Solemnitly they hear the evangel sung;
Not knowing what the priest does sing or say;
But as ane bell when that they hear it rung;
Yet wald the priests into their mother tongue,
Pass to the pulpit, and that doctrine declare,
Till lawid* people it were mair necessare.'

He earnestly wishes, he says, that the prelates and doctors of the law would allow the laity to read in their own tongue, the life and death of our Saviour, and that some wise prince would cause the laws of the country to be translated into the vulgar language. If this were done he feels assured that there would be fewer disputes, and less need to pay fees to lawyers.

'To do our neighbour wrang we wald bewar,
If we did fear the law's punishment;
There would be nocht sic brawling at the bar,
Nor man of law loup to sic royal rent;+
To keip the law if all men were content,
And ilk man do as he wald be done to,
The judges wald get little thing to do.'

In fine he concludes, - let doctors discuss their curious questions and sophistical arguments, their logic, and their dark and dubious notions respecting astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, in Greek or in Latin, as they please. But let us have all the books necessary for the commonweill, and for the salvation of our souls, correctly translated into the vulgar tongue.

Returning from this digression, the poet resumes his narrative, or rather dialogue, in which Experience is made to describe in succession the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Fall of man, the Deluge, the building of Babel, the progress of the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, the destruction of Jerusalem, the Spiritual and Papal Monarchy, Antichrist, Death, the General Judgment, and 'certain pleasures of the Glorified Bodies.' This historical summary displays great shrewdness and learning, and not unfrequently considerable eloquence and poetic fervour; and is relieved by several little episodes, in which the poet, speaking in his own person, treats of such subjects as the sin of idolatry, the miserable end of certain tyrant princes, the gross abuses of the papal system, and the nature of the happiness of the saints in heaven.

In the second book of the 'Monarchie,' the poet introduces a discussion respecting 'images usit among Christian men,' and draws a vigorous parallel between the idolatries of the heathen and

* Unlearned, laity. + Acquire such splendid estates.

the image-worship of the Romish church. His catalogue of the various saints adored by the Scottish people at this period, is exceedingly graphic.

'Sanct Peter, carvit with his keys;
Sanct Michael, with his wings and weys;*
Sanct Catherine, with her sword and wheel;†
Ane hind set up beside Sanct Geill;‡
It were too lang for to describe
Sanct Francis with his wounds fyve;
Sanct Paul weill paintit with a sword,
As he wald fecht at the first word;
Sanct Appoline on altar stands,§
With all her teeth intill her hands;
Sanct Roche weill scisit|| men may see,
Ane boil new broken on his thie;¶
Sanct Eloy he doth staitly stand,
Ane new horse-schoe intill his hand;
Sanct Ringanc** of ane rotten stock;
Sanct Duthoc,++ bored out of ane block;
Sanct Andrew with his cross in hand;
Sanct George upon ane horse rydand;‡
Sanct Antonie set up with ane sow;§§
Sanct Bryde weill carvit with ane cow,
With costlie colours fine and fair;
Ane thousand more I nicht declair;
As Sanct Cosma and Damaine;
The souters' Sanct Crispiniane.
All these on altar stately standis,
Priests crying for their offerandis;
To whom we commons on our knees,
Do worship all their imageris;
In kirk, in queir,||| and in the closter,
Praying to them our Paternoster;
In pilgrimage from town to town,
With offering and with orisoun;
To them ay babbling on our beads,
That they wald help us in our needs.
What differs this, declare to me,
From the Gentiles' idolatrie?'

Experience tells him in reply, that he ought to distinguish between the use and the abuse of an object; that images, if properly employed, may be useful helps to devotion, and may be instrumental in instructing and strengthening the faith of the unlearned—expressions which show that Lindsay had not at this time adopted the sentiments of Knox, and the more thorough-going reformers, respecting the use of images,

'But we by counsel of clergy,
Have licence to make imagerie;
Which of unlearned are the books,
For when lawit people on them looks,
It bringeth to remembrance
Of Saints' lives the circumstance;

* Weights or scales.

† The instruments of her martyrdom.

‡ St. Giles, the tutelary saint of Edinburgh, chose a hind for his companion in his cave, having saved her from hunters.

§ Of the Virgin Appollonia the legend relates, that when she was seized in Alexandria to be persecuted for the faith, her teeth were pulled out before she threw herself into the sacrilegious fire. She was formerly invoked for relief from the toothache.

|| Settled, seated. ¶ Thigh.

** This is the Gaelic name of St. Ninian.

++ St. Duthoc was the patron saint of Tain and of the arch of Ross. His shrine was frequently visited by men IV.

‡ Riding.

§§ St. Anthony is said to have been originally a swine-herd, and he is always represented with his favourite pig, ringing a bell about its neck.

Choir.

VOL. I.

How, the faith to fortify,
They suffered pain right patiently;
Seeing the image of the Kude,*
Men should remember on the blude,
Which Christ intill his passion,
Did shed for our salvation;
Or when thou seest ane portraiture
Of blessed Mary, Virgin pure,
Ane lovely babe upon her knee,
Then in thy mind remember thee,
The words which the prophet said,
How she should be both mother and maid.'

But, continues the sage, when men kneel and pray to images, then they become sinful and unscriptural; and there is no difference between such conduct and the idolatry of the Gentiles. The ancient Greeks paid their devotion to Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Juno, and precisely in the same manner do the common people now undertake superstitious pilgrimages, and offer their orisons to the images of the saints.

'Some to St. Roche with diligence,
To save them from the pestilence;
For their teeth to Sanct Appollene;
To Sanct Tredwell to mend their ene;‡
Some make offering to Sanct Eloy,
That he their horse may weill convey;
They rin when they have jewels tint,‡
To seek St. Syth or ever they stint;§
And to Sanct Germane to get remeid,
For maladies into their head;
They bring mad men on foot and horse,
And bind them to St. Mungo's corse;
To Sanct Barbara they cry full fast,
To save them from the thunder blast;¶
For gude novellis,** as I hear tell,
Some takes their gait++ to Gabriel;
Some wives Sanct Margaret;‡ doth exhort,
Into their birth them to support;
To Sanct Anthony to save the sow;
To Sanct Bryde to keep calf and cow;
To Sanct Sebastian they rin and ride,
That from the shot he save their side;||
And some in hope to be made hail,||
Run to the auld rude of Carrail.¶¶

He does not, he says, blame the common people so much for these idolatrous practices, for they act thus in ignorance and with a good intention; but he pronounces a malediction upon the priests and prelates, who are entrusted with the oversight of their souls, and yet neglect to teach them the truth.

The poet then introduces an 'Exclamation against Idolatry,' in which he enumerates the various instances recorded in Scripture of the manifestation of the Divine displeasure against the worshippers of idols; and pours out the most vehement and sarcastic invectives against those who bow down to images of gold and silver, wood and stone, which have 'eyes but see not, ears but hear

* The Cross. † Eyes. ‡ Lost. § Stop. || Cross. St. Mungo is the common name of St. Kentigern, the tutelary saint of Glasgow.

¶ St. Barbara is said to have been martyred by her own father, who was afterwards struck dead by a thunderbolt.

** News. †† Go their way.

‡ Queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore.

§§ The legend relates of St. Sebastian that though he was shot full of arrows, he yet survived till Dioclesian put him to death.

¶¶ The old cross of Crail in Fife.

not, mouths but speak not, and hands but handle
not:—

Howbeit they fall down flatings* on the flure,
They have na strength their self to raise again;
The rattons† o'er them rin they tak na cure,
Howbeit they break their neck, they feel na pane;
Why suld men psalms to them sing or sayne,‡
Since growing trees that yearlie beareth frute,
Are mair to pryse, I mak it to thee plane,
Nor cuttil stocks wanting baith crop and rute.

Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie,
And manifest abomination,
On their feast day, all creatures may see—
They bear an auld stock image thro' the town,
With thalbrone,§ trumpet, schalme,|| and clarion;
Whilk has been usit mony a year bygone,
With priests and friers into procession,
Sic like as Bell was borne through Babylon.'

The 'auld stock image,' thus ridiculed by Lindsay, was the image of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh. It was annually, on the 1st of September, carried through the city with great pomp by the priests and friars. The last procession was in the year 1558, when a riot took place, and the image was destroyed by the populace. To use the words of Knox, 'one took the idol by the heels, and dadding his head to the street, left Dagon without head or hands. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house.'

The remainder of this episode is occupied with denunciations of the unholy lives of the secular clergy and friars, their cruel persecutions of Christ's flock, the sloth and avarice of the bishops, and the injurious effects of pilgrimages upon the morals both of the priests and people. Indignantly remonstrating against the abominable practices thus countenanced or connived at by those who ought to have repressed them, he says—

'Ye priness of the people that should preach,
Why suffer ye sa great abusoun?
Why do ye nocht the simple people teach,
How and to whom to dress¶ their orisoun?
Why thole** ye them to rin from town to town,
In pilgrimage till ony imageris:
Hoping to get thers some salratoun,
Praying to them devoutly on their knees?'

And after significantly referring to the destruction of the prophets of Baal by Elijah, to the abolition of the red friars, and the overthrow of the papal hierarchy in England, Holland, Denmark, and Norway, he continues,

'I trust to see gude reformatioun,
From tyme we get ane faithful prudent king,
Who knows the truth and his vocatioun:
All publicans I trust he will doun thring,††
And will nocht suffer in his realm to ring,‡‡
Corrupt scriebes nor false Pharisiee,
Against the truth which plainly does maling;
Till that king come, we mann§ take patience.

* Flatings, flat.
† Rattons, a kind of drum.
‡ Say.
§ A kind of pipe or hautboy.
|| Address.
** Raign.
†† Thrust, throw.
‡‡ Must.

In the chapter on the 'Spiritual and Papal Monarchie,' Lindsay resumes this favourite theme, and in vigorous, though sometimes homely language, describes at length the rise and progress of the papal power, the impiety and arrogance of the popes, the indolence, licentiousness, and avarice of the priests, the evils of enforced celibacy, the gross abuse of purgatory, the disastrous consequences which spring from the ignorance of the people, and the happy results to be anticipated from the publication of the Scriptures and missals in the vernacular language of the country. To this chapter is appended an episode, entitled 'A Description of the Court of Rome,' in which the poet inveighs in strong terms against the corruptions of the church, and the gross frauds and scandalous lives of the clergy. A few stanzas may be quoted to show the spirit which pervades this biting invective—

'Peter, Andrew, and John, were fishers fine,
Of men and women to the Christian faith;
But they (the popes) have spread their net with hook
and line,
On rents rich, on gold and other graith,*
Sic fishing to neglect they will be laith:†
For why they have fished in athwart the strands
Ane great part truly of all temporal lands.

'With that the tenth part of all gude movabil,
For the uphalding of their dignities;
So bene their fishery wonder profitabil,
On the dry land as weil as on the seas,
Their herry-water‡ they spread in all countries;
And with their hose-net, daily draw to Rome,
The maist fine gold that is in Christendome.

'Their merchandyse intill all nations,
As printit lead, their wax, and parchment,
Their pardons, and their dispensations,
They do exceed some temporal princes' rent;
In sic traffic they are nocht negligent:
Of benefice they mak gude merchandyse,
Thro' simony which they hold little vice.

'Christ did command Peter to feed his sheep,
And sa he hid them feed full tenderly:
Of that command they take but little keep,§
But Christ's sheep they spulye|| piteously;
And with the wool they claithe them curiously;
Like gourmand wolves they take of them their food,
They eat their flesh and drink baith milk and blood.'

At last, Experience having brought his narrative to a close, winds up his instructive lessons with 'Ane Exhortatioun unto his Son the Courtier,' and takes leave of his pupil in these sweet stanzas—

'Of our talking now let us make ane end,
Behold how Phœbus downward docs descend,
Toward his palace in the occident:
Dame Cynthia I see she does pretend,
Into her watery region till ascend,
With visage pale, up from the orient:
The dew now danks¶ the roses redolent;
The marigolds that all day were rejosit,
Of Phœbus' heat, now craftily are closit.

'The blissful birds bownis** to the trees,
And ceases of their heavenly harmonies:

* Goods.
† Rob water, a net.
‡ Loth, reluctant.
§ Pay little attention to.
|| Spoul, plunder.
¶ Moistens.
** Lies.

The corn-craik,* in the croft I hear her cry,
The bat, the howlet,† feeble of their eyes,
For their pastime, now in the evening flies:
The nightingale, with mirthful melody,
Her natural notes pierce thro' the sky—
Till Cynthia, making her observance,
Which on the night does tak her dailiance.

† I see Pole Artick in the north appear,
And Venus rising with her beams clear:
Wherefore, my son, I had it time to go.
Wald God, said I, ye did remain all year,
That I might of your heavenly lessons leir;‡
Of your departing I am wonder wo;§
Tak patience, said he, it maun|| be so;
Perchance I shall return with diligence.
Thus I departed from Experience.

'The Monarchy,' says Mr. Tytler, 'appears to have been Lindsay's last, and it is in many respects his best work. It is nervous, original, learned, and pious—full, indeed, of many poignant satirical attacks upon the corruptions and licentiousness of the Romanist clergy, yet less bitter, coarse, and scurrilous than most of his earlier productions. It is pleasing, as he advances in years, to find the author receding from the indecency which was the poetical vice of the age—to mark the improved tendency and higher moral tone of his writings; and while we sympathize with the pensive melancholy which tinges his last poetical legacy to his countrymen, to know that when he entered his quiet oratory, he met there that stedfast faith, and rested on those blessed hopes which furnished him with a key to all the sorrow, darkness, and vicissitude of this fluctuating existence,¶

¶ Be not too much solyst in temporal things,
Since thou perceivis Pope, emperor, and kings,
Into the earth hath na place permanent.
Thou seest that death them shamefully down thrings,**
And rives them from their rents, riches, and rings;††
Therefore on Christ confirm thine hail!‡‡ intent,
And of thy calling be right well content;
Then God that feeds the fowls of the air,
All needfull things for thee he shall prepare.'

The writings of Lindsay undoubtedly exercised the strongest influence on the age in which he lived, and were a powerful instrument in hastening the overthrow of the papal system in Scotland. But we lose sight of him as the revolution advanced; and, during the closing years of his life, he seems to have retired from all active co-operation in those measures which ultimately led to the final and happy triumph of the Protestant faith. Various conjectures have been offered respecting the causes which made him a spectator rather than an actor in the mighty events that were taking place around him; but nothing can be known of the motives by which he was influenced. The keen invectives against the abuses of the Romish system, with which his last work abounds, show that age had abated nothing of the intensity of his

zeal against the corruptions of the church. While his bold and unsparring denunciations in the presence of the king and court, of the avarice, ambition, and licentiousness of the clergy, make it evident that no apprehensions of personal danger could have induced him to remain neutral in the contest. 'His warfare was as fearless as it was determined; while the printer's name was studiously concealed, and the place of impression falsified in the publication of his works, his own full name and titles always figured on the title-page, scorning concealment; and strange to say, there is no record of his having been challenged or persecuted in consequence.'* It was not till 1558, the year after his death, that his works were condemned to be burnt by the last Roman Catholic synod held in Scotland before the Reformation.†

The private character of the distinguished reformer appears to have been blameless, and not a word has ever been breathed against it by his enemies. Archbishop Spotswood, speaking of the eminent men who adorned this era, says, 'Sir David Lindsay of the Mount shall first be named, a man honourably descended, and greatly favoured by King James V. Besides his deep knowledge in heraldry (whereof he was the chief), and in other public affairs, he was most religiously inclined, but much hated by the clergy for the liberty he used in condemning the superstition of the time, and rebuking their loose and disorderly lives. Not the less he went unchallenged, and was not brought in question, which showed the good account wherein he was held.' 'His personal deportment,' says Dr. McVie, 'was grave, his morals were correct, and his writings discover a strong desire to reform the manners of the age, as well as ample proofs of true poetical genius, extensive learning, and wit the most keen and penetrating.' If we may give credit to the testimony of an English contemporary writer, Lindsay's aspirations for his country soared onward to a consummation as yet only partially attained. Dr. Boleyn, brother of Queen Anne, and who lived in the north of England, and had visited Scotland, introduces the Lion King as 'an ancient knight, sitting in a black chair of jet-stone, in a coat-of-arms, in orange tawny (the symbol of integrity), bearing upon his breast a white lion, with a crown of rich gold upon his head; with a hammer of strong steel in his hand, breaking asunder the counterfeit keys of Rome, forged by Antichrist. And this good knight of Scotland said to England the elder brother, and Scotland the younger,

'Habitate fratres in unum;
Is a blissful thing,
One God, one Faith, one Baptism pure,
One Law, one Land, one King! §

* The landrail. † The owl.
‡ Learn. § Wondrous sad. || Must.
¶ Lives of Scottish Worthies, vol. iv. p. 294.
** Thrusts, throws.
†† And tears them from their estates, wealth, and kingdoms.
‡‡ Whole.

* Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 210; The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay, by Chalmers, vol. i. pp. 80, 81.
† Pitscotte, vol. ii. p. 626.
‡ For brethren to dwell in unity.
§ Dr. Boleyn's 'Moral Discourse', printed in 1744; Lindsay's Works, by Chalmers, vol. i. pp. 90—101.

It must be admitted that Lindsay's poetical talents do not entitle him to a place in the highest rank of poets, and that he wanted that creative power which was possessed by Dunbar and the other 'Makers' of the golden age of Scottish poetry. He seems incapable, indeed, of rising either into the imaginative or the romantic sphere, and his writings are characterized by sound sense, sagacious observation, and sarcastic wit, rather than by brilliant imagination or deep poetic feeling. On the whole, a very fair estimate of Sir David's poetical merits has been taken by Mr. Ellis, who says, 'In his works we do not often find the splendid diction of Dunbar, or the prolific imagination of Gawin Douglas. Perhaps, indeed, the 'Dream' is his only composition that can be cited as uniformly poetical; but his various learning, his good sense, his perfect knowledge of courts and of the world, the facility of his versification, and, above all, his peculiar talent of adapting himself to readers of all denominations, will continue to secure to him a considerable share of that popularity, for which he was originally indebted to the opinions he professed, no less than to his poetical merits.' His writings not only enjoyed unbounded popularity in his own day, but till very recently they were to be found along with Barbour's Bruce and Blind Harry's Wallace, in almost every cottage north of the Tweed; and many of the Scottish peasantry could repeat long passages of them, and even whole poems by heart. They were even read at one time as class-books in the schools,* and were esteemed such treasures of sound wisdom, that the proverbial expression, 'Ye'll no find that in Davie Lindsay,' or 'It's no between the brods (boards) o' Davie Lindsay,' was in common use, implying that, not even Lindsay, whom nothing escapes, has noticed the thing in question.†

* Blind Harry's Wallace was used in the same way by the more advanced pupils. Hence the proverb, 'Out o' Davie Lindsay into Wallace.' So in Pennycuik's description of a Scottish cotter's fire-side—

'My mither hale her eldest son say
What he'd by heart o' Davie Lindsay.'

† Lives of the Lindsays, vol. i. p. 262. The following spirited sketch of the personal appearance of the Lion King is given by Sir Walter Scott in 'Marmion':—

'He was a man of middle age,
In aspect manly, grave, and sage,
As on king's errand come;
But in the glances of his eye,
A penetrating, keen, and sly
Expression found its home.
The flash of that satiric rage,
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome.
On milk-white palfrey forth he paced,
His cap of maintenance was graced
With the proud heron's plume.
From his steed's shoulder, loin, and breast,
Silk hoseings swept the ground,
With Scotland's arms, device, and crest,
Embroidered round and round.
The double treasure might you see,
First by Achais borne,
The tunic and the fleur-de-lys,
And gallant unicorn.

Nothing is known of the exact time and circumstances of Sir David Lindsay's death; but as Charteris, the bookseller, who published Lindsay's works in 1568, speaks of the cruel martyrdom of the venerable Walter Mill, who was burnt at St. Andrews, in April, 1558, as having taken place shortly after the death of Sir David, that event probably happened about the close of 1557. The poet must, of course, have been buried in the family vault, in the church of Ceres; but no stone marks the spot where the Lord Lion sleeps with his fathers.

As Sir David died without issue, he was succeeded in his estates by his brother Alexander, whose descendants continued in the possession of the 'Mount' till the last century, when it became the property of the Earl of Hopetoun, and now belongs to the Hopes of Rankeillour. The office of Lord Lion King-at-Arms was held successively by two members of the poet's family—Sir David, his nephew, became Lion King in 1591, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Sir Jerome Lindsay, in 1621.

Dunbar, in his 'Lament for the Makers,' has enumerated at least twelve poets, who Other contemporaries, among porary poets. whom are Sir Hugh de Eglinton, Sir Mungo Lockhart, Sir John Ross, James Affleck, Alexander Traill, Patrick Johnstone, the two Rowls, Stobo, Quintyne Schaw, and Walter Kennedy; but their writings, have unfortunately nearly all perished. Lindsay, in the prologue to his 'Complaint of the Papingo,' also speaks of Quintyn, Mereer, Rowl, Sir James Inglis, Kid, Steward, Stewart of Lorn, Galbraith, Kinloch, Kennedy, and other poets of famous 'ingyne,' who

'Tho' they be dead their libellis* bene living.'

Of most of these writers, who seem to have obtained considerable celebrity in their day, little or nothing is now known except their names. Sir Hugh Eglinton. 'The good Sir Hugh Eglinton,' as he is styled by Dunbar, flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1361 he was one of the justiciaries of Lothian; and in September, 1367, he was appointed a commissioner for negotiating a treaty of peace with England. He married Egidia, sister of King Robert II., and died, it is supposed, about the year 1381, leaving an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married John Montgomery, an ancestor of the Earl of Eglintoun, and thus carried his great estates to the Montgomeries. It is

So bright the king's armorial coat,
That scarce the dazzled eye could note.
In living colours blazoned brave,
The lion which his title gave.
A train which well besemed his state,
But all unarm'd, around him wait.
Still is thy name in high account,
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
Lord Lion King-at-Arms!'

* Books.

matter of regret that none of Sir Hugh's compositions have survived. Sir John the Ross is the person to whom Dunbar addresses his invective against Kennedy. He was in all probability a priest, as 'Sir' was the common appellation of secular priests at this period—the 'Pope's Knights,' as they were vulgarly denominated. James Affleck is also believed to have been in holy orders, and to have held the chantry of Caithness, which on his death, in the year 1497, was given by the king to James Beaton, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. The only specimen of his composition now existing, is a poem entitled 'The Quair of Jealousy.' In the Bannatyne MS., Patrick Johnston is said to be the author of a short but curious poem, called 'The Three Deid Powis,' or 'The Three Death's Heads,' first printed in Lord Hailes' Collection. The name of this writer occurs occasionally in the Treasurer's accounts, during the earlier part of the reign of James IV. On the 5th of August, 1488, £5 were paid to 'Patrick Johnson, and the players of Lithgow that playit to the king; and on the 31st of August, 1489, the sum of £3 10s. were paid to Patrick Johnson, and his fellows, that playit a play to the king in Lithgow.' Mercer is commemorated in Dunbar's Lament as a poet of peculiar merit:

'He has reft Mercer his endyte,*
That did in love so lifly† write,
So short, so quick of sentence hie.'

Of the writings of this author, only one poem, entitled 'Perrel in Paramours,' has been preserved. Dunbar makes mention of two poets of the name of Rowl—'Rowl of Aberdeen, and gentle Roul of Corstorphine;' and the name of Rowl is also noticed by Lindsay; but it is uncertain which of these two persons was the Sir John Rowl who was the author of the strange poem of 'Rowl's Cursing,' first printed from Bannatyne's MS., in the 'Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland.'

Dunbar, writing about 1507, says,

'And death has now tane last of a'
Gude, gentle Stobo, and Quintyne Schaw,
Of whom all wights has pity.'

'Stobo' was the familiar cognomen of John Reid, rector of Christ's Kirk, who was employed as a writer, and notary-public, at court, during the reigns of James II., III., and IV. In the Treasurer's accounts for the years 1473 and 1474, mention is made of a half-yearly pension of £5 paid to Stobo at Whitsuntide, and the same at Martinmas. This pension, increased to £20 annually, was confirmed to him by charter from James III., January 9th, 1477-8, payable out of the customs of the burgh of Edinburgh, for the period of his life, in return for the gratuitous services which he had rendered to the king and his predecessor, in writing their letters to the pope and

to sundry kings, princes, and nobles, and in payment of the expenses which he had incurred in the preparation of these epistles. None of his writings are now known to exist.

In the 'Fyting' of Dunbar and Kennedy, repeated mention is made of a poet named Quintyne, who is represented as the cousin and commissary of Kennedy, and, according to Dunbar, gave assistance to his relative in writing the verses which occasioned this contest. Gawin Douglas, in his 'Palace of Honour,' written in 1501, celebrates Kennedy, Dunbar, and Quintyne, as three living poets belonging to this court, who were held worthy of a place in the Court of the Muses. This Quintyne was probably a different person from Quintyne Schaw, who is commemorated by Dunbar in his 'Lament,' and who was the son of John Schaw of Haily, a family of considerable distinction in Ayrshire at that time. He appears to have been in the receipt of an annual pension of £10 from the king, and numerous entries appear in the Treasurer's accounts of additional sums paid to him at different times from 1480 to 1504 by the royal command. The only poem of his known to exist, is the 'Advyce to a Courtier,' which was first printed by Pinkerton, from Maitland's MS. Walter Kennedy, who is indebted for his reputation mainly to his poetical contest with Dunbar, was the third son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy. He received his education at the College of Glasgow, where he took his degree as master of arts, in 1478. Like Dunbar, he appears to have been early intended for the church, but it is uncertain whether or not he obtained any ecclesiastical preferment. His poetical reputation stood high in his own day. Gawin Douglas styles him 'Great Kennedy.' Dunbar, in his 'Lament,' says,

'Gude Maister Walter Kennedy
At point of death lies verily,
Great rewth* it were that so suld be.'

And Lindsay asks,

'Wha can now the warke counterfeit
Of Kennedy, with terms aureate?†

But his scanty poetical remains do not seem to warrant the high praise bestowed upon him by his contemporaries.‡

Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, is celebrated by Sir David Lindsay as a writer of miscellaneous poetry. In the prologue to his 'Complaint of the Papingo,' he asks,

'Wha can say mair than Sir James Inglis says,
In ballads, farces, and in pleasant plays?
But Culross bath his pen made impotent.'

Inglis appears to have been a person of some distinction at court, and to have obtained consider-

* Pity.
† Golden, published
‡ Laing's Edition of Dunbar's Poems, vol. II. pp. 65-67,
and notes.

* A discourse writing.

† Lively.

able ecclesiastical preferment. His name occurs in the Treasurer's accounts, under the date of December 10th, 1511, when 12 ells of taffety, at a cost of £8 8s., and 12 ells of canvass at 14s., were furnished to be 'play-coats' for him and his colleagues. At this time he was attached to the royal household, and received his 'leveray' or dress, at Yule, with an annual salary of £40, paid quarterly to 'Sir James Inglis, Clerk of the King's Closet.' He was appointed chaplain to the prince-royal, afterwards James V., at the same time that Gavin Dunbar was appointed his preceptor, and David Lindsay his usher. In the year 1515, he is called Secretary to the Queen Margaret; but he must still have continued in the service of the prince, for in the same year, September 12th, the sum of £2 16s. was 'delivered' by the Treasurer 'to Sir James Inglis for the king's grace, and for my lord duke his brother, to be them sarkis (shirts) eight ells holland clath' (cloth); and on the 28th January, 1515-16, 'Item to Sir James Inglis for wyl-coats (under-vests) to the king, two ells scarlet, £5.' In a charter of September 19th, 1527, he is styled Chancellor of the Royal Chapel at Stirling, and in that capacity he was furnished by the Treasurer with 16 ells of black satin to be a gown, at the cost of £22 8s. In the Treasurer's accounts of the same year, he is also styled Master of Works to the King, with an annual salary of £40, and he appears to have been at the same time employed as in former years, in getting up dramatic representations for the court; for about the end of 1526, the Treasurer paid 'to Sir James Inglis, to buy play-coats against Yule by the King's precept, £40.' thus presenting, as Mr. Laing remarks, a singular instance of the diversified kinds of employment in which ecclesiastical dignitaries deemed it not unbecoming in those days to be engaged.* Shortly after this he must have been advanced to the Abbacy of Culross; but he did not long enjoy his new dignity, for on the 1st of March, 1531, he was cruelly murdered by Blacater, baron of Tullialan, and his followers, among whom was a priest named Lothian.†

The reputation of Inglis as a poet rests mainly upon the testimony of Sir David Lindsay, who insinuates that his advancement to the Abbacy of Culross had withdrawn his attention from his poetical studies. A poem entitled 'A General Satire,' which in the Bannatyne MS. is attributed to Dunbar, is ascribed in the Maitland MS., and probably more correctly, to Sir James Inglis. The writer, like Lindsay and the other satirists of the period, complains bitterly of the pride, negligence, and incontinences of the clergy; of the oppression of the poor by the feudal laws and the lawyers; the protection afforded by the great barons to bands of thieves and murderers; the frauds practised by the merchants; the cheating of knaves and boasters at cards and dice; the prevailing extravagances in female attire, and especially the enormity of the long trains which 'sweep the causey clean.'

* *Laird's Edition of Dunbar's Poems*, vol. ii. p. 308.
 † *Ibid.*, p. 445.

Two poets of the name of Stewart are mentioned by Sir David Lindsay, distinguished as

'— Steward who desireth ane stately style,
 Full ornate warke daylie does comyle.'

And Stewart of Lorne, who

'Will carpe* richt curioslie.'

Several pieces bearing that name occur in the collections of Lord Hailes, Allan Ramsay, and Mr. Sibbald, but to the two Stewarts, which of the two poets they belong it is now impossible to determine. Two of these poems are addressed to James V., and are calculated to give a high idea of the courage, honesty, and piety of the writer. In the first of these addresses, the plain-spoken bard exhorts the young king to confine himself to the amusements which were practised by his royal ancestors, and are becoming in a prince, such as hawking, hunting and archery, justing and chess; to play at cards and dice only with his nobles, or with the queen his mother; to shun the vice of playing for the sake of gain; and to remember that there is a King of kings who ruleth in heaven and on the earth, to whom he ought to pray when he lieth down and when he riseth up, that He would be to him his guide and governor.† In the second,‡ which is of a much higher order, the poet takes up the same strain, and exhorts the prince to strive earnestly against the sins which do 'most easily beset him,' and especially to be on his guard against covetousness; to perform promptly what he has promised; to beware of wasting his money on fools and flatterers; to exercise strict self-control,

'For wha himself can nocht guide nor advance,
 Why should ane province do on him depend;'

to love God above every earthly thing; and to pray that He would grant him grace in the days of his youth, to rule well his subjects in peace and honour, to the end of his life.

'And since thou stands in so tender age,
 That Nature to thee yet wisdom denies,
 Therefore submit thee to thy Counsel sage,
 And in all ways work as they devise;
 But above all keep thee fra Covetice;
 To princely honour if thou would pretend,
 Be liberal, then shall thy fame uprise,
 And win thee honour to thy life's end.'

'In that thou gives, deliver when thou hechtis §
 And suffer nocht thy hand thy hecht delay;
 For then thy hecht and thy deliverance fechtis ¶
 Far better were, thy hecht had been away.
 He owes me nocht that says me shortly nay,
 But he that hechts, and causes me attend,
 Syne gives me nocht, I may him repute ay,
 Ane untrue debtor to my life's end.'

'Better is gout in feet nor ¶ cramp in hands:
 The fault of feet with horse thou may support;
 But when thy hands are bounden in with bands,
 Na surrigeon may cure them, nor comfort;'

* Speak or write satirically.

† Sibbald's *Scottish Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 39.

§ Promisest.
 ¶ Fights. Thy promise and thy performance are a variance.

¶ Than.

But thou them open patent as a port,
And freely give sic guides as God thee send;
Then may they mend within ane season short,
And win the honour to thy life's end.

'Dread God; do counsel; of thy larges leill
Reward gude deeds; punish all wrang and vice;
See that thy saw* be sicker† as thy seill;
Fleme‡ fraud, and be defender of justice;
Honour all time thy noble genetryce;§
Obey the kirk; if thou does miss,|| amend;
So shall thou win ane place in paradyce,
And make on earth an honourable end.'

Another of these poems, from its biting satire, was probably written by Stewart of Lorne, whose satirical talents are commemorated by Lindsay. It is entitled 'Largess, largess hay, Largess of this New-Year day,' and passes a sarcastic eulogy upon the liberality of the king and his ministers, the chancellor, Archibald, Earl of Angus, husband of the queen dowager, the secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, the treasurer, Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the comptroller, Sir James Colvill, the bishop of Galloway, and the young abbot of Holyrood, brother of the Earl of Angus. First came the king, head of the clan Stewart, and to show his generosity secretly slipped into the hand of the poet—a couple of shillings.

'First largess of the king my chief,
Who came as quiet as a thief,
And in my hand slid shillings tway,
To put his largness to the preif,¶
For largess of his New-Year day.'

The officers of the court to whom the poet presented his ballad, as in duty bound, followed the example of their sovereign. The abbot gave him—nothing.

'The secretar baith war** and wise,
Hecht me ane cast of his office;
And for to read my bill alsway,
He said for him that might suffice,
For largess of this New-Year day.'

'The treasurer and comptrollar,
They bade me come, I wat nocht wha,
And they should gar,†† I wat nocht wha,
Give me, I wat nocht wat, full fair,
For largess of this New-Year day.'

The poet then proceeds to anathematize the keen frost which had so benumbed the fingers of the courtiers that they were unable to draw their purses; and concludes with an encomium on the Earl of Bothwell, and Margaret the queen dowager, whose absence from the court he feelingly laments.‡‡ In all these three poems James V. is represented as inclined to avarice even in his early years. The truth of the charge is virtually admitted by Buchanan, who, however, offers this apology for the prince, that 'he was the more avaricious of money, as when he was under ago he had been educated with the greatest parsimony; and when he became his own master he entered into an empty house, for the whole furniture having been carried

off, he had every part of his palace to furnish anew; the regal patrimony was spent by his curators for purposes of which he exceedingly disapproved.'

Besides these pieces, and another, entitled 'Of Hap at Court,' which must have been written by one or other of the authors referred to, there is an unpublished poem, entitled the 'Vision of Dame Veritie,' by William Stewart, which is calculated to give a high idea of the talents of the author. The poet in his sleep sees a vision of 'Lady Veritie,' whom he humbly entreats to inform him when the kingdom of Scotland is likely to be at peace. Her answer conveys a powerful picture of the anarchy which prevailed in that country during the minority of James V.

'Then said this bird of beauty maist benign,
Soon thou shalt have solution sufficient.
When thir* bairns are banished fra your king,
Fra counsel, session, and parliament,
Of whom the name is shortly subsequent,
I shall declare duly with diligence,
Or I depart forth of this place present,
And thou thereto shall give thy audience.

'First wilful Wrang in ane widdy† maun wae,
And hid Hatred be hangit by the head,
And Young Counsel that does you all deceive,
And Singular‡ Profit stealing of the stead;
Dissimlance that does your laws lead,
Flattery and Falschood that your fame has fylit,§
And Ignorance be put to beg their bread,
And all their kin out of the court exilit.

'Than Treason man be tyrvit|| to ane tree,
And Murther merkit¶ for his grit mischelf,
And the foul fiend that ye call Simonè,
Mann plainly be deprived without reprais.**
Till this be done ye sall have no relief,
Bnt-schameful slaughter, dearth, and indigens;
And tak this for thy answer into brief,
Whilk, I thee pray, present unto thy prince.

'For all this sort with shame maun be exilit,
Or than demanit†† as I have deysit,
And other persons in their places stylit;
The which, since Flodden Field, has been despyit
In this countrie, and in all others prysit;
Whose names I shall cause thee for to know,
That thou may sleep therewith and be advisit,
Synè baith the sorts to thy soverane schaw.

'First Justice, Prudence, Force, and Temperance,
With Commonweill and auld Experience,
Concord, Correction, Cunning, and Constance,
Love, Lawty,‡‡ Science, and Obedience,
Gude Conscience, Trnth, and als§§ Intelligence,
Mercy, Messour,||| Faith, Hope, and Charity.—
These in his court maun mak their residence,
Or ye get plenty and prosperity.

'This being said, this Lady lumnous,
Fra my presence her person did depairt;
And I awakit, and suddenly arose,
Synè tuk my pen and put all in report,
As ye have heard.—Therefore I you exhort,
My soverane lord, unto this tale attend,
And you to serve, seek suddenly this sort,
Since veritie this counsel to you send.'

* These.
† A halter made of withes or twigs, the gallows.
‡ Selfish. § Stained. ¶ Tied up.
§ Fined. ** Reprive. *** Condemned.
†† Loyalty. §§ Also. || Moderation.

* Saying, word. † Snre.
‡ Banish, drive away. § Ancestors. || Amiss.
¶ Prof. ** Cautious, wary. †† Make, compel.
‡‡ Sibbald's Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 41.

It is deeply to be regretted that the life of the author of these vigorous lines should be an entire blank in our national literature.

Archdeacon Sir David Lindsay, in the poem Bellenden, already quoted, after enumerating 'the poets auld,' who had written—

'in style heroical,
In brief, subtle terms rhetorical,
Of every matter, tragedy, and storie,
Sa ornatie to their high laud and glorie.'

proceeds to speak of a new candidate for fame, who bid fair to outstrip all his predecessors,

'But now of late is start up hastilie,
Ane cunning clerk who writeth craftilie,
Ane plant* of poets called Bellendyne,
Whose ornate warks my wit cau nocht defyne;
Get he into the court auctoritie,†
He will precell; Quintyne and Kennedie.'

The author referred to, in these encomiastic lines, was John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, the translator of Hector Boece's History of Scotland, and of the first five books of Livy. He appears to have received an unusually liberal education; and as he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Sorbonne, it has been supposed that he had pursued a regular course of study in the University of Paris.‡ His poetical talents attracted the notice of the Scottish court, and he was appointed 'Clerk of the Accounts' to the youthful prince James V.; but in consequence of the state revolution which took place in 1524, he was dismissed from his office, along with Sir David Lindsay and the other personal attendants of the king. Like his brother poet, however, we find him afterwards enjoying the friendship of his sovereign, at whose request he undertook the translation both of the Chronicles of Boece and of the first five books of Livy. Into the former of these works he has introduced two poems of considerable length, entitled 'The Proheme of the Cosmographè and the Proheme of the History,' which bear internal evidence of having been composed with a view to the instruction of the young monarch. The following quotation from the speech of Virtue, in the Proheme of the Cosmographè, may be taken as a specimen of the poetical abilities of this writer:—

'As carvel§ tycht fast tending thro' the sea,
Leaves na prent among the wallis¶ hie;
As bird swift, with moony busy plume,
Pierces the air and wait nocht where they flee;
So like our life without activitè,
Gives na fruit howbeit ane shadow blume.
Wha does their life into this earth consume
Without vertue their fame and memorie
Shall vanish sooner than the reeky** fume.

'As water purges and makes bodies fair,
As fire by nature ascends in the aire,
And purifies with heats vehement;

As flowers does smell; as fruit is nurisare;
As precious balm reverts things sare,*
And makes them of rot impatient;
As spice maist sweet; as rose maist redolent.
As star of day by moving circulare,
Chases the night with beams resplendent;

'Sic like my wark perfites every wycht;
In fervent love of most excellent lycht,
And makes man into this earth but† peer;
And does the soul fra all corruption dycht.‡
With odour dulee, and makes it more brycht
Than Dian full, or yet Apollo clear;
Synic raises it unto the highest sphere,
Immortally to shine in God's sycht,
As chosen spouse and creature most dear.§

'Of the compositions of a writer, who discovers so fine a vein of poetry,' says Dr. Irving, 'it cannot but be regretted that so inconsiderable a portion has been preserved. His poems are the effusion of an excursive fancy and a cultivated taste. He has been extolled as a master of every branch of divine and human learning; and it is at least apparent that his literature was such as his cotermporaries did not very frequently surpass.¶

Bellenden was a strenuous opponent of the Reformation, and died while on a visit to Rome in the year 1550.

Among the poetical writers of this age a conspicuous place is due to the Scotch James the Fifth. king himself, James V., who was not only the patron and friend of poets, but if we may credit the testimony of his contemporaries, was the author of many pieces displaying poetical talents of no mean order. Sir David Lindsay speaks of the 'ornate meter' of the royal bard, and styles him 'of flowing rhetorick the flower.' Bellenden also, in the prologue to his translation of Livy, addressed to the king, says,

'Ye my sovereign—
Write in ornate style poetical,
Quick flowing verse of rhetoric colours,
Sa freshly springing in your lusty flowers,
To the great comfort of all true Scottismen.'

And in the 'Proheme of the Cosmographic,' he makes the allegorical personage 'Delight' thus address the king—

'Maist valiant knycht, in deeds amorous,
And lustiest that ever nature wrought,
Who in the flower of youth mellifluous,
With notis sweet and sang melodious,
Awalks here among the flowers soft;
Thou has na game but in thy merry thocht.¶¶

Drummond of Hawthornden also informs us that 'James V. was naturally given to poesie, and many of his works yet extant testifie.'** The greater part of the poems thus highly eulogized have unfortunately perished; but even the scanty remains of his poetical pieces which have survived

* Flower. † Authority.
§ Irving's Lives, vol. ii. p. 121. ‡ Exceel.
¶ Wassa. †† Ship.

** Smoky.

• Sore. † Without. ‡ Cleanse.
§ Sibbald's Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 56.
¶ Irving's Lives, vol. ii. p. 127.
¶¶ Sibbald's Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 52.
** History, p. 346.

to the present day, are sufficient to show, that the praise which Lindsay and Bellenden bestowed upon this accomplished prince was not overstrained. Bishop Gibson and various other writers have attributed to James V. the authorship of 'Christ's Kirk on the Green;' but in the Bannatyne MS. this poem is ascribed to his accomplished ancestor James I.; and the weight of evidence appears to preponderate in favour of that opinion.*

It is well known that James was in the habit of traversing the country in disguise, and mingling much with the common people, for the purpose of seeing that justice was impartially administered, and sometimes for the less justifiable motive of gallantry. Tradition has preserved many curious anecdotes respecting the adventures which befel this popular monarch while roaming through his kingdom in various disguises. It is related that on one occasion being "benighted after hunting, he entered a cottage situated in the midst of a moor, at the foot of the Ochil hills, near Alloa, where, known only as a stranger who had lost his way, he was kindly received. To regale their unexpected guest, the gudeman desired the gudewife to fetch the hen that roosted nearest the cock, (which is always the plumpest,) for the stranger's supper. The king, highly pleased with his night's lodging and hospitable entertainment, told mine host at parting that he should be glad to return his civility, and requested that the first time he came to Stirling he would call at the Castle, and inquire for the gudeman of Ballangeich. Donaldson, the king's landlord, did not fail to comply with this injunction, when his astonishment at finding the royal rank of his guest, afforded no small amusement to the merry monarch and his courtiers; whilst, to carry on the pleasantry, he was thenceforth designated by James with the title of 'King of the Moors,' which name and designation have descended from father to son ever since, and they have continued in possession of the identical spot, the property of the Earl of Mar, till very lately, when this nobleman, with reluctance, turned out the descendant and representative of the King of the Moors, on account of his Majesty's invincible indolence, and great dislike to reform or innovation of any kind, although, from the spirited example of his neighbour tenants on the same estate, he was convinced similar exertion would promote his advantage."†

A similar story is told of James, in the genealogical work of Buchanan of Auchmar, upon Scottish surnames: "This John Buchanan of Auchmar and Arnpryor was afterwards termed King of Kippen,‡ upon the following account: King James V., a very sociable, debonaire prince, residing at Stirling, in Buchanan of Arnpryor's time, carriers were very frequently passing along the common road, being near Arnpryor's house, with necessaries for the use

of the king's family; and he, having some extraordinary occasion, ordered one of these carriers to leave his load at his house, and he would pay him for it; which the carrier refused to do, telling him he was the king's carrier, and his load for his Majesty's use; to which Arnpryor seemed to have small regard, compelling the carrier, in the end, to leave his load; telling him, if King James was King of Scotland, he was King of Kippen, so that it was reasonable he should share with his neighbour king in some of these loads, so frequently carried that road. The carrier representing this usage, and telling this story, as Arnpryor spoke it, to some of the king's servants, it came at length to his Majesty's ears, who, shortly thereafter, with a few attendants, came to visit his neighbour king, who was in the mean time at dinner. King James having sent a servant to demand access, was denied the same by a tall fellow with a battle-axe, who stood porter at the gate, telling him there could be no access till dinner was over. This answer not satisfying the king, he sent to demand access a second time; upon which he was desired by the porter to desist, otherwise he would find cause to repent his rudeness. His Majesty finding this method would not do, desired the porter to tell his master that the gudeman of Ballangeich desired to speak with the King of Kippen. The porter telling Arnpryor so much, he, in all humble manner, came and received the king, and having entertained him with much sumptuousness and jollity, became so agreeable to King James, that he allowed him to take so much of any provision he found carrying that road as he had occasion for; and seeing he made the first visit, desired Arnpryor in a few days to return him a second to Stirling, which he performed, and continued in very much favour with the king, always thereafter being termed King of Kippen while he lived."*

'The readers of Ariosto,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'must give credit for the amiable features with which James is represented, since he is generally considered as the prototype of Zerbino, the most interesting hero of the Orlando Furioso.'

"Another adventure, which had nearly cost James his life, is said to have taken place at the village of Crauon, near Edinburgh, where he had rendered his addresses acceptable to a pretty girl of the lower rank. Four or five persons, whether relations or lovers of his mistress is uncertain, beset the disguised monarch, as he returned from his rendezvous. Naturally gallant, and an admirable master of his weapon, the king took post on the high and narrow bridge over the Almond river and defended himself bravely with his sword. A peasant, who was thrashing in a neighbouring barn, came out upon the noise, and, whether moved by compassion or by natural gallantry, took the weaker side, and laid about with his flail so effectually, as to disperse the assailants well thrashed, even according to the letter. He then conducted the king into his barn, where his guest requested

* See above, p. 303.

† Statistical Account of Scotland—Alloa.

‡ A small district of Perthshire.

* Buchanan's Essay upon the Family of Buchanan, p. 74.

a basin and a towel to remove the stains of the broil. This being procured with difficulty, James employed himself in learning what was the summit of his deliverer's earthly wishes, and found that they were bounded by the desire of possessing, in property, the farm of Braehead, upon which he laboured as a bondsman. The lands chanced to belong to the crown; and James directed him to come to the palace of Holyrood, and inquire for the Guidman (i.e. farmer) of Ballangeich, a name by which he was known in his excursions, and which answered to the Il Bondocani of Haroun Alrashid. He presented himself accordingly, and found, with due astonishment, that he had saved his monarch's life, and that he was to be gratified with a crown charter of the lands of Braehead, under the service of presenting a ewer, basin, and towel, for the king to wash his hands, when he shall happen to pass the bridge of Cramond. This person was ancestor of the Howisons of Braehead in Mid-Lothian, a respectable family, who continue to hold the lands (now passed into the female line) under the same tenure."

The two excellent ballads ascribed to James, and entitled 'The Gaberlunzie Man,' and 'We'll gae nae mair a roving,' are said to have been founded upon his adventures when travelling in the disguise of a beggar. They display poetical talent of a very high order, and are equal to anything of the kind in the Scottish language. We give a few stanzas of 'The Gaberlunzie Man,'† which an eminent critic has pronounced in point of humour superior to anything of Dunbar's or of Lindsay's.

'The pawky auld carle cam o'er the lee,‡
Wi' mony gude o'ens and days to me,
Saying gude-wife for your courtesey
Will ye lodge a silly auld man.

'The night was cauld,§ the carle was wat,||
And down ayont the ingle¶ he sat,
My daughters shoulders he gan to clap,
And oadgily** ranted and sang.

'O wow, quoth he, were I as free
As first when I saw this countrie,
How blith and merry would I be,
And I would ne'er think lang.

'He grew canty,†† and she grew fain,‡‡
Her little did her auld minny§§ ken,
What these steel || twa thegither were saying,
When wooing they were sae thrang,¶¶

The result of the adventure—the elopement of the daughter with the Gaberlunzie—the picture of the auld wife's alarm when she found that the beggar had decamped, lest some of her gear should have walked away with him, and her satisfaction on finding all safe, are given with inimitable humour.

* Lady of the Lake, Appendix, p. 350. W. Howison Cranford, Esq., of Braehead and Craunfurland, discharged this duty at the banquet given to King George IV. in the Parliament House, at Edinburgh, in 1822.

† A strolling beggar. ‡ Links, downs. § Cold.
|| Wet. ¶ Fire. ** Merrily. †† Cheerful.
‡‡ Fond. §§ Mother. ||| Sly. ¶¶ Busy.

'Upon the morn the auld wife raise,
And at her leisure put on her claes,*
Synne to the servants bed she gaes
To spier† for the silly puir man.

'She gaed to the bed whar the beggar lay,
The strae‡ was cauld, he was away,
She clapped her hands, cried dulefu' day!
For some of our gear will be gane.

'Some ran to coffers, and some to kists,§
But nought was stown|| that could be miss't
She danced her lane,¶ cried praise be blest,
I have lodged a leil** puir man.

'Since naething's awa as we can learn,
The kirm's†† to kirm, and milk to earn,‡‡
Gae but§§ the house lass, and waken my bairn,
And bid her come quickly ben.||||

The effect of the discovery of the daughter's elopement is very graphically described:—

'O fy! gar ride, and fy gar rin,
And haste ye find these traitors again,
For she's be burnt, and he's be slain,
The wearyfu' gaberlunzie-man.

'Some rode upo' horse, some ran aft,
The wife was wud ¶¶ and out of her wit,
She could na gang, nor yet could she sit,
But aye she curs'd and she bann'd.'

The poem concludes with a description of the shifts by which the Gaberlunzie of that period eked out a living:—

'Wi' cauk, and keel, I'll win your bread,
And spindles and whorles for them wha need,
Whilk is a gentle trade indeed,
To carry the gaberlunzie on.

'I'll bow my leg, and crook my knee,
An' draw a black clout o'er my e'e,
A cripple, or blind, they will ca' me,
While we shall be merry, and sing.'

A beautiful little poem, entitled 'The Mourning Maiden,' belongs to this period. Its author is unknown, but it must have been written before the middle of the sixteenth century, as the first verse of it is quoted in the 'Complaint of Scotland,' which was published in the year 1549. 'This piece,' says Pinkerton, 'for the age in which it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry.'

An unpublished poem entitled 'Duncan Laider, or Maegregor's Testament,' was communicated by Pennant to Warton, who gives some quotations from it in his History of English Poetry,*** and represents it as containing strokes of satirical humour not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lindsay. The date of its composition is uncertain, but it was probably written during the reign of James

* Clothes. † Inquire. ‡ Straw.
§ Chests. || Stolen. ¶ Alone.
** Honest. †† Churn.
‡‡ To curdle.
§§ But, the outer apartment of the house.
||| Ben, the inner. ¶¶ Distracted.
*** Vol. ii. Section 82.

V., as it mentions the death of James IV., and reprobrates in strong terms the ruinous policy and general corruption of public manners which prevailed in Scotland during the minority of his successor. The testator, by way of preface to his testament, describes his own character, and mode of life, in the following vigorous lines.

' My maister household was heich • Oppressioun,
Reif† my steward, that cairit of na wrang; †
Murder, Slaughter, aye of ane profession,
My cubiculars§ have been these years lang;
Reset, that oft took in mony ane fang, ||
Was porter to the yettis¶ to open wide;
And Covetice was chamberlain at all tide,

' Conspiracie, Envy, and False Report,
Were my prime Counsellouris, loved and deare;
Then Robberie, the people to extort,
And common Theft took on them sa the steir,**
That Treuth in my presence durst not apper,
For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid, ††
And Theft brocht Lantie; † finallie to deid.

' Oppressioun cleikit§§ Gude Rule by the hair,
And suddainlie in ane prison him flang;
And Crueltie cast Pitie ou'r the stair,
While Innocence was murdered in that thrang, ||||
Then Falsheid said, he maid my house richt strang,
And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir,
And bad me neither God nor man to fear.'

' At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests:—

' To my CURATE, Negligence I resigne,
Therewith his parochinaris¶¶ to teche;
Ane other gift I leave him as condigne,***
Sloth and Ignorance seldom for to preche:
The sauls he commits for to bleiche†††
In purgatory, till they be washen clene,
Pure religion thereby to sustene.

' To the VICAR, I leave Diligence and Care
To tak the upmost clait and the kirk cow,
Mair than to put the corpse in sepulture;
Have poor wad six gryis and ane sow, †††
He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe; §§§
His thoct is mair upon the pasche fynes, |||||
Nor the sauls in purgatory that pynes.

' Oppressioun, the PARSON I leave until,
Poor men's corn to hald upon the rig,
Until he get the teind alhai† at his will, ¶¶¶
Suppis the bairns their bread suld go this,****
His purpois is na kirks for to big; ††††

* High. † Robbery. ‡ Serupled to do no wrong.
§ Pages of the bed-chamber. || Many a booty.
¶ Gates. ** Management. †† Feud.
‡‡ Loyalty, §§ Caught. |||| Crowd.
¶¶ Parishioners. *** Good.
††† To be bleached, whitened, or purified.
†††† If the poor have six pigs and one sow.
§§§ Full. ||||| Easter offerings.
¶¶¶ Ho keeps the corn of the poor upon the ridge till
e gets the tith-e-all at his will.
**** Beg. †††† Build.

So fair an barn-tyme • God has him send'n,
This seven years the quair; will be unamendin.

' I leave unto the DEAN, Dignite, bat fall;
With greit attendance which he sall not miss,
Fra adulteraris to tak the buttock-mall; §
Gif ane man to ane maiden gif ane kiss,
Get he not gear, they sall not come to bliss;
His winning is mair throw fornicatioun,
Spending it sure with siclike occupatioun.

' I leave unto the PRION, for his part,
Gluttony, him and his monks to feed,
With far better will to drink ane quart,
Nor ¶ in the Bible ane chapioure to deid;
Yet are they wise and subtle unto reid,**
Fenzies them poor, †† and has greit suffience,
And takith wealth away with greit patience.

' I leave the ABBOT, Pride and Arrogance,
With trappit mules in the court to ride; ††
Not in the closter to make residence;
It is na honour there for him to bide,
But ever for ane bishoprick provyde; §§
For weil ye wat ane poor benefice
Of ten thousand markis may not him suffice.

' To the BISHOP, his Free-will I allege, |||
Because there is na man him dars to blame;
Fra secular men he will him reple, ¶¶
And weil ye wat the pope is far fra hame:
To preach the gospel he thinks schame,
(Suppose some time it was his profession)
Rather nor for to sit upon the session.***

' I leave my Flattery, and Falso Dissembling,
Unto the FRAIRS, they sa weil can fleiche, †††
With mair profit thro' ane marriage-making,
Nor all the Lentrane in the kirk to preiche; †††
They gloiss the scripture, ever when they teache,
More in intent the auditoris to please,
Nor the true word of God for to appeale §§§

' Thir gifts that dame Nature has me lent,
I have dispoit here as ye may see:
It never was, nor yet is, my intent
That true kirkmen get aucht belongis to me. †††
But that haulis ¶¶¶ Huredome and Harlotrie,
Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
My executouris I mak them at this tyde.

' Adew! all friends till after that we meit,
I cannot tell you where, nor in what place;
But as the Lord disposis for my spreit,
Where is the well of mercy and of grace,
That I may stand befor his godlie face:
Unto the devill i leave my sinnis all,
Fra him they came, to him again they fall.'

The few prose writers who flourished at this period will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

* Harvest.
† Choir. The more tithes he receives, the less willing is
he to lay out any part of it in repairing the church.
‡ Without fail. § A fine for adultery.
¶ If he does not get his fine they will not be saved.
¶¶ Than. ** Death. †† Feign themselves poor.
‡‡ To ride on a mule with rich trappings.
§§ Look out. || Give, assist.
¶¶¶ Order trial in his own court.
*** He had rather sit in parliament.
††† Flatter, wheedle.
†††† Who get more profit by making one match than by
preaching a whole Lent.
§§§ Explain.
||| A true churchman, a Christian on the reformed
plan, shall never get any thing belonging to me.
¶¶¶ Whole.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

SCOTLAND appears to have made considerable progress in civilization during the vigorous reign of James IV. The efforts of this active and energetic monarch were successfully directed to the introduction of law and order into every part of his dominions—the impartial administration of justice—the repression and punishment of crime, and the encouragement of the agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, and fisheries of his kingdom.* Under his firm, yet popular sway, the turbulent districts of the Highlands and Isles were reduced to a state of comparative tranquillity, the Border marauders were brought to punishment, and the common people, relieved, to some extent, from the oppression of the nobles, and trusting to the protection of the law, began to devote their energies to peaceful and industrious pursuits. This fair prospect, however, was suddenly overcast by the untimely death of the king at Flodden, and the country was once more thrown back into a state of anarchy. The desolating war with England, the nefarious policy of Henry VIII. in fomenting disputes among the Scottish nobles, the bitter feuds between the rival factions who struggled for the mastery, all combined to aggravate the miseries of the people, and to render the kingdom the scene of almost incessant turmoil, misrule, and disorder. The continued inroads of the English marauders reduced the Border districts to the state of a desert. Lord Dacre, in a letter to the English Council, 17th May, 1514, vindicating himself from the unmerited accusation, that he had done no great harm

to the Scots, says, “The water of the English. Liddell being twelve miles in length, within the Middle March of Scotland, whereupon was one hundred ploughs; the water of Ladder, in the same Marches, being six miles in length, whereupon was forty ploughs; the two towns of Carlanriggs, with the demaynes of the same, whereupon was forty ploughs; the water of Euse being eight miles in length, whereupon was seven ploughs, the head of the water of Teviot, from Branxholm up unto Euse Doors, being eight miles in length, whereupon was four ploughs; the water of Borthwick, being in length eight miles, whereupon was one hundred ploughs, and the water of Ale fro Askrige to Elmartour, whereupon was fifty ploughs, lies all and every of them waste now, and no corn sown upon none of the said grounds. And upon the West Marches of Scotland I have burnt and destroyed the townships of Annan, Dronoch, Dronochwood, Tordoff,” &c., adding thirty other townships, “with the water of Esk, from Stabl Gorton down to Canonby, which is six miles in length; where as there was in all times past four hundred ploughs and above, they are now clearly

* *Supra*, pp. 385, 389, 390, 393, 394.

wasted, and no man dwelling in any of them at this day, save only in the towns of Annan, Steple, and Walghopp.” “And so,” he adds with extreme complacency, “I shall continue my service with diligence, from time to time, for the most annoyance of the Scots.”*

Whilst such was the miserable condition of the Borders, the interior of the country exhibited an equally melancholy picture. “I assure you” says Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, in a letter to a friend in England, written in 1515, “the people of this realm are so oppressed, for lack of justice, by thieves, robbery, and other extortions, that they would be glad to live under the Great Turk to have justice.”† The country still continued to be torn asunder by the

Distracted state of the country. sanguinary and interminable feuds of the barons, who trampled on all law and order, and robbed and oppressed the people with impunity. The criminal records of the period show that murders, robberies, fire-raising, and other crimes of a similar kind, were of almost daily occurrence in every part of the kingdom, and that the very persons who were appointed to administer justice to the lieges were, in many cases, the most flagrant violators of the laws, and the worst oppressors of the poor. We find, for example, that on the 3rd of March, 1513, Patrick Agnew, the Sheriff of Wigtown, was permitted to compound for what is termed ‘common oppression’ done to a number of his poor neighbours, in plundering them of their property and compelling them to till his lands. Nothing seems to have come amiss to this worthy official. Two he

robbed of their swine, a third he deprived of an ox, a fourth he ‘harried’ of ten bolls of barley, from a fifth he carried off a young horse. He was also ‘art and part’ in the ‘stouthreif’ of four cows from Thomas Cunyngnam, in Carrik, and in ‘the convocation of the lieges with warlike arms, contrary to law,’ and in ‘the oppression done to Sir David Kennedy coming to Leswalt, and hindering him from holding his court.’ On another occasion this exemplary dispenser of the law was convicted and fined five marks for taking a bribe to acquit a murderer.§ What a melancholy picture does it afford of the state of society at this period, to find the hereditary judge and highest legal functionary in the district thus vying with the most notorious Border freebooters in the open violation of the law, of which he was the appointed guardian. At the same sitting of the Justiciary Court, Nevil Agnew, a confederate, and probably a relative of the Sheriff, was allowed to compound for ‘art and part of the forethought, felony, and oppression done to Archibald M’Culloch, of Ardwel, an William Adair, of Kingate’; for the ‘stouthreif of horse from John M’Nesche’; for ‘the stouthreif of an ox from Gilbert Adair’; for ‘the stouthreif of a

* Pinkerton’s History, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 462.

† *Ibid.* p. 464.

‡ Theft, plunder.

§ Piteairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 63.

ox from John M'Culloch'; for the 'oppression done to Sir David Kennedy, and for the breaking of the king's protection upon him'; for 'the stouthrief of certain tymmer (timber) of two houses, with the windows and doors thereof'; for 'the stouthrief of an ox from Thomas Bell'; and for 'common oppression of the lieges, and specially of the tenants of Leswalt.' Other two accomplices of the sheriff, named Patrick Agnew and George Crukshank, produced at the same time 'a remission for the slaughter of Patrick and Thomas M'Ke'; for 'the stouthrief of seven cows, with their calves, from John M'Ke, of Myrtoune,' and for the mutilation of the luckless sufferers. The worthy sheriff became most appropriately the surety for the whole of these villains.*

The unfortunate tenant of Myrtoune appears to have been plundered also of certain oxen, horses, and sheep, as well as of a quantity of barley and oats, by two brigands, bearing the uncouth names of Simon Makeristin and Dominick M'Clellanc.† These 'masterful' robbers were, in all proba-

Prevalence of robbery and theft. bility, chiefs of some of the turbulent Galloway septs, and must have had a considerable body of retainers, for we find that among other crimes they were permitted to compound for 'oppression done to the community of Wigtoun, in taking the best merchandise coming in ships to the said burgh, and keeping thereof in their cellars, and in forcibly collecting the profits of the town and burrow lands.‡ The Galwegian plunderers appear to have spared no rank or condition, and to have levied their contributions with the utmost impartiality from the clergy and the laity. Even their lord bishop himself was not exempt from their depredations, for we find that Patrick Waus, Vause, or Vans was allowed to compound for the theft of six silver 'tasses,' or drinking cups, from that prelate, and for the oppression done to him in houghing or hamstringing his oxen.§ It was said of the Liddesdale thieves that nothing came amiss to them which was not too hot or too heavy. But the marauders of Galloway seem to have improved upon the practice even of the experienced Borderers, for in the criminal records of this period various cases are mentioned in which they are charged with having stolen, not only the crops and the cattle, but the very land itself. The above mentioned Patrick Waus, for example, is found guilty of an act of oppression done to John M'Gilwyan in Whithern, 'in the detention of his croft|| for the space of twelve years;' and a certain Andrew Dunbar was allowed to compound for forcibly retaining possession, for four years, of a farm belonging to Walter M'Culloch's mother, destroying her crops and stock, consisting of six score bolls of barley and oats, fifteen score of sheep, and forty cows and 'queys;' for taking the horses of the said Walter, and riding them to kirk and market when he pleased, and killing one

of them; for the stouthrief of the 'tymmer' of two of his houses, and for various other acts of oppression and violence done to him and his servants.* The criminal records testify that similar outrages were committed in all parts of the country, and in not a few cases by persons of the highest rank. We find, for example, that Hugh, High rank of the Lord Somerville, was accused of criminals

oppressing John Tweeddale in Carnwarth, and robbing him of all his horses, mares, oxen, cows, and crops, with all his goods and utensils. George Ramsay of Clatto, John Betoun of Balfour, James Betoun of Melgoun, John Graham of Claverhouse, and others, found caution to 'underlie the law at the next Justiciaire of Fife, for convocation of the lieges, to the number of eighty persons,' and for a violent assault on John, Lord Lindsay, Sheriff of Fife, in the execution of his office, and breaking up the doors of the Tolbooth of Cupar, in which he was holding his court.‡ Three of the chiefs of the clan Grant were charged with having assisted the Mackintoshes in besieging and burning the house of Davy in Strathavern, and the houses and buildings of the tenants of Dyke, Ardrossere, and other lands; plundering the estates of cattle and goods to the value of twelve thousand pounds, and slaughtering men, women, and children, to the number of twenty persons. William Douglas of Bone-Jedburgh, Thomas Macdowell of Makerstoun, and John Moll of that ilk, three Teviotdale barons of large possessions, were compelled to give security that they would 'underlie' the law for art and part of the oppression and hame-sucken done to Mr. Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and his servants, under silence of night; and Nicholas Lermonthe of Floors, and Andrew his brother, 'having obtained a respite,' found caution to satisfy the parties, for their being art and part of the oppression done to Sibilla Corsby and James Gray, scourging them and burning their house;—*Item*, for theftuously breaking a house in the town of Smallholm, and stealing goods therefrom;—*Item*, for oppression done to John Edmonstoune of that ilk, keeping his five mark lands of Ednam hurting for nine years, and cruelly wounding and hurting his servants;—*Item*, for stouthrief and concealment of eighty sheep, taken from the poor tenants on the lands of Raeburn.§ The last three of these entries occur consecutively under the date of May, 1536. The property of the king does not appear to have been more secure from depredation than that of his subjects, for we not only find mention made of the theft of his majesty's sheep by a Border reiver, bearing the appropriate name of Symon Armstrong, but, in 1526, the artillery and certain mangonels, 'coming from the castle of Stirling to the king's majesty at Edinburgh, for the defence of his person,' were carried off by Robert Bruce of Airth and his brothers; and even the

* Fitzairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 92.

† *Ibid.* p. 93.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* p. 94.

|| A piece of cultivated land adjoining to the dwelling-house.

* Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 96.

† *Ibid.* p. 136.

‡ An assault upon a person in his own dwelling.

§ Criminal Trials, vol. . pp. 175, 176.

royal crown appears to have been stolen about the same time from the crown-room in the palace of Holyrood.*

As might have been expected, offences both against person and property were especially numerous on the Borders, and homicide, fire-raising, 'forethought (premeditated) felony and stouthrief; treasonable inter-communing with English thieves, 'hereschip,'† oppression, resetting thieves and traitors, wounding, mutilation, and other kindred crimes seem to have been of almost daily occurrence throughout these lawless districts. As a specimen of the wholesale depredations carried on by these irreclaimable marauders, we may give the charge brought against Alexander Turnbull, son of the laird of Dryden, for treasonably bringing in the thieves and traitors of Levin† upon Thomas Myddilmas in Floro, and assisting them in plundering his property, and in the slaughter of his wife and two sons. Among the articles carried off by this gang, mention is made of eleven horses and mares, price one hundred marks; forty-four oxen and cows, valued at eighty-eight pounds; two suits of mail worth twenty pounds; forty pounds in gold and silver money; six silver spoons, worth six marks; a 'great dozen' of tin or pewter flagons or vessels, price seven pounds; six men's gowns, price eight pounds; eleven women's kirtles, price twenty-two pounds; twelve scarfs or veils, price twelve pounds; five shields or targets, price ten pounds; five hand-bows, price fifty shillings; six lanecs, six halberts or poleaxes, price two pounds ten shillings; two gold rings, price five pounds; three 'tykes' of feather-beds, price five pounds; twenty-two pairs of linen sheets, price eleven pounds; twenty-two blankets or worsted coverlets, price ten pounds; sixteen sheets, price six pounds; twenty hair-pins or bodkins, price twenty shillings; five swords, price five pounds; one daker‡ of tanned hides, price three pounds; riding greaves or boots and other goods, valued at five pounds; five Flanders caps, worth two pounds ten shillings; two webs of grey worsted cloth, price ten pounds; three webs of linen cloth, price three pounds; five boxes, price two pounds ten shillings; four coffers, valued at twenty-six shillings and eightpence; three elms of English cloth, worth three pounds; and three handkerchiefs, price six shillings.‡ Thomas Myddilmas, thus ruthlessly plundered and maltreated, must evidently have been a person of considerable wealth; and the specification of the stolen goods gives us an interesting glimpse of the dress and manners of the Border lairds of that period. The 'stouthrief' of horses, cows, and sheep is the charge usually brought

against the Border freebooters, but nothing seems to have come amiss to them, and one peculiarly needy or greedy marauder, named James Turnbull, brother of the laird of Whitehope, was actually convicted of carrying off the iron windows, doors, and 'crukis' of the tower of Howpasley.* Even sacrilege had no terrors for the Borderers, for we learn that the brother of the vicar of Innerleithen was robbed by David Tait of a golden signet, a gold ring, two silver girdles or zones, nine veils or scarfs of lawn, 'holland claiith,' and other goods, to the value of twenty pounds, taken out of the kirk of Innerleithen;† and that the kirk of Jedburgh was plundered of certain silk cushions, sheets, linen cloths, 'fustiane,' scarfs or surplices and other clothes, by Robert Rutherford of Todlaw.‡

One portion of the Register of the Justiciare of Jedburgh is almost exclusively devoted to an account of the remarkable activity of the family of the Olivers of the Stryndis, who appear to have made the most of the preceding Michaelmas moon in their 'herships' and forays. Mention is made of twelve horses and mares, seventy-four oxen and cows, and a hundred and twenty-five sheep, together with two pots, a gown of Rouen tawny, a kirtle of broad red cloth, a brown gown, veils or scarfs, linen sheets, bed-sheets, shirts, a doublet, a pair of kersey galligaskins or hose, and other articles, as having been 'conveyed' away by Long John Oliver, Little John Oliver, David Oliver in Stryndis, called 'David na gude Preist,' and other 'minions of the moon,' who at the same time were charged with the 'cruel slaughter' of John Moffat, Robert Brig, and Adam Barnisfader.§ The extent to which murder, homicide, mutilation, and other deeds of violence and bloodshed prevailed at this

time, as shown by the criminal records, is perfectly appalling. Page after page is filled with the notices of such crimes as the slaughter of Sir George Farnylaw, chaplain, by Roger Langlands, and of Adam Crawford by Robert Scott of Whitechester—the burning of the place of Whitslade by Hector Lauder—the slaughter of David Henrison at the kirk of Maxton by John Paulo of Littledean and his accomplices, the Rutherfords and certain English freebooters—the 'stouthrief' of the cattle of Thomas, John, Allan, and Thomas Henrison, junior, the abduction of their persons, and their forcible detention in England for three months, till they consented to ransom themselves—the slaughter of James Rutherford by the Turnbulls at the kirk of Hawick—the burning of the place of Bafnhill, and the carrying away an immense quantity of plunder from the lands of Rutherford of Langnewton—the burning and plunder of Borthwickshiels by the Armstrongs—the violent occupation, by William Scott of Thirlestane, of the lands of Sir Patrick Crichtoun of Cranston-Riddell—the slaughter of Edward Hunter, laird of Polwood, by Gilbert Tweedie—of Sir John Mac-

* Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 133.
 † A plundering expedition.
 ‡ A district of Lancashire, then infamous for its 'Traitors' and 'Lymmaris,' who made numerous raids and burnings every year on the least protected parts of the Scottish Borders.
 § A daker of hides consists of ten skins.
 ¶ Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 20.

* Ibid. p. 23.
 † Ibid. p. 37.
 ‡ Ibid. pp. 25-30.

brair, chaplain, by Robert Grierson—of John Dundedy of that ilk by John Jardine—of the Laird of Mousewaid by Thomas Bell of Currie—of the Lairds of Dalzell and Crauchlay by Lord Maxwell and his retainers—of Robert Crichtoun, Laird of Kirkpatrick, by Douglas of Drumlanrig—of Patrick Dunbar, Laird of Corsintoun, at the kirk of Cunnock, by the Lairds of Lefnoris and Skellington and others, and of Maclellan of Bomby by James Gordon of Lochinvar, an ancestor of Lord Kenmure, Andrew Agnew, sheriff of Wigton, and other men of rank;—the burning of Branxholm and Ancrum, and the ‘herschip’ of the lands of the Scots, by the Armstrongs and Turnbills, with their accomplices the English Borderers;—‘the cruel oppression’ of John Scott, burgess of Irvine, and his wife, by Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun;—fire-raising and ‘herschip’ in Badenoch by Macleod of Lewis;—the burning of Dunskey and Ardwell by Sir Alexander Macculloch of Mertoun, the Laird of Garthland, and others;—‘oppression’ of the young Laird of Busby by James Mure, brother of the Laird of Rowallan;—‘oppression done’ to Elizabeth Rosse, Lady Cunynghamhede, and to the abbot and convent of the monastery of Kilwinning, by Robert Cunyngham;—‘oppression done’ to old Lady Home and her servants by Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun;—the burning of the place and mill of Newby, the plundering of the Laird, and the slaughter of Robert Hood and an infant of two years old, by William Carruthers;—the ‘rape or ravishment’ of Margaret Stewart, daughter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox,* by John Fleming, son to the Laird of Boghall;—the slaughter of Robert Scott of Sinton and of John Fentoun of that ilk, and the burning and ‘herschip’ of Blindhaugh, by Andrew Crossar and some English marauders;—the slaughter of Sir William Colville of Ochiltree and Richard Rutherford by George Halliburton and others,—of the Laird of Falahill by the Kers and Scotts,—of John and Patrick Nesbit ‘in the king’s palace and residence, where his highness was personally present,’ by Andrew Blacater of that ilk and Ninian Nesbit,—of John the Bruce of Airth, by William Menteith of the Kerse and his kinsmen, and of Alexander and John Noble, a chaplain called Sir Maurice, and William Gawane, ‘committed within the kirkyard of the cathedral church of Ross,’ by Hugh Rose of Kilravock and eleven others;—of the ‘burning and casting down of the place of Thurston belonging to William Wallace of Craigie, and the theft of the goods in it,’ by ‘David Hume of Wedderburn, and divers other persons to the number of a hundred;’—the burning of the Place of Ardendracht in Buchan by Alexander, Lord Gordon;—the burning of the House of Weymc, and the slaughter of David Menzies and other five persons, by Thomas Macnair;—the hamstringing of certain horses belonging to Crichtoun of Frendraucht by Herries of Terrauchty;—the

burning of the place of Frendraucht, and the slaughter of George, James, and Robert Crichtoun by William Lord Abernethy of Saltoun, and others;—the slaughter of Alexander Macfarley by the Earl of Glencairn and others;—the ‘cruel slaughter’ of Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, by Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr, and other men of rank in that district; and of Robert Campbell in Lochfergus, Alexander Kirkwood, and Patrick Wilson, by Kennedy of Bargeny, Mure of Auchindrane,† and nearly all the chiefs of the powerful house of Kennedy, including the Abbot of Crossraguel, the rector of Douglas, and other eight priests;—‘oppression, mutilation, and deforcement a messenger’ by the Prior of Pittenweem, eight canons, the rector of Muckart, Sir James Ramsay, and three other chaplains, and the parish clerk of Saling;—fire-raising and burning of a byre of the Laird of Rosyth, with sixty oxen and eleven cows, by Janet Anderson, who was condemned to be drowned, at this period the ordinary punishment of females for crimes of lesser magnitude;‡—the ‘cruel slaughter’ of the Laird of Stonebyres, by Lindsay, rector of Colbintoun,—of the Laird of Auchinhervy by the Earl of Eglintoun, of the Laird of Craigends and his servant by Lord Semple and his eldest son Sir John Semple, vicar of Erskine, and others of their kinsmen;§ of Sir John Penny, chaplain, by Lord Lyle and his son; of James Douglas, by Lord Crichtoun of Sanquhar, Lockhart of Lee, and others; of ‘Mr. Matthew Montgomery’ and other two persons, and the ‘hurting’ of John Master of Montgomery, by the Master of Glencairn;—‘the treasonable slaughter of Cornelius de Matchotema, Ducheman,’ by the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Semple, and nearly all the gentry bearing their names; and the burning by the Drummonds of the Kirk of Monivaird, ‘wherein was six score of Murrays, with their wives and childraine, who were all either burnt or slaine except one.’§ It will be observed, that in nearly the whole of these cases, and indeed of almost all the others mentioned in the records of the high court of justiciary, both the criminals and the victims belong to the upper classes of society. The offences of the ‘rascal multitude’ were probably for the most part tried in the local courts, which each baron was privileged to hold on his own estates.

A highly interesting document, entitled ‘a proclamation for regulating the proceedings of the Justice Ayre of Jedburgh,’ A.D. 1510, throws great light both on the form of procedure before the Justiciars, and on the state of the country at this period. Although apparently framed for the Ayre of Jedburgh, there seems no doubt that this proclamation was circular, and addressed to every

* Ancestor of the notorious Mure of Auchindrane, whose crimes form the subject of Sir Walter Scott’s ‘Ayrick Tragedy.’

† In cases of murder, treason, witchcraft, &c., women were beheaded or burnt at the stake, according to their rank and the aggravation of their offence, &c.

‡ Some of the subordinates engaged in this murder were executed, but, as it too often happened, the principals escaped.

§ Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 161; Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 249.

* This lady married John, second Lord Fleming, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, who was assassinated while hawking by John Tweedie of Drummelzier, November 1, 1524. She was soon divorced from him, and afterwards married Alexander Douglas of Mains.

district of Scotland. All persons were forbidden, under pain of death, to attack any others for old feud or new, on their way to the Ayre, or on their return, or during the time thereof. Strict injunctions were issued, that none but the members of the royal household, the justice, constable, marshal, sheriff, coroner, and their deputies and attendants, were to come armed, except only with knives at their belts; the cautioners for persons accused of homicide were enjoined to produce those for whom they were surety, that they might 'underlie the law:' victuals were to be brought to the market for ready money, and the sellers were forbidden to exact a higher price than had been paid for eight days before the 'coming of the King's Grace to this town' and this present Ayre,' under pain of excheat of the victuals, and punishing of the persons, sellers thereof; and 'nae lodging or stables' were to be 'set or taken by any persons, of dearer price than they were set and taken at other Justice Ayres before.'

Then follow the directions to the justices respecting the 'points of the Dittay,' about which they were to make inquiry.

In the first place, 'if they knew any treason to the king's person or the realm;—item if there be any slaughter or murder;—if there be any fire-raising or burning within the realm;—if there be any ravishing of women;—if there be any theft;—if there be any reif;†—if there be any reset of theft;—if there be any Outputtaris or Inbringaris of other men's goods;—if there be any forthocht felons or oppressoris of the King's leigis by any ways;—if there be any Resettis, supleis, or intercommonis with the King's Rebellis;—if there be any Culyouris‡ night-walkaris, or Sornaris;—if there be any Witchcraft or Sorcery usyt in the realm;—if there be any Convocation or gadering of our soverane lords lieges;—if there be any that steals rede-fish§ in forbiddin time, or smoltis in mill dams;—if there be any destroyers or peelers of green wood;—if there be any slayers of deer, by stalking within other lords' parks;—if there be any that maintains open trespassors;—if there be any that use false-metris|| measures, or weights;—if there be any that takes theft-boot;—if there be any strikers of false money;—if any person brings home pison¶ and how they use it;—if any pass into England without the King's Licence, in time of war;—if there be any goldsmith that makes false mestionne;—if there be any Leagues or Bonds made with burgh, or if any burges rides or routes with any lord or laird to landward, or if he be bundin to any laird in maurent—if any steals hawks or hounds;—if there be any breakers of orchards, or dove-cots, or yards;††—if there be any true-breakers, or any that settis upon assurance

* The king (James IV.) himself was present during the whole of this Ayre, which indeed he bound himself to do in every instance by one of the earliest of the acts of his parliament.

• Hobbyry.

• From the verb 'to culye,' to cajole. A cheat.

† Salmon.

‡ Such as 'elwands,' measures of length. ¶ Poison.

•• Mixture of metals, alloy. †† Gardens.

with Englishmen in time of war;—if there be any that steals other men's peats out of their stankis;—if there be any destroyers of other garis;*—if there be any mutilation or dismembering of any person;—if there be any that lysis with other men's wives and distroys their gudis;—if there be any hurdis fund under the erde;†—if there be any stealers of hares in snaw;—if there be any within burgh that purchase lordship in oppression of his neighbours, or to plea with them at bar;—if there be any malt-makers that sell malt unput to the market;—if there be any person that has (false or feyneit) money of the realm;—if any person breaks money without the king's licence;—if the merchants bring home bullion according to the Acts of Parliament, and if the customors and cunzeouris do their diligence thereto according to the said Acts of Parliament;—Anent Cordinaris if they sell shoes and boots and pantons‡ (at mair or at greater price than is contained in the Acts of Parliament) that is to say a pair of men's (singill soled shoes) for twelve pence a pair, of double soled shoes eighteen-pence, a pair of pantons twenty-four-pence, a pair of boots six shillings, women and children's shoes for eight pence the pair, and other geir according to their prices;—if berkaris§ sell their leather according to the said prices;—if any baxtaris|| make any conventions and gaderings, and break the assise, (set to them by the officers of the town,) or steals the town and bakes nocht eftir by prices that is given, or else holds abak and fulfillis nocht by samyn;—if there be any masterful beggars;—if there be any neighbours within burgh that usurpes against the officers made in burgh;—if any malt-makers of Leith, Edinburgh, or other places, sells their malt unput to the market of the burgh, and if they take mair then a boll of bear¶ for a chalder making;—and if their be any that packs, or peels, or houses wool, skin, hides outwith the head burgh, sik as Leith and uther unfree ports and places, or takes away the goods uncustomt.**

It is evident both from the repeated enactments of the legislature and from the complaints of the poets of the day that the farmers and cottagers were still grievously oppressed by their landlords, and

that the levying of 'caupes' or pretended benevolences of horses, cattle, &c. the unjust resumption of leases and 'grassums' or excessive fines for their renewal, and the forcible expulsion of tenants from their farms, rapine and outrage, 'stouthrief, hersclup and sorning,' the partial administration of justice, 'the destruction of cornes, meadows, and harrying of puir folks,' continued to prevail throughout the kingdom. The Scottish laws, 'which were as wisely and judiciously made as they were carelessly and ineffectually executed,' in vain endeavoured to restrain the injuries thus inflicted on the industrious classes of the community. 'The lords,' says Queen

* This is likely to have been cunyngaris, rabbit warrens but improperly transcribed.

† Hoards found under ground.

‡ Bakers, tanners.

•• Without paying custom.

‡ Slippers.

§ Barkers.

¶ Barley.

Margaret, in a letter of September, 1523, 'regard not the disasters of the poor, but laugh at them;' and their military retainers, who lived in a great measure by plunder, were ever ready to execute any commands of their masters, however unlawful. The intolerable grievances to which the poor husbandmen and cottagers were subjected by the oppressive exactions of the nobles and their armed followers are enumerated with great bitterness in the anonymous complaint of John Upland, a fictitious character representing a countryman into whose mouth the poets of the day put their general satires upon men and manners.

'Now is our king of tender age,
Christ conserve him in his eild.*
To do justice baith to man and page,
That gars† our land lie lang untill'd;
Tho' we do double pay their wage,
Puir commons presently now are pie'l'd,
They ride about in sic a rage,
By forest, frith, and field,
With buckler, bow, and brand.
Lo! where they ride out through the rye!
The Devil must sayne the company,
I pray from my heart truly:
Quoth John Up-on-land.

'He that was wout to bear the barrows,
Betwixt the bake-house and the brew-house,
On twenty shillings now he tarrows,‡
To ride the high-gait§ by the plewis:¶
But were I a king and had gude fellows,
In Norroway they suld hear of news,
I suld him tak, and all his marrows,
And hing them high upon yon Neivis,
And thereto plight my hand:
Thir¶ lords and barons grit,
Upon ane gallows suld I knit,
That thus down treddit has our wheat:
Thus said John Up-on-land.

'Wald the lords the laws that leads,
To husbands do good reason and skill,
To chasten their chieftains by the heads,
And hing them high upon ane hill;
Then nicht husbands labour their steads,**
And priests nicht patter and pray their fill;
For husbands suld nocht have sic pleids,
Baith sheep and nolt†† nicht lie full still,
And stakes‡‡ still nicht stand:
But since they rade among our durris
With splent on spald§§ and ronsty spurris,
Their grew no fruit untill our furris:¶¶
Thus said John Up-on-land.

'Tak a puir man a sheep or two,
For hunger or for falt¶¶ of fude,
To five or six wee bairns, or mo,
They will him hing with rapes*** rud;
But and he tak a flock or two,
A bow of rye, and let them blud,
Enll safely may he ride or go;
I wait nocht if thir laws be gude,
I schrew them first them sand.†††
Jesu, for thy holy passion,
Thou grant him grace that wears the crown,
To ding their mony kingis down:
Thus said John Up-on-land.'

But it was not merely the farmers and cotters who suffered from the oppression of these titled

robbers, but all who were not strong enough to resist force by force were compelled to submit to their exactions. It was no un-
Vices of the nobles
and barons.
common occurrence for the higher
barons to exact hospitality from the clergy for themselves, and their armed bands of retainers to sorn upon the monasteries in the vicinity of their castles until their substance was consumed. The community of Aberbrothoch complained of an Earl of Angus, who was in the regular habit of visiting them once a year with a train of a thousand horse, and abiding till the whole winter provisions of the convent were exhausted. Well might one of the sufferers from this shameless rapacity complain that 'the goods of the church which were bestowed upon her by holy princes and pious nobles were thus consumed in revelry by every profligate layman who numbers in his train more followers than he can support by honest means or by his own incomings,' and lament that 'the barons of Scotland are now turned masterful thieves and ruffians, oppressing the poor by violence, and wasting the church by extorting free-quarters from abbeys and priories without either shame or reason.'

An interesting view of the state of the country at this period and of the manners and sentiments of the people is given in a work entitled 'The Complaint of Scotland,' which was printed at St. Andrews in the year 1548. In this curious piece Scotland is represented under the figure of a lady of excellent extraction and of ancient genealogy, but with a doleful countenance, and making 'ane melancholious cheir for the great violens that she had sustenit.' Her golden hair was disordered and dishevelled, her golden crown tottering on her head. A red lion blazoned on a field of gold bordered with the fleur de lis, appears wounded on her shield. The lady was clothed in a mantle blazoned with figures of different kinds. On the upper border there were many precious stones, on which were engraven shields, spears, swords, and armour, representing the nobles and barons. In the middle there were portrayed books, and figures, and various sciences, human and divine, emblematic of the clergy; and on the lower part were represented all kinds of cattle and beasts, with all varieties of corn, herbs, plants, and trees, ships, merchandise, and work tools, in allusion to the occupations of the commons. This 'marvellous' mantle was in many places so rent and torn that the various devices by which it was adorned were almost erased, and not a few of the shields in the upper part were wanting, the armour was broken and rusted, the beautiful workmanship in the middle was so defaced that 'na man could extract ony profitable sentens nor gude exemplif furth of ony part of it.' The lower border had suffered the greatest injury, and the figures embroidered upon it were so grievously spoiled as to be almost incapable of being repaired. As the afflicted lady was sitting with her gay clothes riven and ragged, contemplating with the deepest sorrow the barren fields which were formerly covered with corn, she perceived three of her sons approaching, who repre-

* Old age. † Causes.
† Tarrow—to murmur at one's allowance. ‡ There.
§ Highway || Plough. ¶ Cattle.
** Steadings, farmsteads. †† Iron plates on his shoulders.
†† Dead fences. ††† Furrows. ¶¶ Want. *** Ropes. ††† Found.

sent the three estates of Scotland. The eldest was clothed in armour, and trailed a halbert behind him. The second was clad in a long gown, and with an aspect of great gravity held in his hand a book, the clasps of which were 'fast lokkyt with ruste.' The youngest was lying flat on his side on the cold ground, and all his clothes in rags, making ane dolorous lamentation, and striving in vain to stand upright.

Dame Scotia seeing her sons in this lamentable condition, begins to upbraid them with their negligence, cowardice, and ingratitude towards her, and declared that much as she has suffered from her 'auld enemies' of England, she has suffered still more from the grievous misconduct of her children. They are so divided among themselves, she alleges, that no one can trust another; and in consequence of this mutual suspicion and distrust, all seek their own not the welfare of the commonwealth, for some 'are fled far within the country, some are fled to the hills, and some remain in their own houses on the Englishmen's assurance, and some are become neutral men like to the riders that dwell in the Debateable land.' She affirms that the country has suffered great injury from the familiar intercourse between the Scottish and English borderers, 'contrair the laws and customs baith of England and Scotland; and that in consequence of this treasonable familiarity, the secret plans of the lords of the council for the defence and welfare of the realm are immediately betrayed to the English king. The correspondence of the English ambassadors and wardens of this period, which has been only recently brought to light, shows that these charges were but too well founded. The third son, who is the representative of the labouring classes of the community, defends himself from the accusations of his mother, and declares that he is unjustly blamed for the offences committed by his brothers, the nobles and clergy, who show themselves his worst enemies. 'I may be compared,' he says, 'to the dullenss in as far as I am compelled to bayr ane importabil * burdyng, for I am dung and broddit † to gar me do and to thole the thing that is above my power. Allace I am the mark of the butt contrair the whilk everie man shoots arrows of tribulation. How is justico an art treatit that everie man uses all extreme extortions contrair me as far as their power can execute! I labour nycht and day with my hands to nourish lasche inutil ‡ idle men, and they recompense me with hunger, and with the sword. I sustain their lyfe with travel and with the sweat of my body, and they persecute my body with outrage and herschip, § while I am become ane beggar. My corns and my cattle are rest fra me, I am exilit fra my tacks ¶ and my steadings. The mailings ¶¶ and farms of the ground that I labour are hychtit** to sic ane price that I and my wife and bairns are forced to drink water. The tiends of my corns are

nocht allanerly* hychtit above the fertility that the ground may bear, but as weil they are tane furth of my hands by my tyrant brethren; and when I labour by merchandres or by mechanic crafts, I am compelled to lend it to them, and when I crave my debts whilk should sustain my life, I am boistit, † hurt, and ofttimes I am slain. Therefore labourers to burtht and land and by seaboard they endure daily sic violence that it is nocht possibil that esperance ‡ of relief can be imagyint, for there is nathing on the labourers of the ground but arrage, carage, § taxations, violent spulyie and all other sort of adversitie. I endure maire persecution by them whilk profess to be my brethren and defendours, nor by the cruel war of England, therefore I am constrained to cry on God for ane vengeance contrair them for the importabil affliction whilk they constrain me till endure, the whilk I believe shall come hastily on them by the richt judgement of God, conformand to the words of the prophet, for the misery of mistrifull ¶ men, and for the weepyng of poor men the divine justice shall execute strait punition.'

Sir David Lindsay, in his Interludes, complains almost in the very same terms of the oppression of the farmers and cottagers by their landlords.

'Thir pur commons daylie, as ye may see,
Declyne down till extreme povertie,
For some are heichtit so into their mail,
Their wykmen will nocht find them water-kail. ¶
How kirkmen heicht their tiends it is weil knawin
(known),
That husbandmen noways may hold their awin (own).
And now begins a plague upon them new,
That gentlemen their steadings take in feu.
Thus maun they pay great farm, or leave the stead,
And some are plainlie harlit** out by the head,
That are destroyit without God on them rue.'

And in the fourth book of the Monarchy, in denouncing vengeance on the oppressors of the poor, he makes special mention of the injustice suffered by the tenants and husbandmen.

'Ye lords and barons, mair and less,
That your pur tenants does oppress,
By great grassum ++ and double mail,
Mair than your lands bene avail.
With sore exorbitant cariage,
With merchets of their marriage,
Tormentit baith in peace and weir,
With burdens mair than they may bear,
Be they have payit to you their mail,
And to the priest their tiends hail;
And when the lands again is sawin,
What rests behind I wald were knawin. † †

The gross abuses complained of, however, were too deeply rooted to be eradicated at once, even by the powerful denunciations of Lindsay. 'Wha labours took he,' says his first editor, Charteris

* Alone.

† Threatened.

‡ Hope.

§ Arage is a servitude of men and horses for tillage, an carage is a similar servitude for carrying in the landlord corn at harvest-home, and his hay, conls, &c., at other seasons of the year. This custom still exists in some parts of Scotland.

¶ Needy.

¶¶ Broth composed simply of water, shelled barley, and greens.

** Dragged.

++ The fine paid for the lease.

†† Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 146.

• Unsupportable.
• Base and useless.
‡ Loose.

‡ Beaten and pricked.

§ Plunder.

** Raised.

¶ Small farms.

about ten years after the poet's death, 'that the lands of this country might be set out in feus, after the fashion of sundry other realms, for the increase of policy and riches. But what has he profitit? When ane pair man, with his hail race and offspring has laboured out their lives on ane little piece of ground and brocht it to some point and perfection, then must the laird's brother, kinsman, or surname have it, and the pair man, with his wife and bairns, schot out to beg their meat. He that took little labour on it maun enjoy the fruits and commodities of it; he maun eat up the sweat and labours of the pair man's brows. Thus the pair daur mak na policie* nor bigging,† in case they big themselves out. But although men wink at this, and ourlook it, yet he sits above that sees it, and shall judge it. He that hears the sighs and complaints of the pair oppressit shall not for ever suffer it unpunishit. What has he written also against this heriald horse † devisit for manie pair man's hurt? But wha has demittit it?§

Dame Scotia refuses to sustain this defence of her youngest son on the ground that no man should be admitted a witness in his own cause, and she declares that she will not listen to his charges against his brothers, because an accuser should be clean before he accuse his neighbour. She then addresses her three sons successively in a series of indignant admonitions, in which she exposes their particular faults, denounces their peculiar crimes, and exhorts them to unanimity in repelling the hostilities of the common enemy. The vices of the nobles are exposed with special severity. 'The arms,' she

Degeneracy of the nobles. says, 'that ye bear in your shields, and in the seals of your signets, which are sculptured on your walls and blazoned on your windows of glass, were given to your ancestors for the noble deeds they achieved; by bearing their arms you engage to tread in their steps, or you deserve to be degraded from your rank, and divested of your honourable arms;' and they are informed that they justly merit this punishment on account of their imbecility, avarice, and contention. 'Ye profess you to be gentlemen, but your works testify that ye are but unevill villains; ye wald be reputed and called virtuous and honest howbeit that ye did never ane honest act, and ye repute other men for villains that did never ane villain act. It appears that when your noble predecessors decessed, they took their virtue and gentrice with them to their sepulture, and they left nathing with you but the title.' Their pride, avarice, and licentiousness are denounced in equally indignant terms. 'The prodigal pride that ringes|| among gentil men is detestabil, nocht alanerly¶ in costly claithing above their state, but as weill in prodigal expenses that they make on horses and

dogs, above their rent or riches. Ane man is nocht repute for ane gentil man in Scotland but gif he mak mair expenses on his horse and his dogs nor he does on his wife and bairna.' In the address to the spiritual estate the author Vices of the animadverts with great severity spirituality. on the vices of that order. He applies to them Plutarch's apologuo of the crab instructing her young, and declares that the people disobey their gudo doctrine because of their malversion and neglect of the duties of their office; and that the punishment they inflicted upon heretics, unaccompanied by the reformation of their own order, was only like 'ulye (oil) cast on ane liet birnand fyir,' for as 'soon as there is ane person slane, brynt, or banest for the halding of perverst opinions incontinent, there rises up three in his place.' But the most curious part of this address is the exhortation to the clergy to change their spiritual habits, 'baith cowls and syde-gowns, for steel jacks and coats of mail,' and to assist their countrymen to repel the invasions of their enemies. 'None of the spiritualitie,' he adds, 'shold be scrupulous in this business, considering that God's law, the law of nature, positive law, civil and canon law, has condescendit in ane purpose, that all staitis and faculties, without ony exception of persons, are oblist to pass in battel for the defense of the public weill and of their native countrie.' During the War of Independence, a number of the Scottish clergy fought valiantly in defence of the rights and liberties of their country; but in these degenerate days, a martial temper seems not to have been characteristic of the order, and they were as defective in patriotism as in other virtues.

The miseries of this unhappy country appear to have reached their climax after the death of James, and when a series of bloody and destructive inroads on the part of the English reduced the southern part of the kingdom to the condition of a desert, while the rapacity and violence of the nobles, the lawless turbulence of the commons, and the fatal discord of contending factions, paralysed every effort to unite the nation in repelling the common enemy. The author of the 'Complaint' draws a most frightful picture of the civil dissensions by which the country was Internal dissensions among the people. torn asunder at this period. 'All the realms,' he says, 'that are divided within themselves shall be left desolate; therefore it is na marvel that your country come to ruin, considering that all sorts of detestabil and unlawful wars that destroyed the Romans in the ancient days ringis presently among you. The first sort of battles and wars that brocht the Romans to ruin was called the "battellis finityvia." That is when ane man undertakes to conquest by violence and tyranny the lands of his neighbours that march and lye contigue with his lands. This same sort of wars is in Scotland, where there is nocht meay men, great nor small, that have heritage, but are aye inventing cavilation and wrang titles to have their neighbour's heritages that lye contigue beside

* Ornamented grounds.

† Building.

‡ The best horse paid to the landlord on the death of a tenant.

§ Preface to Lindsay's Works, published by H. Charteris, in 1868.

|| Reigns.

¶ Alone.

them, either by process and pleas, or else by violens. There was ane other sort of battells among the Romans callit "battellis socialis." That is when towns of ane country mak war contrair others. This same sort of wars ringis presently in Scotland, for there is nocht ane burrowstoun nor landward parish within the realm but they have envy contrair the towns and parishes that are next neighbours to them. The third sort of wars were callit "battellis civilis." That is when citizens and indwellers of ane citie have mortal feud contrair others. This same sort of wars ringes instantly in Scotland, for there is nocht ane burrowstoun nor parish in Scotland but there is deadly feud among some of the indwellers of the said towns. There is ane other sort of wars callit "battellis intestinis." That is when kinsmen and friends have mortal wars contrair others. This same sort of wars ringes instantly in Scotland, for the intestine wars that ringes among the barons and gentill men are detestabil to be rehearsit, for they that are nearest of kin and blood have maist mortal feud contrair others. There is ane other sort of wars called "battellis aspiiales." That is when the people gather together in ane great convention, but the authoritic of the superior. This same sort of wars ringis instantly in Scotland, for I have seen nine or ten thousand gather together without ony commission of the King's letters, the whilk great convention has been to put their neighbours furth of their steading and tacks on Whitsun Wednesday, or else to lead way ane pair man's tiend in harvest; but they wald nocht be half as solist to convene three hundred at the command of the king's letters, to pass to resist our auld enemies of England.'[†]

But the contests of hostile factions, the ravages of war, and the famine produced by the destruction of the growing corn, and the uncultivated state of the arable land, were not the only miseries which at this unhappy period harassed the distracted kingdom of Scotland. The

Pestilence.

author of the "Complaint" likewise mentions the 'universal pestilence and mortalitie that has occurrit mercyless among the pepil.' A malignant epidemic under various forms continued at intervals to ravage the country for more than a century after this period. 'There was,' says an old annalist, 'twa yearis before this time, ane great universal sickness through the maist part of Scotland; uncertane what sickness it was, for the doctors could not tell, for there was no remedie for it, and the commons called it cowdothe.† Sir David Lindsay, in his 'Epistle Nuncupatorie' to the monarchy, speaking of this period of 'darkness and of gloomines,' says—

'Canse them clearly for till understand,
That for the breaking of the Lord's command,
His threefold wand of flagellation

Has scourgit this pair realm of Scotland,
By mortal wars baith by sea and land,
With many terrible tribulation;
Therefore to make them true narratioun,
That all thir wars, this dearth, hunger, and pest,
Was nocht but for our sins manifest.*

Muir, the historian, in his description of Scotland in 1521, mentions some particulars which confirm the statements of Sir David Lindsay, and the author of the 'Complaint of Scotland,' respecting the condition of the common people at this time.

Description of the country, by Muir.

The houses of the farmers, he says, were small, because their farms were rented only by the year, or at most for four or five, so that, though stone was abundant, there was no desire to erect good houses, to plant trees or hedges, or to enrich the ground—a state of matters which, he justly remarks, was most injurious to the prosperity of the kingdom. He adds, that if perpetual leases were granted, the rent might be tripled, and yet the farmers become rich, while the homicides which were caused by the forcible removal of tenants would be avoided; for it appears that the expelled tenant, like the Irish peasant of the present day, not unfrequently took vengeance on his successor for the loss of his farm. Muir also censures the farmers for their contempt of manufactures and of the inhabitants of the towns, whom they regarded as effeminate; and he adds, that they neglected their own proper business, and left the agricultural operations to their servants, while they rode in the trains of their lords. This, however, may have been more from necessity than choice, in order to retain possession of their farms. He is equally severe in his censures upon the nobles, for their perpetual feuds with their neighbours, and their total neglect of the education of their sons. The possessions of the Highlanders, he says, consisted almost entirely of horses and cattle. Sometimes two

State of the Highlanders.

or three hundred horses, wild and unbroken, were brought by one Highlander to Perth or Dundee, and sold for two francs each; but others, who possessed no property of their own, lived by hunting, or followed their chiefs in their constant expeditions and conflicts. Their dress consisted of the trows, reaching only to the middle of the leg, a mantle, and a shirt stained with saffron; they were armed with bows and arrows, a broadsword, a small halbert, and a dagger. The chiefs wore coats of mail formed of iron rings, but the defensive armour of their vassals consisted only of jackets made of quilted linen, steeped in melted wax or pitch, and covered with deerskin.

On the death of James V., a clergyman named John Eldar, who, as he informs us himself, was a native of Caithness, and had studied for twelve years in the three southern universities, retired into England, and presented to Henry a project of union between the two kingdoms, which contains

* Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 177.

† Without. † Complaint of Scotland, pp. 260—263.
† Ibid. Preliminary Dissertation by John Leyden, p. 192. Marjoribank's Annals, from 1514 to 1594.

some curious notices of the manners of the Highlanders at this period. He thus explains the reason why they were called by the Lowlanders 'Redshanks,' and by the English 'Rough-footed Scots.' "Please it your Majesty to understand that we of all people can tolerate, suffer, and away best with cold: for both summer and winter, (except when the frost is most vehement,) going always bare-legged and bare-footed, our delight and pleasure is not only in hunting of red-deer, wolves, foxes, and graies, whereof we abound and have great plenty; but also in running, leaping, swimming, shooting, and throwing of darts. Therefore, in so much as we use, and delight, so to go always, the tender, delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us Redshanks." "And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement (as I have said), which we cannot suffer bare-footed so well as snow, which can never hurt us when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting, and after that we have slain red-deer, we flay off the skin by and by, and setting of our bare foot on the inside thereof, for want of cunning shoemakers, by your Grace's pardon, we play the cobblers, compassing and measuring so much thereof, as shall reach up to our ancles: pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repass where it enters, and stretching it up with a strong thong of the same, above our said ancles. So and please your noble grace, we make our shoes. Therefore, we using such manner of shoes, the rough hairy side outward, in your Grace's dominion of England, we be called Rough-footed Scots."*

A graphic and very interesting description of the manners and occupations of Scottish pastoral life at this period is given by the author of the 'Complaint of Scotland.' The shepherds are represented as wearing hoods which covered their heads and shoulders, and conveniently admitted the additional envelope of the plaid. They amuse themselves with the buckhorn and corn pipe, while their flocks graze along the 'banks and braes,' and dry hills. About breakfast-time they are joined by their wives and daughters, who bring their food and prepare them a seat by spreading the soft, yellow moss of a lea ridge, with rushes, sedges, and meadow-wort, or queen of the meadow. The food of which they partake consists principally of various preparations of milk, all of them still well known in Scotland. 'They made great cheer of everie sort of milk, baith of cow milk and ewe milk, sweet milk and sour milk, curds and whey, sour-kitts, † fresh butter and salt butter, reyme, ‡ flot-whey, § green cheese and kirn milk. || They had na bread but rye cakes and fustean ¶ scones, made of

* Pinkerton, vol. ii. pp. 396, 397.

† Clouted cream. Kit is a small kind of wooden vessel, hooped and staved.

‡ Cream.

§ A common dish in the pastoral districts of Scotland, formed by boiling the whey after it is expressed from the cheese curds, with a little meal and milk, when a species of very soft curd floats at the top.

|| Churn milk.

¶ Fustean signifies soft, elastic. Hence 'fustean scones'

flour.' Every shepherd is represented as carrying a spoon in the 'lug (ear) of his bonnet'—an extremely characteristic circumstance, for even down to a very recent period not only shepherds, but reapers and peat diggers, frequently provided themselves with spoons, which they carried about with them in the manner described. On the conclusion of their simple meal, the shepherds amused each other by relating in turn tales or stories in prose and verse, and their wives 'sang sweet melodious songs.' The entertainment at length terminated in a general dance to the music of eight different kinds of instruments; after which the shepherds collected their flocks and drove them tumultuously to the folds. This simple representation is accurately copied from nature, and Dr. Leyden says the original might still be seen in his day in some of the wild pastoral districts of Scotland. As the flocks of sheep after grazing some hours are always disposed to rest in the sunny days of summer, basking themselves on some dry acclivity, a concourse of shepherds for a social meal enlivened with songs and stories, and occasionally diversified by a dance, was by no means an uncommon incident.*

At this period the first notice occurs in Scottish history of that singular race—the gipsies. Under the date of the 22nd of April, 1505, we find the following entry in the books of the High Treasurer:—
First appearance of the gipsies in Scotland.
'Item, to the Egyptians, by the king's command, seven pounds.' It appears that after this wandering race had sojourned for some months in Scotland under a leader named Anthony Gavino, who assumed the style of 'Lord of Little Egypt,' they determined to pass over to Denmark, and that they succeeded by some means or other in inducing the Scottish king, James IV., to address to his uncle, the king of Denmark, the following curious letter, which was found by Pinkerton in the manuscripts of the royal library, and published by him in his Appendix, vol. ii. No. 4:—

'Most Illustrious Prince, — Anthony Gavino, Earl of Little Egypt, along with his company, an afflicted and miserable race of men, in the progress of his peregrination round the Christian world, undertaken, as he affirms, by order of the Pope, hath at length reached the borders of our kingdom, and entreated that, out of our royal humanity, he might be permitted, with his goods, chattels, and company, to travel through our territories, where he may find some refuge for his helpless fortunes, and miserable subjects. You may believe that a request of this kind, proceeding from the unfortunate, could not be refused; and accordingly, after having lived here for several months, comporting himself, as I am informed, after a con-

Curious letter of James IV. regarding them.

are cakes leavened or puffed up. Scones, are cakes made of wheat, rye, or barley meal. The term is never applied to bread made of oats.

* Leyden's Preliminary Dissertation to the 'Complaint of Scotland,' p. 128.

scientific and catholic fashion, he is now preparing, my excellent king and uncle, to pass over to Denmark. Before crossing the sea, however, he hath requested our letters, by which your highness might not only be informed of the truth of these particulars, but might also be moved to extend your kindness and munificence towards relieving the calamities of this people. Yet as the kingdom of your highness is nearer to Egypt than our dominions, and as there must consequently be a greater resort of these people within your territories than to these our realms, it follows that the fate, manners, and extraction of these Egyptian wanderers must be more familiar to your highness than to ourselves. Farewell, most illustrious prince.'

Thirty-four years later, (Feb. 15, 1540,) a singular document, called a 'writ of privy seal,' was granted

by James V. This writ enjoins all sheriffs and magistrates to support the authority of John Faa, in execution of justice upon his company and folks conform to the laws of Egypt, and more particularly they are directed to assist in apprehending 'Sebastian Lalowe, Egyptian, one of the said John's company, with his eleven complices and partakers,' who have rebelled against him, and 'removed out of his company, and taken frae him divers sums of money, jewels, claiths, and other goods, to the quantity of ane great sum of money, and on nac wise will pass hamo with him; howbeit, he has bidden and remained of lang time upon them (waited for them long), and is bounden and obliged to bring hame with him all them of his company that are alive, and ane testimonial of them that are dead; the non-fulfilment of which obligation, he pretends, will subject him to 'heavy damage and skaith (hurt) and great peril of loss of his heritage.' A special injunction is then given to all magistrates, to lend John Faa their prison, stocks, and fetters, and whatever may be necessary for reducing his refractory subjects to order; and masters of vessels and mariners are charged to receive John Faa and his company, when they shall be ready to go 'furth of the realm to the parts beyond the sea.' It appears from this curious edict, that the 'Lord and Earl of Little Egypt' had succeeded in completely imposing upon the government, by this story about his 'band' and 'heritage,' and had so adroitly managed matters as to obtain from the authorities not only toleration, but a recognition of his jurisdiction within his own band, 'according to the laws of Egypt.' In the following year, however, the Lords of Council seem to have discovered the deception that had been practised upon them, and revoked the letters and privileges formerly granted to John Faa and his followers, and proceeded forthwith to pass sentence of banishment upon the whole race. In spite of this peremptory injunction, the gipsies appear to have pursued their trade of tinkering and fortune-telling in Scotland with impunity, for the next quarter of a century; till, at length, both their numbers and their crimes increased to such a degree

during the 'troublous times' of Queen Mary, that in 1570 it was found necessary to adopt vigorous measures for their repression, and a statute was enacted for the 'punishment of the strang and idle beggars,' in which 'bards, minstrels, and vagabond scholars,' are conjoined in ignominious fellowship with 'the idle people calling themselves Egyptians,' and it is provided that, being apprehended they shall be put in the king's ward and irons, sae lang as they have ony goods of their own to live on, and when they have not whereupon to live of their own, that their ears be nailed to the tron or to another tree, and their ears cuttit off, and banished the country, and if thereafter they be found again, that they be hanged.'

Statutes enacted for the suppression of the gipsies.

This stringent statute, though repeatedly renewed and strengthened with additional clauses, seems to have utterly failed in restraining the depredations of these vagrants; and in 1603, a proclamation was issued, banishing the whole race out of Scotland for ever, under the severest penalties. This, and various other sanguinary edicts which followed, were put into execution without mercy against this unhappy race, and the records of the Scottish criminal courts make mention of great numbers of 'Egyptians,' both men and women, who were hanged and drowned in the most summary manner. Notwithstanding these severities, the gipsies prospered amid the intestine feuds by which the country was torn asunder, and received large accessions from among those whom famine, oppression, or civil broils, had deprived of the ordinary means of subsistence. In the progress of time, however, as the power of the laws and the national prosperity of the country increased, the gipsy tribes were gradually reduced in numbers, and many were entirely rooted out. The comparatively small number of these vagrants who now remain in Scotland have for the most part taken up their residence in the border counties, principally in the village of Yetholm, situated among the Cheviot hills.

The burghs of Scotland seem to have made considerable progress during this period in wealth and refinement, and the statuto book contains numerous enactments for the regulation of their manufactures and trade. In 1491 it was ordained, "that the common good, meaning the profits and revenues of all the royal burghs within the realm, should be so regulated as to promote the prosperity of the town, by being spent according to the advice of the council of the burgh, upon things necessary for its security and increase, whilst the burgh rents, such as lands, fishings, mills, and farms, were not to be disposed of except upon a three years' lease."* Two years later an enactment was passed which evinced for the first time some conception of the true principles of commercial legislation. The deacons of particular trades were it seems in the habit of 'imposing a taxation penny upon men of the same craft coming to market or

State of the burghs.

Regulations respecting trade.

* Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 227.

the Mondays, which necessarily enhanced the price of the articles to the consumer. This tax was commanded to be discontinued, so that the craftsmen, without interference upon the part of the deacons of the burghs, might be at liberty to sell their commodities at the usual prices. The office of the deacons was at the same time abolished for a year to come, and their authority was restricted to the mere examination of the work executed by the artisans of the same trades. It was alleged as a reason for this step, that the authority of the deacons and the bylaws which they enacted, caused great trouble in the burghs, by increasing the prices of labour, and encouraging combinations among the workmen. It was declared accordingly that all makers and users of these private acts and constitutions were to be prosecuted as oppressors of the king's lieges. It was at the same time enacted, that the tax or 'multure' which had hitherto been levied upon the flour brought into the port of Leith, or offered for sale in the various markets throughout the country,* should be abolished; and it was declared, that for the future all flour should be permitted to be brought to market and sold without payment of any new taxation; and that all manner of persons should be free to buy and sell their victual throughout the land all the days of the week, as well as on the market days.† The same liberality, however, was not shown in regard to the sale of other articles, for a few years later it was ordained that none except freemen of burghs should be permitted to trade or to sell wine, wax, silk, spices, stuffs, or staple goods.

It was enjoined by the parliament of 1503, that the magistrates of all burghs should be annually changed, and that resident merchants should alone be appointed to the office of the magistracy. It appears, however, that this, like many other judicious enactments of the legislature, remained a dead letter, and that a practice had crept in of electing to the office of the magistracy the neighbouring barons, who, under colour of protecting the burghs, domineered over the industrious citizens, and wasted their substance. To remedy this grievance it was enacted in 1535, that the magistrates should hereafter be chosen exclusively from among the merchants and the honest and substantial burgesses; and that their accounts should be annually produced at the exchequer after a public notice of fifteen days, that all the inhabitants might have an opportunity of examining them.‡

Few of the incorporations of trades in the Scottish burghs are of more ancient date than the close of the fifteenth century. The fraternity of the carpenters, masons, and cordiners, appears to have originated about 1475, the weavers in 1476, the butchers about 1488, the hammermen in 1496, the waukers,

or fullers, in 1500, the corporation of the surgeons and barbers appears in 1505, the bakers in 1522, the bonnet makers in 1530, the goldsmiths in 1581, and the skinners in 1580. The deed of incorporation of the hammermen of Edinburgh (12th April, 1496), granted by the provost and magistrates at the royal command, is a curious specimen of the municipal regulations of the period. It includes blacksmiths, goldsmiths, lorimers, or bit and spur-makers, saddlers, cutlers, buckle-makers, armourers, and pewterers; prohibits interlopers, and allows none to open shops within the burghs except freemen after they have been examined by three masters of the craft, and have paid forty shillings for the service and ornaments of St. Eloi's altar; regulates the admission of apprentices; appoints two searchers to examine all the work every Saturday afternoon; authorizes meetings to deliberate on any infringement of the rules, and to report to the magistrates. The penalty for a breach of the regulations was eight shillings for the use of the altar, where divine service was to be performed daily by the chaplain of the corporation.*

In the mistaken spirit which characterized the commercial legislation of the age, repeated, but evidently unsuccessful attempts ^{Attempts to regulate late prices and wages.} continued to be made to fix the prices of the various kinds of manufactured articles and the wages of the artificers. The magistrates of the burghs were at first empowered to regulate these matters, but their efforts having failed, and complaints continuing to be made respecting the extortions of the cordiners, smiths, bakers, brewers, and other craftsmen, their prices were referred to a committee of the lords, and maltmen were forbidden to charge more than two shillings of profit on each boll of barley. To prevent forestalling, it was ordained by the parliament of 1541 that no fish should be sold in the markets to retailers, except between the hours of eleven and two, and that the price should be regulated by the magistrates. Permission was at the same time given to all the lieges to sell bread and flesh in the capital on three market days in the week, on account of the great influx of natives and strangers.

If we may believe the poet Dunbar, other important measures were imperatively required at this period to purify the streets of Edinburgh, and to render the city fit for the reception of strangers. In a satirical poem entitled an 'Address to the Merchants of Edinburgh,' he gives a most graphic, though probably somewhat highly coloured picture of the Scottish capital at this period. "The principal streets crowded with stalls—the confined state of the different markets—the noise and cries of the fishermen and of other persons retailing their wares round the cross—the booths of traders crowded together 'like a honey-comb,' near the church of St. Giles, which was then, and continued till within a very recent period,

* This was in addition to the local tax for grinding, which, by the feudal law, corn was bound to pay to the arny mill where it had been ground.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 234.

‡ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 340.

• Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 411.

to be disfigured with mean and paltry buildings stuck round the buttresses of the church—the outer stairs of the houses projecting into the streets—the swarm of beggars—the common minstrels, whose skill was confined to one or two hackneyed tunes—all form together the subject of a highly graphic and interesting delineation, which is the more curious as we have no other description of so early a date of ‘mine own romantic town.’” There is reason to believe that the satire of Dunbar was by no means inapplicable at a comparatively recent date. ‘Those who remember the High-street and Luekenbooths,’ says Mr. Laing, ‘previous to the first alterations which took place in the Parliament-square, and the neighbourhood of St. Giles’s Cathedral, and before the removal of the Tolbooth, the Krames, and other adjacent buildings, will be fully sensible of the correctness of the poet’s description.’*

‘Why will ye merchants of renown
Let Edinburgh your noble toun,
For lack of reformation
The common profit tyne and fame?†
Think ye nocht schame,
That ony other region
Shall with dishonour hurt your name!

‘Nane may pass thro’ your principall gait,
For stink of haddock and of scaittis;
For crys of carlings and debaittis;
For fennum flyttings of defame:‡
Think ye nocht schame,
Before strangers of all estaitis
That sic dishonour hurt your name!

‘Your stinkand style that stands dirk
Halds the lycht fra your Parroche Kirk;§
Your foirstairs|| makes your houses mirk,
Ljk na cuntry but here at hame:
Think ye nocht schame,
Sa litill policie to work
In hurt and sclander of your name!

‘At your hie Cross,¶ where gold and silk
Should be, there is but curds and milk;

* Dunbar’s Poems, notes, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Loose and famish.

‡ Offensive and disgraceful flyttings.

§ Collegiate church of St. Giles.

|| The common stairs to the different tenements which projected into the street.

¶ The cross of Edinburgh was an ancient and curious structure. The lower part was an octagonal tower, sixteen feet in diameter, and about fifteen feet high. At each angle there was a pillar, and between them an arch, of the Grecian shape. Above these was a projecting battlement, with a turret at each corner, and medallions, of rude but curious workmanship, between them. Above this rose the proper cross, a column of one stone, upwards of twenty feet high, surmounted with a unicorn. This pillar is preserved in the grounds of the property of Drum, near Edinburgh. The cross was celebrated as the spot from which was heard the singular summons of Ptolecock, before the battle of Flodden, which forms so striking an incident in Sir Walter Scott’s *Marmion*. The magistrates of Edinburgh, in 1766, with the consent of the Lords of Session (proh pudor!) destroyed this curious monument, under a wanton pretext that it encumbered the street.

‘But now is razed that monument,
Whence royal edict rang,
And voice of Scotland’s law was sent
In glorious trumpet clang.
O! be his tomb as lead to lead,
Upon its dull destroyer’s head!—
A minstrel’s maulion is said.’

Marmion, c. 5, st. 25.

And at your Tron* but cokill and wilk,
Pansches, puddings of Jok and Jane:‡
Think ye nocht schame,
Sen as the world says that ilk
In hurt and sclander of your name!

‘Your common ministralls has no tune,§
But ‘Now the day dawns,’ and ‘Into June;’
Cuninger men maun serve Sanct Cloun,
And nevir to uther crafts clame:
Think ye nocht schame,
To hald sic mowars of the moon,||
In hurt and sclander of your name.

‘Tailyouris, Soutters, and crafts vile,
The fairest of your streets dois file;
And merchands at the stinkand styken
Are hamperit in ane honeycame:
Think ye nocht schame,
That ye have neither wit nor wyle
To win yourself ane hetter name.

‘Your Burgh of beggars is ane nest,
To shout they swenyours¶ will nocht rest;
All honest folk they do molest,
Sa potellie they cry and rame:**
Think ye nocht schame,
That for the poor has no thing drest,††
For hurt and sclander of your name!

‘Your profit daylie dois increase,
Your godlie works less and less;
Through streets nane may mak progress,
For cry of cruikit, blind, and lame:
Think ye nocht schame,
That ye sic substance dois possess,
And will nocht win ane hetter name!

‘Sen for the Court and the Session,‡‡
The great repair of this region
Is in your Burgh, therefore be boun
To mend all faults that are to blame,
And eschew schame;
Gif they pass to ane uther Toun,
Ye will decay, and your great name!

‘Therefore strangers and leiges treat,
Tak nocht ouer meikle for their meat;
And gar your merchands be discreet,
That na extortious he proclaime,
Awfrand §§ ane schame:
Keep ourdour, and poor neighbours heit,|||
That ye may get ane hetter name!

‘Singular profit ¶¶ so dois you blind.
The common profit goes behind,
I pray that Lord remeid to find

* The Tron, or public beam for weighing merchandis or heavy wares, which was placed near the site of the present Tron church.

† Cockles and periwinkles. It was customary for fish-women to be seated in this part of the town retailing shell-fish.

‡ Tripe and haggis.

§ No other tune. Edinburgh seems to have had the services of three minstrels at this time. It appears from an act of Council, 15th August, 1487, that they were ordered to be billeted on the inhabitants in succession, and as it is expressed ‘hip nane,’ to pass none over; and that such persons as found it inconvenient to entertain them when their turn came, should be liable to the payment of nine pence ‘that is to ilk pyper three pence at the least.’

|| Mockers of the moon.

¶ Idle sturdy vagabonds.

** Make a loud noise. The towns of Scotland were at this period grievously infested with beggars and idle vagabonds.

†† Provided.

‡‡ The importance of Edinburgh was greatly increased when, in the course of the 15th century, it became the seat of government, and of the supreme courts of law.

§§ Offering. ||| Help.

¶¶ Greed of personal gain caused them to neglect or overlook the general good of the town.

That died into Jerusalem;
And gar you schame!
'That sum time reason may you bind,
For to (recoqueis) you good name!'

Heavy complaints were made respecting the frauds practised by merchants and tradesmen. Drapers were accused of drawing or extending their cloth, and thereby weakening it, in order to increase the measure. Dyers were charged with using perishable colours, and goldsmiths with mixing alloy with their gold and silver; and in 1490 a statute was enacted for the purpose of preventing these impositions. The fraudulent arts and extortions of the craftsmen were favourite topics with the satirists of the day; and Lindsay takes special notice of them in his 'Satire of the Three Estates.' Deceit, in his last dying speech and confession, speaks of the merchants whom he had learned 'mony a wile' to beguile country wives upon a market-day.

'And gar them trow your stuff was gude,
When it was rotten, by the rude,*
And swear it was nocht sa.'

He learned them, he says, to ban, and swear what their goods cost in France, although not one word was true. He taught them many wiles, to mix the new wine and the old; to buy goods cheap, and to sell right dear; to mix rye meal among the soap, and saffron with the olive oil; to exact usurious interest as rigidly as the vear does the best cow of his parishioner, and the landlords their double mail; to use an ell wand (ell measure) too short, and a pound weight which wanted three ounces. Falsehood, also, before he is hanged, makes great lamentation for the craftsmen, who without him, he says, will all die of hunger.

'Find me ane webster † that is leil, ‡
Or ane waulker § that will nocht steal,
Their craftiness I ken:
Or ane miller that has na fault,
That will nouthier steal meal nor malt,
Hold them for halie|| men.
At our fleshers tak ye na griefe,
Tho' they blaw lean mutton and beife,
That they seem fat and fair.¶
I learn'd tailzeours in everie toun
To shape fyve quarters in ane gown,
In Angus and in Fyfe:
To upland tailzeours I gawe gude leife,
To steal ane sillie stump,** or sleife,
Unto Kittok his wyfe.'

Especially he leaves his 'broad black malisoun' or malediction to the brewers of Cupar, who think no shame to brew their ale of 'much water and little malt' against the market-day, and to the bakers who mix fine flour with 'dust, and bran, and bear barley) meal.' He then bids adieu to the 'maister vrichts and maissouns,' who need to learn few lessons from him, as they know his craft by heart; to

* Cross. † Weaver. ‡ Faithful, honest.
§ Fuller. || Holy.

¶ He alludes to the nefarious practice of blowing up the cellular membrane, which is said to be not altogether unknown to butchers of the present day.

** Remnant.

the blacksmiths and lorimers, and to the crafty cordiners who 'sell the schone (shoes) o'er dear.'

'Goldsmiths, farewell above them all!
Remember my memorial
With mony ane subtle cast:
To mix, set ye nocht by twa preins,*
Fine ducat gold, with hard gaddings,†
Like as I learned you last!'

In 1504 it was ordained that markets and fairs were not to be held on holidays, or at any time in churehes or church-yards; from which we may infer that the merriment on these occasions was not always kept within the bounds of moderation. It was found necessary to re-enact the statute of James I., which ordained that in all 'burrow touns and throughfares there should be hostelries having stables and chalmers, and bread and ale, and all other food as well to horse as man, for reasonable price; and to enjoin the barons and magistrates of burghs to see that the innkeepers sold flesh, fish, bread, and ale, at the rates usual in such houses, and had proper stabling, racks, inangers, eorn, hay, and straw. If Simon Lauder, the hosteler spoken of in the tale of the Friars of Berwick, may be regarded as a fair specimen of his class, it would seem that legislative enactments were not required to ensure attention to the wants of travellers. Simon's house had a 'but and a ben,' with sleeping-rooms and other conveniences. His kneading trough held a boll of meal, conveying a good idea of the extent of his business. Two mendicant friars who claim the hospitality of his wife, are treated with bread and cheese and ale. Fat capons and rabbits were prepared for the prior, who brought with him a pair of partridges, a wicker basket filled with the finest wheaten bread, and two bottles of Gaseon wine; while Simon himself was contented with cold meat, a cow's heel, and a sheep's head, a favourite dish among the Scotch. The table was covered with a costly green cloth, above which the napery, or table-cloth, was spread; and Simon's wife was attired in a kirtle of fine red cloth, a white kerchief on her head, a belt of silk adorned with silver, from which hung an embroidered purse and her keys, and she wore two rings on each finger.

The Netherlands continued to be the chief seat of the foreign trade of Scotland; and we now find a conservator appointed, who, with the assistance of a council of six of the most able merchants, was to decide all disputes among Scottish merchants abroad. He was commanded to visit Scotland once every year, that he might be ready to answer any charges that might be made against him. The mistaken policy of the age caused the trade and commerce of the country still to be seriously impeded and fettered by legislative interference. In the parliament held in October, 1488, it was ordained that all ships, home or foreign, should arrive only at the free burghs, such as Dunbarton, Irvine, Wigton,

* Pins. † A species of alloy or base metal.
‡ Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. pp. 126—132.

Kirkcubright, Renfrew, and others. That no foreigner should buy fish, except salted and barrelled, nor any other merchandize except in free burghs, paying their duties and customs. All commercial transactions at the Isle of Lewis were specially prohibited; and foreigners were forbidden to freight Scottish vessels, or Scotchmen to freight foreign ships. It is supposed that these injudicious and unreasonable restrictions were intended to prevent contraband trade on the western coast of Scotland. The prohibition of navigation between All Saints Day and Candlemas was renewed; and in 1535 it was ordered that ships should be freighted to Flanders only twice a year, to the Easter market, and to that which was held on the third of May. The exportation of tallow was strictly forbidden, as the realm only furnished a sufficient quantity for home consumption.

The numerous regulations which relate to shipping and foreign commerce evince that the attention of the Scottish legislature at this period was particularly directed to maritime affairs. Reference has already been made to the enactment which ordained that ships and fishing boats of not less than twenty tons should be built and equipped with their appropriate nets and tackling by all the burghs and sea-coast towns.* The most energetic measures were adopted by James IV. for the establishment of a royal navy;† and from the success which Sir Andrew Wood, the two Bartons, and other experienced Scottish mariners met with in several encounters with the English and the Portuguese, it may be inferred that in the size and construction of their vessels, as well as in their seamanship and the skill and valour of their men, they were not inferior to other European nations. In 1512 the Scottish navy, which consisted of no fewer than forty-six ships of war, contained four of more than three hundred tons burden, and two of one hundred tons. The *Lion*, the ship of the celebrated Andrew Barton, which was captured by Lord Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, in 1511, became the second man of war in the English navy, being inferior only to the *Great Harry*, built in 1504; and the *Great Michael*, which was constructed by James IV. in 1509, was the largest ship of war then known in the world.‡ Some of the merchant vessels also appear to have been of considerable size. In 1542 redress was demanded from the English for a ship belonging to Aberdeen, laden with fish, cloth, and wool, and worth six hundred pounds Scottish money. Two kinds of galleys were in use at this period, the one of which was only rowed with oars; the other, which was frequently denominated a galenasse, was much broader as well as larger than the galley, and was propelled both by sails and oars. Some of these vessels had triple banks of oars raised over each other, and

* *Supra*, p. 395.

† *Ibid.*, p. 389.

‡ *Supra*, p. 397. The cost of this monster ship was forty thousand pounds, an enormous sum at that period.

were capable of containing sixty men in iron armour, besides the sailors who managed the vessel, and a hundred and four rowers. Besides guns on each side of the deck interspersed between the banks of oars, they had both artillery and small arms planted on the fore-castle and stern.

In the 'Complaint of Scotland,' there is a sea scene which gives both a curious illustration of ancient naval tactics, and an enumeration of the different kinds of ordnance, engines, and weapons employed in a sea fight at that early period. The principal object in manœuvring was to attain the windward of the foe, when those who manned the tops sprinkled powdered quicklime with great effect in the faces of their enemies, and attempted to set fire to the rigging by different kinds of combustibles.* Among the artillery employed by the Scotch at this time, mention is made of culverins,† falcons,‡ sakers,§ half falcons and half sakers, slangs,|| half slangs, and quarter slangs, head sticks, muredsars,¶ pasvolans,** bersis,†† doggs,‡‡ double bersis, and hagbuts.§§ Pitscottie informs us that the artillery employed by James V. against Tantallon consisted of 'two great guns—thrown-mouthed Mow, and her marrow (companion), with two great boteards, and two moyans, two double falcons, and two quarter falcons.' According to the same author, 'Crooked Mow' and 'Deaf Meg' were employed against the castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The names of the different kinds of ordnance enumerated are derived from the French and Flemish languages. So late as the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., Flemish gunners were retained in England for the purpose of introducing the art of founding of cannon; but the Scots seem to have derived their knowledge of the art from the instructions of French artificers. Robert Borthwick, master-gunner to James IV., was probably the first Scottish founder of cannon, and he had a French assistant named Percs Rowan, who was appointed in 1532 principal master-maker and melter of 'our sovereign lord's guns and artailzianie during life. The celebrated train of artillery called the 'Seven Sisters,' which were cast by Borthwick were captured by the English at Flodden; and the excellence of their workmanship seems to have excited great admiration in the victors, who boasted that they were longer, larger, and more beautiful

* *Complaint of Scotland*, p. 64. *Matt. Paris*, p. 1090.

† Cannon of the second order, which were long in proportion to their length. They were sometimes denominated serpentes.

‡ A species of cannon about three inches in calibre.

§ Sakers derived their name from a species of hawk, they were smaller than a demi-culverin, and were much employed in sieges.

|| This cannon coincides with the culverin, as the name does, which signifies a serpent.

¶ Cannon of a large size.

** A small species of artillery.

†† Bersis resembled the falcon, but was shorter and of larger calibre; it was formerly much used at sea.

‡‡ A species of pistols.

§§ So denominated from their butts, which were crooked whereas those of hand-guns were straight.

than any in the arsenal of their own king. James V. appears to have emulated his father in his desire to improve this arm of war; and in the parliament of 1540 it was ordained that merchants trading with foreign countries should import with every cargo at least two hagbuts, or metal to make them, together with powder and 'calms,' for the furnishing of the same. In the same parliament it was enacted, that every landed proprietor should furnish himself with a 'hagbut of founde,' called a 'hagbut of erochert,' with their calms, bullets, and pellocks of lead or iron, and a proper quantity of powder for every hundred pounds of lead. The owner of a hundred-mark land was to have two culverens, while the possessor of a forty-mark land was enjoined to provide one culveren, with calms, lead, and powder, and trestles, to be ready at all times for firing the hagbuts. The act extended not only to lands of regality, but to the clergy and to ladies; and directed that the artillery which they were commanded to provide should remain at their castles, abbeys, or mansions, to be kept in due order by them and their successors, for the defence of the realm.

For a considerable time after the invention of firearms, they were only partially adopted, and the crossbow and the longbow, and the ancient battering engines, continued to be employed, along with the different kinds of artillery. Thus, in the 'Complaint of Scotland,' the captain before attacking the enemy's vessel commands the soldiers to make ready their crossbows and longbows, firespears* and hail shot, and the gunners to stand by their guns; and the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood, in his address to his men, before his engagement with Stephen Bull, says, "Set yourselves in order everie man to his awn room; let the gunners charge their artillyiarie, and the crossbows make them readie, with the lyme pottis and fire-ballis in our tops; and let us keep our overlofts weil with two handit swords, and every gude fellow remember the weil of his country; and will God, for my part I shall shaw good example."

The defence of the country still continued to occupy a considerable share of the attention of the legislature. In 1491 a statute which had been repeatedly passed by the parliament was re-enacted, enjoining 'weaponshawings,' to be held four times

Weapons and armour. in the year, for the praeitice of warlike exercises. It was ordained that every landowner worth ten pounds a year in land, should provide himself with a basnett sallat, (a helmet without a crest,) white hat, gorget, peane, and greaves, with a sword, spear, and dagger. Those of smaller incomes were to be armed according to their station. Yeomen and burgesses were enjoined to arm themselves either with bows and arrows or an axe, and with a sword, buckler,

dagger, and spear; and for defensive armour they were to wear, according to their station, white armour, brigantines or jacks, with splents and gauntlets of plate armour. Foot-ball and golf were again prohibited, in order that the people might devote more of their time to the practice of archery. Similar injunctions were issued in 1540, for the observance of the stated military musters, and the arming of all classes of the community. The nobles and barons were directed to arm themselves in white harness, light or heavy according to their pleasure, and with the weapons becoming their rank; whilst all persons whose property was below a hundred pounds of yearly rent, were to have a jack, or a halkrick (a corslet), or brigantine, and gloves of plate, with peane and gorget; no weapons were admitted by the muster officer except spears, pikes of six ells length, Leith axes, haberds, hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords. It was at the same time decreed, that in consequence of the damage done to the grounds of the poor by the multitude of horsemen advancing to the army, and the impediments they caused in battle, 'where all must fight on foot,' the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggago waggons, and that none should be permitted to be mounted in the host, except earls, barons, and great landed proprietors.*

The manners of the Scottish court at this period were characterized by rude magnificence, but had no pretensions either to refinement or delicacy. In 1503, that alliance Manners of the period. was formed between James IV. and the Princess Margaret of England, which, one hundred years after, united the sovereignty of the two countries. If we may judge from the entries respecting the preparations for this ceremony, which occupy forty leaves of the 'Treasurer's Accounts,' the marriage must have been celebrated with remarkable pomp and magnificence. No less a sum than £1045 5s. 9d. Flemish money was spent in the purchase of silver plate, in Flanders. Among many other entries relative to the repairing of the regalia and a new crown to the queen, on the 16th of July, 1503, there was given 'to Matho Auchlek, goldsmith, that wantit of the king's crowne five ridars (a denomination of weight), twa Scottish crowns, half ane angell, wey-and, ane unce,' equal to seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. Two Harry nobles were

given to 'gilt the king's capture.' Preparations for the marriage of James IV. and the Princess Margaret. Amongst an immense variety of household furnishings, including the state bed, dresses, &c., occur the following. 'Item, boecht fra James Hommil, unce pece of Hercules, ane pece of Marcus Coriolanus, twa peeces of Susanna sewit to gidder, ane cover for ane bed of Susanna, ane pece of Salamone, coontening in the hale ten score elne, and boecht all for one hundred and sixty pounds.'

* The fire-spear is the lance à feu, a species of fusil nited with a spear, much used before the invention of the ayonet. One of the inventions for which a patent was granted, in 1625, to Drummond of Hawthornden, by Charles I. seems to have been an improvement of this weapon. See Glossary to the 'Complaint of Scotland,' p. 349.

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

Some curious particulars respecting the journey of the youthful princess from her father's dominions, and the mode of her reception in Scotland, are given in the narrative of John Young, Somerset herald,* who accompanied the royal cortège. The roads were so bad that in some places it was necessary to send bodies of workmen to 'make by force, ways for the queen's carriages.' 'Great numbers of people,' he says, 'assembled to see their queen, and lined the wayside where we passed. They brought with them plenty of drink, and served with it every one that wished for it, if so be that person was willing to pay for the same.' On approaching Dalkeith, where Margaret had her first meeting with the Scottish king, the queen and her attendants halted by the wayside, half-a-mile from the town, for the purpose of removing the travel-stains from their dress. The ladies equipped the princess in a new fresh dress, and 'every body likewise dressed and set themselves off to the best advantage, and then took their appointed places.'

On the night after her arrival at Dalkeith Castle, at that time the residence of the Earl of Morton, a fire broke out which entirely consumed the stables, and the queen's two white palfreys perished in the flames. One of these was so much beloved by Margaret that she spent the next morning in tears for its loss. James hastened to console her under the misfortune, and lost no time in seeking to repair it. Three days after (Aug. 6th) there is the following entry in the 'Treasurer's Accounts.' 'To John Auchlek for gilding of the Queen's bukills and bosses of the Queen's bridill and harnessing that was burnt in Dalkeith, four pounds two shillings; and on the 10th of August, the sum of fourteen shillings was paid 'to Maistr. James Henrissonnes man, of bridill silver of ane horse giften for the quene, for hir hors were brynt in Dalkeyth.' At the second interview between the king and the princess, which took place in Newbattle Abbey, the Somerset herald mentions that 'after some words rehearsed, the minstrels began to play a *Case* dance, which was danced by Queen Margaret and the Countess of Surrey. The minstrels then played a round, the which was danced by the Queen led by the Lord Gray, and they were followed by many lords, ladies, and gentlewomen. The King of Scotland then began to play on the claricords before his Queen: after that he played on the lute, which pleased her very much, and she had great pleasure to hear him. Sir Edward Stanley then sat down to the claricords, and played a ballad which he sang withal. The king commended it much, and called one of his gentlemen who could sing very well and made him sing with Sir Edward Stanley, and their voices accorded very well. Afterwards, Sir Edward sang some ballads, with two of his servants, and the King of Scotland gave him good thanks.' On the following Sunday, Aug. 6th, Margaret attended

the private chapel of Newbattle, 'accompanied by her own English household and the lady of Newbattle. The sermon was preached by one of the Friars Observant. After mass the Queen was conveyed to her chamber, and during the dinner, trumpets and sackbuts blew. The minstrels of the queen's chamber began to play after dinner, and then danced the Queen, the Countess of Surrey, the Lady Lisle, and the daughter of the lady of Newbattle. The dance over, they passed the Sunday afternoon in games and in conversing.'

The next day was appointed for the queen's solemn entry into Edinburgh. She was met half way by James and his company. The king's steed was trapped with gold, and round its neck was a deep gold fringe; the saddle and harness were of gold, but the bridle and headgear of burnished silver.' On seeing the queen he made a very humble obeisance, and leaping down from his horse, he came and kissed her in her litter. Then mounting, 'without putting his foot in stirrup,' he rode by the side of the queen's litter, conversing with her and entertaining her.

'Before they entered Edinburgh, one of the king's gentlemen brought out a fair courser, trapped in cloth of gold, with crimson velvet interlaced with white and red; the king went to the horse, mounted him without touching the stirrup, in the presence of the whole company, then tried his paces—choosing to judge himself whether it were safe for his bride to ride on a pillion behind him, which was the mode in which he intended to enter the city. Likewise he caused one of his gentlemen to mount behind him, as a lady would ride, to see whether the courser would bear double or not.' Having decided that it was not proper to trust the safety of his bride to his favourite charger, 'he dismounted from him, and condescended to ride on the queen's gentle palfrey. He mounted, and the queen was placed on a pillion behind him,' in which 'honest and antique fashion the gallant monarch rode through the good town to his palace, amid the acclamations of his subjects.' The way was enlivened by feats of horsemanship, the hunting of a tame deer, and the performance of a pageant made up of 'drama, joust, and tourney.' As the royal cortège was entering the city 'the grey friars came in procession with the cross and some relics, which were presented by their warden for the king to kiss. But he would not, until the queen had kissed them, and his grace would still ride with his head uncovered, out of respect to her. Right across the entry of Edinburgh was a gate with two tourelles and a window in the midst. In the tourelles were at their windows vested angels, singing joyously for the coming of so noble a lady; and at the middle window was another angel, who flew down and presented the keys of the town to Queen Margaret. Then came in procession the collego of the parish of St. Giles, richly vested, and they brought the relic of the arm of their saint, which was presented to the king to kiss.

* *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iv. pp. 287—300. *Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 27—66.

‘In the midst of Edinburgh was a cross, and hard by a fountain casting forth wine; and each one drank that would. Nigh to the cross a scaffold, where was represented Paris and the three goddesses, with Mercury, who gave Paris the apple of gold.’ With that strange and incongruous mixture of heathen mythology and Christian truth, which was so characteristic of the age, upon the same scaffold were represented the ‘Salutation of Gabriel to the Virgin;’ the ‘Marriage of the Virgin to Joseph;’ and a pageant with the ‘Four Virtues;’ likewise were stationed war-tablets which played merrily. There were devices of a *licorne* (unicorn) and a greyhound, being ‘the Stuart and Tudor beasts,’ and wreaths of *cardons*, or thistles, and red roses interlaced, formed the borders.

‘Then the noble company all passed out of the town (down the Canongate), and approached to the church of the Holy Cross (Holyrood), where they were met by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, brother to the king, with his cross borne before him, accompanied by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, together with many abbots, all in their pontificals, preceded by their crosses.’ After mass, the queen was conducted by the king to the great chamber of Holyrood, where the ladies of the principal nobles and knights were presented to her. She saluted each of them in turn, and then ‘the king kissed her for her labour; and so took her by the waist again with lowly courtesy, his bonnet in his hand, and brought her to her second or inner chamber, and there saluted her once more, taking his leave right humbly.’ ‘The town of Edinburgh was all that day hung with tapestry; the houses and windows were full of lords, ladies, and gentlemen; and in the streets so great a multitude of people, that it was a fair thing to see. The people were very glad of the coming of their queen, therefore all the bells of Edinburgh town rang for mirth.’

Next day, August 8th, the marriage ceremony was performed. The Somerset herald dwells with peculiar and characteristic complacency on the magnificent dresses of the royal pair, and their attendant lords and ladies. The bride was arrayed in a rich robe of white and gold damask, bordered with crimson velvet, and lined with white sarcenet. She wore a magnificent crown, a collar of pearls and precious stones, and a rich coif; her hair was hanging down the whole length of her body. The king wore ‘a robe of white damask, figured with gold, a jacket with slashes of crimson satin, and the border of black velvet, a waistcoat of cloth of gold, and a pair of scarlet hose. His shirt was brodered with gold thread, his bonnet black velvet, looped up with a rich balass-ruby, and his sword was girt about him.’ The marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and York. At the Gospel the newly-married pair ‘made their offerings.’ We learn from the ‘Treasurer’s accounts’ that the king ‘laid on the buke six demys, five shillings white silver;’ and that there was given

him ‘to put in his caudell, and the quene’s caudell, two French crowns.’ At the dinner which followed, the queen was served at the first course with a wild boar’s head, then with a fair piece of brawn, and in the third place with a *gambon* (ham), which was followed by divers other dishes to the number of twelve, all in fair and rich vessels. The king was served in gilt vessels as the queen was. The Archbishops of St. Andrews and York dined with him. The state-chamber was hung with red and blue, and ‘in it was a ceil of state of cloth of gold, but the king was not under it that same day. There was also in the same chamber a rich state-bed,* and a rich dresser set out after the manner of the country.’ After dinner the minstrels played and sang the epithalamium, composed in honour of the nuptials.

When they had concluded, a hall was cleared for a dance. In the evening the king again went to church, and on his return sent his marriage robe as a perquisite to the English heralds and officers-of-arms. The queen’s robe, according to ancient custom, was sent as a fee to her husband’s heralds; but Margaret, like most ladies, had an affection for her wedding gown, and redeemed it for fifty marks.

On the 9th of August, a curious entry appears in the ‘Treasurer’s accounts,’ respecting the clipping of the king’s beard. In his description of the king’s first interview with his bride at Dalkeith, Young, the English herald, seems to have been struck with the length of James’s beard, and his young bride was probably a little annoyed at it, for on the day after the marriage we find that the gallant monarch employed the Countess of Surrey and her daughter Lady Grey to clip his beard—for which service, the Treasurer informs us, these noble tansors received—the former ‘fifteen ells of cloth of gold, at twenty-two pounds the ell; and the latter fifteen ells of damask gold, ilk ell twelve pounds.’ ‘This somewhat expensive frolic,’ says Mr. Chambers, ‘acquires a melancholy interest, from the reflection that only ten years after, the husband of the fair barber (who conducted the queen into Scotland), met and slew the king of Scots at Flodden.’

We are informed by Young that the marriage was celebrated with jousts and tournaments, and other chivalric exercises; and the Treasurer’s accounts contain numerous entries relating to the preparations for these amusements. August 21st we find that the worthy official ‘payit to Johne Mayne, bowar, for sixty justing speris at the marriage, ilk peece three shillings,’ nine pounds (Scots). ‘Item, for sic score speris for turnaying,’ eighteen pounds. ‘Item, ane blak burdowne spere,’ five shillings. ‘Item, to Robert Cutelar for 24 swordis, 41 lang and 12 short swordis, for turnaying, ilk peece ten shillings,’ forty pounds. Sums are paid for ‘spere hedus,’ and for virales and diemendis ‘for speris.’ ‘Sept. 19— to ane man to pas to Strivilin for bataile axes and swordis, and to cum again that nycht,’ nine

* State sleeping chambers were constantly used as dining or supper rooms until the seventeenth century.

shillings. 'Oct. 24—to the heraldis, for their com-
pissioane of the eschet of the barres, when Chris-
tofers Tailyour fought,' six pounds, thirteen shil-
lings and fourpence. 'Nov. 22—to Robert Cutelar,
for sixteen swords for turnaying, ilk peece ten shil-
lings, eight pounds.' 'Item, to Moncur armorar
for ane pair of cuschingis, brases, and mending
of the king's harness, at the turnaying,' five French
crowns,* equal to three pounds ten shillings.
'Item, to John Mayne, bowar, for twenty-seven
speris,' fifty-four shillings. 'Item, for three speris,'
nine shillings.

There are some curious entries relating to the
miscellaneous articles required for the same oc-
casion. The 'carters of Leith,' a
class of men still existing in an
associated capacity, received six pounds twelve
shillings for the use of twenty-two carts (six
shillings each), to bring the queen's luggage to
Edinburgh from Dalkeith. On the first of Sep-
tember the Treasurer 'payit to James Doig,† to
cartaris and pynouris, for carrying of beddis-clothes
and hingings (bed-clothes and hangings) fra the
Castle to the Abbay and other places,' twenty-six
shillings. 'Item, to the said James, to be laid doune
for stray (straw) to beddis, and for strowing of the
Abbay close with girse, (dried meadow hay,) the
time of the marriage,' thirty-five shillings. 'Item,
to the said James, he gairt at diverse tymes for forty-
two turses (trusses) of bent, ilk turse three shillings,'
six pounds six shillings. 'September 3rd. Item,
for seven laid (loads) of bent,' twenty shillings.
In numerous other instances reference is made to
the same custom of strewing the floors of the
chambers with rushes. Under the date of Sept.
10th there is an interesting entry of twenty
French crowns paid by the king's command, to the
English painter who accompanied the marriage
train, in charge of the portraits of the English
king and his queen, the Prince of England, and
Queen Margaret, presented by Henry to his son-
in-law. It is probable that this artist remained
in Scotland two months, following his profession;
for, under date November 10th, 1533, occurs the
entry of a *propyne* to 'Mynour ye Inglishe
Payntour when he passit away,' one French
crown.

The records of the Treasurer show that the
bounty of the king had overflowed towards the
musicians and other persons of
the queen's train. On his wed-
ding-day he presented to the
heralds the large sum of forty French crowns. Two
days later (August 10th), twelve pounds are paid
for a present of 'Hollande claith giffen to the
Archbishops of Zork.' On the 13th, eight English
minstrels received by the king's command forty
French crowns; and an equal sum is paid to the
trumpets of England; to the queen's four min-

strels who remained with her, seven pounds, and
an equal sum 'to the English minstrel that
passed away, and the king sent for him again;' to
the three minstrels of Berwick, six pounds six
shillings; to the 'five loud minstrels,' forty French
crowns; to 'the Erle of Oxfordis twa menstrualys,
five pounds twelve shillings. The 'bere ledair
(bear-leader) of England' is honoured with eight
crowns; 'the English spelair (climber) that playt
the supersalt,' receives eight crowns; 'the portair'
eight 'to by him ane hors,' and 'the cofferair'
gets 'eighty Scotch ridaris,' which were equal to
ninety-two pounds. The 'cofferair' was no doubt
an official connected with the 'Inglishe coffir,' which
probably contained the first instalment of the
queen's dower, consisting altogether of thirty
thousand gold angels, payable in three equal por-
tions. On the 12th of August four shillings are
paid to six men that carried the coffer 'fra the
Abbey to the Castell of Edinburgh,' and next day
ten pounds are given for 'a eup of silver overgilt'
to the cofferer. On the 11th of September 'the
Italiene lass (girl) that dansit' received by the
king's command the sum of thirty French crowns,
together with five ells of blue damask, 'to be ane
gounne to hir, ilk elne' twenty-four shillings.
Bountas, a cornet-player, who played in Queen
Margaret's chamber, was paid the sum of twenty-
eight shillings; and shortly after, on the occasion
of the queen's coronation, her 'loud minstrels' and
her cornet-player got double fees, and Bountas
was presented by the king with 'new quhisellis'
(whistles). A company of English comedians,
under the management of John English, regaled
the court with a dramatic representation. 'After
dinnar,' says 'Johne Youuge,' Somerset herald, 'a
moralitie was played by the said Master Inglishe
and his companions in the presence of the kyng
and quene, and then daunces were daunced.'
The 'three gysaris that playit the play,' and
who on the 13th of August received a gratuity of
thirty French crowns, probably belonged to this
company.

In the succeeding year the king undertook an
expedition to the Borders, for the repression and
punishment of the freebooters who
infested that district. The ac-
counts of the Lord Treasurer in
reference to this affair, popularly termed the 'Raid
of Eskdale,' east most interesting light both on the
manners of the times, and the personal character of
the Scottish monarch, who was fond of combining
amusement with the weightier cares of govern-
ment. They show that he 'was attended in his
progress by his huntsmen, falconers, morris-dancers,
and all the motley and various minions of his
pleasures, as well as by his judges and ministers of
the law; and whilst troops of the unfortunate
marauders were seized and brought in irons to the
encampment, executions and entertainments appear
to have succeeded each other with extraordinary

* So called because they had originally a crown on one
side.

† The keeper of the queen's wardrobe, and the subject of
two of Dunbar's satirical poems.

rapidity.' One of the first items of expense is the very characteristic entry of a sum for horses to carry James Mylson and Alex. Harper two of the king's minstrels into Eskdale, and for 'twa hides to be jacks' for other two of the same tuncful fraternity. James Hog, the 'Tale-Teller,' receives twenty-eight shillings to 'fee twa hors to take the king's harness' or armour into Eskdale. Then follow various sums for crossbows and bolts, five pair of spurs to the king, stirrup-irons, riding girths, horse-collars, &c., new 'leg-splentis' (greaves) to the king, 'twa gret bueklaris,' 'twa dosan' bows and as many bow-strings. Two shillings were given to the 'armoraris that brocht the king's leg-splentis, for drink-silver,' and four shillings to John Foreman for mending the king's leetdecamp.* On the king's arrival at Dumfries, forty-two shillings were disbursed on the 13th of August 'to menestrales to fee thaim horses to Eskdale, and syne again to Dumfriese.' Next day fourteen shillings were distributed among the town 'piparis;' on the 17th the same sum was paid 'to the man that hangit the thievis at the Hullirbus,' and eight pence 'for ane raip to hang thaim in.' Four days after, fourteen shillings were paid 'to the man that hangit the thieves in Canonby.' On the same evening the king was entertained by two English women who sang to him in his pavilion, and received a donation of twenty-eight shillings. Mention is also made of 'ane Englishman that gaif ane bow and arrowes to the king,' of another who 'brocht ane deir fra Lord Daere,' of 'ane gyde' who passed with Sir Thomas Alane 'to Edinburge, for wyne to the king in Eskdale,' of 'the prior of Carliles twa men,' who brought a present of malmsey wine to the king, of 'twa wyffis who brocht aill to the king fra Sir John Musgrave,' who all came in for a liberal share of the royal bounty. On the 23rd of August, James was at Lochmaben in company with Lord Daere, the English warden, who had received his master's instructions to meet the Scottish king, and afford him every assistance in the suppression of the Border thieves. James appears to have lost several sums at cards to the English baron. On the 31st of August, thirty pounds were paid to Sir Alexander Jardine and his men, for the capture of a notable thief named Gib Lindesay, and two of his accomplices. An entry, under the date of September 11th, of forty-two shillings 'to Johne Goldsmythe for tursing (packing and carrying) of the organ in Eskdale,' shows that the king in this expedition had 'not only his minstrels to cheer his hours of relaxation, but also musical instruments, and those not the most portable.' On the same day a second donation of twenty-eight shillings was given by the king to the pipers of Dumfries. On the 7th he paid fourteen shillings for 'ane Portugale skin to be halk ludis (hawk-hoods), and next day fourteen shillings were paid by the king's command to William Spicehouse in contentacioune of ane ring whilk

the king tuke fra him.' Numerous entries occur in these records which exhibit the character of James in a very favourable light, and afford unequivocal proofs of his generosity and sense of justice. Thus, for example, on the 14th of September, he caused ten shillings to be paid 'in Lochmaben to ane pair man that all the court tuke his hay fra him.' On the same day he gave a unicorn, or eight-and-twenty shillings, to 'ane Inglisman that was ship-broken.' On one occasion he bestowed two pounds fourteen shillings on 'puir wyffis of Ballincerefe that had thare gudes taken away by Johne Stewart,' and on the same day he gave eighteen shillings 'till other twa pair wyffis that the king spilt (spoiled) there corn.' In his journeys he seems to have been in the habit of giving small sums to 'puir wyffis be the gait' (by the way), and his return to his capital from this 'raid' was marked by his giving twelve pence on the 19th of September 'to ane pair wyfe on the muir of Edinburge.'

The accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, during the reign of James IV., afford a great deal of valuable and curious information respecting the favourite amusements of the king and nobles at this period.

'The king's fondness for games, glee, and merriment of every kind,' it has been justly said, 'is ludicrous; and, when we consider the many grave and valuable qualities which James undoubtedly possessed, presents a singular picture of human nature.' The chief out-of-door sports of the king seem to have

been the tournament, hunting the deer, hawking, archery, 'the cache,' and playing at bowls. In the Treasurer's accounts, there are frequent payments for balls to the king to play at the 'cache,' and for money lost by him at the game. For example:— 'May 10, 1496, to the king in Strivilin, to play at the cache,' six pounds ten shillings. 'April 17th, 1508, for balls to the king, to play at the cache,' four shillings. Same day, 'to the king, whilk he tint (lost) at the cache,' fourteen shillings. April 19, the king 'playit at the cache with the Laird of Burley, and tint four pounds four shillings.' An entry on the 7th of June, 1496, shows the possibility of very deep play at this game:— 'To Wat of Lesley, that he wan at the cache fra the king,' twenty-three pounds eight shillings. The 'cache' was probably a similar game to that of 'cache,' or 'cage-ball,' which is still practised by boys in Scotland, and is played against a dead wall. Another is also made of 'the kites,' probably nine pins or skittles, the 'Irish gamyne,' the 'prop,' at which the king played in Strathbogy, losing four shillings and four pence, the 'lang bowlis,' with which his majesty amused himself at St. Andrews on the 28th of April, 1487, and the 'row bowlis,' which contributed to his royal diversion on the 20th of June, 1501, on which occasion Sir John Sinclair of Dryden, and the prothonotary, Andrew Forman, were his partners in the game.

* A portable bed, which he carried with him to the field, and in all his journeys and hunting excursions.

An entry, on the 28th of December, 1501, affords one out of hundreds of similar instances of the king's urbanity:—'To play at the byllis (bowls) with Johne Anderson, that wantis feit and handis,' fourteen shillings. In spite of his detruncated condition, John seems to have been more than a match for his majesty. There are continual references throughout the Treasurer's accounts to archery, shooting at the butts, shooting with the crossbow and culveren, and playing at the golf and football. In all of these games the king appears to have been no mean proficient. Another favourite sport of James was the exhibition of his skill and strength in striking with the great sledge hammer used by smiths in their forge. Thus, when Sir Anthony d'Arzy came into Scotland from the French court, and distinguished himself at the tournament held at Stirling in 1506, we find on the 25th June this entry in the books of the High Treasurer:—'Item, to the smith, when the king and the French knyght strack at the steddye, thirteyn shillings.' One curious instance of James's love of practical jokes and vulgar merriment is to be met with under the 14th August, 1491:—'Item, to a wife at Bathgate-bog, that the king revit a rung fra (wrested a stick from), eighteen shillings. On the 2nd of May, 1504, there is a curious entry of twenty-eight shillings, paid to 'Dande Doule quhilk he wan fra the king on hors-ryning,' which, as Mr. Pitcairn remarks, is probably the earliest notice of horse-racing in Britain, and betting on the event of the race as an amusement.

The principal in-door amusements of the king and nobles were playing at chess tables, cards and dice, and listening to tale-tellers, minstrels, and players. The king seems almost invariably to have played for money, and his losses at cards were frequently very heavy. Thus, in 1488, we have—'Item, on Yule-day, for the king himself to play at the dice and cards,' twenty-eight pounds; 'Item, on St. John's-day, at even (only two days later), sent with Archie Dickson to the king, to play at the dice at Lithgow,' forty-two pounds. On the single night of Christmas, 1490, there are given to the king, at Melrose, to spend at cards, 'thirty-five unicornis, eleven French crowns, a ducat, a ridare, and a lew'—in all forty-two pounds. Throughout the whole of the winter period, indeed, there are entries almost every night for sums lost at the cards or the tables; for, as Mr. Chambers remarks, the king, with true royal feeling, seems to have thought it beneath him ever to win.

James was passionately fond of music, both vocal and instrumental, and appears to have been himself no mean proficient in that delightful art. As Mr. Tytler remarks, when the noted papal embassy arrived at his court, which brought him from his Holiness a splendid sword of justice still to be seen amongst the Scottish regalia, the first attitude in which

we discover the king is 'listhening,' not to the ambassador, but to the 'Paip's ambassador's servant,' who was a celebrated singer.* In his frequent progresses through his kingdom, he was generally met at the gates of the town by maidens, who welcomed him with songs; and wherever he went, he appears to have sought and liberally rewarded those who could please him in his favourite art. Thus, in the Treasurer's accounts, as regularly as the king comes to Dumfries, 'a little crukit-backit vicar' makes his appearance, and this deformed vocalist figures from year to year as a recipient of the royal bounty.† James re-

Musicians.

tained about his person a vast multitude of 'lutaris,' 'piparis,' 'fithelaris' (fiddlers), 'clarschaaris' (Highland harpers), 'tabrounaris,' 'trumpetaris,' 'schawmeris,' &c., to all whom frequent entries are made, both for ordinary pay and presents. Thus, on July 10, 1489, eight pounds eight shillings were paid 'to Inglis (English) pyparis that came to the castell, and playit to the king.' On the 26th of August, 1504, four French crowns were given 'to Cuddy the Inglis luter, to louse his cheyne of grotis, quhilk he tint at the cartes (to relieve his chain of groats, which he lost at cards). And on New Year's-day, 1506, the sum of forty-one pounds eleven shillings was paid 'to divers menstiales, schawmeris, trumpeteris, taubronaris, fithelaris, lutaris, clarschaaris and piperis,' extending to eighty-nine persons. Of 'menstiales' who combined the professions of music and poetry, James entertained no fewer than thirty-one at his own court; many of these appear to have been natives of England and the southern states of Europe. Thus, on the 21st of November, 1504, fourteen shillings were paid 'to one of the four Italiane minstrels, to by him ane hat, by the king's commands,' and, on February 15, 1512-13, twenty-five pounds five shillings were given 'to Guilyeame, organer, Frenchman, and his five complices, French menstialis.' One of the king's favourite amusements was listening to tale-tellers and the singers of songs and ballads.

Thus, in June, 1489, the accounts introduce us to 'Cunninghame the singer,' who receives at the king's commands a demy; that is, fourteen shillings. A few days later, we find an entry of ten pounds 'to Wilyeam Sangster, of Lithquo, for a sang-buke he brocht to the king.' 'On Monunda, the 2nd of January, 1491'—probably on the festival still observed in Scotland under the name of Handsel Monday,—three unicorns, equal to two pounds fourteen shillings, were paid 'to Sir Thomas Galbreth, Jok Goldsmyt, and Crawford, for the singing of a ballad to the king in the morning;' and, among frequent entries of the same kind, we find, 'May 23, 1496,' fourteen shillings paid 'to twa women, that sang to the king in Strivilin.' In the department of story-telling, we hear of 'Wallase that tells the geistis;' 'Widderspoon the Foular that tald tales and

* Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 342.

† Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 341.

+ Ibid.

brocht foulis to the king,' of Watschod the tale-teller; of 'the twa filhilaris,' who 'sang' the ballad or romance of 'Greysteil to the king;' and of 'a puir man, who told tales' to his majesty of Scotland, and received for his recitations the reward of six shillings and eight-pence. Mention has already been made of the company

of English comedians who entertained the court at the celebration of the nuptials of James IV. and the Princess Margaret; and we learn that on the 5th of Aug. 1488, five pounds were given at Linlithgow, to 'Patrick Johnson, and the players that playt to the king.' The same company played a twelve-month after at the same place for the entertainment of a Spanish embassy, and were rewarded with eight pounds eight shillings. We find in the

Dancers and 'gysaris,' accounts numerous references to 'gysaris,' 'dansaris and gysaris,' who seem to have entertained his majesty in all parts of the country, and were probably connected with the particular places where they exhibited. Thus entries are made of gratuities bestowed upon 'the gysaris of the toune of Edinburgh,' the 'dansaris and gysaris' at Lanark, and the 'dansaris and gysaris' at Arbroath. The 'dansaris' were no doubt morrice dancers, for there are an immense number of entries in the Treasurer's accounts regarding this pastime. Thus '1501-2, Feb. 8, To the men that brocht in the morrice dance, and to the menstrolles of Strivelin be the king's command,' forty-two shillings. '1503-4, Jan. 5, To Maister John (the French Leech, afterwards Abbot of Tunland), to buy bells for the morris danss,' twenty-eight shillings. 'Jan 6. To Colin Campbell and his marrowiss (companions) that brocht in the morris daunns, and for their expenses maid thairon, be the king's command,' twenty French crowns, equal to fourteen pounds Scots. On the following day there are entries of considerable sums for 'rede and blew taffeti,' to make 'six daunsing cotes in Maister John's dauns,' for 'blak gray to lyne the same,' for 'blew taffeti to the womane's gown in the said dance,' and for 'seven eln quhite to lyne the same,' for 'taffeti blew, rede, and variant, for the said dansaris hede gere.' On a subsequent occasion, the Treasurer paid for 'green sey to be dancing coats, doublets and hose, &c. to five boys, and a kirtle, &c. to a woman (Margaret Napcr), for dancing, and for stuff to be seven dancing coats and doublets to the squires, viz. Thomas Boswell and his companions.' Next day four pounds twelve shillings were paid to Thomas 'for thirty dosane bellis to the dansaris.' Margaret Napcr received for her services on this occasion the gift of 'four eln of scarlet at fifty shillings the eln, and five quarters wellus,' at two pounds fifteen

shillings. On the 5th of Dec. 1512, nine pounds were paid to 'the servitouris of Monsur la Mote,' (the French ambassador who fell at Flodden,) that 'dansit ane morris to the king,' and on the 16th of the same month they received a further gratuity of five pounds eight shillings for dancing 'an uther morris to the king and quene.' 'Gysaris,' 'dansaris,' and 'playeris' appear to have been in some measure synonymous; as mention is made of 'gysaris that dansit to the king and quene,' of 'gysaris that playit the play,' of French minstrels 'that maid ane danss in the Abbay,' and of 'the Spanyeartis (Spaniards) that dansitt before the king on the cawsay of Edinburgh before the Thesauris (Treasurer's) lugeing,' on the 16th of Jan. 1491, and who received from his majesty a gratuity of thirty unicorns, equal to twenty-seven pounds.

In the family of every person of distinction at this period there was a jester Fools and jesters. maintained, generally a composition of knave and fool; and it appears from the Treasurer's Accounts that several 'fools' formed part of the establishment of James IV. Among these is one styled 'Jok Fule,' 'Daft Jok the Fule,' and 'John Wallass the Fule,' who attended the king on his visit to St. Andrews, in Oct. 1504, and died in the summer of 1508, as on June 19, the sum of sixteen shillings was paid 'for Jok Wallass tyrment.' Another of these jesters named John Bute received for his dress in Dec. 1506 'a doctor's gown of chamlot, lined with black grey and purfellt with skins, with a hoode, a doublet of fustian, hose, and a grey bonnet,' and at the same time 'Spark, Johu Butis man,' received a gown of russet, doublet of fustian, and hose of carsay. A third, named Thomas Nornee or Norny seems to have been a favourite attendant, and to have regularly accompanied the king on his journeys from one part of the country to another. There are various entries in the accounts for articles of dress to him, such as bonnets, shoes, a coat of yellow and black chamlot, a doublet of birge satin, a pair of carsay hose, red and yellow, &c. In May, 1505, three pounds ten shillings were given 'to the wif quhair Nornee lay sick in the Sennis,' and July 23, three pounds were paid for 'ane hors to Nornee.' Mention is also made of an English jester styled variously 'Jolly John the fule of Englande,' and 'Gentil John, the Englishe fule,' to whom numerous sums are given.

In the Treasurer's Accounts there are numerous entries of sums paid for the cloth- Blackamoors. ing and entertainment of a party of blackamoors who were maintained at the court of James IV. They were captured by one of the Bartons in a Portuguese ship, in which, among other curiosities, were found a musk cat, and a 'Portengale horse with a red tail.' Two of the Blackamoor girls were baptized by the names of Ellen and Margaret; and were educated at court, where they remained as attendants upon the queen. A tournament was held in 1506, in honour of one of these 'Moor lasses' in which the 'dark

* Thomas Boswell, who figures so conspicuously in the train devoted to the amusement of the Scottish monarch, was a cadet of the old house of Balmuto, in Efyfe, and was finally rewarded for his services by a grant of the estate of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire. He was an ancestor of the well-known biographer of Samuel Johnson.

ladye' was seated in great state in a triumphal chariot, and adjudged the prize to the victor. The object of this was not, as some may suppose, to ridicule the splendid solemnities of the jousts and tournaments of the day. The preparations for the ceremony were made with all gravity and solemnity; and articles of defiance were even sent to France, in which a Scottish champion, under the name of a wild or savage knight, challenged the chivalry of the French court to break a spear in honour of the noble damsel. Among other knights the gallant Sir Anthony D'Arse de la Bastie visited Scotland on this occasion, and appears to have gained great distinction. In the succeeding summer of 1507 the king instituted another gorgeous tournament in honour of the Moor. 'She again appeared in a triumphal chariot, and was arrayed in a robe of damask silk, powdered with gold spangles; whilst her two damsels were clothed in gowns of green Flanders taffeta.' On this occasion there was introduced a troop of wild men clothed in goat-skins and harts' horns, which, we learn from the Treasurer's books, were sent by Sir William Murray from Tullibardine, at the expense of six shillings.* It was probably on this occasion that Dunbar indited his lines on 'Ane Black-Mojir.'

'Lang have I sung of ladies white,
Now of ane black I will indite,
That landed forth from the last ships,
Whom fain I would describe perfyte,
My ladye with the meikle lips.

'How she is tute mow'd,§ like an ape,
And like a gangaral|| unto graip,
And how her short cat-nose up skips,
And how she shines like ony saip,—¶
My ladye with the meikle lips.

'When she is clad in rich apparel,
She blinks as bright as ane tar-barrel;
When she was born, the sun thold clipse,••
The nycht be faine† fought in her quarrel—
My ladye with the meikle lips.'

Blackamoors, however, were not such a novelty at the Scottish court as might be supposed. In 1608 two Blackamoor Friars came to Scotland, and remained for a few months, James IV. having occasionally contributed to defray their expenses and to furnish 'the More Freris' with articles of dress. In the Treasurer's Accounts there occurs repeated mention of one of the king's minstrels, who is variously styled 'the More taubroner,' 'Peter the Moryen,' and 'Peter the More.' And the following entry in the same record shows that the queen also had a black maiden, who waited on her: 'Item, for three ells ½ French russet, to the queen's black maiden, £3 16s. 6d.'

In Dunbar's 'Remonstrance to the King,' we are presented with a remarkably graphic picture of the crowd of importunate, idle, and worthless characters who infested the Scottish court at this period, attracted by the indiscriminate prodigality of his gay and gallant sovereign.

* Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 334. † Perfectly.
 ‡ Lure. § Having the under jaw projecting.
 § Soap. •• Was under eclipse.
 †† Most eagerly.

'Sir, ye have mony servitours,
And officers of divers curis;
Kirkmen, courtmen, and craftsmen fync;
Doctors in jure, and medicine;
Divinours, rethors, and philosophours.
Astrologs, artists, and oratours,
Men of arms, and valiant knights,
And mony other gudlie wights;
Musicians, minstrels, and mirrie singers;
Chevalours, callanders, and French flingers;
Coiners, carvours, and carpentars,
Builders of barks, and ballingars;•
Masons, building on the land,
And shipwrights hewing on the strand;
Glasswrights, goldsmiths, and lapidaris,
Printers, paintours, and potingaris;†
And all of their craft enning,
And all at anis‡ labouring;
Which pleasant is and honourable,
And to your highness profitable,
And richt convenient for to be,
With your high regal majesty;
Deserving of your grace most ding,§
Both thank, reward, and cherishing.

'And though that I among the lave,||
Unworthy, be ane place to have,
Or in their nummer to be told,
As lang in mind ny work shall hold,
As haill¶ in every circumstance,
In form, in matter, and substance,
Bnt wearing, or consumption,
Rust, canker, or corruption,
As ony of their works all,
Altho' that my reward be small!
'But ye so gracios are and meek,
That on your highness follows eik,
Another sort, most miserable,
Though they be net so profitable,
Fenyeours,** fleichours,†† and flatterars
Cryars, crackers,‡‡ and clatterars,§§
Sonkars,||| gronkars,¶¶ gledars,*** gennars
Monsouris,††† of France, good claret cummars;†††
Inopportune askers of Yrland kind;
And meat reivars,§§§ like out of mind;
Scaffars,|||| and seamlars,¶¶¶ in the nuke,
And hall hunters of draik and duke;
Thrimlars,**** and thriflers,†††† as they war wad;
Kokens,†††† that kens na man of gude,
Shoulderders, and schowars,§§§§ that has no shame,
And to no cunning that can claim;
And kennone other craft nor curis
But to make thrang, Sir, in your duris,
And rush in where they counsel hear,
And will at na man nurture leir:|||||
In quintessence, eik, inginours¶¶¶¶ joly,
That far can multiple in folie;
Fantastic fools, bath false and greedy,
Of tongue untrue, and hand nsteady,
Few dare of all this last additioun,
Come in Tolbooth, withont remission.'*****

The accounts of the Lord Treasurer show how well deserved were these indignant censures. Opening them at random with Mr. Tytler, we find the king, on the 11th February, 1488, (then not twenty years of age,) bestowing nine pounds on Gentle John, the English Fule: on the 10th of June, we have an item to 'English pypers, who played to the king at the castle gate, of eight

* Vessels of war. † Apothecaries. ‡ Once.
 § Worthy. || Rest. ¶ Entire. ** Deceivers.
 †† Wheelers. ††† Boasters. §§ Tattlers.
 ||| Loiterers. ¶¶ Sharpers. *** Persons like kites.
 †††† Monsieurs. †††† Tasters. §§§ Tearers.
 |||| Collectors of provisions.
 ¶¶¶¶ Frequenters of the shambles.
 ***** Persons who press forward in a crowd.
 †††† Thrusters. †††† Idle beggars.
 §§§§ Forward persons. ||||| Learn.
 ¶¶¶¶ Ingenious persons.
 ***** Poems, vol. i. p. 145-147. Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 96.

pounds, eight shillings: on the 31st August, Patrick Johnson and his fallows, that playit a play to the king, in Lithgow, receive three pounds: Jacob, the lutar, the King of Bene, Swanky that brought balls to the king, twa women, that sang to his Highness; Witherspoon, the foular, that told tales and brought fowls, Tom Pringle, the trumpeter, twa fithclaris, that sang Grey Steill to the king, the broken bakkit fiddler of St. Andrews, Quhissilgybbourie, a female dancer, Wat Sangster, young Rudman, the lutar, the wife that kept the hawks' nest in Craigforth, Willie Mercer, who lap in the stank by the king's command—and innumerable others who came in for a high share of the regal bounty,—

And ken none other craft nor curis,
But to mak thrang within the duris—

confirm the assertions of the indignant poet, and evince the extravagance and levity of the monarch.*

'The same records not only corroborate Dunbar's description, but bring before us, in fresh and lively colours, the court itself, with its gay and laughter-loving monarch. Let not history deride the labours of the patient antiquary; for never, in her moments of happiest composition, could she summon up a more natural and striking picture than we can derive from these ancient and often neglected records. We are enabled, by the clear and authentic lights which they furnish, to trace the motions of the court and its royal master, not only from year to year, but to mark the annals of every day. We see his majesty before he rises on the new-year's morning; we stand beside his chamberlain, and see the nobles, with their gifts and offerings, crowd into the apartment; nor is his favourite, gentle John, the English fool, forgotten, who brings his present of cross-bows; then enters the King of Bene,* enacted by Tom Pringle; Jok Goldsmith chaunts his ballat below the window; the gysars dance; and in the evening the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Bothwell, the Lord Chancellor, and the Treasurer, play at cards with his Highness. Such are but a few of the characteristic touches of these remarkable records. They would furnish us with a thousand more, had we time, or limits to detail them. They enable us to accompany the prince to his chapel royal at Stirling; we see the boys of the choir bending down to remove his spurs, and receive their ac-

* This personage was the king elected on Twelfth-night, being the individual in whose portion of the cake a bean was found. On January 16th, 1489-90, there is an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts of eighteen shillings paid to the 'King of Bene,' and there are various other entries of sums paid on different occasions to Robin Hood and the Abbot of Unreason. James himself mingled freely in all the sports of the court, and was remarkably dextrous in all amusements, games, and manly exercises. 'Under the date of February 23, 1504-5, there is an entry of eight pounds eight shillings and eightpence, paid to Alex. Herse to louse the king's stoupe (release the king's drinking cup), which was tane when he was Abbot of Unreason,—which affords a very remarkable instance of the manners of the times, and of the revels sanctioned by long usage during 'the daft days.' Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 123.

customed largess; we follow him in his progress through his royal burghs, and listen to the thanks of the gudewife of the king's lodging, as the generous prince bestows his gratuity; we climb the romantic crag on which St. Anthony's chapel is situated, and almost hear his confession; we can follow him into his study, and find him adding to the scanty library which was all the times permitted even to a king—the works of Quintillian and Virgil, and the sang-buiks in which he took so much delight; his shooting at the butts with his nobles; his bandying jokes with his artillerymen; his issuing to the chase or the tournament from his royal castles of Stirling or Falkland, surrounded by a cavalcade of nobles, knights and beautiful damsels; his presence at the christening of the Earl of Buchan's son, and the gold piece which he drops into the cauldre,—all are brought before us as graphically as at the moment of their occurrence. And whilst our interest is heightened, and our imagination gratified, by the variety and brilliancy of the scenery which is thus called up, we have the satisfaction to know that all is true to nature, and infinitely more authentic than the pages even of a contemporary historian.'

Dunbar, in his 'Remonstrance,' speaks of the patronage which the king bestowed upon certain adventurers, who had studied the mysteries of alchemy, and were ingenious in making 'quintessence' which should convert other metals into pure gold; and in the Treasurer's Accounts Fondness of James for alchemy. counts there are numerous payments for alchemy. payments for the 'Quinta Essentia,' including wages to the persons employed, utensils of various kinds, coals and wood for the furnaces, and for a variety of other materials, such as quicksilver, aqua vitæ, litharge, auri, fine tin, burnt-silver, alum, salt and eggs, saltpetre, &c. Considerable sums were also paid to several 'Potingairs' for stuff of various kinds to the Quinta Essentia. Thus, on the 3rd of March, 1501, 'the king sent to Strivelin four Harry nobles in gold;—a sum equal, as it is stated, to nine pounds Scots money—'for the leech to multiply.' On the 27th of May, 1502, the Treasurer paid to Robert Bartoun, one of the king's mariners, 'for certain droggis (drugs) brocht home to him to the French leich, £31 4s.' On the 11th of February, 1503-4, we find twenty shillings given 'to the even well mak aurum potabile, be the king's command.' And on the 13th of October, 1507, the Treasurer paid six pounds for a punction of wine to the Abbot of Tugland, to 'mak Quinta Essentia.' The credulity and indiscriminate generosity of the Scottish monarch appear to have collected around him a multitude of quacks of all sorts, for, besides the Abbot, mention is made of 'the leech with the curland hair;' of 'the lang Dutch doctor;' of one Fullertone, who was believed to possess the secret of making precious stones; of a Dr. Opely who laboured hard at the transmutation of metals, and many other empirics, whom James not only sup-

* Scottish Worthies, vol. iii. p. 20-1.

ported in their experiments, but himself assisted in their laboratory. The most noted of these adventurers was the person who is variously styled in the Treasurer's Accounts, 'the French Leich,' 'The Flying Abbot of Tungland,' 'Maister John the French Leich,' 'Maister John the French Medicinar,' and 'French Maister John.' The real name of this empiric was John Damian; and we learn from Dunbar that he was a native of Lombardy, and had practised surgery and other arts in France before his arrival in Scotland. His first appearance at the court of James was in the capacity of a French leech, and as he is mentioned among the persons who received 'leveray' in 1501-2, there can be no doubt that he held an appointment as a physician in the royal household. He soon succeeded in ingratiating himself with the king, and it is probable that it was from him that James imbibed a strong passion for alchemy, as he about this time erected at Stirling a furnace for prosecuting such experiments, and continued during the rest of his reign to expend considerable sums of money in attempts to discover the philosopher's stone. 'Maister John,' says Bishop Lesley, 'caused the king believe, that he by multiplying and utheris his inventions wold make fine gold of uther metal, quihilk science he callit the Quintassence, whereupon the king made great cost, but all in vain.' There are numerous entries in the Treasurer's Accounts of sums paid for saltpetre, bellows, two great stillatours, brass mortars, coals, and numerous vessels of various shapes, sizes, and denominations, for the use of this foreign adept in his mystical studies. 'These, however, were not his sole occupations; for after the mysterious labours of the day were concluded, Master John was wont to play at cards with the sovereign—a mode by which he probably transferred the contents of the royal exchequer into his own purse, as efficaciously as by his distillations.' We find that on the 4th of March, 1501, nine pounds five shillings were paid 'to the king and the French leich to play at cartis.' A few months later, on the occasion of a temporary visit which the empiric found it necessary to pay to France, James made him a present of his own horse and two hundred pounds. Early in the year 1504, the Abbot of Tungland, in Galloway, died, and the king, with a reckless disregard of the dictates of duty, and even of common decency, appointed this unprincipled adventurer to the vacant office. On the 11th March, the Treasurer paid 'to Gareoch Par-saivant fourteen shillings to pass to Tungland for the Abbey, to French Maister John.' On the 12th of the same month, 'by the king's command,' he paid 'to Bardus Altovite Lumbard twenty-five pounds for Maister John, the French Mediciner, new maid Abbot of Tungland, whilk he aucht (owed) to the said Bardus;' and a few days later, on the 17th, there was given 'to Maister John, the new maid Abbot of Tungland, seven pounds.' Three years after, in 1507, July 27, occurs the following entry: 'Item, lent by the king's command to the Abbot of Tungland, and can nocht be gettin fra

him, £33 6s. 8d.)* A singular adventure which befel this dextrous impostor in September, 1507-8, appears to have afforded great amusement to the Scottish court. On the occasion of an embassy setting out from Stirling to the court of France, he had the assurance to declare that by means of a pair of artificial wings which he had constructed, he would undertake to fly to Paris and arrive long before the ambassadors. 'This time,' says Bishop Lesley, 'there was an Italiane with the king, who was made Abbot of Tungland. This abbot tuke in hand to flie with wings, and to be in France before the said ambassadors; and to that effect he caused make ane pair of wings of feathers, quihilk being festinit upon him he flew off the castle-wall of Stirling; but shortly he fell to the ground and broke his thie-bane; but the wyte (blame) thereof he ascribed to their beand some hen feathers in the wings, quihilk yarnit, and coveted the myddin† and not the skies.† This incident gave rise to Dunbar's satirical ballad entitled, 'Of the Fenyeit Friar of Tungland,' in which the poet exposes in the most sarcastic strain the pretensions of the luckless adventurer, and relates with great humour the result of his attempt to soar into the skies, when he was dragged to the earth by the low-minded propensities of the 'hen feathers,' which he had inadvertently admitted into the construction of his wings. The unsuccessful attempt of the abbot, though, according to Lesley, it subjected him to the ridicule of the whole kingdom, does not appear to have lost him the king's favour, for the Treasurer's books, from October, 1507, to August, 1508, repeatedly mention him as having played at dice and cards with his majesty; and on the 8th of September, 1508, 'Damiane, Abbot of Tungland,' obtained the royal permission to pursue his studies abroad during the space of five years. He must have returned to Scotland, however, before the death of James; and the last notice given of this impostor is quite in character. On the 27th of March, 1513, the sum of twenty pounds was paid to him for his journey to the mine in Crawford Moor, where the king had at that time artisans at work searching for gold.‡

According to Pitseottie, King James 'was well learned in the art of medicine, and was ane singular guid chirurgiane, and there was none of that profession if they had any dangerous cure in hand but would have craved his advyse.' The good monarch seems to have been very fond of displaying his surgical skill; and it would appear from his Treasurer's Accounts that he was even willing to pay poor people for liberty to operate upon them. Under the date of April 10th, 1510, we find an entry of thirteen shillings paid 'to the blind wyf that hed her eyne schorne'—that is, we may suppose, couched for the cataract. The phrase, as Mr. Pitcairn remarks, is most ominous of 'evil

* Dunbar's Poems, vol. ii. p. 230.

† Dunghill.

‡ Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 73.

§ Dunbar's Poems, vol. ii. p. 241.

success.' On the 9th of Feb. 1511-12, a donation of fourteen shillings was made 'to ane fallow because the king pullit furtht his tootht.' And on the 25th, a similar amount was paid to 'Kynnard, the barbour, for twa teith drawin furtht of his heid be the king.' On another occasion his foreign minstrel Dominico receives eighteen shillings 'to gyf the king leve to lat him bluid.' Nov. 6th, 1508, we have the characteristic entry of six shillings and eight peuce 'to James Dog quhilk he laid doune for claith to be wippes to John Balfouris sair leg quhilk the king helit.'

Pitcottie mentions a curious experiment which His curious experiment. was undertaken by James for the purpose of discovering the primitive language of mankind. 'He caused tak ane dumb woman,' says that garrulous but picturesque chronicler, 'and pat her in Inchkeith, and gave hir two bairnes with hir, and gart furnish hir in all necessaries thingis pertaining to their nourishment, desiring heirby to know what languages they had when they cam to the aige of perfyte speach. Some sayes they spak guid Hebrew, but I know not by authoris rehearse.'* We are also informed that he took great interest in a monster which at this time was born in Scotland. 'In the lower part of its body,' says Buchanan, 'it resembled a male child, nothing differing from the ordinary shape of the human frame, but from the waist upwards it had two bodies, male and female. The king gave special order for its careful education, especially in music, in which it arrived at an admirable degree of skill, and moreover it learned several tongues; and sometimes the two bodies did discover several appetites disagreeing one with another, and so they would quarrel, one liking this, the other liking that; and yet sometimes again they would agree and consult as it were in common for the good of both. This was also memorable in it, that when the legs or loins were hurt below, both bodies were sensible of this pain in common; but when it was pricked or otherwise hurt above, the sense of the pain did affect one body only; which difference was also more perspicuous in its death, for one of the bodies died many days before the other, and that which survived being half-putrified, pined away by degrees. This monster lived twenty-eight years, and then died when John (Duke of Albany) was regent of Scotland.' 'I am the more confident in relating this story,' he adds, 'because there are many honest and credible persons yet alive who saw the prodigy with their eyes.'†

It is well known that James suffered considerably His remorse and ably from remorse on account of superstition. the part which he took in the rebellion against his father, and 'in the midst of all the reckless dissipation in which he indulged, it is curious to remark the outbursts of superstitious feelings, the strange mixture of levity and austerity

which distinguishes his character.' According to a common tradition, he was in the habit of wearing a heavy iron chain as a penance for his sin in having appeared in arms against his father; and as another method of making his peace with Heaven, he frequently undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthoc, at Tain, which appears to have been at this time held in particular sanctity. It is curious to observe from the account of the expenses incurred in these pilgrimages, that during the journey the king indulged as much as usual in sports and games; and that he carried with him the whole train of minstrels, jesters, and other attendants who ministered to his amusement. On one of these occasions, we find among other items of a similar kind, fourteen pounds lost at cards by the king in Brechin—eighteen shillings paid in Dunnotar to 'the chield that playit on the monocordis'—the same sum given to the pipers of Aberdeen by the king's command—eight shillings to the 'falconaris in Inverowry'—nine shillings 'to the madinis of Forres that dansit to the king'—nine shillings and sixpence 'to the madinis that dansit at Elgin sielike'—fourteen shillings 'to the madanis that dansit at Darnway'—and four pounds 'to John Goldsmyth for tursing (packing) the organis to Tayne and hame again.' We find that the king on one occasion, probably under the influence of some sudden fit of remorse, when other avocations detained him in Fife, had requested and obtained the loan of St. Duthoc's relique, for there is an entry on the 17th of November of five shillings to a man who carried that sacred object back from Dumfermline to its proper place. In a more homely frame of superstition, the monarch occasionally borrowed an angel or gold noble from his High Treasurer, and after 'cruking' or bending it fixed the talisman to his beads.

It must be evident from the information furnished by the accounts of the High Treasurer, that at this period there was a general homeliness of manners, and great simplicity and absence of the intellectual, in the whole system of society in Scotland. 'When the king and his nobles spent the greater part of their time in seeing dances and mummers, hearing syrens in their chambers, listening to tale-tellers and minstrels, and a thousand other amusements equally remote from rational, what must have been the intellectual habits of the uninstructed poor?' In justice to James, however, it should be mentioned that to him belongs the honour of having first introduced printing into Scotland. In 1507, he procured the materials of typography for Walter Chapman and Andro Millar, the first of whom was previously his personal servant; and there are a few entries His purchase of in the Treasurer's Accounts of sums books, and money paid for the purchase of books, to print and minstrels. Thus on one occasion we find fifty shillings paid 'for three prentit bukes to the king, tane fra Andro Millar's wyff,' and on another eleven pounds paid 'to Walter Wodis wyff, for ane buke to the queen's grace.' James was also a

* Pitcottie, vol. i. p. 146.

† Buchanan's History of Scotland, Book xiii. ch. vii.

liberal patron of poets and minstrels. Dunbar, as we have seen, was in the constant receipt of twenty pounds a year, and Blind Harry, the minstrel to whom we are indebted for the well-known popular poem of WALLACE, was a regular attendant of the court, and appears to have received eighteen shillings every three months as a pension.

The records of the Lord High Treasurer furnish an equally minute and interesting view of the Domestic life of domestic life and habits of James James V. V., from his cradle to his grave.

The first notice of the infant monarch in the accounts of the Treasurer is sufficiently appropriate. On the 4th of March, 1516, nineteen pounds three shillings were disbursed for 'twenty-four elne of rowen russet to mak gownis,' to the king's nurses and the rockers of his cradle, of whom there were altogether no fewer than six. In the following year we find him under the tuition of Maister Gawin Dunbar, as the following entries intimate: 'February 10—Item, to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the king's master, to by necessar thingis for the Kingis Chamer' (schoolroom), nine pounds; and 'August 28th—Item, to Maister Gawin Dunbar, for expensis maid be him in reparatis of the Chamer in the quhilk the kingis leris' (learns), 'now in the Castle,' four pounds. For exercise the youthful prince seems now to have been provided with a mule to ride upon; the sum of twenty shillings and sixpence being entered as paid to 'Robene Purvese for schoyne (shoes), howsis, breddil, and halteris bocht for the kingis mule.' In 1525, when James had reached his fourteenth year, we find thirty-one pounds four shillings expended on New Year's gifts for the king to bestow upon his courtiers and attendants. James appears to have practised the game of tennis or the 'cache,' a

His youthful favourite game at the Scottish amusements. court during this and the preceding reign; and among his other amusements we find him diverting himself with 'bikkiring' mock castles with 'eggis.' This it seems was a foolish pastime invented for him by his servants, in which one party played the part of besiegers, and the other that of the besieged, the missiles on both sides being eggs. 'It may easily be imagined,' says Mr. Pitcairn, 'in what a plight both victors and vanquished would be after a cessation of hostilities.' The ammunition for this mimic warfare is thus gravely entered in the Treasurer's Accounts: 'June 29—Item, gevin for eggis to bikkir the Castell,' fifteen shillings and sixpence. But the supply of ammunition would seem to have fallen short in the heat of the conflict, and the king's servants appear to have carried on the war by levying forced contributions upon the lieges, for on the 17th of July we find his majesty ordering payment of twenty shillings 'till puir wivis that came gretand (weeping) upon his grace for eggis takin fra thame be his servandis.'

James appears to have been fond of splendid apparel, and we learn from the accounts of his Treasurer that he was in the habit of expending

large sums of money upon clothes and personal ornaments. Under the date of March 22nd, 1540, we find an entry of thirty-two pounds, paid to 'Johnne Young, brodistar (embroiderer), for stuff and broudering of sixty-four pece of brownis, James and Thrissilis set upon twa tynnakilis of tanny velvet, quhilk was the lining of ane gowne of claith of gold, of the kingis price of the pece ten shillings.' (This magnificent garment appears to have been a dress gown for wearing in the palace.) 'Item, for six elnis bukrem to lyne ye saidis tynnakilis, with pricc of the elne, two shillings and eightpence.' 'Item, for twenty-sie elnis of rubbennis (ribbons) to thame, price of the elne, eightpence.' 'Item, for broudering of ane vestment of tanny velvet with fourteen James Crownis and Thrissilis, seven pounds.' The coins mentioned in these entries were given to the embroiderer to be converted into gold work, to be put on the gown and vestment. The other articles of the king's apparel were equally gorgeous. His shirts, as we learn from the following and many other similar entries, were richly and elaborately wrought about the collar and breast with gold and embroidery. 'To David Bonar for thirteen double hankis of gold, quhilk war deleurit to David Lindsays wife, to sew the kingis sarkis. Item, deliverit to Katherync Bellendene till complete ane sark to the kingis grace, sewit with gold and silver work half ane dowbell hank of sewing gold, price thair of twelve shillings; the pricc of ilk hank ten shillings.' His short surtout was composed of fine cloth, or the richest velvet embroidered with gold; his black velvet bonnet was looped up with a diamond or ruby, and surmounted by a light and graceful feather, while his hunting horn, sword, and dagger, were suspended by massive chains of pure gold. He wore russet half-boots, which at home were exchanged for shoes of white or black velvet, which we are told cost 'three pounds the elne.'

There are many curious details given respecting the king's preparation for his Preparations for voyage to the Western Isles in his voyage to the Isles. May, 1540. On the 21st of that month there was 'deliverit to Thomas Arthure to be ane cote and ane pair of brekis, to the kingis grace for the see, ten elnis red crammessye velvet, price of the elne seven pounds.' 'Item, for five unces of pasmentis of gold to it, eight pounds fifteen shillings. Item, for pointtis to the cote and brekis and ane tulat to the cote, three shillings.' No expense seems to have been spared in providing for his comfort in the ship. He had two different beds in the vessel, and two different apartments, which appear to have been richly furnished. The hangings of one chamber were of French green, and cost fifteen pounds fifteen shillings. The curtain and cover of one of his beds were composed of '25½ elnis blaek damis,' which cost forty-three pounds fifteen shillings and sevenpence. The bed in 'the nether chalmer' was hung with

His fondness for fine clothes and personal ornaments.

·17½ elnis grene damis, fringed with grene silk.' The 'stremaris to the kingis schippis' were made of 'nine score elnis reid and yellow sey,' and 'till complete the samein,' fifteen elnis serge were given; to be 'ansenzeis (ensigns) to the schippis, 17 elnis reid and yellow taffitese of cord,' and 'to be croces thairfo four and a half elnis quhyte taffitese of Janis.' 'Two elnis of tanny velvet' were employed to make a cover for an easy stool for the kingis grace,' and it required three cases to contain the 'silver-wark,' which his majesty carried with him. Murdoch Strivelin, Patesar (pastry-cook) was paid seven pounds eight shillings and eightpence for 'the making of the unis (ovens) in the schippis,' and John Bertone received forty shillings for 'the making of six standartis to ye schippis,' and an equal sum 'for the making of three top-claithes and three flaggis.' Great quantities of bed clothing, and a number of pavilions to be erected on any of the islands on which the king and royal suite might land, were besides brought down to Leith from Holyrood by a cart, and put on board the ships.

Whatever may have been the general state of the country at this period, the lavish expenditure on gold and silver work and silver work of every kind must have been very great, and the Treasurer's Accounts show that his majesty was an excellent customer to George Heriot,* Thomas Rynd, John Mosman, and John Kyll, the fashionable goldsmiths of the day. The entries of this kind are so numerous, that we can only give a few of the most remarkable. 'Deliverit to John Mosman to mak ane croce of gold, to set diamant stanes in, eight angels rubbillis, six licht French crownis, fifteen pounds four shillings.' 'Item, to John Mosman for making the great basin of gold weyand ten pund wecht ane unce and ane half unce, and making of ane schip, twa brasillatis, diverse chenzies (chains) and rings, seventy-four pound† ten shillings.' 'Item, given for ane chenzie deliverit to John Mosman, to melt with other gold, to be the king's gilt chenzie, one hundred and ten pounds.' 'For making of the Queenis Crowne, and furnishing of stanis thairto, quhilk weyit thirty-five unce of gold of mynd,‡ forty-five pounds.' 'For making and fassoun of the kingis crowne, weyand three pund wecht ten unces, and thairfo gold of the mynd, forty-twa unce, thirty pounds.' 'Item, for twenty-four stanis thairto, of the quhilk thare was three grete garnettis, and ane grete ammerot (emerald), price of the three, six pounds; and price of the pece of the other nineteen stanis, fourteen shillings.' 'Item, given to the Capitane of Crawford, for fyve score 12½ unce unmolten gold of mynd, price of the

unce six pounds eight shillings, quhilk was deliverit to John Mosman and dispoit upon the King and Queenis graces erownis, and to eyk ane grete chenze to his grace 17 unce, and ane belt to the Queen weyand 19½ unce, seven hundred and eighteen pounds eight shillings.' Large sums were also paid to John Mosman 'for the makin and fassoun of ane pair of bedis to the kingis grace, weyand 17 unces of gold of his graces awin gold,' for 'the fassoun of 67 unces ekit to the kingis grete chenze,' 'for the making of ane quhisill of gold to the kingis grace weyand 3½ unces 2½ Unicornis wecht,' and a month later, for 'the making of another quhisill of gold of mynd weyand 3½ unces, half Unicornis wecht, with ane Dragoun anamulit.' 'October 9, 1540, there was deliverit to John Mosman 12 unces, quarter unce silver, to be ane relique to ane bane (bone) of Sanct Mahago. Item, gevin to gilt the said relique with, twa Roisnobillis. Item, gevin him for making of the uper relique of Sanct Mahago, four pounds.' Twenty-seven pounds seventeen shillings and threepence were also paid for 'ane reliet of Sanct Dutho set in silver weyand 36 unce,' and for 'making of the samyn,' fyve pounds nine shillings. On one occasion we find three hundred and eighty-seven pounds paid to Mosman for 'chenzies, tabulattis, braselattis, ringis, stanis,' &c., while under the same date there is an entry of two hundred and forty-nine pounds 'gevin to Thomas Rynd, for sielyke gold-wark.' Many of the articles of jewellery, however, purchased by the king, were not on his own account, but were bestowed with a princely munificence upon his courtiers and favourites. In December, 1538, The king's New Year's gifts. thirty-nine pounds nineteen shillings was paid 'to Thomas Rynd for chenzies of gold, gold ryngis, tabillatis, and uthir goldin wark deliverit be him to the kingis grace agane New Zeiris (Year's) mess, and given in New Zeiris gifts.' On the last day of the following year, two hundred and eighty-two pounds three shillings, and on December 31, 1540, three hundred and ten pounds were disbursed for various articles of jewellery, to be distributed in the same manner. We find that in one month the expenses of the king for 'ringis, goldin wark, dyamentis, and chenzies of gold, to gif away among the gentille wemene,' amount to four hundred and eleven pounds. His majesty evidently prided himself on the gold and silver ^{His silver plate.} work which he possessed, and seems to have had 'everything fine about him.' Mention is made by the Lord Treasurer of a silver 'buist (box) for onctments (ointments) to the kingis grace,' of a silver clam-shell for holding tooth-powder, and 'ane pennose of silver to keep pyketeith in to the kingis grace.' Even his hawks, we are informed, dined off silver plate, and their bells were of pure gold.

There are numerous entries in the Treasurer's Accounts of sums paid for arms ^{His arms and armour.} and armour, which King James and his father had a singular passion for collecting

* Probably the grandfather of the celebrated George Heriot, the founder of the Hospital which bears his name.

† Mr. Pitcairn states that he learned by inquiring of Her Majesty's goldsmith that such a piece of plate as that spoken of in the text would now cost £788 10s., and it of course bore this relative value at that time.

‡ Gold from the royal mines, at Crawford Moor, in Lanarkshire. The Treasurer's Accounts show that considerable numbers of Flemish, German, and French miners were employed at this time in these mines.

of the finest workmanship, from foreign countries, as well as what could be produced of every possible pattern in Scotland. Mention is made of the purchase of 'five quarters black velvet to seabartis to the kingis raperis.' 'Item to mak frenzies to his grace swerd handis, three unces blak sewing silk, fifteen shillings, and warkmanship three shillings.' On one occasion twenty-three pounds five shillings were paid to 'William Sinebeird, for dighting (cleaning) of swerdis, rapperis, harnessing, steill sadillis, Jedburcht stavis, and uther wappiness to the kingis grace.' The most splendid article, however, noticed amongst the king's defensive armour is, 'ane target of gold, with ane marmadyne in it of dyamentis, of the kingis awin gold'—that is, the gold raised from his own mines.

It has been justly said that 'if his majesty's ^{His practice of} example would have gone any ^{archery.} length in making his subjects archers they would have made some progress during his reign, for he was passionately devoted to the bow, and spent much of his time in practising with that weapon. Entries for bows and arrows for the king's use occur on almost every page of the accounts; and he seems to have procured them from a great variety of quarters, purchasing them from celebrated makers, and getting choice ones sent him as presents.' It appears that the example of the king had not been altogether without effect in inducing a portion, at least, of his subjects to acquire considerable dexterity in the use of this once celebrated weapon; for we are informed by Pitcottie, that when Lord William Howard was sent by Henry VIII. as ambassador to the Scottish court, he was accompanied by threescore cavaliers, many of whom were noted for their skill in all games of manly sport, as shooting, leaping, wrestling, running, and casting of the stone, but 'they were weill assayed in all these or they went home, and almost evir tint.* Queen Margaret, who witnessed all these trials of skill, favoured her own countrymen, and betted against her son two hundred crowns and a tun of wine, that six of these Englishmen would shoot better with the bow, at 'riveris, butts, or prick-bonnet,' than any half-dozen Scotchmen, nobles, gentlemen, or yeomen. 'The ground was chosen at St. Andrews. The Scottish archers were three landit gentlemen—David Weines of that ilk, David Arnot of that ilk, and Mr. Johne Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee, and three yeomen—Johne Thomson in Leith, Stevin Tabroner, and Alick Baillic, who was ane pyper, and shot wondrous near.† The Englishmen were defeated at their far-famed national weapon, and Queen Margaret lost her wager, to the great delight of the king and his people.

James was greatly addicted to the sports of the ^{Foodness for} field, and it appears from the ^{field sports.} Treatise's books that the royal preparations for the pastimes of hunting and hawking

* Lost—were defeated.

† Pitcottie, vol. ii. pp. 347, 348.

were conducted on a most extensive scale. His favourite hunting ground was Megotland, a wild district in the southern border of Peeblesshire, which appears to have been preserved for his own special sport. His majesty took the field in great splendour, accompanied by a numerous and gallant train of nobles and knights, for whose accommodation, pavilions, bed-furniture, and other conveniences had been previously despatched to the scene of action, as the pastime was not unfrequently followed for eighteen or twenty consecutive days at a time. James, like the other princes of the Stuart family, was passionately fond of fine horses, and had a most extensive stud, brought not only from England, but from Denmark, Flanders, France, and Spain.

Music seems to have formed one of the most prominent of his indoor recrea- ^{His love of music.} tions. His favourite musical instrument was the lute, and judging from his great consumption of lute strings, he must have been very assiduous in his practice. In his Treasurer's Accounts there is only one allusion to the game of cards, and, unlike his father, he does not seem to have been at all given to betting. Various entries are made of sums paid for masks and mummeries, in which the king himself took an active part. At one of these masks he wore a 'play gown' of black and white, for the making of which Robert Spittal received three pounds. On another occasion, we find him appearing in a dress of red and yellow. He seems to have been at the expense of clothing many of the maskers, and to have also expended considerable sums on the popular game of Robin Hood. Mention is made on one occasion of the payment of six pounds for '4½ elnis rissillis blak, by the kingis precept, to Christiana Rae, when she was Quene of Bane,* a personage of whom no notice is elsewhere to be met with.

As might be expected, the fool or jester, the usual accompaniment of the Scot- ^{Fools, jesters, and} tish court, figures largely in my ^{dwarfs.} Lord Treasurer's books, and the queen also maintained a fool—a Frenchwoman, named Serat, who appears to have been in great favour at court, and to have partaken largely of the bounty of her royal mistress. Mr. Pitcairn is of opinion that this is the only instance in history of a female buffoon or fool, for the amusement of the court. There are numerous notices of several dwarfs whom the king clothed and fed, and who appear to have had regular pensions assigned them. One of these, designated the 'Littill Turk,' receives on one occasion a 'cote, hois, brekis, and dowblet' of red and yellow cloth, together with a red bonnet; and on another a motley coat of green and yellow, with a doublet and hose of 'blak fustiane and Scottis gray.' Another of these diminutive buffoons, humorously termed the 'Droich,' on whose account there are numerous entries for payments and liveries, does not seem to have been in good credit with the court tailor, for under the date of August 5,

* See above, p. 555.



Drawn and Engraved by Wm. M. D.

WILKES BARRE

1850

1535, there is an entry of twenty shillings, paid to the 'Droich to lowse (release) his clathis fra the tailzeuris.' It appears that at this time a menagerie of strange

birds and beasts formed a part of the royal establishment at Stirling, and Falkland. We find that £11 18s. were paid by the king's command for 'seven elnis fyne French black, to be ane gown and ane kirtyll to Thomas Melvillis wyff in Falkland, for keeping of certaine pettis (pets) and nursing of the samyn.'

Almost every page of these curious and interest-

ing records bears testimony to the liberality and king's generosity and kindness of James.

heart. He seems to have taken great pleasure in providing a *tocher* both for 'penniless lasses wi' lang pedigrees, and for damels without any pedigree at all. Thus we find £400 'gevin to the Lord Fleming, at the king's command, in manner of tochir to his sister,' and again, £133 6s. 8d., by the king's precept to John Pipar, of Sanct Johnstoun, in toqher with Catherine Sinclair.' We find also such payments as the following: four pounds 'to ane pair man quhais horse fell our the castell wall of Striveling, and brak his nek;' forty shillings to 'ane pair woman quihill had her husband slane with ane guanne schot furth of ye castell;' 'twa kye' costing forty shillings each 'to twa pair women of Cowper' whose husbands had been accidentally killed; and five pounds 'gevin to Wiliame Lyell be ye kingis precept,' for lynt, cale, and corne, distroyit be his seruandis at the hunting.'

It is pleasing to observe, amidst all the frivolity, extravagance, and profligacy which king to literary men.

at this period prevailed at the Scottish court, that the claims of literary men were not overlooked. Among other examples of the king's bounty to this class mention is made of two payments of thirty pounds each to 'Maister John Bellentyné' for translating of the Cronykill, of twelve pounds 'for ane new Cronykill gevin to the kingis grace,' and of two sums of eight pounds each in part payment of 'the translation of Titus Livius.' Item to Maister Hector Boice, Principle in Abirdene, for ye tane (one) half of his pensiou' twenty-five pounds. The sum of twenty pounds was twice paid to 'Maister George Buchquhannan at ye kingis command,' and 'at the Quenis Grace entry in Edinburghe' this learned historian and poet received 'six elnis of Parise blak to be ane goune, threo elnis of blak satyne to lyne ye forder quarteris and slevis of ye said goune, and six elnis of blak velvet to be him ane Hugtoun cote, or cassock. 'Twa writing bukis of parchement' for the king cost eight shillings, and large sums were paid for

binding the 'Matin-books' of the king and queen, in velvet, clasped with gold.

The records of my Lord Treasurer furnish us with the most minute information respecting all the most prominent events in the chequered career of his royal master—the interment of his first queen, the beautiful Magdalene,† and of his mother Margaret Tudor, his marriage to Mary of Guise, her public entry into Edinburgh, and coronation; the birth, baptism, death and burial of his short-lived sons, James and Arthur, the court mourning for his own untimely death, and the expenses of the funeral procession when he was buried with his fathers in the chapel of Holyrood.

In May, 1540, an heir to the throne was born at St. Andrews. On the 11th of that month, twenty shillings were 'gevin to James Bissat, messenger, for

passing with certane close writings to warne certane Lordis and Ladyis to be in Sanct Androis at the birthe of my Lord Prince,' and various sums were paid for the carriage of tapestry, cloth of gold, and 'wardrop geir,' to St. Andrews, on the same occasion.‡ 'Andro Michelsoun' received a 'leveray for bringing of tidings to the kingis grace of the nativite of my Lord Prince;' twenty-two shillings were 'gevin to James Bissat to pass with letters and denunce' the auspicious event 'in all partis in Lothiane and ye Merse;' forty pounds were 'gevin to James Elphinstoun to pass 'to the King of England,' and an equal sum to 'James Serymgeour at his passing to France' with the news. April 24th, 1541, there is a notice of the 'expensis disbursit at the nativite of my Lord Duke' (the king's second son, Arthur, Duke of Albany), a few days after, an entry of fourteen shillings 'gevin to Andro Yare in Striveling for ane cap of leid that my Lord Duke was buryit in,' and of the sums paid for black velvet to be 'fute mantillis and harnessingis to the Quenis grace, and four of hir Ladyis,' on the death of James, Duke of Rothsay, close the earthly accounts of these short-lived hopes of Scotland. 'Just scene of all, which ends this strange

His own banal. eventful history,' is the entry in the Treasurer's Accounts of the 'expenses disbursed upon the Queen, the King's spouse, her ladies and servants, for dool' (mourning habits), and of the sums paid to the upholsterer for a canopy and cover to the bier, and to the carpenters and masons for work done in making a passage through the royal chapel to the vault, and for constructing the tomb in which the ill-starred monarch was himself soon after laid.

* Prayer-books.

† There is a curious entry of four pounds 'gevin to Anthone Barbour Frencheman for the grathing and bowell ling of the Quenis grace, whom God assolte.'

‡ The king and queen very frequently changed their place of abode from one palace to another, and their tapestry, beds, plate, and other articles of furniture, were generally removed at the same time for their use.

* Bellenden, dean of Ross, who was employed to translate Boece's Chronicle of Scotland, and the History of Livy, for the use of the king, who had not been over attentive to his Latin.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MARY.—[FROM HER ACCESSION TO HER DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE.]

A.D. 1542—1548.

OF the five Stuarts who preceded Mary in the sovereignty of Scotland, two had been assassinated; other two had fallen in battle; and the last of them, James V., the gayest, bravest, and most chivalrous of his race, died of a broken heart at the cowardice of his army and the humiliation of his kingdom. They had all died comparatively young, leaving mere infants as successors on the most troubled and uneasy throne in Europe. Many disorders and animosities had grown up during the repeated and long minorities: and anarchy, perpetuating itself, took various forms, and made new alliances during the practical abeyance of royalty. Nearly a third of the period occupied by the five reigns was under regencies; and each of these had revived old, and given birth to new, feuds and factions, to be thorns in the crown of the infant sovereign. An accumulation of unsolved perplexities and difficulties, and of evils and dangers unsubdued and likely to multiply, lay at the opening of this reign—the first female reign, moreover, in Scotland. The grand work of the Reformation from Popery was also going on, with strangely diverse agents and allies; and whilst sure to be a source of agitation, and even convulsion, to the rule of a sovereign who favoured it, it was still more certain to be fatal to the authority—if not to the life—of one who, like Mary, should hate and oppose it. The era was one of gravest importance and difficulty; it has been pronounced the only one in Scottish history that has a world-wide interest: the most masculine and sagacious spirit was needed to preside over it; and yet, amid the transcendent operations and results of that memorable period, poor Mary—baffled and beaten—keeps ever intruding with her wondrous spell of beauty and misfortune; and the remotest posterity will be unable to push the episode of her life into a mere corner of the national history, though her individual fate was really as nothing in the solemn epoch of her reign. The infatuated and crushed woman clings to the wheels of the mighty national revolution, which she could neither arrest nor guide; and is the most prominent object, both when they are in progress and at rest. Long after sacked and demolished abbeys and monasteries have ceased to tell of the Reformation, the ruined Queen of Scots will be remembered in connexion with that event; though much of her misery was the fruit of her passions as a woman,

* "In the history of Scotland I can find properly but one epoch: we may say it contains nothing of world-interest at all, but this Reformation by Knox."—*Lectures on Hero-Worship*, by Thomas Carlyle. Mr. Carlyle ought to have added the era of the struggles for Scottish independence under Wallace and Bruce.

rather than of her plots and proceedings as a Papist.

Mary Stuart was called to succeed her father on the 13th of December, 1542, when Mary's accession, she was but a few days old.* In 13th Dec., 1542.

one of her letters, written immediately before the tragic close of her ill-fated life, when contemplating how long a period of that life—even all the years of her prime—had been spent without power and without personal liberty, she mentions that she, dethroned, imprisoned, and now ready to die, had been 'from the breast called to the royal dignity.' The unconscious infant had a sovereignty which was denied to the proud, energetic, gifted, and accomplished woman; for we find, on the very day of her father's death, a command issued in her name to one baron to deliver up the castle of Finhaven to another.† A keen con- Contest for the test, conducted by the candidates regency.—Cardinal with the manifold aim of gaining Beaton.

ascendancy for themselves personally, for their order, and for their party both at home and abroad, forthwith began as to who should be entrusted, during Mary's minority, with the guardianship of her person and the regency of her kingdom. Foremost in claiming the post was Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Wolsey of Scotland; a man of great ability and varied experience, but of inordinate ambition, who had long been familiar with courtly and priestly intrigues both in France and Scotland. Beaton may be regarded as the impersonation both of the faults and virtues of his age and order. He was of a good family, and had been carefully educated at Paris, where he continued for ten years. On his return to his native country, he was advanced to the highest offices both in church and state, and soon became the most powerful person in the kingdom. Though neither a theologian nor a man of great learning, he was a patron of letters and learned men, as well as a sagacious statesman and an accomplished courtier. But his character was stained by great vices. Like the greater part of his brethren, both in Scotland and on the Continent, he lived in open violation of his ordination vows. Notwithstanding all his zeal for the church, he did not hesi-

* The exact day of Mary's birth is keenly disputed. Almost all historians and biographers assume it to have been on the 8th of December: and Mary herself always named it as such. But a recently discovered document—communicated to Miss Strickland by John Riddell, Esq., of the Faculty of Advocates—shows that, at Stirling, her mother's confinement was, on the 9th of that month, only matter of expectation; and it is clear, that if the event had occurred on the previous day intelligence of it would have reached Stirling. All accounts, too, represent the King as having died on the 13th, a few hours (*Pittscottie* says a few minutes) after the arrival of the news of his daughter's birth: and as an express had been employed, it is incredible that five days should have elapsed between the event and its report to the dying monarch. It is reasonably conjectured by Miss Strickland, that, as the 8th of December is one of the four great Romish festivals in honour of the Virgin Mary the birth of the young queen may afterwards have been celebrated on that day, instead of on the real one, which was most probably the 11th or 12th of the month. (*Miss Strickland's Lives of the Scottish Queens*, vol. iii. p. 7.)

† *Lives of the Scottish Queens*, vol. iii. p. 8.

tato to dilapidate its benefices to enrich his own family. A strenuous opponent of the Reformation such a man could not fail to be, both from his character and position, but he showed himself utterly unscrupulous in the means which he used to crush the new doctrines, and persecuted to the death those who embraced the reformed cause. The deceased monarch had rather permitted than encouraged the growth of Beaton's influence, and only as an available cheek to the power of the turbulent nobles; but the ambitious character of the prelate would not permit him to rest satisfied with a subordinate position. Beaton's peculiar unscrupulousness and audacity of character appeared in his mode of trying to lay hold of the regency. He summarily seized upon it, as if disdaining to enter the arena with any rivals, though these might be closely related to the sovereign and heirs-presumptive to the throne. Instead of canvassing for the office, or standing forth in the modest guise of a candidate, he announced that it was his already by the late king's solemn and special appointment; and got himself proclaimed Regent at the Cross of Edinburgh. He produced a scroll bearing the royal signature, and purporting to be a will in favour of himself (assisted by a council of partizan nobles*) as governor of Scotland, and tutor to the infant queen, until she should be of age. That document was equivalent to a forgery; whether we regard Beaton as having induced James to sign it as a blank paper afterwards to be filled up, or as having guided the passive hand of the dying monarch in subscribing a document of the purport of which he was ignorant. On any possible supposition, it was in the circumstances a fraud. James's old servant, Sir David Lindsay, who stood by the death-bed, and whose testimony is that of a man of the greatest probity, makes the Cardinal say:—

'But after that baith strength and speech was leisit.†
 Ane paper blank his Grace I gart subscribe,
 Into the whilk I writ all that I pleisit,
 After his death, whilk lang war to describe.‡

The will was at once set aside, its authenticity being doubtful, and its matter hateful to the nobility and the people. It injured, instead of promoting, the bold and wily Cardinal's designs; and his usurpation of the high office ended almost on the day it began. Nor were his pretensions, when stripped of the seeming validity and sacredness

* Viz., the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Moray. "Buchanan expressly, and only, mentions the Earl of Arran, as one of the three; but that lord is omitted by Knox and Spottiswood, and the Earl of Moray, the late king's bastard brother, put instead of him."—*Keith*, p. 25. Recently, Mignet, in his 'History of Mary Queen of Scots,' has, from inadvertence probably, substituted the Earl of Arran for the Earl of Moray. That Arran might be the name in the scroll is far, however, from being incredible; for Arran was Beaton's relative, and though friendly to the Reformation, was of such a timid and vacillating character, that Beaton could not be alarmed to take him as a subordinate in the government.

† Lost, gone.

‡ Lindsay's Works, vol ii. p. 223.

given to them by the document, at all likely to be confirmed by the choice of parliament.

It might have been thought that the Queen-mother would lay claim to the ^{The} regency, for Mary of Guise had ^{Queen-mother.} ambition enough to aspire to such a post, if either it were hers naturally, or could be secured by intrigue; more especially as she knew that now her only connexion with royalty in Scotland was the slight thread of a babe's life, whilst that babe might share the fate of her two brothers—the princes—who had died in infancy. But if she ever intended to urge her pretensions, she must soon have merged them in those of the Cardinal; and, indeed, so far as party, if not personal considerations, were concerned, the claims of both were identical—those of the church and of a close alliance with France against the Scottish nobles, who had always been so troublesome to royalty, and many of whom also favoured the cause of the Reformation from Popery and an alliance with England. Had she felt that she could lead her party as ably as Beaton, and been desirous of the attendant dignity and honour, she was then, from her recent confinement, in no fit state for testing and deciding on whose side the majority of their faction would rank. Hitherto, also, Beaton had exercised the strongest political influence over her mind; and she could not but know that, were she to be chosen Regent, he would still possess the real and essential authority. Nor could the Queen-mother be unaware of the disfavour in which a female regency, during the minority of a female sovereign, would be held by the hardy and martial Scots; though she was more likely to be impressed with the recent examples of two queen-mothers having, for a short time, filled that office—Mary of Gueldres, the widow of James II., and Margaret Tudor, the late king's mother. It would not have been an excessive stretch of charity to suppose that, at this time, her heart was altogether engrossed with the aim of retaining possession of the person of her infant, had she not, from her earliest years, been accustomed to meddle daily with politics, and had not the influential and wily Cardinal been near her to introduce a topic of such primo concern to their common party. She had then only entered upon her twenty-eighth year; but we must not attempt either to qualify or to limit her ambition in state affairs by the consideration of what, in our days, a young widow and a young mother would project or wish.

The successful aspirant was James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who, being the ^{The Earl of Arran.} direct descendant of the eldest daughter of James II., was the nearest heir to the crown. On this ground he claimed the regency, and was supported by the nobles and the people. He wanted the energy, decision, and self-reliance, requisite for the office in such an alarming crisis of foreign and domestic affairs. His soft and easy nature lay open to be operated upon from every quarter: nor had he either sagacity to see the designs of those who approached him, or resolution

to grapple with them. For him to be excited was to be agitated: when he ought to have been finally resolved, he was turning and shifting everywhere for advice; and he shrank with timidity from straightforward and definite action. He was only fitted to adorn private life; the regency was a stormy sphere, for which he lacked both the active and the passive qualifications. In addition, however, to his being heir-presumptive to the throne, he was known to be a friend to the Reformation, a sort of Nicodemus one—from fear of the Papists, not remarkably open or bold in his adherence; and to have him in supreme authority would, if he did not greatly promote that cause, at least put an end to the barbarous persecutions which had made the last years of the previous reign tyrannical and bloody.

Were we to inquire as to the public opinion regarding either the Earl of Arran or the Reformation, we should find that, at that time, it could scarcely be said to be formed. For many generations there was but one subject on which there really was a public opinion, and that was the independence of Scotland, which was dear to all classes and ranks, and ever to be fought for against force and stratagem, as in the days of Wallace and Bruce. This, however, was instinctive nationality pervading and ruling the whole body of the people, rather than that product of general attention, discussion, and judgment, which moderns understand by the phrase, public opinion. Upon all other matters there was no concord, stress, or current of views and sentiments, worthy of such a name: and, indeed, as yet there was, strictly speaking, no public, for under feudalism such a body can scarcely be said to exist; and from being scattered, and without associations or organs, has neither unity nor life. We are left, then, without the means of estimating what kind and extent of sympathy on the part of the general population of Scotland gathered around the Earl of Arran, as candidate for the regency, and around the cause of the Reformation at this important crisis.

The nobles assembled on the 22nd of December to choose a Regent, when Cardinal Beaton distinguished himself by violent but impotent opposition to the claims of the Earl of Arran. He poured out coarse invective upon the proposal of having only one man at the head of affairs, and that man a Hamilton: "For who knows not," said the Cardinal, according to Knox,* "that the Hamiltons are cruel murderers, oppressors of innocents, proud, avaritious, double and false, and finally, the pestilence in this commonwealth?" "Whereto the Earl answered: Defraud me not of my right, and call me what ye please; whatsoever my friends have been, yet unto this day hath no man cause to complain upon me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing, but by God's

grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities as any within the realme can reasonably require of me: and, therefore, yet again my lords, in God's name, I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before ye have experience of my government. At these words were all that feared God or loved honesty so moved, that with one voice they cried, 'That petition is most just; and, unlesse ye will do against God's justice and equity, it cannot be denied.'" Arran was chosen and declared Regent of the kingdom, and guardian of the infant queen. He entered upon his office in the midst of the discovery of the celebrated paper drawn up by the Cardinal, containing the names of the nobility and gentry suspected of favouring the doctrines of the Reformation, and whose estates he had recommended the king to confiscate.* The discovery of this document must have aggravated the odium in which Beaton was held by the nobility, whilst the incident rendered Arran and his authority highly acceptable. The Cardinal's two crimes were two gross blunders, which it required no ingenuity on the part of his successful rival to turn to good account. The Earl of Arran's well-known simplicity contrasted most advantageously with the tortuous villany over which it had triumphed.

The Regent was put in possession of the royal 'palace, treasure, jewels, garments, horse, and plate;† and he set about arranging for the charge and maintenance of the infant sovereign and the Queen-dowager. An act of mercy towards the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, who had been exiles in England for upwards of fifteen years, distinguished the beginning of the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses's rule, though that act unquestionably treated them more permitted and invited to return to Scotland. than as daring criminals, to be forgiven and restored to their original rank and privileges. The circumstances of their treason were almost forgotten, the temptations to repeat it were removed; and the Regent, knowing that Angus, and especially his scheming brother, Sir George Douglas, had consented to and advocated proposals which seriously compromised the national integrity and independence, in encouraging Henry VIII.'s views of a union with Scotland, felt that it was desirable that they should come back to Scotland and meet a kindly reception there, in order that they might be filled with the genuine Scottish feeling, and act like patriotic nobles, when engaged in forwarding

* "For," saith the Regent, "If he (Cardinal Beaton) might have his purpose I should surely go to the fire, as when the king lived he told me I was the greatest heretic in the world. A number of noblemen and gentlemen the late king had got written in a roll, which were all accused of heresy, of the which I was the first, and the Earl of Cassils the Earl of Glencairn and his son, the Earl Marischal, and a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score because they were all well-minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow."—*Sadler's State Papers*, vol. p. 93. See *ante*, p. 459.

† Knox's History of the Reformation. p. 36.

* Knox's History, p. 36.

the desirable consummation of a union between the two countries. He was warranted to hope that they might have purer motives, and give better counsels in furtherance of the important project, when away from the English court, and that revived patriotism might lessen the influence of Henry's bribes, and relax the obligations under which they had come to that monarch. It was resolved that they should have full liberty to return to Scotland, that their possessions should be restored to them, and that they should take their proper part as barons of the kingdom in the management of public affairs.*

Meanwhile the state of Scottish affairs, consequent on the battle at Solway Moss and the sudden death of King James, was the subject of anxious consideration at the English court. The victory gained for Henry VIII., like all his other victories over Scotland, had not been followed up, he being probably unwilling, as certainly he was unable, to turn victory into conquest. The intelligence of the Scottish king's death was good news to him, though, on its first announcement, he put on a sorrowful countenance and manner, and, amid much feigned grief, said: "Woe is me! for I shall never have any king in Scotland so sib to me again, nor one whom I favoured so well, and desired so greatly to confer with; but, alas! evil and wicked counsel would not let him speak with me, which would have been both to his comfort and mine."† Nor was he less pleased with the intelligence that James had left an infant daughter as his successor; for he saw how Scotland, through her, could be won. A more favourable crisis for carrying out his policy than had occurred at the battle of Flodden presented itself. Many powerful barons and gentry had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss, and conducted into England; and he imagined that, to purchase their deliverance, they would be ready to favour a proposal for the marriage of his son, Edward Prince of Wales, with the infant Queen of Scots. He was already sure of the support of the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses; and on the concurrence and assistance of the prisoners, who were on better terms with the various parties in Scotland, would, he felt, be far more valuable and efficient. They had been treated, on being brought to London, with unnecessary severity: they had been ignominiously led through the streets of the

city as captives of Henry's bow, and afterwards closely confined within the Tower. But now he began to be a more indulgent victor: their keeper became their suitor; their rank was respected; they were liberated from the Tower, and given into the hospitable charge of the principal English families; they were admitted to the king's feasts, and he held out the prospect of a speedy return to their own country if they would accede to his designs, and pledge themselves to urge these faithfully and zealously at the Scottish court.*

The main article of the treaty, so far from being objectionable, was highly desirable; and the Scottish nobles and gentry—even if at liberty, and not in the hands of the English monarch, with whom they were bargaining for present indulgence and future enlargement—might have heartily supported it, without any treason or the least compromise of patriotism. During several reigns, it had been seriously entertained by the kings of Scotland and their most eminent and loyal-hearted subjects; and had the way to its honourable execution been open. Scotland would have been spared many disasters. An alliance, fair on both sides, between the two countries, by the marriage of the Prince of Wales and Mary, would, in itself, have been a great blessing, the source of tranquillity, and of commercial and social progress. But Henry's aims were despotic, and his conditions flagrantly unjust—degrading to, and destructive of, the independence of Scotland. The captives were required to acknowledge him as lord-superior of Scotland; they were to promise to use all their endeavours to invest him with the substantial and permanent government of the country; to place the various fortresses of Scotland

* "The chief of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss were carried to London by Sir Henry Savil and Sir Thomas Wentworth, whither they came on the 10th of December, wearing—by King Henry's appointment—a red St. Andrew's Cross, and were presently committed to the Tower; and on the 21st of the same month (before which Henry must have heard of the Scottish king's death) the noble, together with Oliver Sinclair, were conducted by Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower, riding before them, and the Lieutenant behind them, two by two, in new gowns of black damask, furred with black conies, coats of black velvet, and doublets of satine, to the Star Chamber, where Thomas Lord Audley, the Chancellor, reprimanded them in the King, his master's name, for the late attempt upon his kingdom; but withal told them 'That such was his Majesty's benignity that he would show them kindness for unkindness, and right for wrong;' and thereupon (after their promise to remain true prisoners) commanded that they should no more be returned to gaol, but be distributed into divers noble houses, there to be entertained suitably to their rank and quality, which was immediately done, and they were lodged with the principal persons and noble-bearers of England, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, &c., &c."—*Archb. History*, pp. 25, 26.

Keith also mentions that on "the 26th of the same month, King Henry gave orders for the Scottish limits to attend him at court, where they were nobly entertained, and then he discovered to them his inclination to have the kingdoms of England and Scotland united, by a marriage between his only son, Prince Edward, a child little above five years old, and Mary, their infant sovereign; nor did his majesty leave any proper means untried to gain his assistance and good offices of the nobles in to effect his design."

* Sir George Douglas, writing on the 10th of January, 1542-3, to Lord Lisle, mentions that he had received a safe conduct to pass into Scotland from the Earl of Arran.

† Pitcottic.

‡ The communication of the news to Henry by the council of Scotland is dated Dec. 21st, 1542, and is as follows:—"By the disposition of God Omnipotent, which nothing can resist, our sovereign and master, yair tender spouse, is departed fra this life, and has left an princess, our pro-niece, to be heretier and Queen of this realm, whose prosperity, succession, and long life we desire as devoutly and earnestly as can be thought, trusting your highness' blood reigning within this realm, ye shall not fail desire the weal and tranquillity thereof."—*State Papers Published by Government Commission*.

in his hands; and, above all, to carry out the arrangement that the infant Mary should be sent to the English court, to be educated and kept under his charge until her marriage with his son Edward.* It was but a fitting close to such humiliating conditions that, should these be rejected by the Scottish parliament, the released nobles should either return to their bondage in England, or employ all the forces they could command in co-operating with the English for the subjugation of Scotland. That the pledges exacted might be weighty and solemn, a regular bond, containing the foregoing stipulations, was subscribed and sworn to by the Scottish nobles, before they were allowed to return to their own country; and they had also to leave behind them their eldest sons or other nearest relatives as hostages. The personal liberty which they thus got from Henry, apart from its most dishonourable price, was unworthy of the name: they were to return to Scotland not as freemen, even only for a moment, but as the alert, vigilant, and hard-working agents and servants of the English monarch. It would be a waste of indignation to censure the barons who, for the sake of such, or indeed of any personal liberty, or from base motives of personal aggrandisement, agreed to betray that national independence which neither Henry nor previous monarchs, still more daring and subtle, could ever destroy by united force and guile. Their patriotism was not of the pure stamp, though it had passed through the ordeal of Solway Moss,—an ordeal, indeed, not fitted to detect either traitors or cowards, for instead of fighting there had been nothing but running! Their selfishness, we may suppose, had not yet grown and ripened, like that of the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, under the sunshine of Henry's favour and the showers of English gold, so as to leave no room for their patriotism, and to make them unnaturally apathetic to the claims of their country: but prison-life was galling and irksome to feudal chiefs who had each freely ranged over a mountainous district and ruled its population; not to speak of Henry being capable of making confinement something worse than disagreeable: and they might hope that the good genius of Scotland, so long and in emergencies so often propitious, might save her from their treachery. The leading barons, the Earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, and the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant,† subscribed the English king's stipulations, and departed for Scotland on the 1st of Jan., 1543. † It is unknown whether the less influential of the Scottish captives remained behind in durance from virtue or

from necessity, and whether Henry had thought it not worth his while to bribe them or had failed, owing to their higher honour and sterner patriotism. Their released brethren on their way 'dined at Enfield, in order to see the young prince, whose cause they were to take in hand;*' and, after waiting at Newcastle for the arrival of their hostages, who were to be delivered up to the Duke of Suffolk, proceeded to Scotland, which they appear to have entered about the same time as the Earl of Angus and his able and crafty brother, the latter of whom was to be the chief agent in carrying out Henry VIII.'s project. They reached Edinburgh about the middle of January.†

A few days previous to their arrival,‡ the funeral of the deceased king was solemn- The late king's fu- ized with all the magnificence of neral, and his national sorrow. The carefully daughter's baptism. embalmed body was conveyed from Falkland to Edinburgh, attended by the Regent, Cardinal Beaton, the Earls of Argyle, Marischal and Rothes, and a long train of the nobility and gentry, attired in deep mourning, with lighted torches carried before them. James was buried in the chapel of Holyrood§ amid the lamentations of the people, by whom he had been greatly beloved. The baptism of his infant successor took place about the same time.|| It cannot be doubted that these two ceremonies were an excellent loyal and patriotic preparation for encountering Henry VIII.'s agents, and for considering the proposals with which they were commissioned. A deeper and yet tenderer nationality must have been communicated. The reforming nobles would feel that whilst an alliance with England was most desirable, as tending to weaken the Popish and French party, yet it must not be allowed to compromise Scotland's integrity and independence. The Regent, naturally weak and timid, appears to have got an accession of nationality, for, along with his friends, he exhibited both in public and in private such a port of honest, resolute, and vigilant patriotism as abashed Henry's pensioners, and made them, against their original instructions, and in spite of the remonstrances and taunts which they were often re

* Keith, p. 26.

† Ibid. p. 26.

‡ According both to Buchanan and Keith, the king's funeral took place on the 14th of January; but the *Comptrol* of Kirkaldy of Grange, quoted by Miss Strickland, fixes it on the 8th.

§ Keith says that, in his day, the "embalmed body is yet to be seen whole and entire. In the same vault are likewise to be seen the bodies of Queen Magdalene, of the Lord Darnley, husband of Queen Mary, the king's daughter, and the Countess of Argyle, his natural daughter, &c., all which bodies are lying open to the view within the vault the coffins having been broke open by a disorderly mob in the month of December, 1638."—*Keith's History*, p. 22.

|| "The local traditions of Linlithgow affirm that Mary was baptised in the stately abbey church of St. Michael's, at a point out a small stone eistern or lavatory attached to the wall, in which they pretend the infant queen was immersed. As the time was mid-winter, it is more probable that the office was performed in the beautiful chapel-royal within the palace, which terminates the suite of royal apartments than that the health of the tender babe was imperilled by carrying her into the large, cold church."—*Lives of the Scottish Queens*, vol. iii. p. 6.

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

† Keith also mentions Lords Gray and Fleming.

‡ Mr. Tytler mentions that Sir George Douglas preceded the captives into Scotland by two days. This, however, must be an error, for it appears, from a letter of Sir George's previously referred to, that even so late as the 10th of January he had not left England. Both Keith and Buchanan fix on the 1st of January as the day on which the captives quitted London. The same historians also say that the Earl of Angus and the two Douglasses entered Scotland in company.

ceiving from England respecting their bare and unsatisfactory reports, carefully conceal each one of the many dishonourable terms of the projected alliance.

The Douglasses and the released nobles did, indeed, find it necessary to proceed with the greatest caution, and to hold in strict reserve such stipulations as sending the young queen at once to England, giving Henry a share in the government, and filling the Scottish fortresses with English garrisons; for these would have been as indignantly rejected by the Regent and those who had chosen him, though they anxiously sought a fair alliance, as by Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-mother, who strongly reprobated any friendship with England.* Before the council,† which the Regent had summoned on their arrival, they urged the union in such a way as to give no indications of those base conditions which treated Scotland as a mere province of England; and though the project was most favourably and even enthusiastically entertained by the council, Henry's agents had not the courage to hint at his despotic and arrogant terms. There was one man, however, too quick not to suspect their secret aims. Cardinal Beaton, disappointed of the regency, and hating everything that came from England, from its being both English and anti-Popish, as well as because the proposed union was supported by Arran and his party, had at once marked the dissatisfied air of Sir George Douglas and the restored nobles, and apprehended the intrigues which were on foot; and he was fertile in resources to counteract their plots. The late king had, on his death-bed, when hearing of his daughter's birth, remarked despondingly, 'Miseries approach this poor kingdom: King Henry will labour to make it his own by arms or by marriage.†' Beaton had not less sagacity than his dying master; and, on the Earl of Arran's appointment to the regency, opened a correspondence with France, in which he represented the danger both to the church and the state involved in a union between Edward Prince of Wales and the infant Queen of Scots, and strongly urged that France should supply him with money, arms, and soldiers, to carry on a just struggle against the designs of England.§ He also addressed himself to work upon the feelings of various parties at home: the patriotic he filled with jealousy and hatred of England, as seeking to destroy Scottish independence; and he brought before the middle and commercial classes the fact

that, during a time of peace between the two countries, the English monarch had not scrupled to seize and detain Scottish merchant-vessels, and to appropriate their rich cargoes. A strong reaction in favour of the Cardinal and his ostensibly patriotic views was beginning to set in; and the Scottish nobles, who had just returned from England, and whose appearance at the Scottish court as delegates from Henry had confirmed the Cardinal's suspicions and pointed the insinuations which he scattered amongst the people, felt that this reaction would be overwhelming as soon as they should fully disclose the conditions which Henry annexed to the proposed alliance. It was, therefore, necessary that a bold step should be taken, and that Beaton should be arrested and imprisoned. The Regent, ignorant of their ulterior designs, and only knowing the fair side of the treaty of marriage, was hearty and ready in sanctioning and executing the resolution to restrain and disarm a man so formidably hostile to an advantageous union between the two countries; and the attempt was farther coloured with justice, and made to wear the aspect of a government prosecution for a treasonable correspondence with France on the part of Beaton.

Accordingly, on the 20th of January the Cardinal was apprehended, and put under Beaton arrested and the custody of Lord Seton, in the imprisoned on the castle of Blackness.* On the 20th January. authority of the Regent regular proclamation was also made that every man, as he would escape the charge and the penalty of treason, should resist to the utmost of his power the landing of any French forces. A fleet seen off Holy Island, and suspected to be under the command of the Duke of Guise, for the overthrow of Arran and of the party favourable to an alliance with England, occasioned this latter proceeding; but the fleet turned out to be several Scottish ships-of-war, that had captured and were bringing to land nineteen English vessels as prizes. It was fixed by the council that a parliament should meet on the 12th of March, both for the consideration of the match between Edward and Mary, and for the trial of Cardinal Beaton; and it was also agreed upon that Henry should be requested to accede to a temporary cessation of war, and to grant a safe conduct to the Scottish ambassadors who might be sent to the English court for the full and final settlement of the proposed union.

But Beaton's summary apprehension and confinement had made a great sensation, and produced serious effects. His clergy throughout the land took a most impressive mode of testifying their sympathy

* Lord Lisle, in a letter dated 2nd of February, 1542-3, to the Duke of Suffolk, says:—"I asked him (Sir George Douglas) whether he had begun to practice with his friends, touchyng the king's majesty's purpose. He said it was not tyme yet, for, although he and his broder had many frindes, he durst not move the matter as yet to none of them, for if he should, he is sure they wolde starte from him everie man."—*Tytler*, vol. v. p. 263.

† 27th January. (Keith's History, p. 26.) The date, however, must have been earlier.

‡ Keith's History, p. 22.

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

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* Sir Thomas Wharton, writing on the 2nd of February, 1542-3, to the Duke of Suffolk, says: "My said arrest sheweth the ordre of the taking of the Cardinal, made after the form as I have writtyn. He may be had the proclamation made after the same at the Cross in Edinburgh, by the governor and the nobles with him, that his taking was for certain treasons against the king, and not for any taking away the funds of the church."—*Mrs. Lettis in State Paper Office*, quoted by *Tytler*, vol. v. p. 263.

with him, and their horror at his treatment. They abandoned their functions; they suspended all public religious services, closed all the churches, and refused in all cases to administer the sacraments of baptism and burial—as if Scotland, until purged of the crime against the Cardinal, could have no relations with Heaven, but was wholly reprobate and disowned.* Nothing sacred could be exhibited or done in the presence, or immediate neighbourhood, of a people so awfully guilt-laden. The whole apparatus of priestly mediatorship between God and man had to be taken down, covered up, and hidden. It could not be permitted to stand or to be seen upon a soil so accursed; and on it there could not hang a symbol for the new-born babe, or a decent ceremony for the dead man. And this thorough and tremendous privation of religion—in imitation of the scene of Christ's crucifixion—exclusively on account of Cardinal Beaton having been seized and imprisoned! Reformed doctrines had spread widely enough to mitigate considerably the effect of this clever artifice in the Cardinal's favour, and to teach the people that for the church to lock up her creed, mysteries, sacraments, and ceremonies, was no proof that God was angry with, or hardened against, them. Still, a general gloom prevailed during the period that the Romish worship was suspended.

It may be presumed that the clergy, exercising none of their priestly functions, were yet far from being idle, but would be plying energetically all their forces and arts of agitation in favour of the Cardinal's release and ascendancy; and that his cause would prosper all the more from their attention being turned away from sacred to secular labour. Though unemployed at the altar they had another occupation, for which they were still better trained—that of political faction and intrigue. With means of access to all classes in the nation, they would freely and widely communicate most serviceable sentiments and sympathies; and, doubtless, on this occasion they were not a little instrumental in increasing the dislike for the English alliance. They had reason to fear that if, through that alliance, the Reformation were to triumph in Scotland, their present ecclesiastical feint would become a sad and permanent fact; the functions which they had voluntarily suspended would be taken away from them altogether and finally, and the Popish religion, which they had now theatrically veiled in sackcloth and withdrawn from the public, would be wrapped in its winding-sheet and buried out of sight. The very disuse, though both temporary and artful, of Romish ministrations would suggest to them the compulsory cessation of these under the victorious Reformation; and their leisure would be occupied in taking every measure against the possibility of

* Sir Thomas Wharton, writing on 1st February, 1542-3, to the Duke of Suffolk, says: "And considering this business that is upon the taking of the Cardinal, whiche at this present is in such a staye that they can cause no priest within Scotland to saye masse syne the Cardinall was taken, neyler to crysten or burye."—*Tytler*, vol. v. p. 264.

such a disaster to their church, their order, and their party. At the same time, it probably was true of that particular agitation, as of most of the agitations that were carried on by the Romish clergy, that it looked more general and formidable than it really was; still, a formidable appearance to an agitation often goes far to secure success. At all events, the reaction against the English alliance was becoming stronger. Many of the Scots, jealous of the English monarch's designs, and suspicious of the character of the Douglasses and the released Scottish prisoners, were beginning to regard Beaton as the supporter of national independence, and as having been specially obnoxious on that ground to those who had apprehended and imprisoned him. The Cardinal in prison was a greater favourite than he had ever been when at large. The Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Moray demanded that he should be set free, guaranteeing his appearance on the day of trial to confront his accusers. This was denied; and the denial increased the general suspicions. Argyle, one of the most influential nobles in the kingdom, immediately retired to his own feudal territory, to marshal his forces on the Cardinal's side for the struggle which seemed inevitable.

At this critical juncture the English king's proposals were nearly ruined by his King Henry's own precipitate and violent conduct. He demanded that Beaton, to whom he had become furiously hostile, should be delivered over to him for imprisonment in England;* a grosser exhibition of tyranny over Scotland than of persecution against the Cardinal, and an arrogant assertion of his prerogatives as lord-paramount of the kingdom. He also urged upon the Douglasses and the Scottish prisoners that their engagements to procure the surrender of the fortresses should be fulfilled; he being, doubtless, apprehensive that these fortresses might otherwise soon be occupied by strong detachments of French troops, arriving under the command of the Duke of Guise, and also aware that were they in the possession of his own forces the remaining objects of his ambition would be forthwith attained. Constitutionally impatient and sanguine, he appears to have thought that just as easily and quickly as he let loose the Douglasses and the captive Scottish nobles, would these deliver into his hands the infant queen, the government, and the strongholds of Scotland. Sir George Douglas, with the view of influencing the king to a wiser and more cautious policy, sought an interview with Lord Lisle, warden of the English border; and at this interview, which took place at Berwick, he showed how

* "I asked hym whether his broder and he wold deliver the Cardynal to the King's majesty [some words in the document are here illegible from damp] if his highness to have hym. Whereat he [Sir George Douglas] studied a lytell, and said that if they shulde do soo, they [should be] mistrasted as of England's partie, but that he shuld be as surely kept as if he were in England, for neyther governor nor any oder in Scotland shall have hym out of their hands."—*Lord Lisle's Letter to the Duke of Suffolk*, Feb. 2, 1542-3, quoted in *Tytler*, vol. v. p. 265.

reforming nobles were overruled by the Catholic party, otherwise those instructions would have been much more, if not altogether, in accordance with the wishes of the English monarch, and of his bribed agents in Scotland. Now, up to this time, and for a short subsequent period, Arran and his party were entirely ignorant of anything dishonourable in Henry's aims; and whilst, therefore, we must regard them as the strenuous supporters of an alliance with England, we must also assign to them a full share in preparing and in giving effect to the patriotic and every way admirable articles and rules of negotiation to which the Scottish ambassadors, when in England, were strictly to adhere. The Regent and the nobles of his party had hitherto been, and continued to be, incorruptible by what was bad in Henry's policy. The honour of their ancient nation and of their infant sovereign was dear to them; and they were determined that it should not be compromised in the proposed alliance. How cordially they must have sanctioned what was done by the parliament will appear afterwards from Sir Ralph Sadler's thorough dissatisfaction at the character of his interviews with them. On the other hand, it is probable that the barons and gentry, the bishops and abbots, who had formed the Perth assembly on the previous week, instead of going to Parliament—as has been too charitably supposed*—'to fetter the marriage with such conditions as should insure the independence of their country,' went to oppose, from party and selfish considerations, that marriage on any terms, and were only deterred by the well-grounded conviction, that, for the present, they would be labouring in vain. Certainly they had no greater share than their opponents in arranging the patriotic and loyal stipulations to be urged by the Scottish ambassadors in negotiating the marriage. It is at this point that party-historians begin to furnish an un candid version of the grand era that was about to dawn upon Scotland. They identify Arran and the reforming barons with the Douglasses and the released nobles: they allege against them the same secret knowledge of Henry's despotic designs, and the same treacherous plots to promote them; and, knowing well the effect of a bad name, they give them a common appellation—the English faction'—whilst their opponents are complimented as the only inheritors, and the only defenders of genuine Scottish patriotism.

The substance of the instructions given by Parliament to the ambassadors was as follows:—The preamble sets forth that the proposed peace and marriage are desirable to Scotland in consideration of the 'adversite of tyme bigane, and of the dangerous apperand of the stait of the tyme instant, and sicklik to cum'—[the adversity of the past, and the dangerous appearance of the state at present and for the future]—and empowers the Regent to make farther conditions, to be submitted

to his council, and ratified by the lords of articles, for the guidance of the ambassadors. The conditions are urged in the shape of replies to any demands that might be made by King Henry for security that Scotland would do her part in keeping the 'said contract.' And, first, if he should ask that the infant queen ^{Regarding the queen's person.} be delivered up to him, or sent to England to be reared until the time for celebrating the marriage between her and Edward Prince of Wales, the ambassadors were to answer decisively that this was 'ane ryte hie and ryte grete inconvenient to the realme of Scotland;' and that it 'cannot be grantit be resoun, but that hir grace may remane and be kept in this realme quhill sche may be abill to complete mariage.' It was added that parliament decreed that Mary was to be under the nurture of her mother, and in the charge of four lords of the realm, to be chosen for their loyal character. In the event of the King of England desiring that some Englishmen, or 'Ingliis ladyis,' should form a part of the young queen's court, it was to be answered, that 'honorable knyts of England—ane or twa—with als [as] mony ladyis of honour, with their servandis, men and women,' might wait upon Mary, but entirely at the King of England's expense. In the event either of the decease or of the departure out of the realm of the Queen-mother, some of the most noble and virtuous of the Scottish ladies were to be chosen to be near the person of the young sovereign.

Again, if Henry were to demand, as pledges for fulfilment of the contract, either ^{Regarding fortresses and hostages.} that any of the Scottish fortresses should be put into his hands, or that any of the Scottish nobles should be given up to him as hostages, the same decisive reply returned in reference to the queen's person was to be repeated.

Farther, should the marriage be agreed to, it was provided that the privileges, The independence rights, and liberties of Scotland of Scotland to be should be strictly preserved as ^{preserved.} those of an independent and separate kingdom, and that the government should be held during Mary's minority by Regent Arran, without any interference or 'impediment' from Henry or his successors. The Regent was also to draw and distribute the revenue of the state, without rendering any account to the English monarch. On the queen's coming of age, and after her marriage in England, whether she had heirs of her body or not, Scotland was ever to keep her own name, her old liberties, privileges, and immunities in everything, to be ruled by a native governor, to be under her own laws, to have one seat and college of justice ('sitand in the tolbuith of Edinburgh'), and all her sheriffs, stewards, and other officials. It was stipulated that neither the queen, when also Queen of England, nor her successors, should have the prerogative of summoning any Scottish parliament, unless one to meet within the realm of Scotland. On Mary's

* Tyler, vol. v. p. 263.

marriage and residence in England the Earl of Arran was to become Regent for life, and to be succeeded by his nearest heir. In the event of the queen's becoming a widow without children she was to be delivered up by the English king, unmarried, and without any engagement of her person or obligation upon her kingdom, but altogether free from any relationship to England. If she, however, were to have heirs as successors, and if these were to die, then the nearest heir in Scotland was to succeed to all the prerogatives and privileges of the crown, without any obstruction from the King of England. Some minor directions were added regarding the contract of peace between the two countries.* The commissioners

The ambassadors. appointed by parliament to carry these articles to the English court were Sir James Learmont, of Baleomy, the Treasurer; Henry Balnaves, of Hall-hill, the Secretary of State; and Sir William Hamilton, of Sanquhar.

The parliament next reversed the attainder of other proceedings Angus and the Douglasses, and of the parliament. restored them to their rank and possessions. Eight keepers of the infant sovereign's person were also selected, the choice falling on the Earls Marshal and Montrose, with the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay of the Byres, and Seton, and Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, two of whom were, each quarter in succession, to have the special guardianship. The sovereign was not to be removed from one residence to another without the concurrence of the Queen-dowager, Regent Arran, and his council.† Mary's court was to be held at Linlithgow Palace, presided over by her mother. A council was named for the Regent, consisting of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, Orkney, Ross, and Brechin; the Abbots of Dunfermline and Cupar; the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Moray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marshal, Cassilis, and Gleneairn; the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell, Seton, and Methven, George Douglas, the Provost of Aberdeen, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Learmont, the Clerk-register, the Justice-clerk, and the Queen's Advocate; the presence of not fewer than six of whom was necessary to constitute a regular meeting of council. This important parliament was prorogued on the 17th of March, and the lords of articles were empowered to sit and introduce measures for the general welfare of the nation. Of these, by far the most memorable was one permitting all to read the Holy Scriptures in an approved translation, though the people were still forbidden to dispute about the controverted opinions. This was vehemently opposed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, who entered a protest both for himself and the whole ecclesiastical estate, till the proposition should be discussed by a provincial council. The proposition, however, became law, the Regent publicly ratifying it, and the Bible was soon in many hands.

Sadler, Henry's experienced and subtle ambassador, reached Edinburgh too late for the English ambassador's arrival. This was really unimportant, however much he might regret it; for he could not have operated upon the great majority of the three estates, so as to have gained larger concessions for his master, and his best chances lay in getting at the barons individually or in small groups. He was warmly welcomed by the Douglasses; but if they imagined that his presence in Scotland would in any way or to any extent lessen their responsibility to the English king, or mitigate the character of their failure in what they had promised, they were mistaken, for, in reference to Angus and Sir George Douglas, Sadler came more as a spy than an ally. Indeed, their promises, before leaving England, had been so extensive and unconditional that no assistance should have been necessary—a circumstance with which they were often bitterly upbraided by the royal taskmaster to whom they had sold themselves. Sadler was greatly disappointed with the intelligence which they communicated respecting the progress of the cause, and especially about the proceedings of parliament. He saw that so far from their having gained a strong party to support Henry's plans to obtain possession of the queen's person, the government, and the fortresses, they had not even dared to mention such designs. Sir George Douglas assured him that an alliance on such terms was "impossible to be done at this time, and that there was not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it; yea, and many noblemen and all the clergy be fully against it."* The ambassador saw that no progress had been made, though this crafty and unscrupulous partizan had according to his own statement been so industrious and anxious in the prosecution of his cause, that since coming to Scotland he had not slept for more than three hours each night.† His promises however were renewed, with an assurance that Henry's terms would be fully granted if a little patience were exercised in urging them. The interviews of Sadler with the released Scottish nobles were equally unsatisfactory.

The Earl of Arran, timid, irresolute, and easily swayed by the leaders of contending parties among the Scots, was yet, in his simple honesty, proof against the varied wiles of English diplomacy. Sadler had been counselled by the Douglasses to keep his master's terms in reserve when conversing with the Regent; and Sadler soon had occasion to know that the advice was of little value only from the fact that no disclosure, however well-timed and skilful, and backed too by cogent persuasions, in the shape of both bribes and menaces, could win Arran's concurrence. The Regent praised Henry VIII. highly, and was most gracious to his representative; but though he declared himself warmly

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

† Ibid. p. 414.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 67.

in favour of the proposed marriage and peace, he always introduced some qualifying phrase respecting the claims of his own sovereign and of his own country.* He took no offence at the style of the English king's message, though it was addressed to him as only a temporary Regent—'The Earl of Arran, occupying the place of governor,†—not being aware of Henry's designs, which were incompatible with the maintenance of his own regency, and not being told of the reproaches heaped by the English ambassador upon the Douglasses and the restored captives for allowing that regency to be ratified and made permanent by an act of the late parliament. The Regent was well affected to Henry, and hated Cardinal Beaton; yet so exacting and offensive were Henry's aims and the style of his negotiations, that the Regent was far more likely to be drawn into a reconciliation with Beaton, than to continue faithful to the English alliance.

There was, however, one influential person in Scotland who treated Sadler and his errand with the guile of the abundance of graciousness, and Queen-mother. volunteered the largest promises of support. This was Mary of Guise, the Queen-mother,—the very last ally that could have been dreamed of, Cardinal Beaton himself not excepted. But it was only the mask of an ally which she had put on. Her profound dissimulation was more than a match for the diplomatic practice of the English ambassador. She affected to be enthusiastically in favour of the marriage of her infant daughter with Prince Edward, declaring that 'the world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she did not heartily desire and rejoice in the same, for she knew not throughout the world any marriage could be found so proper, so beneficial and honourable as this; and that she could not but regard it as the work of God, for the conjunction and union of both their realms, that she, who had hitherto had only sons, should now have brought forth a daughter for the best of purposes.† She even professed a wish that Mary should be delivered into the custody of the English monarch, until she should be of age, and declared that such a measure was necessary, both for the personal safety of the infant queen, and as a security to Henry that the marriage should be completed faithfully on the part of the Scots.§ She expressed her conviction that the Regent was opposed to the match, and would never consent to it, and that his paramount object was to bring about a matrimonial alliance between Mary and his

own son.* She declared herself apprehensive of her daughter's safety in the charge of Arran. 'It hath seldom been seen,' she said, 'that the heir of the realm should be in the custody of him that claimeth the succession of the realm, as the governor is now established by parliament the second person in the realm, and—if my daughter fail—looketh to be king of the same.' She represented the Regent as giving out that the infant queen was sickly and not likely to live, as a sort of warning to prepare the nation for what he and his friends might intend; and then this accomplished actress, affecting motherly pride, took the ambassador into Mary's chamber, and had the beautiful babe exhibited naked before him.† The Queen-dowager's aim was to create suspicion and dissension between the English court and the Regent, and also, perhaps, to draw Sadler into a plot for carrying off the infant sovereign, the discovery of which would excite the intense indignation of the whole Scottish nation, and put the project of an English alliance to a violent end. Though Sadler reported her conversation, accompanied with Regent Arran's flat contradictions, yet Henry appears to have believed to some extent in her sincerity.

Still, the favourable statements made by the Queen-mother, though gratifying, did not materially lessen his grievous disappointment and anger at learning that nothing had been accomplished for him by the Douglasses and the captive nobles, and that their presence in Scotland had produced no effect upon the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, since articles were about to be submitted to him which would put a direct and comprehensive negative upon his most cherished aims. He sent an upbraiding message to the leaders of his faction, bidding them give him deeds and not mere words, and assuring them of his determination not to withdraw a single iota of his original demands, and that—gentler means failing—he would use force in compelling the Scottish nation to deliver their sovereign into his hands. In this case, his bargain with them was also to be enforced to the letter, so that they must either prepare to assist him in the subjugation of Scotland, or return to their captivity in England.

The unexpected escape of Cardinal Beaton at this time increased the already great Escape of Cardinal and serious difficulties of negotiat- Beaton.
ing any alliance between the two countries. He had been in the charge of Lord Seton, who, though nearly related to the Regent, was a staunch Catholic.

* Sadler thus writes to Henry of the Regent's assurances: "Your Majesty had his heart above all princes, and should have him at command in all things reasonable, saving his duty of allegiance to his sovereign lady and this realm. He will in all things shew and declare himself most addicted to the king's majesty, and most willing to satisfy all his lawful desires, not offending the liberty and freedom of this realm."—*Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 66, 120.

† *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 120.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 84.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 85, 114.

* Regent Arran himself acknowledged to Sadler that a marriage between the young Queen of Scots and his own son had once been mentioned by him to her mother, who cordially acquiesced in the proposal, but that he had forborne all thoughts of it on learning the wishes of Henry VIII.

† 'I assure your Majesty,' writes Sadler to Henry, 'it is as goodly a child as I have seen of her age, and as like to live with the grace of God.' In Sadler's next interview with the Regent, he alluded to the fine health of Mary, with a view to ascertain whether or not Arran had spread the report mentioned by the Queen-dowager, and Arran at once assented to Sadler's observation. (Vol. i. p. 91.)

Lord Seton—not without the Regent's consent—had allowed Beaton to remove from Blackness to his castle of St. Andrews, where the Cardinal's men were so numerous as to defy any attempt, if it had been made, on the part of Seton and the small force that had gone thither, to take him back. The Regent alleged that he was not privy to the plot for the liberation of Beaton, but had sanctioned his removal to St. Andrews as likely to secure for him possession of the castle, as well as of the person of the Cardinal, and to induce the clergy again, and more especially at Easter, to exercise their spiritual functions, the suspension of which was still a source of distraction and disquiet to the population.* It is more probable that his consent to the Cardinal's removal was won by Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, his natural brother, who had recently returned from France, and had begun to exercise a great influence over him.† The Abbot was strongly attached to Beaton, who thus henceforward had an able and subtle mediator, for himself and his policy, with the Regent. Beaton now professed himself a cordial supporter of the Earl of Arran's administration, and even sent a communication to the English ambassador, assuring him that he was anxious to serve Henry VIII., as a prince whom he greatly admired, and to promote any union with England which would not sacrifice the freedom and independence of Scotland.‡ Whilst he had gained the Abbot of Paisley to use his influence with Arran in his behalf, he succeeded in bringing into the field another important ally, with a fear of whose claims he hoped to sway still farther the fickle and timid Regent.

Arrival of the Earl of Lennox, by his advice, and with a message for France.

Regent, from Francis the First, had just returned from France. This young nobleman regarded Arran as both a usurper and an enemy. He was closely related to the royal family; and James V. had once declared that were he to die childless Lennox should be his successor.§ His pretensions as next heir to the crown, and consequently as the proper regent, were considered by the clergy as preferable to those of Arran.|| Lennox also laid claim to the immense paternal property

held by the Regent. To show that he was hostile to Arran, and to Arran's administration and policy, he remained at Linlithgow Palace for weeks, instead of repairing to the Regent at Edinburgh, though he was charged with a message for him from the French monarch. By supporting the title of Lennox as the rightful one Beaton had a sure hold upon Arran's fears, and by working upon these he afterwards gained him completely over to his views. The ambition of Lennox was also excited by the prospect which the Cardinal held out that he would obtain the hand of the Queen-dowager: and she in the midst of all her guile practised upon Sadler, the English ambassador, had inclination and skill to coquette both with Lennox and the Earl of Bothwell. Though concocting misrepresentations for Sadler, and plotting with the Cardinal, the royal widow had leisure and tact to bestow flattering but insincere encouragement upon the rival suitors for her love.

Hard plied by these manifold and conflicting influences, the simple Regent was in a state of utter perplexity and distraction. The impressions made on him by one party to-day were on the morrow effaced and superseded by others from the opposing party; but it might even then have been foretold which of the two parties would ultimately gain the ascendancy over him. In all his interviews with the English ambassador the superiority of England was offensively assumed by the latter. Arran was urged to concede to Henry not what was reasonable, but what would satisfy the imperious monarch, and he felt that he and his country were treated as if in vassalage. The opposing party dealt with him in no such humbling way: he was reasoned with, instead of being overborne, and generally soothed and flattered, instead of being insulted.

Meanwhile the Scottish ambassadors had reached London, and had submitted and explained to the English monarch the terms which were propounded in London.

by the parliament for the proposed union. He expressed his utter dissatisfaction. At first, he insisted on the young queen being immediately put into his custody, but afterwards urged a modified demand that this should take place when she had completed the second year of her age. As for the government of Scotland, he peremptorily required that it should be forthwith handed over to him, in virtue of his right as hereditary lord-superior of the realm. The ambassadors firmly adhered to and defended their instructions, and gave it as their opinion that the very request of Henry's conditions would excite indignation throughout Scotland, and prevent any alliance. And so it proved: for, on hearing of the English exactions, the people became furious and the Regent stern. In an interview with Sadler, he characterized Henry's demands as "very sharp, and such as he was sure the states of the realm would not agree unto; and for his part, he could not be induced nor persuaded to condescend unto the same. First, his

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 110, 137.

† Ibid. p. 117.

‡ Ibid. pp. 131, 133.

§ Buchanan's History.

|| "Matthew, Earl of Lennox, had to wife a daughter of the Lord Hamilton, by Mary, daughter to King James II. By her he had his son and heir, John, who was appointed a lord of the regency in the minority of King James V., and was slain at the bridge of Linlithgow, by a party headed by the Lord Hamilton, then become Earl of Arran. John was father to Matthew, the present Earl of Lennox, whose pretensions to the crown stood thus: James, Earl of Arran, son to his father, by Princess Mary Stewart, daughter of James II. (by virtue of whom the family of Hamilton have a claim to the regal succession), after he had been divorced from Lady Elizabeth Home [and before her death], had by his subsequent wife, James, the present Earl of Arran. Therefore, the Earl of Lennox alleged that he was but a bastard, and that himself inherited the rights of the family of Hamilton, as being descended from a daughter of Princess Mary."—*Keith's History*, p. 30.

majesty would have the child delivered and brought into England within two years, and pledges in the mean season for the same, which he thought to be against all reason; for, having her in England, if it should please God to call the prince [Edward] to his mercy, his majesty might marry her to whom he pleased within his own realm, against the will and consent of this realm; besides other inconveniences which might grow of her being out of her own realm. Secondly, his majesty would have them friends to friends and enemies to enemies, by mean whereof they should lose their old friends, as France and Denmark. But to the third part, which touched himself for the place of governour here, he passed not thereupon; for he regarded not so much the authority of the place, as he tendered his duty to his sovereign lady, and the wealth and benefit of the realm.* On Sadler intimating that his master would proceed to extremities, in the event of his terms not being complied with, Arran replied, "He could not see what cause his majesty had to make war upon them, their sovereign lady being an innocent, that never offended his majesty." Sadler observed that "his majesty would direct his proceedings to the war in her quarrel for her surety and defence, and for the wealth of her realm against them who, without consideration, do seem thus to condemn and neglect the same." Arran indignantly asked if the ambassador "called it her benefit to destroy her realm?" It was answered that it was "her benefit and great honour to be made a queen of two realms by a just and rightful title, where she had now scarce a good title to one." The Regent made the sarcastic rejoinder that "he wished to God that every one had his right, and that they were quit of our [the English] cumber."† Nor were his patriotic scruples to be overcome by bribes, any more than by threats. He was not insensible to the honour which Sadler was authorised by his master to offer to him—a marriage between his son and King Henry's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth;‡ but it was pressed upon him in vain.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.

† *Ibid.* p. 165.

‡ "Then went I," writes Sadler to King Henry, "to the point touching the marriage to be had betwixt your majesty's said daughter and the governor's son, which matter I handled with him as seriously as my poor wit could serve me, and as near as I could, omitted no point of the charge which your majesty gave me in that part by your said letters. The governor, understanding the great honour your majesty did offer unto him in that behalf, put off his cap, and said, 'He was most bound of all men unto your majesty, in that it pleased the same, being a prince of so great reputation in the world, to offer such alliance and marriage with so poor a man as he is, for the which he should bear his heart and service to your majesty next unto his sovereign lady during his life. He confessed both what honour the same should be unto him, and what advancement of his blood in the reputation of the world; what benefit, honour, and surety it should be to himself and all his posterity; and also what stay and assistance he might thereby have of your majesty, as well in the quieture and continuance of his place, office, and authority of this government, without interruption,' and then the Regent digressed to other subjects of talk. I returned, then," adds Sadler, "to the matter we were in before, and asked him what I should write to your majesty of his answer to

The confirmation, contained in letters to the Regent from the Scottish ambassadors in London, of the report respecting the demands of Henry, strengthened Arran's alienation from the English party, and he made no secret of his resolution to risk war rather than comply with the degrading exactions. He also at this time ordered away his two Protestant chaplains,* probably at the urgent advice of his brother, the Abbot of Paisley, and for the sake rather of their political than of their religious influence.

The popular views and sentiments were still more unequivocally and strongly hostile to Henry, and the feelings of the clergy were expressed in a convention held at St. Andrews, where it was determined that preparations for war should immediately be made, and that the private wealth of the ecclesiastics should be devoted, and the very church-plate should be melted down to defray the necessary expenses, whilst, should there be a lack of soldiers, priests of all ranks were to take the field.†

In this crisis, Sir George Douglas,‡ on whom the whole blame of the failure in the negotiation was cast, prevailed on the inconstant Regent and the

that overture of marriage which your highness hath in such sort made, as I had declared unto him? He put off his cap again, and prayed me 'To write unto your majesty that he most humbly thanked the same a thousand times for the great honour it pleased your highness to offer unto so poor a man as he was, and that he would communicate the same to his most seeret and trusty friends, as to his brother and Sir George Douglas, and not many more; whereupon, or it were long, your majesty should know his whole mind and resolution in that behalf.' I intend diligently to solicit his further answer to this overture of marriage."—*Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 130, 131.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 158. Knox adds, that "The men of counsell, judgement, and godlinesse, that had travelled to promote the Governour, and that gave him faithfull counsell in all doubtfull matters, were either craftily conveyed from him, or else, by threatening to bee hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the Laird of Grange, M. Henry Balneuer, M. Thomas Ballenden, and Sir David Lindesay, of the Mount: men by whose labours he was promoted to honour, and by whose counsell he so used himself at the beginning, that the obedience given to him was nothing inferior to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many years had before him. Yea, in this it did surmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of those virtues that were supposed to have been in him. Of the number of those that were threatened, were M. Michael Durham, M. David Borthwike, David Forresse, and David Bothwell, who counselled him to have in company with him men fearing God, and not to nourish wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his surname. This counsell understood by the aforesaid Abbot, and by the Hamiltons (who then repaired to the court as ravens to the carrion), in plain words it was said, 'My Lord Governour nor his friends, will never be at quietnesse till a doxon of these knaves that abuse his Grace be hanged.'"—*Knox's History*, p. 40.

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

‡ Mr. Tytler (vol. v. p. 277) represents Sir George Douglas as paying a private visit to Henry VIII. in the beginning or middle of April, and prevailing on the king to relax the rigour of his demands. Sir George, it is stated, returned to Scotland with more equitable terms which he submitted to the Regent and council in the course of the same month, and which were accepted. Mr. Tytler narrates that then Sir George and the Earl of Glencairn were commissioned to go into England to make the final arrangements. These facts, had they been true, would have been mentioned by Sadler. Sadler, writing to the king on the 26th of April, refers to the visit to England of Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn, as then first thought of. (*Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 164.)

nobles to send a deputation, consisting of Sir George himself, and the Earl of Gleneairn, to the king, with the view of prevailing upon him to be satisfied with fewer and easier conditions.* The visit was successful.

Henry's demands that the principal Scottish fortress should be put into his hands, and that he should have a control over, or a share in, the government of Scotland, were withdrawn; whilst the interval before the infant queen should be delivered into his custody was to be greatly, if not reasonably, lengthened out. Sir George Douglas returned to Scotland, confident that the new and fairer terms of treaty would be adopted, for he could now state them without reserve, and urge them with all his skill and energy. Nor was he mistaken in his expectations. "The Regent," says Sadler, "was most willing and conformable to pass the articles without difficulty. He seeth nothing therein to be sticked at; nevertheless, it hath been thought best to him, and such of the council as be about him, to call the lords of the realm unto it, such as will come, because they shall not say hereafter that he concluded the same privily by himself, without calling them to council in that behalf; and, therefore, he sent forth letters, immediately upon the arrival here of the said Sir George, to sundry lords and noblemen of the realm to be here to-morrow [4th June, 1543] for that purpose, thinking that many of them will come, and he supposeth that none of them will stick at any of the said articles, unless it be at the delivery of the daughter of Scotland at ten years old, which nevertheless he trusteth easily to bring them unto."† At the convention (from which, however, the Cardinal and several influential nobles were absent) the proposed conditions, after some modifications, were agreed to, and in a few days Sir George Douglas was despatched to the English court to complete the arrangements. He, with the Earl of

Gleneairn, and the three Scottish ambassadors sent by the parliament, met at Greenwich, with the English commissioners named by Henry,—Lord Audeley (the chancellor), Duke of Norfolk (treasurer), the Bishops of Winchester and Westminster, the Lord St. John (chamberlain), and Sir John Gage (comptroller of

* Hume of Godscroft, says that Sir George told the Scottish nobles the apologue of the physician, who, to escape the wrath of a tyrannical sultan, undertook to teach an ass to speak within the course of ten years; and justified the hopeless undertaking to his friends, by saying that he had gained a space in which either the king, or the ass, or he himself might die, in any of which events he escaped final punishment, and meantime lived in good estate and favour. "Even so," said Douglas, "we, being unprovided for war, gain by this treaty ten years of peace; during which, King Henry, or his son, or the queen may die; or the parties coming of age may refuse each other, or matters may so stand that the match may be concluded on more equal terms."—*Godscroft*, vol. ii. p. 113. This shows a good specimen of the able and artful manner in which Sir George Douglas sought to gain over the Regent and the body of reforming nobles.

† Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 210.

the king's household). The treaties were signed by the commissioners of both countries on the 1st of July, and remained to be ratified on the part of Henry within the space of two months from that date by his subscription, seal, and oath; and on the part of the Scottish nation by a confirmation and oath in name of the three estates of parliament, and by the subscription of the Regent and the great seal.*

The treaties were to the effect, that the marriage between Edward Prince of Wales and Mary Queen of Scots should take place as soon as that prince was of age; that Mary, until her tenth year was completed, should remain in Scotland under the care of the guardians who had been appointed by the Scottish parliament, though Henry was to be permitted to send an English nobleman, with his lady and attendants (not exceeding in all twenty persons), to form part of the young queen's household, and to 'oversee her education and diet;† that within a month after Mary entered her eleventh year she was to be delivered at Berwick to the commissioners selected to receive her; that, as hostages for the fulfilment of these conditions, two earls and four barons, or their heirs apparent, should within two months after the date of the treaty be sent to England, though the three estates might change the persons of the hostages once every half-year for other Scottish noblemen of the same rank and importance; that, in the event of Mary having issue by her husband, the kingdom of Scotland should still retain its own name, and enjoy its own laws, liberties, and privileges; and that between the two kingdoms there should be an inviolable peace during the lives of Edward and Mary, and for a year after the decease of the one who might die first. Henry had always peremptorily insisted that the ancient league between France and Scotland should be broken and all friendship forbidden, and that England and Scotland should be 'friends to friends and enemies to enemies;‡ but his commissioners failed in getting this made an article of the present treaty, and could only procure the insertion of a clause to the effect that neither of the two kingdoms should give, or suffer to be given by its subjects, assistance to any foreign aggressor, whatever alliance had been or might be formed.

Had Henry been sincere in acceding to such terms, he must have done so with extreme reluctance, falling as they did so far short of his wishes, both in the extent of advantage to himself and England, and also in the dispatch and certainty of attaining any such advantage. But he never laid aside the imperiousness, unless to exercise the cunning, of his nature; and on the very day that the English and Scottish commissioners

* Keith's History, p. 28. Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 229.

† Keith's History, p. 29. King Henry appointed Sadler and his wife to this post in the Scottish court; but Sadler declined, on the ground of its being both too dignified, and too inconvenient for his wife. (State Papers, vol. i. p. 230.)

concluded and signed the treaties of peace and marriage, his 'secret device' was drawn up—a document to be subscribed by the Douglasses and the Scottish barons taken at Solway, binding themselves to study exclusively the aims of Henry and the interests of England, so that, when any commotion arose in Scotland, "he should attain all the things then pactured and covenanted, or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth."* It is certain that the instrument was of no use to Henry, and it is highly improbable that it was signed by more than a small number of the Scottish nobility; but it shows the tenacity with which he adhered to his original proposals, and the dishonourable character of the diplomacy by which he sought to carry them into effect.

On the conclusion of the treaty, peace between the two countries had been proclaimed; and the ambassadors returned to Edinburgh with the full expectation that the ratification by the Regent and the parliament would immediately take place. During their absence, however, the Cardinal and his party had succeeded in organising a most formidable opposition to the alliance with England. Large forces had been concentrated, under the Earl of Huntly, in the north, and Argyle and Lennox in the west, whilst Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleuch hung upon the Borders with all their feudal strength. The Regent repeatedly acknowledged to the English ambassador the necessity of raising an army to put down this threatened rebellion, and expressed his determination to chastise and humble Beaton and the Earl of Lennox; but his timidity, or his indolence, allowed them daily to become stronger. It was rumoured that they meant to seize upon the person of the young queen, and remove her either to a stronghold held by their own party or to France. Sadler strongly urged that, to prevent this proceeding, Mary should be brought by the Regent to Edinburgh; an advice, the object of which Arran must have suspected, but which he mildly set aside as being beyond his power to adopt, for the sovereign was not to be removed from place to place, unless by the appointment of parliament.†

The Cardinal, however, and his partizan nobles

* This paper was first referred to by Mr. Tytler, who had found it in the State Paper Office. It is entitled "Copy of the Secret Device," and dated July the 1st, 1543. One of its paragraphs is as follows: "Fourthly, if there happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland by practice of the Cardinal, kyrkmen, France, or otherwise, I shall sticke and adhere only to the king's majesty's service, as his highness may assuredly attayne these noe pactured and covenanted, as, at least, the dominion on this side of the Freythc."—"This," conjectures Mr. Tytler, "explains an obscure passage in 'Sadler's State Papers,' vol. i. p. 237: 'The said Earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles of the devise which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters, and the Lord Maxwell telleth me, that as soon as he received with subscribed the same. The rest I have not yet spoken with, because they be not here, but as soon as I can, I shall not fail to accomplish that part according to your gracious commandment.'"—*Tytler's History*, vol. v. pp. 281, 282.

† Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 267.

were now ready for the bold enterprise of which they had been suspected; and, on the 21st of July, Lennox, Huntly, and Argyle, at the head of ten thousand men, marched to Edinburgh, where large forces, commanded by Bothwell, the Kers and the Scotts, joined them. No resistance which the Regent was capable of making against this combined army, would have been effectual; and Mary and the Queen-dowager (who favoured both the plot and the party executing it) were conveyed from Linlithgow Palace to Stirling castle, where the infant sovereign was put under the charge of Lord Erskine (hereditary keeper of the castle), Lord Lindsay of the Byres, Livingstone, and Graham.* King Henry had meditated a very different arrangement, for, in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, dated on the day after the young Queen of Scots had been conducted to Stirling castle, when he was ignorant of what had just occurred, he says: "Our pleasure is, that if this matter grow to such a garboil and extremity, as the young queen shall be removed from Linlithgow, you shall do what you can, by all good means and persuasion, both with the governor, the Earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas, to get her removed to Temp-tallon [Tantallon]; but whether that shall be granted or no, you shall travel, that the old queen may be secluded from her, and left at Linlithgow, or where it shall please her; which the governor may, and has good cause to do, seeing this conspiracy for her surprise could not be made but by her consent."†

The possession of the queen's person gave Beaton's party new strength and energy, whilst that of the Regent was threatened with utter ruin, unless he were to throw himself entirely into the arms of Henry—a step which honour and patriotism alike forbade, and to which he could not be allured by the offer of Henry to make him king of that part of Scotland north of the Forth.‡ At the same time, the Cardinal's still more splendid bribe of a marriage between Arran's son and the infant queen did not prevail upon the Regent to abandon the open and comparatively fair and advantageous alliance of Scotland with England, or to refuse to ratify the treaty recently agreed upon by the

* Buchanan thus narrates the transaction: "Hamilton [the Regent] who had assembled all his friends around Edinburgh, had determined to break through to the queen, but perceiving himself inferior in strength, by the advice of his friends, and being himself more inclined to conciliatory measures, he began to treat about conditions of peace. Men of the most esteemed prudence were therefore sent by both parties to Kirkliston, a village midway between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, who agreed that the queen should be carried to Stirling upon these conditions, that four of the principal nobility, belonging to neither faction, should be chosen to superintend her education, and the following noblemen and chiefs of their families were nominated: William Graham, John Erskine, John Lindsay, and William Livingstone. These being confirmed by both parties, and having received the queen, took the road to Stirling, Lennox remaining under arms with his men until they had got beyond any danger from the adverse party."—*Buchanan's History*.

† Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

‡ Ibid. p. 248.

commissioners of both countries. The ratification of the treaty on the 25th of August, in the abbey church of Holyrood, with great pomp, high-mass being sung with shalms and sackbuts;* the Regent, in the name and by the authority of the queen and the three estates of the realm, signing, and swearing to observe all the conditions of the treaty, and appending to it the great seal.

We may form some idea of the difficulties and temptations by which the weak Regent was now beset from the following curious coincidences. On the very day of the ratification, Sadler dined with him; and, in his report of the interview, after reciting some talk about five thousand pounds to be sent 'in loan,' by King Henry, for making preparations against the formidable opposition to the treaties just ratified, and after mentioning that the Regent was to depart 'this afternoon' to St. Andrews, for the purpose of 'composing all matters and controversies' with the Cardinal, who, in spite of his past and present proceedings, it was said, 'desired principally his majesty's favour,' Sadler refers to two topics not yet touched upon between them, but reserved by the wily ambassador for more effective treatment on a future occasion: "And touching the two points, for delivery of the strongholds in gage for the five thousand pounds, or delivery of the young queen into your majesty's hands, I moved not to the governour thereof in this conference, the rather because he seemed not now to press or desire the money: and besides that, I know the one part thereof he cannot perform, though he would, which is the delivery of the queen, for she is in such custody as he cannot come by her: and the strongholds, I am sure, he will not deliver, unless his enemies grow so strong upon him as he shall not be able to resist them. In which case, he must needs be enforced to do whatsoever your majesty will require; but if he shall eftsoons make any further request for money, I shall essay him in these two points, according to the propert of your most gracious letters addressed to me in that behalf."† The irresolute Arran left the company of Henry's sagacious and subtle diplomatist, who longed to tempt him to sell his infant queen and the fortresses of his country for five thousand pounds, and thus to break all those articles of that day's treaty, which were really of main importance: and where did he seek to go when escaped from the net of Sadler, as 'a bird from the snares of the fowler?' Into the presence of one possessed of far greater subtlety and daring—a man who had stirred up (and Arran knew it well) all the public odium in which he was now held by stigmatising his recent official proceedings as traitorous, and who would only cease to be his dangerous enemy in order that he might become his tempter and seducer. Why Arran should have been anxious for an interview with the Cardinal is rather mysterious; but Beaton

would not grant it: "he neither would meet the governour, nor yet see nor speak with him when he came to St. Andrews, but kept his castle, and desired that Sir George Douglas might come to him into the castle, who having Sir John Campbel of Calder, the Earl of Argylo's brother, laid to the governour as a pledge, went into the castle to the cardinal, and persuaded him to come into the town, and to wait upon the governour according to his promise, which he excused, saying, he durst not for fear of his life. In which case, pledges were offered to be laid into the castle, such as himself would desire. But finally he would not, for no persuasion nor condition that could be offered unto him; insomuch as the governour caused his treason and untruth to be openly proclaimed there in the town of St. Andrews, and therewith pardoned all such of the town, and others, that had before in anywise aided and assisted him, so as from henceforth they do leave him, and, adhering to the governour, having the regiment and authority of the realm, would, by all means, annoy the said cardinal and all his complices and partakers."* The Regent returned to Edinburgh, deeply incensed—as he assured Sadler—at Beaton, and resolved to issue a proclamation against him in all districts of the kingdom. But already something more formidable than such a proclamation was abroad against Arran himself. The rash and imperious Henry, with a view to frighten all dissentients and recusants into submission, and to hasten the sending of the reluctant hostages into England, had seized upon a fleet of Scottish merchantmen that had taken refuge in an English port from a storm. This flagrant breach of the treaty of peace just concluded, raised the most vehement indignation throughout Scotland: the enraged populace of Edinburgh surrounded the residence of the English ambassador, and threatened to keep it in a state of close blockade until the Scottish vessels were restored: and the Regent, known to be at least on the most friendly terms with the English court, came in for a principal share of the storm of public execration, which could not have been directed against a weaker reed. Nor were the Scottish barons, Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, and others, who had been sworn and pledged to advance Henry's interests, a whit more moderate than Henry himself. They took measures for immediate war, and were urgent that a large army should be sent from England, with which their own forces might be combined for what they themselves described as 'the conquest of the realm.'†

To the Regent the difficulties and perplexities of such a crisis must have been increased a thousand-fold by his constitutional timidity and indecision. The time was now come when he could no longer halt between two parties, and these, unfortunately, alike extreme. He had lost his only opportunities of organising and consolidating a third and moderate

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 270.

† Ibid. p. 273.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 278.

† Ibid. pp. 297, 281.

party—one that would gladly have accepted international amity and a reformation of religion from England, but not slavery. Another peculiarity (but, indeed, it belongs to almost all irresolute men) which marked Arran, was his hopefulness either that, when two different lines of policy presented themselves for adoption, they might be reconciled before he was actually called upon to decide which he was to prefer; or that, when he had committed himself to one, the other would soon and easily be brought to run into it, and in this way all parties would be harmonized.

On the 3rd of September, he set out ostensibly for Blackness castle, to pay a visit to his apostasy. to his wife, but on reaching Calander House, the seat of Lord Livingston, he met the Cardinal there, and was fully reconciled to the crafty prelate. The rival statesmen rode side by side to Stirling, where the weak and pliant Regent abjured his religious, as he had renounced his political, party, and in the Franciscan convent of that city, in the presence of the Queen-dowager and a large assembly of nobles, received absolution for his apostasy from the Catholic faith.* As a guarantee of his sincerity, his eldest son was committed to Beaton's care. This remarkable change took place little more than a week after Arran's solemn ratification of the treaties between England and Scotland, and only a few days after he had expressed to the English ambassador his detestation of the Cardinal and his supporters, and his determination to proceed against them with the utmost rigour, and had repeated his assurances of fidelity to the treaties, and his devotion to the interest of the English monarch. The causes which operated upon the vacillating Regent, and led to his sudden apostasy, have already been indicated. Beaton's threatened support of the claims of Lennox to the earldom and its vast possessions, to the regency, and, in the event of the death of the infant queen, to the throne itself, could not but seriously alarm Arran; and to obtain the withdrawal of such claims and menaces was far more desirable than any bribe, however splendid, within the power of the English monarch to offer. A pope had granted the special divorce, in virtue of which he held both the government and his paternal estates, and was heir-presumptive to the crown. A question of divorce had induced Henry VIII. to abjure the authority of the Papal See, and it is probable that motives of a similar kind were artfully employed to prevail upon Regent Arran to return to the bosom of the Romish Church. There were also other terrors impressively hung up over his trembling head—the hostility of France, ready to manifest itself in supplies of money and of troops to oppose and crush him; not to speak of the rage of the people, of which a heightened or overcharged picture did not need to be drawn by the Cardinal, as the fact was vividly enough brought home to Arran's own senses. There was yet another class of motives bearing with equal, if

* Chalmers's *Life of Mary*, vol. ii. p. 404.

not greater, cogency upon the Regent, to which Knox and Buchanan do not allude. Though very much kept in the dark regarding King Henry's real aims, latterly he could not but suspect what these really were; and he must have been grievously offended by the insolent and dictatorial manner in which the demands of the English monarch were urged. As a noble, and as Regent of the Scottish kingdom, Arran must have been incessantly galled and provoked by the English overtures; and though he wanted both the sagacity and the courage to sift out of these all that was fair and good, and to throw aside all that was base, still he was not the man to accept them as they stood, or to be otherwise than irritated at the offensive style in which they were pressed upon him. Henry's seizure of the Scottish fleet of merchantmen, too, must have gone far to detach the Regent from the English faction. Nor was Arran possessed of that religious zeal which then, and afterwards, rendered many of the Scottish nobles and people insensible to the danger of the English encroachments, in consequence of the value which they attached to the reformation from Popery, which these were expected to introduce. Through the art of the Cardinal, the Popish and French faction assumed, at this time, an unwonted air of civil and religious toleration. Beaton himself, the fierce persecutor, appeared in the character of a gentle peace-maker. It would farther appear that, when the Regent's conversion took place, he had deluded himself with the idea that the differences of the two contending parties would be reconciled, and the treaties between England and Scotland faithfully observed. The English ambassador was informed by one of the Scottish barons, that "when he perceived the governour would needs go to Stirling with the Cardinal, he prayed him to consider well what he did, and if he would needs put himself into his enemies' hands, which would surely destroy him at length, though they made him fair weather at first, he, for his part, would leave him and serve him no longer. Whereunto the governour answered, even shortly, that his going to Stirling should be for the best, for he should make all well."* The Regent's natural brother, the Abbot of Paisley, assured Sadler that the Regent's sudden revolt "undoubtedly should be for the best, for now, he trusted, the Cardinal and the other noblemen of that party would concur with the governour and his partakers, in and for the accomplishment of the treaties in all points and conditions; and so he doubted not but good agreement and quietness should follow on all parts."† Arran himself sent a message to the English ambassador to the effect, "that he would do as much as in him was to observe the treaties, and more than he might, he could not do."‡ It may, therefore, be conjectured, that the Cardinal managed Arran's conversion so skillfully as to make the simple Regent believe that the step which he was taking was neither a great nor

* Sadler's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 233.

† *Ibid.* p. 236.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 287, 288

a final separation from his former friends and allies, but only one slightly in advance of them.

Partly, perhaps, with a view of keeping up this delusion in the minds of Arran and his former associates, and partly from the confidence inspired by the successful tampering with Arran, Beaton, on the 6th of September, sent a letter to the Earl of Angus, signed by himself, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Moray, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, in which, after mentioning the reconciliation between their party and the Regent, and their present unanimity of views,* he invites Angus to concur 'with my lord-governour and us and consult on all manner of things concerning the common weal,' and urges him to visit Stirling between that date and the next Sunday (the 9th of September), which was fixed for the coronation of their infant sovereign, so that they might be 'all in one body,' and full of concord as of loyalty at the celebration of that interesting ceremony. Angus and his party, instead of accepting the overtures, repaired to Douglas Castle, where they drew up and subscribed a bond, by which they pledged themselves to keep united and resolute in supporting the interests of the English monarch. That bond was also sent for signature to several nobles and gentlemen at a distance.†

The coronation of the young queen took place at Stirling, on the 9th of September, with the pomp which had hitherto marked such occasions in Scotland, and which Sadler says was 'not very great.'‡ A new council was appointed, consisting of the Queen-dowager, the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Moray, Orkney, Galloway, and Dunblane, the Abbots of Paisley and Cupar, and the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argyle, Moray, Glencairn, Lennox, Bothwell, and Marischal. It was also resolved that a convention should, in the course of a week or two, be held in Edinburgh, for "the composing of all contentions and variances within the realm, as also for ordering of all matters with the king's majesty [Henry VIII.]"§

The Queen-mother and the Cardinal had thus succeeded in acquiring the authority which they in vain sought for at the late king's decease; and the Earl of Arran was now Regent only in name. Mary of Guise knew well how to associate the exercise of power with splendid court entertainments and amusements,

* "We sent certain articles to my lord-governour, and received fra him certain others, condescending all gladly to his grace's desires, and subscribed the same, with the whilkis his grace being content, came to certain meeting with my lord-Cardinal and Earl of Murray, and agreed so well that his grace came to this town, and has spoken with us all, and knows our hearty mind to all good ways (whilkis are and shall be ay without colour or dissimulation) to bring all discords and dissentions to good friendship and amity sua [so] that we may concur to help and supply the common weal of this realm."—*Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 284.

† *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 288.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 219.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 290, 291.

and business and festivity now went hand in hand. The exercises of chivalry and public games enlivened Stirling, and in these Matthew Earl of Lennox, and Patrick Earl of Bothwell, took a prominent part, aspiring (as they had previously been encouraged to do by the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager herself) for no less a prize than her hand. The victory in such chivalrous encounters generally fell to Lennox, "for," says Lindsay, of *Pitscottie*, "he was brought up in the wars of France, which learned him to exercise his pith to the utmost. He was a strong man withal, well-proportioned, with lusty and manly visage, and carried himself erect and stately in his gait, wherefore he was very pleasant in the sight of gentlewomen. As for the Earl of Bothwell, he was fair and whitely, something hanging-shouldered, and went something forward, with gentle and humane countenance."¶ The important help which he had given to the party of the Queen-mother and the Cardinal, in gaining over the Regent, entitled him, more than his superiority in dancing, leaping, or tilting, to a preference over the rival suitor; but the artful Mary of Guise had never meant to marry either of them, and when Lennox urged his pretensions and his services she dexterously evaded his suit.‡ Cardinal Beaton had also deceived him, both in his matrimonial project and also in his attempt against Arran's legitimacy, and now regarded him with cold indifference. His complaints and reproaches had become exceedingly annoying, and the Cardinal and the Queen-mother assured the King of France that "their greatest desire was that he would be pleased to recall the Earl of Lennox, whom they found very troublesome, and likely to be a breeder of sedition in the realm."§

Enraged at having been thus overreached and deceived, and seeing no prospect of getting any of the rewards which had been so liberally promised, Lennox prepared to join the English party, and withdrew from the court at Stirling. The proposal of a marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Angus, by the widow of James IV., had already been in his view; and the scheme was certain to receive the sanction both of the English monarch and of Angus, on his declaring himself no longer 'a good Frenchman,' but a 'good Englishman.' And this he did, only a few days after the infant queen's coronation, in which ceremony he had borne a principal part. "The two factions," says Robertson, "which divided the kingdom were still the same, without any alteration in their views or principles; but by one of those strange revolutions which were frequent in that age, they had, in the course of a few weeks, changed their leaders. The Regent was at the head of the partizans of France and the defenders of Popery, and Lennox in the same station with the advocates for the English alliance

• *Pitscottie*, vol. ii. p. 423.

† *Ibid.* p. 422.

‡ *Lord Herries' History of Queen Mary*.

and a reformation in religion. The one laboured to pull down his own work, which the other upheld with the same hand that had hitherto endeavoured to destroy it.*

Meanwhile the news of the Regent's desertion of an English herald his cause had stung Henry into despatched. fury; and not only did he send a herald into Scotland to threaten war, if all the terms of the treaties were not immediately complied with,† but he also had the chiefs of the Armstrongs liberated, that they might ravage the lands of those Scottish barons who were opposed to him.‡ Nor was his rage appeased or moderated by the quiet proceedings of the Regent's council, conducted as these were by the artful Cardinal. At a conference held at Edinburgh on the 23rd of September, and in the presence of the Queen-dowager, of the Regent, and of several lords of their party, the English ambassador was required to explain the seizure of the Scottish merchantmen, and to make restitution; compensation was also demanded for 'divers incurses, burnings, and spulzies,' made by the English authorities on the Scottish borders. Sadler's explanations and assurances were not deemed satisfactory; and to the questions put on both sides regarding the ratification and fulfilment of the treaties, the answers were problematical; Sadler declaring that he was unable to say what his master intended, and the council concluding "that the matters were weighty, and they must needs have time to devise upon the same."§ Yet, three days later, Beaton assured the English ambassador "that there was no prince in the world whose favour he desired so much as the king's majesty's, and no man in Scotland should more willingly than he set forth all things to his Majesty's pleasure and contentation, not offending his duty of allegiance; and promised to do as much as in him was, to bring the whole nobility and clergy of the realm to condescend and concur together, in and for the performance of the treaties."||

Towards the beginning of October, a small fleet the arrival of a from France landed, having on board the French ambassador, De la Brouse and Meanaige, and a papal legate, of the name of Grimani, ¶ who was patriarch of Aquileia,

* Robertson's History of Scotland, book ii.

† *Credentials of the Herald, State Paper Office, September, 1543. Referred to in Tytler's History, vol. v. p. 289.*

‡ Duke of Suffolk to Lord Parr, Darton, September 10th, 1543, and came to same, September 11th, 1543. State Paper Office. Referred to in Tytler's History, vol. v. p. 289.

§ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 300—303.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 307.

¶ Bishop Lealy calls him Peter Francis Concarrone, the patriarch of Venice; but Mr. Sadler calls the legate, who he heard was coming into Scotland, Mark German. And (which seems to be of greatest authority) the Earl of Arran, in his letter to the Pope, dated the 8th of December, calls him Marcus Grymanus, patriarch of Aquileia.—*Keith's History*, p. 40.

This legate received splendid entertainments from persons of rank in Scotland. He left in the beginning of March, the following year, "And was," says Keith, "so well pleased with the reception he had met with here, that wherever he

and conveying military stores and 10,000 crowns,* to be distributed according to the directions of the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager. The squadron anchored off Dumbarton, and the Earl of Lennox, whose sudden revolt from the French party was unknown to any on board, received and secured the money and part of the munitions, thus diverting the subsidy from its destination, and inflicting a fresh disappointment and mortification on the party he had left. Still, this clever and successful trick did not neutralize the effects intended by the French fleet. The promises made and the pensions bestowed by the French ambassadors, and the religious and political diplomacy carried on by the papal legate, materially strengthened the Cardinal's and the Queen-dowager's party, and increased the general dissatisfaction at the English alliance and the marriage of the infant sovereign with the Prince of Wales. The popular favour for a speedy and close renewal of the ancient league with France was strongly awakened; and Sadler felt that the country was turning itself with abhorrence from England as a tyrant, and with ardent joy to France as a kind and unselfish friend. He now informed his master that farther negotiation was useless, and that what England gained must be by open force.† Henry had already demanded that the Douglasses should have recourse to violence, that they should seize upon the person of the young queen, apprehend the Cardinal, remove the Regent, and take possession of the Scottish fortresses; but these orders could only be executed by an English army, and winter was not the fitting season to undertake the invasion of Scotland. The country thus obtained a brief respite from hostilities. Meanwhile, Sadler was instructed to propose to the provost and citizens of Edinburgh, to whom the merchant vessels and the cargoes, seized and confiscated by Henry, belonged, that their property should be restored, provided they would co-operate with the king in his despotic designs upon Scotland. The merchants indignantly rejected the offer. Sadler says, "They were greatly offended with it;" and they affirmed that they would not only "lose their ships and goods, without making any farther suit of the same, but that

went afterwards he still spoke of the magnificent civilities of the Scottish nation, and represented them in a particular manner to the King of France, the State of Venice, the College of Cardinals, and to the Pope."

Lesley particularizes a banquet given to the legate by the Earl of Moray, who obviously meant to display his own wealth and the perfection of native artisans in a manufacture then almost exclusively followed in Italy. Though the Earl was abundantly supplied with silver plate, yet his cupboard was furnished with all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal; and to show his guest what a reserved store he had, he caused one of his servants to pull down, as if by accident, the cloth, so that all the glasses were shattered, on which a second and still more splendid service was brought in. The legate affirmed "that he had never seen better crystal, even in Venice, where he was born."—*Lesley's History of Scotland*, p. 179.

* Keith and Buchanan mention the sum at 30,000 crowns. Keith p. 33, Buchanan, book xv., chap. 13. But the *Diurnal of Occurrences in Scotland* (p. 28) gives it at 10,000 crowns.

† Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 326.

they would also lose their lives rather than grant that condition and become traitors to their own country.* The noble behaviour of these Scotch merchants presents a most gratifying contrast to the selfish and treacherous conduct of the nobility, and is justly regarded as "a proof that the spirit of national independence, which, in Scotland, had long been a stranger to many of the proudest in the aristocracy, still resided in healthy vigour in the untainted bosoms of the commons."†

In the beginning of November, it was resolved by the Douglases that Lord Somerville should be sent to England with the bond which the noblemen of Henry's party had subscribed, declaring their unconditional allegiance to the king. But, before his departure from Edinburgh, he and Lord Maxwell were seized and imprisoned, by the order of the Regent; and the papers found on the person of Somerville furnished abundant proof of the treasonable practices of Angus and his adherents, whom it was now resolved by the government to impeach and try in the parliament which was to meet early in the following month. The Regent, who had become the mere instrument of the energetic Beaton, took forcible possession of Dalkeith Castle,‡ and the house of Pinkie, belonging to Sir George Douglas; and sent a herald to the Earl of Angus, commanding him to dismiss Sadler from Tantallon (where he had fled for refuge), as one who, from his unjustifiable practices with the Scottish nobility, could no longer be regarded by government as the ambassador of England.§

When parliament met, the proceedings were important, and conducted with great vigour, showing the prompt and firm hand of the Cardinal at the helm of the state. A summons of treason was ordered to be prepared against all who had signed the bond with which Lord Somerville was deputed to the English court. An act of indemnity was passed for all concerned in the removal of the young queen from Linlithgow to Stirling. The treaties of peace and marriage between England and Scotland were annulled, on the grounds that they had been violated by Henry VIII., when, "long before the 1st of September," he had seized

upon the Scottish merchantmen, and that he had refused, before the 1st of September, to ratify the peace agreed to.* The French ambassadors, De la Brosse and Mesnaige, attended, and stated the object of their mission—to obtain the renewal of the ancient league between France and Scotland; and promised, in the name of their master, assistance to the Scottish sovereign and nobles to defend the independence of their country against the King of England. This offer was cordially accepted; the contracts of amity between France and Scotland were unanimously renewed and confirmed, and an act was passed empowering Cardinal Beaton, along with a select council, to treat with the French ambassadors, regarding the "making of the saids letters of approbation, ratification, and confirmation, and contracting of new, and novation of all the saids contractes."† An embassy was sent to the French court, and another to Denmark, to solicit assistance in the struggle with England, whilst the intelligence of the war was also to be notified to the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, with the request that, on this ground, Scottish commerce should no longer be molested by them. The Lords Fleming, Ruthven, and St. John, and Sir John Campbell, of Calder, were appointed members of the Regent's council, in the room of the Earls of Angus, Lennox, Glencairn, and Marischal, none of whom were likely to act, and the most of whom had at first been chosen entirely with a view to conciliation, which had proved fruitless. The Regent's natural brother, Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, was made Treasurer, in the place of Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange; and Cardinal Beaton was raised to the office of Chancellor, formerly held by Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow; David Pantar, a zealous and able ecclesiastic, had previously been appointed Secretary. One of the most important decrees of this parliament remains to be recorded; and its cruel character bears the stamp of the Cardinal's influence, no doubt assisted by the papal legate, who had come to Scotland to extirpate the Reformation. All prelates were henceforth commanded to make a rigorous inquisition within their dioceses for persons disseminating opinions opposed to, or differing from, the true faith, and to prosecute these heretics, as the laws of the Church directed; but the impending hostilities with England delayed for a time the execution of this persecuting and bloody decree.

* Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 324.

† Knox says that the seizure of the vessels was "to the broughs [burghs] of Scotland no small hership [hardship]. But thereat did the Cardinal and priests laugh; and jestingly he said, 'When we shall conquer England, the merchants shall be recompensed.'" — *Keith's History*, book i. p. 42.

‡ Tytler, vol. v. p. 292.

§ Dalkeith Castle was at this time held by James, one of the sons of Sir George Douglas. This son was afterwards the famous Earl of Morton and Regent of Scotland. At present, he long defended the *donjon*, or great tower of Dalkeith, against Arran. Dalkeith Castle was afterwards his principal residence, and was called the *Lion's Den*. (Notes to Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 332, 334.)

¶ Earl of Arran to Earl of Angus, November 17th, 1543, State Paper Office. Proclamation of Arran as Governor, November 26th, 1543, State Paper Office. Referred to in Tytler's History, vol. v. p. 293.

The deliberations and decisions of the estates were had conducted with the greatest unanimity; but the Queen-dowager was aware of the dissatisfaction which would be felt by the absent nobles, and of the fury into which Henry VIII. would be thrown, by the news of the proceedings of the parliament. She therefore made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin Mary, at Musselburgh, to sue for peace.

* Act of the Scottish Parliament, annulling the treaties, &c.

† Act of the Scottish Parliament, empowering Cardinal Beaton, &c.

and mutual good-will among the barons of the kingdom, and for amity with England. "The Queen's Grace Drowarie [dowager] past," says the *Journal of Occurrences*, "on her fute to our Lady Lauriet, praying for peace among her lordis and with the realm of England, and remainit their twentie days in her prayers." The period of her devotion was not, indeed, quite so long as this contemporary chronicle represents, for she spent her Christmas at Stirling in playing at cards and other kindred amusements, as appears from the following entry in the *Royal Comptus*: "Yule—Delivered to my Lord-Governor, to play at the carddis in Stirling with the Queen's Grace, in ane hundred crowns of the sun. I. C. xli. [£10 10s. *]"

The Earl of Lennox, though he had deserted the Earl of Lennox's unsuccessful attempt, but kept aloof until he should see whether any redress would be given him by the King of France. About Christmas he met a number of his friends in the town of Ayr, to consult what steps should be taken, as the rumour was afloat that the Regent, urged by Beaton, intended to levy an army to compel him to surrender the money which he had taken from the French fleet. It was resolved to assemble all the forces they could command, and to act on the defensive; but so large a body of men flocked to his standard—allured, doubtless, by the French gold—that Lennox decided to act on the offensive, and forthwith led his army to Leith, to give battle to the Regent, in 'the fields between that town and Eðinburgh.' † The forces of the Regent were far inferior in number; but the Cardinal, by artful negotiations, succeeded in putting off an engagement, until the Earl found himself deserted by many of his men, and was obliged to conclude a peace.

Of the numerous and comparatively unimportant intrigues that took place among the factions during the early months of the year 1543-4, the accounts are confused, and, in many points, contradictory. It is certain that, in the middle of January, the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, entered into a bond with Regent Arran, by which they stipulated for "themselves and all others their complices and partakers, to remain true, faithful, and obedient servants to their sovereign lady and her authority, to assist the lord-governor for defence of the realm, against their old enemies of England, to support the liberties of holy church, and to maintain the true Christian faith." † As hostages for the per-

formance of this bond, Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn's eldest son, the Master of Kilmours, were delivered up. A day or two after (19th of January) the Regent sent a letter to Henry VIII., stating that "all strife and contention, all quarrels and controversies, and movers of debate among the noblemen of this realm, were brought to perfect concord and conformity, and being now all of one mind, were agreed and determined to put in execution such things as appertained to true and faithful subjects of this realm to do for defence thereof." He also asked a safe-conduct for some ambassadors, who were to 'propound matters for the common welfare of both countries.*' It would thus appear that, in the beginning of the year, there was a cessation of the internal feuds by which the country was convulsed, and that the government had, at least nominally, been accepted by all parties in Scotland. Yet, before two months had expired, Angus had secretly renewed his protestations of unlimited fidelity to Henry, as is shown by a letter, dated March 5th, from the Earl to the king; and the nobles of his faction despatched a messenger to England, to prompt Henry to hasten his preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and to give him such hints as might be likely to promote the success of the enterprise. † The Earl of Angus and Lord Maxwell, when on their way to Glasgow to mediate in a fresh quarrel between Lennox and the Regent, were, by the orders of the latter, arrested and imprisoned. ‡

The Cardinal took advantage of this period of civil tranquillity to make an ecclesiastical tour,§

by the Earls of Cassillis, Angus, Lennox, and Glencairn, with the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland. MS. copy, State Paper Office (Tytler, vol. v. p. 296).

* Appendix to Keith's History, p. 12.

† Letters in State Paper Office (Tytler, vol. v. p. 297).

‡ Buchanan's History, book xv. chap. 14.

§ Keith says (p. 40): "The chronology of this progress, as delivered by our historians, is so irreconcilable, that I can make nothing of it. Mr. Knox says that the execution at Perth was on St. Paul's day (i. e. the 25th of January), before the first burning of Edinburgh. Now that first burning was in the year 1544, so that, according to him, the Cardinal and governor were at Perth in the month of January, 1543-4. But this is highly improbable, since we have already observed that about that time of that year, the governor was in the west about Glasgow, pursuing the Earl of Lennox: besides that the Pope's legate was then in the country, and they were busy in entertaining him. Mr. Sadler does indeed inform us, that the governor and Cardinal went about the 10th of November, 1543, into Fife and Angus, in order to gain the Earl of Rothes, the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, and Glamis, to their party, either by force or policy, but he says nothing of Perth, or of any execution of heretics. Mr. Fox also assigns this execution to the same year, and time of the year, 1543, with Mr. Knox, *ex Registr. et instrumentis a Scotia missis*. Mr. Buchanan, that the progress was in the end of the year 1545; and that, after the execution at Perth, and a further progress into the county of Angus, in search of heretics, the Cardinal and governor returned, and kept their Christmas for three weeks together in St. Andrews, the same year, 1545, immediately before the catching of Mr. Wishart. So that neither the certain year, nor season of the year, are clearly accounted for by our public writers. However, that I might afford some light to this matter, I have narrowly observed the rolls of parliament, and do find that the governor and Cardinal were present in the winter parliaments, except in the end of the year 1545, in the months of December and January. 'Tis true there was no session of parliament in the month of January, 1543-4; but that the governor and

* Gambling was a favourite amusement at the Scottish court. "Large sums," says Miss Strickland, "occur in the *Royal Comptus of Scotland*, as advanced for the Queen's Grace and the Lord-Governor's Grace, to play 'at the carddis.' These advances are certainly more serious on the part of Arran; but they are always heavier and more frequent when any French visitors are at the court of Scotland."—*Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 64.

† *Keith's History*, p. 35.

‡ *Agreements* (January 13 and 14, 1543-4) entered into

with the view of giving some demonstration of the Beaton's persecutions. bearings of the recent enactment against heretics, and of furnishing prelates and priests with examples of treatment for imitation. His own zeal for the church would in itself have been sufficient to prompt him to this; and that zeal would be stimulated by the suggestions of the Pope's legate, and still more by his anticipation of being shortly himself appointed the Pope's legate *a latere* in Scotland.* The doctrines of the reformation obtained many supporters in Perth, and thither Beaton proceeded. Four men—Lamb, Anderson, Ranald, and Hunter—were summarily tried and hanged, though the alleged offence of the first consisted in his having once interrupted an ecclesiastic when preaching, and in his denying that prayer offered up to the saints was necessary to salvation; and the guilt of the other three sufferers consisted, says Knox, in "eating a goose" during Lent.† The wife of one of these martyrs was drowned, because she had refused to pray to the Virgin Mary for help in childbirth—an atrocity which excited deep and general horror.‡

It is at this stage of the national history that moderns ought to begin their defence of that subordination of mere patriotism to higher and more essential principles, which marked the leading reformers. Both patriotism and the love of a pure and gracious Christianity urged that the country should be rid of the present government and the existing church; the Scottish reformers, in themselves, were wholly unable to overthrow the gigantic and 'incarnadined' tyranny; and though, in accepting the assistance of the English monarch, their patriotic feelings were necessarily kept in abeyance, yet this appeared to them a less

Cardinal did not make their progress northward in that year I think is very improbable, for the reasons above assigned. Nor was it likely to have been in January or February, 1544-5, Anerum Moor having been fought the 17th of February that year. So that, all these things being duly considered, I rather join with Mr. Buchanan, who places this execution at Perth in the end of the year 1545." We think, on the contrary, that there are sufficiently strong reasons for adhering to Knox's chronology. Beaton was not likely to keep in abeyance for two years an enactment against heretics. The presence of the Pope's legate would excite him to great zeal for the church, and so would the honour, which at this time he was daily expecting, of being himself made the Pope's legate *a latere* in Scotland. Civil commotions had also been temporarily settled in the beginning of 1544, so that he had leisure to drop the functions of a statesman and take up those of an ecclesiastic. We may mention that Mr. Tytler, though without assigning any reason, makes Beaton's progress to have been in 1543-4.

* "The original bull constituting Beaton legate *a latere*, is to be seen in the Appendix of Bishop Burnet's second volume of the 'History of the Reformation.' It bears date 30th January, 1543; but this seems to be a mistake in the transcriber or printer for 1544; for I do not remember that by the Roman account the year did commence at any other time than the first of January. That it was in the year 1544, appears, not only by the addition of *Pontificatus nostri anno decimo* (that Pope being created 12th October, 1534), but also by a letter of the Earl of Arran to the same Pope, dated at Stirling, 30th March, 1544, wherein he takes notice that that jurisdiction was granted the 10th of February, which, doubtless, was the February immediately proceeding."—*Keith*, p. 45.

† Knox's History, book i. p. 45.

‡ Spottiswood's History, p. 75.

evil than submission to the cruel domination of Beaton. The prospect of such ecclesiastical progresses over the land, as the one to Perth was more revolting than an English invasion of Scotland.

The time and energies of the Regent and the Cardinal would have been much better Henry's preparations employed in making adequate preparations to resist that invasion than in putting heretics to death. Henry had set about the execution of his designs with vigour, and was in readiness for the first favourable season of the year. His privy council overruled the Earl of Hertford's advice, that the army should gain possession of Leith, and, after fortifying it, lay waste the country, and reduce Edinburgh to ashes, whilst the fleet should occupy the Forth, sweeping the coast and destroying the shipping. The plan adopted, though less comprehensive, admitted of being more rapidly carried out. That it did not proceed, however, from any mitigation of Henry's wrath, is evident, from the savage directions given to the Earl of Hertford, who had the command of the invading army. He was commanded to make an inroad into Scotland, "there to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it, when you have sacked it, and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty. Do what you can, out of hand, and without long tarrying, to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyrood-house, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can; sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, and not forgetting amongst all the rest so to spoil and turn upside down the Cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship, or in blood, be allied to the Cardinal."*

On the 3rd of May† the Regent, Cardinal, and the citizens of Edinburgh were surprised at the sight of a fleet of two hundred sail Arrival of the in- in the Firth, and alarmed when reading boat. they discovered that it bore the royal flag of England. It was commanded by Lord Lisle; and with the naval force was associated an army, under the Earl of Hertford, variously estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000.‡ No preparations for resistance had been made by Arran; § and those which might

* From the MS. Catalogue of the Hamilton papers, pp. 44, 45. Quoted by Tytler, vol. v. pp. 393, 394.

† Knox gives this date; Buchanan, the 4th of May; Tytler, the 1st of May.

‡ "Some of our historians say, they were near 20,000."—*Keith's History*, p. 46.

§ Knox's description is exceedingly graphic and humorous. "The posts came to the Governour and Cardinal

have been got up in haste for the emergency were wholly neglected. For four days the disembarkation of the English troops and the landing of the artillery took place without any molestation. An attempt by the Regent and the Cardinal, at the head of a small force, consisting chiefly of their own adherents, to intercept the entry into Leith, was unavailing; and Arran and Beaton, along with the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, retreated to Linnithgow—a safe distance from the danger. The English took and plundered Leith at leisure. The Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Adam Otterburn of Reidhall, sought an interview with Hertford, to urge forbearance and a pacific settlement of the differences between the two countries; but the English general returned the haughty answer that he was a soldier and not an ambassador, and that he would withdraw his army only on condition that the young Queen of Scots should be at once delivered up to Henry. The indignant citizens resolved to defend the capital to the last extremity, though Otterburn seized the earliest opportunity to escape; and, after choosing another provost, they proceeded to fortify the city, and prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. So strenuous was their resistance, that for a while the English general could make no impression on the temporary ramparts, and was at last obliged to bring up his battering artillery from Leith. To hold out longer against the assault was impracticable; and, by night, the inhabitants left the city, taking with them their treasure and what of their property they could carry, much of which was deposited in Craigmillar castle, and afterwards fell into the hands of the English.† The Regent's kinsman, Hamilton of Stenhouse, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, the ordnance of which was so skilfully served against a battery which Hertford sought to construct, that, after considerable loss on the part of the English, they raised the siege, and in revenge set fire to the city. Its conflagration lasted for three days; and Hertford, having received a reinforcement of four thousand borderers, under Lord Dure, employed himself in laying waste and plundering the surrounding country.

In the meantime, Regent Arran, with the help of the Cardinal, and the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, and Moray, had mustered a numerous force, and had set at liberty the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, with the hope of securing their co-operation. He was now making rapid

(who were both in Edinburgh) what multitude of ships were seen, and what course they took. Question was had, what should they mean? Some said, it is no doubt but they are Englishmen, and we fear that they will land. The Cardinal skipped and said, 'It is the island flete; they are come to make a shew, and to put us in fear. I shall lodge all the men of warre in mine eye that shall land in Scotland.' Still dittoth the Cardinal at his dinner, eating as though there had been no danger appearing. Men assembled to gaze upon the ships, some to the Castle-hill, some to the mountaine, and other places eminent. But there was no question, With what forces shall we resist, if we be invaded.—*Knox*, vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

* *Journal of Occurrents*, p. 31.

† *Knox*, book i. p. 46.

marches to attack the English; but Lord Lisle, instead of waiting for him, re-em- Departure of the barked many of the English troops, English fleet and leaving the remainder to return and army. by land, under Hertford, set sail; not, however, before he had committed Leith to the flames, seized upon the Salamander and the Unicorn, two large Scottish vessels, and burned all the small craft lying in the harbour. Along the coast he inflicted all the damage in his power. The retreat of the land forces was marked by similar acts of wanton vengeance; Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, Renton, and all the other towns and villages between Edinburgh and Berwick, were successively plundered and burned.

This merciless and short-sighted policy, as might have been expected, utterly failed to gain the object which Henry had in view. It neither compelled nor induced the Scottish nation to deliver up the young queen into his hands. It was only a foray on an unusually large scale, and not a battle between the two countries. It decided nothing; and served only to exasperate the Scots, and to increase their antipathy to the union and their hostility to Henry's demands. His ill-advised instructions to Hertford, that the estates of the Douglasses should not be exempted from ravage and plunder, had also enraged and alienated the mercenary chiefs, who now joined the opposite party, so that the English king had only Lennox and Glencairn on his side in Scotland. On the 17th of May, these two Earls concluded, at Carlisle, an agreement with Henry, in which, after acknowledging him as Protector of Scotland, they engaged to do their best to put into his hands the person of the young queen and the principal Scottish strongholds (including Lennox's own fortified possessions, Dunbarton and the Isle and Castle of Bute), and to serve him against all persons and nations, as if they were English subjects;* for which services Glencairn was to receive a large pension both for himself and for his son, the Master of Kilmaurs, whilst Lennox was offered the regency and the hand of the king's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas. They immediately returned to Scotland to muster their dependents; but the Regent was now ready for them, and led a thousand men to Glasgow, where Glencairn had pitched his quarters, whence he might dash into Clydesdale, 'which all belonged to the Hamiltons alone.† There, on a wide common beside the city, he was met by Glencairn at the head of five hundred spearmen and a number of the citizens; but, after a fierce conflict, in which Glencairn's second son and many of his followers fell, the insurgents were put to the rout and many of them taken prisoners.‡ Arran made himself master of the city; and, as a punishment for its chief magistrate having taken part with the enemy, abandoned it to plunder. The victors, Buchanan narrates, "not satiated with the blood of the citizens who were slain, nor with the

* *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. xv. pp. 23, 26, 29, 32.

† *Buchanan*, book xv. chap. 19.

‡ *Journal of Occurrents*, p. 32.

miseries of those who survived, and the destruction of their household furniture, carried away their doors and window-shutters, and omitted no kind of calamity, except that, after plundering and destroying their houses, they did not set fire to them.* Glencairn made his escape, with but a few followers, to Dumbarton Castle, which Lennox occupied; and the news of the defeat so much alarmed the latter that he fled from that impregnable fortress and set sail for England, where, as a reward rather for what he had attempted than for what he had achieved, he was married to Lady Margaret Douglas,—a union destined to give an ill-fated husband to the young Queen of Scots, and a long line, direct and indirect, of kings to the British throne. It was not foreseen that a grandson of the fugitive Earl was to wear the united crowns of England and Scotland.

A general council met at Stirling, as summoned, on the 3rd of June, and was attended by all the nobles, except Lennox and Glencairn. There was perfect unanimity of feeling against Henry's encroachments; and, had there been no other question at issue, the proceedings would have been alike harmonious and energetic, and such as would afterwards have been sanctioned by the country. But, apart from many sources of disunion, which had never, during many reigns, been closed among the aristocracy, there was the antagonism between Popery and Protestantism; and to this was added a wide dissatisfaction with the regency of Arran. That dissatisfaction had many and varied reasons and encouragements. The Reformers disliked Arran as an apostate, and they now regarded him as a mere tool in the hands of the bloodthirsty Beaton; by a still larger party he was viewed with contempt for his vacillating character, and on account of his neglect to make due preparations against the recent English invasion; the Douglasses bore him many grudges both of ancient and of later date; the numerous and powerful adherents of Lennox were now without a head, but were totally averse to receive him in the place of the exiled Earl; and, to give consistency and action to this varied opposition to the Regent, there was the ambitious Queen-mother, who, it would appear, now conspired to obtain the chief authority within the realm. At the council, it was first proposed and carried that Mary of Guise should be associated with Arran in the regency as 'egall' [equal], and that a new privy council should be chosen; and Arran's consent to the arrangement was requested.† But, as he delayed day after day

to return any answer, and failed to appear at the convention, to which he had been summoned, on the 10th of June, it was decreed that he be summarily deprived of his office, and that the Queen-dowager take his place as Regent of Scotland. Proclamation to this effect was immediately made, and the Earl of Angus was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Cardinal Beaton, however, foreseeing that his own authority would be greatly impaired by this revolution in the government, was opposed to the change. In ambition, ability, and cunning, Mary of Guise and he were too equally matched for him to expect that she would passively submit to his dictation; and, moreover, he must have seen that his reputation in her eyes for energy and promptitude had been greatly impaired by the defenceless state in which Arran, under his guidance, had suffered the country to remain to the very hour of the English invasion. He, therefore, gave his utmost support to Arran, who issued a proclamation, denouncing the Queen-dowager's election to the regency as illegal, and prohibiting all persons from acknowledging, in any way, her usurped authority.* Arran summoned a parliament to meet in Edinburgh on the 31st of July, and fortified the city on learning that his rival had left Stirling, and was advancing with a numerous and well-armed retinue to prevent the assembly. The Queen-dowager avoided an encounter, and retreated to Stirling.‡ In this there was no triumph to either party, for the parliament was delayed. Yet, about this time, several of the Queen-dowager's most powerful partizans were compelled to give all their attention and energy to other matters than the support of her cause. A rebellion in their clans, which it was necessary to put down, had called away Huntly and Argyle. Lord Lovat and his son were leading the Frasers against the Macdonalds; and so ferocious was the conflict between the rival sects, when they met at Inverlochy, that they fought in their shirts, and the combat lasted till only two warriors remained on one side, and four on the other.† Perth, also, was the scene of civil strife and bloodshed. Lord Ruthven and Lord Gray were both Protestants, and had hitherto been united in their opposition to the domination of the Cardinal; but Beaton, in his late ecclesiastical progress to Perth, had contrived to sow discord between

* "Item, 22nd day of June, delivered to James Lindsay, messenger, letters direct to Stirling, *depriving the Queen (Dowager) of her authority.*" *Royal Cosinaria*, kept by Kirkaldy of Grange.—*Lives of the Scottish Queens*, vol. ii. p. 73.

† *Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 34.

* Buchanan, book xv. chap. 19.
 † This important transaction was involved in the greatest obscurity, until Mr. Tytler discovered (see his History, vol. v. Appendix) in the State Paper Office a document, entitled, "Agreement of the principal Scots nobility, to support the authority of the Queen-mother, as Regent of Scotland, against the Earl of Arran, declared by this instrument to be deprived of his office." It is signed by the Earls of Angus, Bothwell, Montrose, Lord Sinclair, Robert Maxwell, Earls of Huntly, Cassillis, Marischal, Lord Somerville, George Douglas, Earls of Moray, Argyle, Errol, Lords Erskine, St. John, Malcolm, Lord Chamberlain, Hew Lord Lovat, and Sir John Campbell, of Cawder, knight."

‡ *Diurnal of Occurrences*, p. 34. Buchanan, speaking of the slaughter of the Frasers, says: "They would have perished one of the most numerous and deserving of the Scottish clans, unless (by divine Providence, as we may believe) eighty of the principal men of the clan had left their wives pregnant, who, in due time, brought forth males, all of whom arrived safely at man's estate." — *Buchanan*, book xv. chap. 26.

them, by depriving Ruthven of his office of provost in favour of Charteris of Kinfauns, and by managing to procure the support of Gray for the latter.* The rival candidates and their principal adherents had many friends; and the whole province was quickly drawn into this purely civil contest, which became hotter and more hot, until it was decided by a bloody encounter on the narrow bridge over the Tay, when Ruthven was declared victor.

But the appearance of a third regent, and one appointed by the English king, was about to complicate still farther the question of authority in Scotland, and embarrass all parties. The engagements of the Earl of Lennox to Henry VIII. did not allow him to pass more than a few days with his newly-married wife. In the beginning of August, he sailed from Bristol, accompanied by Sir Rise Mansell and Richard Broke, with a fleet of ten ships,† and about five hundred hagbutteers, archers, and pikemen. On reaching the Scottish coast, he spoiled the Isle of Arran, and took possession of Bute and Rothesay Castle. But the principal aim of his enterprise was to put into the hands of the English his own strong and important fortress, Dunbarton Castle, which was now held by one of his retainers, Stirling of Glorat, who, he imagined, would at once yield it up. But Stirling, though he received the earl with all due respect, was not unmindful of his paramount duty to his sovereign; and the proposal to give up the castle to the English was received with such indignation on the part both of the governor and the garrison that Lennox quickly retreated to his ships, which, on the entry of Sir George Douglas into Dunbarton with four thousand men, dropped down the Clyde for safety. In passing Dunoon Castle, which was occupied by a force under the Earl of Argyll, they were fired upon by the garrison, when Lennox landed his men and routed the assailants. He afterwards inflicted considerable damage on Kentire and the coast of Ayrshire, and returned to Bristol, having failed in the main object of his expedition—the capture of Dunbarton—but attributing his failure to the Earl of Glencairn and his son, the Master of Kilmaurs, his fellow-agents and brother-pensioners in Henry's service.

Meanwhile, English vengeance was falling upon the ravages of the Scottish Borders in the most the English upon barbarous forms; and Sir Ralph the Borders. Eure, Sir Brian Layton, and Sir Richard Bowes were, by fire, sword, and rapine, turning the country into a bare and blackened wilderness. From July to November of this disastrous year, as appears from an authentic contemporary document,‡ 192 villages, towers, farm offices, parish churches, and fortified dwelling-

* Knox's History, book 1. p. 43.

† Keith (on the authority of Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. ii. p. 218) says eighteen ships and six hundred men. (Keith, p. 47).

‡ See Hayne's State Papers, pp. 43—55.

houses were sacked, whilst the booty amounted to 10,386 cattle, 12,492 sheep, 1496 horses, 850 bolls of corn, besides much household furniture. These destructive inroads could not be repressed under a disputed regency. The Queen-dowager and her adherents appear to have made greater exertions than Arran and his party for the defence of the country; for, in addition to the fact that the expedition of Lennox had been defeated by her friends, it is recorded that she herself, in the month of October, made a progress to Jedburgh, where the Earl of Angus met her, and where they remained eight days consulting upon the best means to be adopted for protecting the Borders. It is highly probable that the attention of Arran and Beaton was exclusively occupied—and not unsuccessfully—in laborious intrigues for strengthening their own party.

A parliament was summoned by the Earl of Arran to meet at Edinburgh on Rivalparliaments the 6th of November; and its first in November. act was to annul the proceedings of the rival parliament held at Stirling, and to declare of none effect the deposition of Arran from the office of Regent. The next step was to charge two of the Queen-dowager's principal partizans—the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas—with treason, the penalties of which—banishment and forfeiture—were to be kept suspended over them. Undeterred, however, by these proceedings, the Queen-dowager held a meeting of the three estates at Stirling, and issued a proclamation prohibiting obedience to the 'pretended regent.' In this unfortunate state of affairs, when the great body of the people were at a loss whom to obey, Cardinal Beaton stepped forward as a mediator, and succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation between Arran and the Queen-dowager. The Douglasses—her principal advisers—would readily accede to an agreement which was almost sure to quash the charge of treason against themselves.

It was resolved that the two factions, thus united, should vigorously set about the Unfortunate expulsion of the English and the expedition to protection of the Borders. Arran, Coldingham. knowing that the pretext of the Queen-dowager and her party for attempting to remove him from the regency had been the want of energy in his movements against the English, put on an unusually bold front, and led seven thousand men to Coldingham, then held by a savage and plundering garrison of the enemy. But the siege was abruptly terminated, some historians say, by the cowardice of the Regent; others, by the treachery of Sir George Douglas. It is certain that the former fled; and it is equally certain that the latter—whether intentionally or in ignorance cannot be satisfactorily determined—spread an alarming and false report in the Scottish camp, that the English were ten thousand strong, and expected reinforcements from Berwick, and the whole force fled disgracefully before two thousand English troops.

If this signal defeat was actually brought about

by the treachery of the Douglasses, they escaped the punishment which they deserved, for in a numerously attended parliament, which was held at Edinburgh in the beginning of December, they were absolved of all the charges that had been brought against them in the previous meeting of the three estates, whilst forgiveness was also extended to the Earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, and to Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, for their long-continued treasonable practices. No doubts seem to have been entertained of the sincerity of the Earl of Angus, especially when it was guaranteed by his natural resentment at the ravages wantonly inflicted on his possessions by the English, for he was commissioned by the parliament to undertake the defence of the Borders. It was also attempted to levy a land-tax for the maintenance of a thousand horsemen, to be placed under his charge; but the barons of Lothian had no confidence in his patriotism and honesty, and they declined either to pay the money or to serve under his banner, preferring to make covenants with each other for their mutual protection against the attacks and spoliations of the English.* Their example was generally followed throughout the country, and no attention was paid to the command of the Regent for the immediate muster of the military convoy of the kingdom at Lauder, for the purpose of repelling the incursions of the enemy. Several of the Border clans had even assumed the red cross, the token of entire submission to England, whilst others had come to terms, scarcely less humiliating, with the invaders. The English wardens felt confident that they could easily take, and permanently keep, possession of the whole of the country south of the Forth. To lay a scheme for this purpose before their master, Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Layton repaired to London. The project met with the entire approbation of the English monarch; and to encourage them to prosecute vigorously the plan which they had formed, he is said to have bestowed upon Eure a grant of all the lands he might conquer in the districts of the Mersc, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, the greater part of which belonged to the Earl of Angus. "This gift," says Buchanan, "they cheerfully accepted, and the king as willingly bestowed, recompensing their vain boasting with a grant as vain.†"

The Earl of Angus, however, was not disposed to submit to this summary arrangement of Angus. Furious that Henry, either as a master or as an enemy, should presume to dispose of the ancient lands of Douglas and should offer these to a stranger as the spoil of an incursion, he swore that "if Ralph Eure dared to act upon the grant, he would write his sasine, or instrument of possession, on his skin with sharp pens and bloody ink.‡" His unpatriotic obligations to the English monarch had, for some time back, hung loosely upon him; and this insult determined him

to cast them off altogether, and to rouse himself for the defence, if not of Scotland, at least of his own ancestral domains. Sir Ralph Eure had the hardihood to make a venture for the prize, and led to the borders a force numbering about five thousand men, and consisting of foreigners, English archers, and six hundred Border Scots—the Armstrongs, Turnbulls, and other broken clans—who wore the badge of submission to England, and whose policy it was to side with the stronger party and plunder the weaker. The inroad which then commenced was distinguished by the utmost ferocity and inhumanity, as if the design had been to exterminate, rather than to subjugate, the population, and to turn the land into an uninhabited desert. The ruthless invaders burnt the tower of Broomhouse, when no escape to the unresisting inmates was possible, and its lady, a venerable matron, with all her family, perished in the flames. They then proceeded as far as Melrose, which they sacked and demolished, committing wanton havoc upon the noble abbey and the tombs of the Douglasses.

Angus could no longer restrain his rage and desire for retaliation. He burned to launch not only his own feudal retainers but all the forces of the nation against the savage spoilers. The Regent and the Cardinal might have sat at ease, as usual, until the incursion was approaching Edinburgh, but it had more than passed the line of the Earl's toleration. It had ravaged his paternal estates and disturbed the ashes of his ancestors, and he must meet, punish, and drive back the plunderers. He addressed to the Regent mingled remonstrances, reproaches, and encouragements, describing Arran as alienated from the Scottish nobles, who alone could protect the kingdom, and misled by voluptuous priests who were ready to plot against, but not to fight for, the interests of Scotland; and calling upon him to renounce the advice of insidious churchmen, and summon the barons and their retainers to an immediate expedition against the English; and he promised that, if they would take the field without hesitation, the enterprise would be crowned with the most brilliant success.*

Regent Arran must have lost rather than gained in energy and decision by his alliance with Beaton. The Cardinal himself, at this crisis, appears to have been unconcerned at the ravages and cruelties inflicted by the English, and to have exercised none of his great power in exciting the Regent and the nobles to undertake the defence of their country. Those who palliate his Popish policy by alleging that it was characterised by bold and incorruptible nationality, will find it difficult to account for his state of inaction, at a time when the invaders were conquering and desolating, as Angus said, "the country in detail.†" He neither himself stood forward, nor induced others, who were within the range of his influence, to do so, for the expulsion of

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 37.

† Buchanan, book xi. chap. 23.

‡ Godscroft.

• Buchanan, book xv. chap. 24.

† Ibid. book xv. chap. 24.

the plundering English, and the protection of his oppressed countrymen.

The remonstrances of Angus were backed by the Regent takes several of the barons, and the result was that the Regent, with a small and hastily-gathered force, joined the impatient Earl and his vassals. They marched to Melrose; but the English, having received notice of their movements, made an unexpected attack upon them. The Scots, though driven back, succeeded in preserving their order; and during the evening and night from the neighbouring hills watched the enemy, who were gleaning what little plunder they had formerly left in the town and abbey of Melrose. The Regent expected the arrival of strong reinforcements; for, before joining Angus, he had issued a proclamation requiring the attendance of the barons with all their dependants. Early in the morning of the following day the English were seen retreating to Jedburgh; and the Scots, being comparatively but a handful, followed them at a prudent distance. Sir Ralph Eure, probably unwilling to cross the Teviot with the enemy hanging upon his rear, and eagerly seeking for any advantage that might arise to them from disorder in his ranks, halted upon

The battle of Ancrum Moor, 17th of February, 1544-5.

a moor above the village of Ancrum. Angus directed his men to fall back upon a neighbouring height, painfully undecided as to whether he should risk an engagement with such unequal strength. The arrival, first, of the brave Norman Lesley, at the head of a body of men from Fife, and, next, of Sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, who announced that his vassals would join them in the course of an hour, determined the Scots against retreat. Buccleuch, as well as Angus, had many wrongs to avenge upon the English and their leader. In August of the preceding year, a predatory troop, headed by Eure, had ravaged all his lands in West Teviotdale and those upon Kale Water, stormed two of his strongest castles, slaughtered about forty of his men, and carried off immense and valuable booty.* But Buccleuch's military judgment was not turned into rashness by his eagerness for revenge. His experienced eye saw at once the line of tactics to be followed, and he prevailed upon Angus to withdraw his forces from the eminence which they occupied, to draw them up on a piece of level ground behind it, called Peniel-heugh, and to send the horses with the camp-boys to another height in the rear. This stratagem was intended to persuade the English that the Scots were betaking themselves to flight. Eure and the other leaders at once fell into the snare, and eagerly resolved upon pursuit, under the apprehension that the fugitives might escape. Though the English troops were sorely fatigued by their march, and in want both of rest and refreshment, they were instantly launched forward—cavalry and infantry—in rapid chase after the foe. They galloped up the height which the Scots had craftily abandoned,

* *Murkin's State Papers*, pp. 45, 46.

in the full belief that the terror-stricken fugitives would fall an easy prey into their hands; but, on reaching the summit, they were astonished to perceive in the hollow below the serried ranks of the Scots calmly awaiting their approach. Confident of success, however, from the many months during which they had been unresisted and unchecked, and trusting that their great superiority in numbers would more than make up for their exhaustion, and for the disorder into which they had been thrown by the eagerness of the pursuit, the English leaders resolved on making an attack. At this moment, a heron, disturbed by the tumult, flew up from the marshes between the combatants, and Angus, in a spirit of elated and sportive confidence, exclaimed, "Oh! that I had here my white goss-hawk; we should then all yoke [join to] at once."* The cavalry, of which the English forces were mainly composed, made an irregular and feeble charge. The Scottish spearmen soon repulsed the enemy's van, under Layton and Bowes, and drove it back upon the main body; and this was also soon thrust back in confusion upon the rear. The oblique rays of the setting sun and the smoke of the harquebusses blown by the wind were right in the faces of the English and blinded them. A route was inevitable. Neither leaders nor banners could be distinguished. The ranks were fiercely driven against each other, and were unable to strike at the foe; and each man of the wavering host began to seek an escape for himself from the scene of helpless and fatal disorder. And now the six hundred Scottish Borderers, who had for months served the English, tore off their badge of submission—the red cross—and, making common cause with their already victorious countrymen, turned with unsparing severity upon the broken and flying enemy. The peasantry of the neighbourhood, hitherto only spectators of the short conflict, drew near to intercept and cut down the English; and women, whose hearts had been steeled against the fugitives by their atrocious barbarities, joined in the pursuit,† and, as a spur to more rapid and unsparing carnage, shrieked out to the conquerors to "remember Broomhouse!" †

The battle became a slaughter, which lasted till nightfall. The revenge of the Scots was fully satiated, for of the enemy no fewer than eight hundred were slain, amongst whom were Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Brian Layton, to the great gratification of Angus and his followers, whilst a thousand

* Godscroft.

† One of them is said to have even mingled in the fray, and her feats were commemorated by a monument bearing the following rude inscription:—

"Fair maiden Lylliard lies under this stano,
Little was her stature, but great was her fame;
Upon the English louns she laid mony thumps,
And when her legs were cutted off, she fought upon
her stumps."

The spot on which the battle was fought is called Lilyard's Edge, from the name of this heroine. The inscription on the monument is said to have been legible within the present century. Old people in the neighbourhood point out the stone, now broken and defaced.—*Appendix to Sir W. Scott's Eve of St. John*.

‡ Lesley, p. 478.

were made prisoners, and these included many knights and persons of rank, from whom large ransoms were exacted.* The loss on the part of the victors was trifling, amounting, Buchanan says, only to two, and these humble retainers.† The Scots lost no time in following up their victory. The camp-equipage of the English, left at Melrose, was seized; and Coldingham, Jedburgh, and almost all the border districts, were recovered from the enemy. The Earl's recent assurance of success was thus more than verified. The Regent embraced the victorious baron, and carried him off to the Court at Stirling to receive the warm congratulations and thanks of the Queen-dowager.‡ He then issued a proclamation that all who had been compelled to serve the English and wear the red cross, should, on returning to their allegiance, be fully pardoned.

Henry VIII. was infuriated on receiving intelligence of the defeat of his army, and the slaughter of his two trusty barons; and probably his rage was not lessened by the thought that his own impolitic treatment of Angus had led to the disaster and disgrace. Still, the monarch's violent policy was not checked by what had occurred, and he vowed to pursue Angus with his heaviest resentment. The Earl had now, for a little, caught the undaunted spirit of his race, and made this bold reply:—"Is our brother-in-law offended that I, as a good Scotsman, have avenged my ravaged country and the defaced tombs of my ancestors upon Ralph Eure? They were better men than he, and I was bound to do no less: and will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Kirnetable.§ I can keep myself there against all his English host."||

Shortly after the victory at Anerum Moor and the expulsion of the English from the kingdom, word was sent to the French intervention. Scottish court that the King of France was about to prove himself the formidable enemy of England on her own soil, and the fast ally of Scotland. Francis the First was busy in preparing a large fleet for the invasion of England; and, to give this enterprise a greater chance of success, he intended first to send an army into Scotland, so that the English troops might be

* Among these was a patriotic Alderman of London, Read by name, who, having contumaciously refused to pay his portion of a benevolence demanded from the city by Henry VIII., was sent by royal authority to serve against the Scots, whom he found still more exorbitant in their exactions than the monarch.—*Redpath's Border History*, p. 563.

† Buchanan, book xv. chap. 25.

‡ Pitcottie.

§ Kirnetable, now called Cairntable, is a mountainous tract at the head of Douglasdale. One of the ancestors of Sir Ralph Eure also held a grant of Scottish lands from an English monarch. "I have seen," says Stowe, "under the broad-seal of the said King Edward I., a manor, called Ketnes, in the county of Forfear, in Scotland, and near the furthest part of the same nation northward, given to John Ure and his heirs, ancestor to the Lord Ure that now is, for his service done in these partes, with market, &c., dated at Lanercest, the twentieth day of October, anno regis. 34."—*Stowe's Annals*, p. 210. "This grant," remarks Sir Walter Scott, "like that of Henry, must have been dangerous to the receiver."

|| Godsefer, vol. ii. p. 123.

drawn to the north away from the main points of the projected attack. This intelligence was communicated to Henry VIII. by some of his agents in Scotland. In the state of alarm which it produced he began to reflect that his past policy had been injudicious in the extreme, and that for two years he had only insulted and provoked the Scots, instead of subjugating them. His diplomatic and his warlike expedients had alike been frustrated by his own recklessness. In seeking to punish or to frighten his sworn agents the Douglasses for their unavoidably slow progress in the fulfilment of their pledges, he had stung them into active and successful hostility. He now desired, therefore, to fall back upon the treaties of peace and marriage, which his own imperious conduct had annihilated. When Sir George Douglas—who appears to have doubted either that the Scots could permanently hold out against the English, or that the Douglasses could ever regain and keep much influence in a free Scottish Government, and who was, therefore, ready to re-enter, on fair terms, the service of the English monarch—urged upon Henry the adoption of a conciliatory policy for prosecuting the treaties of union and marriage, assuring him that the measures of a different character which he was reported to be contemplating would drive the people 'to desperation,* the monarch resolved to follow the advice. He accordingly commissioned one of his Solway captives Henry VIII.

—the Earl of Cassillis—to enter upon a pacific negotiation. This proceeding must have been suggested by Douglas, for the Earl of Cassillis repaired to the English court on the 28th of February, only three days after Sir George's letter had been despatched—an interval far too brief to allow the King to receive the letter and to send back a summons for the attendance of Cassillis. This nobleman returned to Scotland with minute instructions for the management of his new agency. He experienced no difficulty in getting the Earls of Glencairn, Marischal, and the Douglasses, to act as his associates. Angus himself was profuse in his expressions of loyalty to King Henry; and, as evidence of his sincerity, he threw up the office of Lieutenant, which he held under the Scottish Regent. This step was not so unequivocal as to be incapable of such a construction as would permit him to continue in friendly intercourse with the leaders of the opposite party. The important post resigned was a military one, and he might plausibly allege that it was superfluous, when Henry was anxious for peace and amity. In recurring also to the treaties, all the considerations that had once weighed with the Regent, and been admitted even by the Queen-dowager, continued in force; and to plead these once more had no appearance of treason or disloyalty to Scotland.

* Original letter Sir George Douglas to the king from Lauder, State Paper Office. Referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 319. In this letter Sir George mentions the great losses he had sustained by the last English invasion, as a counter-complaint to any charge which King Henry might bring against him.

A more powerful party, however, consisting of the formidable opposition. Queen-dowager, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, remained to be won over to the English interest; and private or diplomatic access to these seems to have been thought impracticable, or at least to have been left untried. A convention of the nobility was summoned to be held on the 15th of April, to consider and decide upon the proposals with which the Earl of Cassillis was intrusted from the English monarch. Meanwhile, Henry's Border Wardens received directions to abstain from all incursions and hostilities, and to keep up an appearance of peace, though all the time the Earl of Hertford was engaged—according to the suggestion of Cassillis—in levying on the borders an army of thirty thousand men for the invasion of Scotland, in the event of the rejection of Henry's overtures. Sir Ralph Sadler, who had an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Scotland, was appointed Treasurer-at-War and political agent.*

On the 17th of April the convention met at Edinburgh, when Cassillis appeared as the ambassador of the English monarch, and urged the nobles to agree to the treaties of peace and marriage; assuring them that their doing so would obliterate from the king's mind the recollection of his recent injuries and every wish to avenge them.† This manner of unfolding and advocating the negotiation was, unfortunately, calculated to neutralise the message of conciliation; and, characteristic as it was of Henry's haughtiness, could not fail to wound the pride of the Scottish nobility. His allusion to 'injuries' displayed a want of candour as well as an offensive tone of superiority, for the Scots had sustained greater injuries at his hands than they had inflicted upon him, the latter having been also in self-defence, whilst the former were those of uncalled-for aggression. But the majority in the convention were influenced by weightier motives than the impolitic and irritating language of Henry's agent. They had obtained satisfactory intelligence that the French auxiliaries had embarked; they were expecting a fleet of merchantmen with ample cargoes of provisions; the Emperor Charles V. had quarrelled with the English monarch, and made proposals of alliance with Scotland; and, in addition to those cheering prospects of great and varied assistance from the continent, the supporters of national independence had gathered strength from the recent victory, whilst the English cause had become more odious. Accordingly, the offer which Cassillis was empowered to make was rejected by Henry's proposals. the convention; the treaties of peace and marriage were again declared to have been dissolved; and a resolution was agreed to that the

friendship and aid of France should be cordially accepted.* Of this unwelcome result Henry VIII. was soon apprised by the Earl of Cassillis, who also recommended the immediate invasion of Scotland.

Whenever Henry and his Scottish supporters were thwarted in their policy they threw the blame upon the able and crafty statesmanship of Beaton, who thus became the object of their most deadly animosity. He had again quickly and effectually crushed their rising projects; and Henry, though now resolved upon the alternative of war, encouraged a secret movement for the removal of Beaton by assassination. The conspiracy originated with Cassillis, was known to, and approved of, by the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marischal, and Sir George Douglas, and was communicated in the month of May to Sir Ralph Sadler, through whom intelligence of it soon reached the king and his Privy Council. The conspirators sought from the English monarch both protection against the consequences to themselves, and reward for the advantages which Henry would receive from the intended crime. Their first idea in arranging the plot was to send a confidential envoy to Sadler at Alnwick; but this was soon abandoned, and they requested that an English prisoner of the name of Forster, who could enter Scotland without exciting suspicions, should repair to a conference with them at Edinburgh.† The royal sanction was at once given to the despatch of Forster to Edinburgh; but Henry did not wish to appear cognisant of the plot against the Cardinal's life, though vehemently desirous of its sure and speedy execution. "His Majesty hath willed us," was the reply of the Privy Council, "to signify unto your lordship [Earl of Hertford] that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by His Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the Earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter, he shall say that, if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same: as you doubt not of his accustomed goodness to those who serve him, but he

* *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 38.

† Letter from the Privy Council to the Earl of Cassillis, in answer to his letter in cipher of 2nd April, communicating the king's directions, April 10th, 1545. *State Paper Office*, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 320.

* Cassillis to Henry VIII., April 20th, 1545. *State Paper Office*, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 321.

† Privy Council to the Earl of Hertford, dated Greenwich, May 30th, 1545, relative to the proposition of the Earl of Cassillis for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. *MS. State Paper Office*, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 321.

would do the same to him."* The two instructions in this message were strictly followed out. Forster visited Scotland, and Sadler sent a communication to Cassillis, applauding the object of the conspiracy against Beaton, but affirming that the king neither participated in nor knew of it. The envoy first went to Dalkeith to Sir George Douglas, who easily procured for him a meeting with the Earls of Angus and Cassillis; but these cautious nobles would not venture to proceed without a written pledge from Henry, which would secure for them indemnity and recompense for the Cardinal's death; and, therefore, whilst welcoming Forster, they abstained from all allusions to the special design of his mission, and satisfied themselves with fervent protestations of their renewed fidelity to the English cause. Sir George, however, was more frank and explicit, and returned by Forster the following message to the Earl of Hertford:—"He willed me," says the envoy, "to tell my Lord-Lieutenant, that if the king would have the Cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he saith the common saying is, the Cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is small beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by that means how that reward should be paid."† The king's objections against seeming to be connected with the plot, and against mentioning any price to be set upon Beaton's life, were not overcome; and the deed of assassination was left, for the present, unattempted.

In the month of May, and before this wicked project was suspended, a French French fleet with fleet arrived off the west coast, large forces. with a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse, under the command of Sieur Lorges de Montgomerie, who, before disembarking at Dumbarton, took precautions against any device similar to that which had been practised on his countrymen by the Earl of Lennox. The French were all the more cordially welcomed on its being known that they brought a considerable war-chest and a body-guard of one hundred archers to attend the Regent's person. The French king, completely unaware of the change that had recently come over the policy of the Douglasses, had sent over to Angus the insignia of the order of St. Michael, in honour of the patriotism and valour which he had shown at the battle of Anern Moor, and of which a flattering account had been transmitted to France by the Queen-dowager.‡

A convention of the nobility of the kingdom was forthwith held at Stirling, to deliberate on the

* Lords of the Privy Council to Hertford, May 30th, 1545. State Paper Office, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 322.

† Forster's Report. State Paper Office, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. pp. 323, 324.

‡ Intelligence by the Lord Wharton's espials, sent to the Earl of Hertford, June 11th, 1545. State Paper Office, referred to by Tytler, vol. v. p. 326.

national movements proper to be made for taking full advantage of the powerful aid of the French auxiliaries. It was agreed to maintain the alliance with France, and to concert and execute an invasion of England, their mutual enemy. There was a secret understanding between the English court and the Earls of Cassillis, Angus, Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, that no formal or public opposition should be offered to these resolutions carried by the majority in the convention, but that apparent acquiescence and unanimity should be preserved, in order that better opportunities and means might be found for treacherously frustrating, at the most important crisis, the attempt upon England. Sir George Douglas, referring to the preparations that would be made by the Scots, when assisted by the French, for marching across the borders, gave the following declaration to Forster:—"By reason of the encouragement of the Frenchmen and the fair largeness that the French king hath promised them by Lorges Montgomerie, they are fully bent to fight. But he [Sir George Douglas] saith, though that he must needs be also there with them, he will do them no good, but will do all that he can to stop them; and saith, that if they may be stopped since they have made so gret braggia and avant to Lorges Montgomerie, it would, as he thinketh, put away all the Commons' hearts from them."*

On the 9th of August, the Scottish host, assembled by the Regent, presented a truly formidable appearance; and great expectations were entertained of what would be achieved by thirty thousand men, with three thousand and upwards of the finest infantry and cavalry of France. But both the van and the rear were under the command of the Douglasses and their partizans, who were secretly pledged either to inaction or retreat. The Earl of Hertford had also been vigilant in providing for the defence of the English Borders; and, in such circumstances, the operations of the Scottish army were likely to be feeble and desultory. On the 10th of August, the Scots marched into England, and set fire to a few villages and fortified places, but shrunk from more serious attempts; and, two days after, commenced a rapid and most inglorious retreat. "Upon the 13th day of August," says an old chronicle, "the Scottish men come home, thro' the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard."† The sudden and disgraceful close of

* Forster's Report. State Paper Office, quoted by Tytler, vol. v. p. 325.

† Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 40.

In the text we have taken the dates of the invasion from the "Diurnal;" but Buchanan (book xv. chap. 29) represents it as having lasted for ten days. This is, perhaps, the more probable account, and we wonder that Mr. Tytler should not have seen that it would agree perfectly well with the date of a letter (25th August) from the Scottish king who wrote to Sadler, announcing that they had been the means of stopping the invasion. The ten days of an invasion would bring the period down to the 20th of August, and the letter referred to was written on the 25th, so that this account corresponds as well with ten days as with three.

this expedition was greatly disheartening to the people, and indicated what a slight resistance would be offered to the army of Hertford, which was about to make a fierce and desolating campaign in Scotland.

The Anglo-Scottish nobles, having thwarted

The Earl of Hertford's preparations. Regent Arran's incursion into England, urged that the Earl of Hertford's invasion of Scotland

should immediately be commenced with an overwhelming force, equipped for a war, and not for a mere inroad. The Douglasses could not openly take part in the movement which they recommended; and with the view, probably, of securing themselves against Henry's vengeance for such neutrality in the field, they advised the leader of the invading army to declare by proclamation that he 'came not to injure the kingdom or any subject in it who sought to promote the treaties of peace and marriage between the two countries.' Hertford had enough of enthusiasm as a soldier to have preferred a regular and decisive war to a hasty incursion; but his royal master was both too impetuous and too parsimonious to be pleased with the idea of maintaining, for months, a large army fighting in the barren North. Preparations for an expedition, both by land and sea, were far advanced. A naval descent, to be undertaken by the Earl of Lennox, on the west coast of Scotland, had been arranged with Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross, who, on the 18th of August, passed over to Knockfergus in Ireland, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty galleys carrying four thousand men, who are described, in a despatch from the Irish Privy Council, as 'very tall men, clothed for the most part in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and long bows, but with few guns.' To co-operate with these auxiliaries, the Earl of Ormond was instructed to levy ten thousand kerns and gallowglasses. Lennox was appointed to the chief command of the whole force; but this naval expedition was ordered to be delayed, and he was summoned by Hertford to the English camp. †

Hertford having notified to Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Douglasses, his expectation that they would

Buchanan's version, whilst coinciding so far with the "Diurnal," and with documents in the State Paper Office, as not to praise the conduct of the Douglasses, does not represent the invasion as such a disgraceful failure. "From this station [the neighbourhood of Wark Castle] they made almost daily incursions with colours flying, and drove away great booty. The enemy in vain endeavoured to prevent their fields from being plundered. Meanwhile, Montgomery and George Hume sedulously urged the Regent to move his camp beyond the river Tweed, that they might have a freer range, and spread the terror further; but the Regent and his council opposed the measure, as they were destitute of artillery for besieging places, and, disbanding the army, they returned home. The other nobles withdrew to wherever they found it most convenient for the winter. Montgomery went to the court."

† Letter, Irish Correspondence, State Paper Office, Privy Council to the King, August, 1545. Tytler, vol. v. p. 329.

‡ August 23, 1545, Privy Council to Earl of Hertford; and August 27, 1545, Hertford and his Council to Secretary Paget. State Paper Office, Tytler, vol. v. p. 329.

join him with their vassals, began his march on the 5th of September, and having Hertford's invasion, 5th of September. rapidly crossed the Borders, sat down before Kelso. The town,

which was entirely open, was speedily captured; but the abbey was bravely defended by the monks and their vassals, and held out against the Spanish mercenaries until Hertford's ordnance effected a breach, through which the troops entered and put the garrison to the sword. The army advanced in its desolating progress. The Scottish earls had declined to join the invaders before obtaining more minute information respecting the course and results of the expedition; and Hertford, prepared for such a contingency, proceeded to lay waste, with fire and sword, the extensive territories of the neutral barons. The lands of the Douglasses were ravaged with special severity, and the poor dependents of the soil massacred or reduced to beggary. Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, with all the neighbouring villages, castles, and farm-granges were pillaged, and then given to the flames, and the wretched inhabitants who escaped with their lives were left to perish of cold and hunger.

Hertford assured King Henry that he had far outstripped all his predecessors in devastation and that it was the opinion of the Border gentlemen that so much damage had not been done in Scotland for the last hundred years.* Even those of his men who were familiar with the barbarities which had been inflicted in the beginning of the year by Sir Ralph Eure shuddered at Hertford's revolting orders, and were so reluctant to execute these, that he—suspecting their lenient tendencies—placed a body of more hardened savages—hundred wild Irish soldiers—to glean behind them in the harvest of desolation, and to make barrenness more bare and ruin more ghastly.

During this cruel inroad the Scots remained almost wholly inactive. The inactivity of Huntly and Argyle, dreading a of the Scots.

surprise from Lennox and the Lord of the Isles contented themselves with guarding their own provinces. Angus now tamely bore injuries which some months before, had stirred his wrath and prompted the most sanguinary retaliation. He indeed, made a show—not of resistance—but of reprisals, and accompanied a body of ten thousand Scots, levied by the Regent, into England, where after burning a single village, he advised an immediate retreat on the first appearance of a small force of English Borderers. † As often happened with those who want the resolution to defend themselves, the Scots were also deserted by some of their French allies, who went over to Hertford. He waited for instructions from the king as to whether or not he should receive them; and Henry, through his Privy Council, after dwelling on the

* Letter, Earl of Hertford and his council to the King, Warkworth, September 18. State Paper Office.

† Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 40. Letter of Hertford to his Council, September 18. State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. v. p. 331.

general impolicy of putting any trust in Frenchmen, characteristically suggested that any future deserters should be urged to prove their sincerity by some important achievement, which would cause a 'notable damage or displeasure to the enemy'—such as 'trapping or killing the Cardinal, Lorges, the Governor, or some other man of estimation, whereby it can appear that they bear hearty good will to serve, which thing,' adds the king, 'if they shall have done, your lordship may promise them not only to accept the service, but also to give them such reward as they shall have good cause to be therewith right well contented.'*

The English commander soon saw that his troops Hertford's began themselves to suffer from retreat. the famine which their savage inroad had spread over the richest districts of Scotland. Provisions and plunder alike were failing them, and a retreat was inevitable. This, at every step, was signalized by acts of the most wanton destruction; and towers and villages, in which there was nothing to pillage, were burnt down. Home Castle was impregnable and defied all assaults, but other towers and forts were razed to the ground; and as, on entering the Merse, he had robbed the inhabitants of their property, so now, on leaving it, he sought to deprive them of all means of safety and security. On the 23rd of September he reached Horton, and on dismissing his forces placed his Italian and Spanish mercenaries in the Border garrisons. The campaign had only lasted fifteen days; but its merciless character, and the energy with which it was conducted, are attested by the fact that, during that short period, the English army burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towers, five market-towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals. †

At a parliament, summoned by the Regent and Meeting of parliament at Stirling. held at Stirling immediately after the Earl of Hertford's retreat, the Earl of Lennox and his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, were proclaimed traitors. As this proceeding had been expected, and as it involved the forfeiture and division of the extensive and valuable estates of the earl, and the appropriation of his brother's bishopric, the meeting of the three estates was very numerously attended, probably because the nobles were all equally anxious to obtain their share of the forfeited estates. Argyle, in acknowledgment of his eminent fidelity to the interests of the government, received the largest portion; and Huntly obtained some of the possessions for himself and the bishopric of Caithness for his brother. ‡ The defenceless condition of the country also came before parliament, and it was resolved that a thousand horsemen should be raised for the protection of the Borders, to be commanded by the ablest and

bravest of the Border barons, and to be supported by a tax of sixteen thousand pounds payable by the three estates.* An additional force of a thousand men was also ordered to be levied, and to be maintained at the expense of France. To procure larger subsidies for resisting the encroachments of England, Cardinal Beaton, it was reported, was about to accompany Lorges to France.

News of the Cardinal's intended journey, and of his having also gained over many of the Scottish nobles to consent to a marriage between their young sovereign and the Regent's son, who was kept by Beaton as a hostage in the castle of St. Andrew's, and trained under his own immediate superintendence, reached Henry VIII., and roused him to new efforts. His captive, Lord Maxwell, was owner of three important and almost impregnable castles—Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrave; and the king was bent on laying hold of these fortresses and garrisoning them with English soldiers, that they might become convenient rallying-points for his partizans who were scattered over the country. He was equally anxious that the postponed descent upon the west coast by the Earl of Lennox and the Lord of the Isles should now be set about vigorously. The former project miscarried. Lord Maxwell had, from first to last, in the course of the negotiations for peace and marriage, temporized between the rights and liberties of Scotland and the tyrannical pretensions of England; and, for his want of fidelity in supporting the latter, Henry had violently threatened him with close confinement in the Tower of London. The baron's humble offer to prove himself a 'true Englishman,' by serving under Hertford against Scotland, and wearing the red cross on his armour, was not satisfactory to the monarch, who, at last, succeeded, in extorting from him the delivery of Caerlaverock, as the price of his liberty. † This was an acquisition which promised the speedy realization of the monarch's design to maintain several English garrisons in the enemy's country. In the beginning of November, ^{Caerlaverock recovered by the Scots.} however, Regent Arran besieged and took Caerlaverock and the other two fortresses belonging to Maxwell, who, with his English confederates, was captured and imprisoned in Dumfries. Those important strongholds were thus not only recovered from the English, but also alienated from a family of, at best, doubtful loyalty. Mortified at this unexpected and signal failure of a scheme from which he had confidently expected great advantages, Henry turned all the more resolutely and energetically to his other project—the invasion of the west coast by the Earl of Lennox. But in this, too, he was destined to be disappointed. Donald, Lord of the

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41. The tax was to be raised conform to the auld taxation. * * His great land of auld extent eight shillings. Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 460.

† Earl of Hertford, Bishop of Durham, and Sir Ralph Sadler to Secretary Paget, July 25th, 1541. State Paper Office. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41.

* Privy Council to Earl of Hertford. State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. v. p. 332.

† Haynes's State Papers, p. 52.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 458, 459. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 41. Keith's Catalogue, p. 128.

Isles, having tarried in Ireland for some time, in vain looking for the arrival of Lennox, whose presence had been required in Hertford's camp, had returned with his powerful fleet to his own dominions, and died quietly in his bed. His successor, James Macconnell, Lord of Dunyveg, inherited his bitter hostility to the Scots, and hoped also to earn his English pension. Lennox, having been informed by the Earl of Glencairn that circumstances were propitious to an enterprise for the recovery of Dunbarton Castle, set off in haste to Ireland, and despatched his brother, the ex-bishop of Caithness, to employ all his craft to prevail upon the keeper of the castle to surrender. He also put himself in communication with the new Lord of

the Isles. Taking the command of the two thousand men who had previously been levied by the Earl of Ormond, he sailed from Dublin

on the 17th of November with a larger squadron than had left Ireland for the last two hundred years. Precipitate as this movement unquestionably was (for he had not waited for the return of the envoy whom he had sent to the Lord of the Isles, and could not therefore be sure of early enough co-operation from that distant quarter), it was anticipated by the Regent and Cardinal Beaton, who, with unusual alertness, adopted prompt and vigorous measures to defeat it. They had been apprized of the visit of the deposed bishop and his admission into the castle of Dunbarton, and at once conjectured the object of his visit. They lost no time in besieging the fortress, which, how-

ever, maintained its old reputation for strength, and, for a time, resisted all the assaults made upon it by the forces of Arran, Huntly, and Argyle. Force having failed, the besiegers tried the more potent influence of bribes, which, at length, overcame not only the ecclesiastic, but also the Governor, Stirling of Glorat, who, it will be remembered, on a former occasion had shown himself incorruptibly honest, and who but recently had declared that he would hold out the castle against all parties alike until his mistress, the Queen of Scots, should be of age to demand it for herself.* Intelligence of this important capture must have reached Lennox in time to warn him that his maritime expedition would be useless, for the squadron never approached the coast, and it is uncertain whether it returned to Dublin or made for Bristol.

The reckless haste of Lennox had deprived him of the assistance of the Lord of the Isles, whose zeal, however, for the English cause, and anxiety to co-operate with the earl on its behalf, was not diminished: for in the beginning of the following year he sent proposals to Henry, urging that Lennox should be despatched with an army to the Isle of Sanda, near Kentire, where all his own forces and those of his numerous kinsmen and allies would be

ready to join him.* This communication reached Henry in the middle of February 1545-6; and, important as it would then be held, the attention of the English monarch must have been soon diverted from any decision relative to it by the startling events which took place in Scotland.

Cardinal Beaton had become widely obnoxious. The nation at large was as yet by no means fully imbued with the doctrines of the Protestant faith; yet the simplicity and truthfulness of its principles were appreciated by great numbers of the Scottish people, and their feelings were shocked by the intolerance and cruel persecutions of the hierarchy. Beaton had long sought with unrelenting severity to extirpate heresy; and Regent Arran's conversion had greatly increased his power, and whetted his desire to preserve the dominancy of the old religion, and to crush every attempt at innovation. He was fast rising above control; and, when free to carry out his ecclesiastical tyranny, what appalling scenes might be enacted! In proportion as open resistance to his policy had been punished and overawed did secret fear and hatred increase and spread throughout the kingdom. The Cardinal was specially odious to those of the Scottish barons who were engaged to support the schemes of Henry VIII. His subtle and vigorous statesmanship had frustrated their designs and countermined all intrigues until they were weary of plotting; whilst Henry was infuriated at the consequent delay in the fulfilment of their pledges. From the castle of St. Andrew's there swiftly and surely glanced forth detection and ruin upon the deliberations that had engrossed the most anxious attention and care of the English court and Privy Council, with all their agents and abettors. The Scottish barons, unpatriotic as they were, did not wish to establish Henry's unrighteous claims otherwise than by diplomacy. They had, indeed, occasionally advised armed inroads; but they shrunk from the prospect of Scotland being placed under English rule by conquest. As long as Beaton lived, all diplomacy, which had for its object the realization of the designs of the English court, seemed to be utterly vain; and the barons had, for some time back, entertained a scheme for getting rid of their dreaded foe by assassination.

Henry was more than favourable to this nefarious project, but was unwilling to have his name associated with its execution. It was followed, as it had also been preceded, by the conspiracy of Crichton, the Laird of Brunston. In the month of July, 1545, this baron opened communication with Sir Ralph Sadler 'touching the killing of the Cardinal;' and passages in Sadler's reply deserve quotation, as showing the shrewd Englishman's opinion of the strangely-mixed character of his correspondent. Sadler hints at a 'reward' for the deed; but also notices, with emphasis, the 'glory to God' that would accrue. "In one part,"

* Privy Council of Ireland to the Privy Council of England, 16th February, 1546, with the Lord of the Isles' letter inclosed. State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. v. p. 338.

writes Sadler, "of your said letters, I note chiefly that certain gentlemen, being your friends, have offered, for a small sum of money, to take him out of the way, that hath been the whole impediment and let to all good purposes there, so that they might be sure to have the king's majesty their good lord, and that his majesty would reward them for the same. Of this I judge that you mean the Cardinal, whom I know to be so much blinded to his own affection to France, that, to please the same, he seeth not, but openly contemneth all things tending to the weal and benefit of his own country; and, indeed, hitherto he hath been the only cause and worker of all your mischief, and will, if he continue, be undoubtedly the utter ruin and confusion of the same. Wherefore, I am of your opinion, and, as you write, think it to be acceptable service to God to take him out of the way, who in such sort doth not only as much as in him is to obscure the glory of God, but also to confound the common weal of his own country. And albeit, the king's majesty, whose gracious nature and goodness I know, will not, I am sure, have to do with this matter touching your said Cardinal, for sundry considerations: yet, if you could so work the matter with these gentlemen, your friends, who have made that offer, that it may take effect, you shall undoubtedly do therein good service both to God and his majesty, and a singular benefit to your country. Wherefore, like as if I were in your place, it should be the first thing I would earnestly attempt, thinking thereby for the respect aforesaid chiefly to please God and to do good to my country. And if the execution of this matter do rest only upon the reward of the king's majesty to such as shall be the executors of the same, I pray you advertise me what reward they do require, and if it be not unreasonable, because I have been in your country, for the Christian zeal that I have to the common weal of the same, I will undertake it shall be paid immediately upon the act executed, though I do myself bear the charge of the same, which I would think well employed. Thus I write to you mine own mind in this matter, as one that would be glad to give you such advice, as whereby you should do that service to God, the king's majesty, and your own native country, as might also be to your own profit and good fame."* In October of the same year, Brunston sent several communications to England, with the intention of drawing forth the pledge of protection and reward from the king. In this, however, he, like the Earl of Cassillis, failed, and the enterprise was abandoned. In consequence of this reluctance on the part of Henry to give a definite promise of a reward, the Scottish barons in the interest of England allowed the matter to drop; and the few persons of rank, who, loathing Beaton's persecuting character, sought to remove him by assassination, appear to have determined not to attempt the unjustifiable deed, unless under the express sanction of the English Privy Council,

as a sort of substitute for that legal condemnation of the Cardinal's crimes, which it was hopeless to obtain in Scotland.

There is no evidence whatever of what is repeatedly alleged by Mr. Tytler, that Beaton ignorant Beaton was aware of the various ^{of the plots} undeveloped plots against his life, ^{against him} against him. far less that he had been made acquainted with the names of the hesitating conspirators. The allegation is intended as an apology for his trial and execution of the celebrated George Wishart, who, as being in some degree personally intimate with the Laird of Brunston, is, with almost as little evidence, alleged to have known and approved of the plots against the Cardinal. It is sufficient to indicate here, that no proof is extant for the pretext that the persecutor was informed of the existence of such plots, or suspected that Wishart was in any way connected with them; and it will afterwards be seen that this connection, unsuspected by the Cardinal, is now and ever incredible, unless by those who will hang, on a mere thread of the weakest circumstantial evidence, a judgment which in itself would require the very strongest testimony, and which is repudiated by every characteristic of Wishart's memorable career.

George Wishart, of Pitarrow, in Mearns, kept a school for some time in Montrose, where he taught his pupils to read the New Testament in the original language. On account of the persecution to which this exposed him, he was compelled to take refuge in England, and prosecuted his studies at the University of Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his learning and his gentle and amiable disposition. He had early embraced the principles of the Protestant faith; and it was their religious, not their political, bearings, which engrossed his study in youth, as they subsequently formed the absorbing theme of his preaching. He returned to Scotland in the summer of 1543, in the company of the commissioners who were sent by Henry VIII. to arrange the treaties of peace and marriage. The eloquence and zeal which he displayed in preaching the doctrines of the Reformation soon rendered him an object of jealousy and dislike to the Romish priesthood, and he twice narrowly escaped assassination. For a time he was protected by a trusty band of armed followers, who watched assiduously over his welfare; but he was ultimately obliged to take refuge in West Lothian, where some of the Protestant lairds concealed him by turns in their houses. In the beginning of 1546, Beaton—to whom Wishart was particularly obnoxious—hearing that the preacher was at Ormiston, determined on his apprehension. The Earl of Bothwell, who was then devoted to the interest of the Cardinal, submitted to become the instrument in his hand for entrapping the gentle and laborious martyr, and suddenly surrounded the house of Ormiston under cover of night, while the Cardinal himself remained at a short distance with a body of five hundred men. Wishart surrendered upon a solemn assurance that his life would be spared; but Beth-

* Sir Ralph Sadler to the Laird of Brunston. State Paper Office. Tytler. Appendix, p. 335.

will soon after treacherously delivered him up to Beaton, who conveyed his prisoner to St. Andrew's, and cast him into a dungeon in his castle. The Regent, who was averse to bloodshed, refused to grant a commission to a civil judge to try Wishart;

Martyrdom of Wishart. but the unscrupulous Primate was not on that account to be balked of his prey. He summoned a council of the bishops and abbots at St. Andrew's, and, on his own authority, brought Wishart to trial as a heretic. He was, of course, found guilty and condemned to the stake—a sentence which was carried into execution on the following day, 28th March, 1546.

The execution of Wishart was as impolitic as it is effect on the public mind. was barbarous, and the cruel fate of the martyr excited deep and general indignation against his murderer. The clergy, indeed, warmly applauded the deed, and declared that if the same severity and vigour had been shown at an earlier period, the evils which now affected the church and the realm would have been averted. But the reforming party naturally regarded the death of Wishart as a murder committed under the forms of law. Some, at least, of their number were not slow to conclude that it would be an act of lawful vengeance to cut off his wicked persecutor and destroyer; and there can be no doubt that the conspiracy against the life of the Cardinal derived great strength from the popular feeling which the execution of Wishart had excited.

Meanwhile, Beaton, confident in his position, and apparently quite unconscious of his danger, was engaged in strengthening himself by forming family alliances, and procuring bonds of 'manrent' from many of the most powerful nobles. Soon after the death of Wishart, he went into Angus, and was present at the marriage of Margaret, one of his natural daughters, to David Lindsay, Master of Crawford. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Finhaven Castle, the Cardinal who gave away the bride in person bestowing upon her the princely dowry of four thousand merks.* In the midst of the marriage festivities, a rumour reached him that King Henry meditated an invasion of the east coast of Scotland; and, fearing lest his own castle of St. Andrew's might be unprepared for resistance, he returned home in haste, and immediately set about the erection of extensive fortifications. He also summoned a meeting of the barons, whose estates lay near the coast, to co-operate with him in making preparations for the defence of the country. Nor did he, in the midst of his exertions to repel the attacks of foreign enemies, overlook his domestic foes. Knox mentions that the purpose of the Cardinal at this

time was to put to death or imprison the Master of Rothes, John Lesley, the Lairds of Grange father and son, Sir James Learmont, of Darsie, Provost of St. Andrew's, along with several other leaders of the reformed party.* His blood-thirsty schemes, however, were destined soon to be terminated. Norman Lesley, Master of Rothes, had, until very lately, been one of the Cardinal's most powerful supporters, and had even granted to him a bond of 'manrent.' But a private quarrel which now occurred rendered them mortal enemies. Beaton, on the pro- the Cardinal and mise of a valuable equivalent, had Norman Lesley.

obtained from the young baron the estate of Easter Wemyss, in Fife.† In the meeting at St. Andrew's, when reminded of his promise, and requested to fulfil it, he gave an equivocal reply, which led first to remonstrances and then to an angry altercation. Norman declared that he had been circumvented by fraud, and the prelate complaining that his dignity had been insulted by a raw stripling.‡ They separated with expressions of mutual hatred. Norman immediately repaired to his uncle, John Lesley, who had already threatened vengeance for the blood of the martyr Wishart, and complained to him of the injury which he had received from Beaton. The uncle and nephew called into their counsels Kirkaldy of Grange, James Melville, and several other associates, and, after a secret consultation, it was determined that the Cardinal should be put to death without delay.

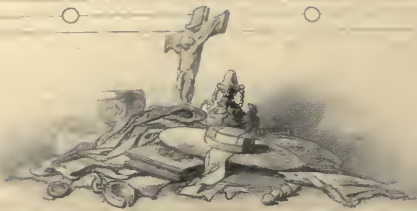
On the evening of Friday, the 28th of May, the conspirators proceeded quietly to St. Andrew's; and though forming Cardinal Beaton, in all but a small band, they 29th of May, 1544. travelled in three detachments, and at different hours. Kirkaldy of Grange was the first to enter the town. He was followed by Norman Lesley, who arrived in the evening, with only five followers. John Lesley, whose hatred of the Cardinal was well known, did not make his appearance at the rendezvous until after nightfall. The conspirators were only sixteen in number—a band strong enough, perhaps, to waylay and seize the Cardinal's person, on one of his short journeys, as had been at one time proposed, but apparently quite inadequate to surprise him in his own well fortified and carefully guarded castle. But stratagem made up for the want of force. Next morning at daybreak, the conspirators assembled in the churchyard of the cathedral, and, after completing their arrangements, broke up into small, detached groups, and approached the castle. For weeks the erection of the additional fortifications had been energetically carried on, the masons and other artisans labouring as long as daylight lasted, and resuming their operations at earliest dawn. The drawbridge had been lowered to admit the work-

* Keith says,—“I have seen a copy of the contract of marriage in the hands of David Beton, of Balfour. It is dated at St. Andrew's, the 10th of April, 1546, and subscribed by the Cardinal, who expressly calls the bride my daughter, with whom he gives 4,000 merks in dowry, a great sum at that time. The King of England gave but 1,000 merks with his niece to the Earl of Lennox.”—*Keith's History*, p. 42.

* “This enterprize was disclosed after his slaughter, partly by letters and memorialls found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by such as were of the councill.”—*Knox's History*, p. 72.

† Spottiswood's *History*, p. 82.

‡ Buchanan, book xv, chap. 40.



J. H. Armes



MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON

CARDINAL BEATON

from the Register of Holyrood Palace

men; and Kirkaldy of Grange, with six men, entered, and inquired if the Cardinal was yet awake. Whilst the porter was thus held in conversation, Norman Lesley, Melville, and their company, passed the gates without attracting notice; but, on perceiving John Lesley, who followed, the porter instantly suspected treason, and, rushing to the drawbridge, unloosed its fastening, and had nearly succeeded in raising it, when Lesley, by leaping across the gap, secured an entrance.* In a moment the porter was knocked down, robbed of the keys of the castle, and thrown into the moat, before he could give the alarm. With equal despatch and quietness, the separate groups of workmen on the ramparts were led to the gate and dismissed. Kirkaldy of Grange, who was familiar with all the passages and communications of the castle, immediately placed himself as guard at a private postern, through which alone the Cardinal could now escape, whilst the other conspirators went to the chambers occupied by the gentlemen forming the household of the prelate, awoke them, and, threatening them with instant death if they made any outcry, put them one by one out at the gate. In this manner the handful of conspirators expelled more than a hundred workmen and fifty domestics, and were complete masters of the castle. Their triumphant shouts awoke the Cardinal from his slumbers, and, putting on a night-gown, he hurried to the window, and inquired what the bustle meant. On learning that the castle had been taken by Norman Lesley, he rushed to the private postern; but, finding it guarded, he fled back to his bed-chamber, seized his 'two-handed sword,' and, with the help of his page, barred the door with chests and other heavy articles of furniture. John Lesley now approached the chamber and demanded admittance. 'Who calls?' said the Cardinal. 'My name is Lesley,' was the reply. 'Is that Norman?' farther inquired the unhappy prelate, probably hoping to awaken in Norman's breast the kindly and reverential feelings which the young baron had once cherished towards him. 'Nay,' said the conspirator, 'my name is John.' 'I will have Norman,' exclaimed Beaton, 'for he is my friend.' 'Content yourself,' returned Lesley, 'with such as are here, for other you shall have none.'

Norman appears to have stood aloof, probably from an unwillingness to take part in, or to witness the murder of, a defenceless priest, with whom he had formerly been united in the closest alliance.†

* This is the order of entrance given by Knox and the old historians. It was in keeping with the sagacity with which the plot was laid and executed, that the least suspected of the conspirators should first enter the castle. Mr. Tytler (vol. v. p. 353) makes Norman Lesley the first to pass the gates. There is no authority for this change.

† A dagger, said by family tradition to have been worn by Norman Lesley on this occasion, is preserved at Leslie House. The sheath is of silver, richly chased, and the handle of ivory, studded with star-like silver nails. The blade is somewhat raised in the centre, and is altogether a deadly looking weapon. Though Norman did not actively assist in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, it is possible that, when the deed was done, he may have struck his dagger into

Two of the band—James Melville and Peter Carmichael—united with John Lesley in attempting to force open the door, which, being massive and strong, resisted all their efforts. Beaton, after concealing a box of gold under a heap of coats which lay in a corner of the room,* began to beg hard for a promise that his life should be spared. 'Will ye save my life?' asked he. 'It may be that we will,' was the equivocal reply of Lesley. 'Nay,' returned the unsatisfied Cardinal, 'swear unto me by God's wounds, and I will open the door unto you.' 'It that was said is unsaid,' exclaimed John Lesley, infuriated at the delay, and withdrawing even the very ambiguous pledge which he had just given. He then called for fire to be brought and applied to the door, when it was unlocked by the Cardinal, who perceived that admittance could no longer be denied. John Lesley, with Carmichael and Melville, rushed in, and Beaton sat down on a chair crying out, 'I am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me!' His priesthood, however, afforded no protection from the assault of his implacable enemies. It was associated in their minds with the harshest intolerance and the most cruel persecution, and especially with that 'burnt-offering' which, but two months previously, had been seen smoking within a few yards of the spot where they then stood. Disregarding his entreaties for mercy, Lesley and Carmichael repeatedly struck at him; but Melville, whom Knox describes as a man 'of a nature most gentle and most modest,'† rebuked them for their violence and impetuosity, and drew them back from the wounded prelate, whose life he wished to take with sacrificial solemnity. 'This work and judgment of God,' said he, 'although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity;' and presenting the point of his sword to the wounded prelate, with judicial sternness thus addressed him:—'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which, albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou

the corpse, to identify himself with the other conspirators, and take a full share of their responsibility. Norman Lesley subsequently distinguished himself in the French service against the Emperor, and his gallant bearing in an engagement fought near Cambray, in 1554, is thus described by Melville, a contemporary:—"With thirty companies he rode up the hill on a fair, grey gelding. He had shone his coat of black velvet his coat of armour, with two broad white crosses, the one before and the other behind, with sleeves of mail. He charged sixty of the enemy's bowmen armed with culverins, followed by only seven of his own. He struck five from their horses with his spear before it broke, then drew his sword and ran in among them, not regarding their continual shooting, to the admiration of all beholders. He slew several of them, and at length, when he saw a company of spearmen coming up against him, he rode up to the Constable of France, whom his horse had died of his wounds, and he himself, being shot in divers places, was carried to the king's own tent, and died in fifteen days after."

* Knox, p. 73.

† *Ibid.* p. 73.

couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy Evangel.* Having thus spoken, he passed his sword twice or thrice through the body of the Cardinal, who fell down and expired, exclaiming, 'I am a priest, I am a priest; fie, fie, all is gone!'—words as prophetic of the downfall of the Romish Church as if they had come from the lips of saint or martyr.

Meanwhile, the workmen and domestics, who Alarm of the townsmen. had been expelled from the castle, were raising an alarm in the town.

The inhabitants, startled out of their slumbers by the ringing of the common bell and the unusual shouts in the streets, rushed out of their houses, and were appalled by the news that the castle was taken. The prosperity of St. Andrew's was closely connected with its ecclesiastical superiority, and the princely magnificence of the primate's expenditure had, no doubt, rendered him popular with the inhabitants of the city.† On hearing of the capture of the castle, several hundreds of the townspeople, headed by the provost, hurried to the side of the moat, crying out, 'What have ye done with my Lord Cardinal?' 'Let us see my Lord Cardinal.' Some insisted on scaling-ladders being brought that an entrance might be forced. The conspirators, appearing at the windows and battlements, advised them to disperse immediately and quietly, for 'he, whom they called the Cardinal, had received his reward, and, in his own person, would trouble the world no more.'‡ But the

The Cardinal's corpse shown to the mob. townsmen cried out the more angrily, 'We shall never depart till that we see him.' Norman

Lesley then taunted them bitterly as 'unreasonable fools,' who wished to speak with a dead man; and, dragging the Cardinal's bleeding body to a window, hung it by a sheet over the wall. 'There,' said he, 'is your god; and, now that ye are satisfied, get you home to your houses!'—a command which was instantly obeyed by the terror-stricken multitude.§

Knox adds, "Now, because the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard), and his funeral could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best to keep him from stinking, to give him great salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the sea-tower (a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before), to await what exequies his brethren the bishops would prepare for him."||

* Knox, p. 73; Lesley, p. 191.

† At this time, the town of St. Andrew's afforded employment to sixty or seventy bakers and as many brewers. At the Senzie fair, which was held annually within the Priory and lasted fifteen days, the harbour was filled with from two to three hundred vessels from Flanders, Holland, France, and other continental countries.

‡ Knox, p. 73.

§ Spottiswood's History, p. 83.

|| Knox, p. 73. The "bottom of the sea-tower" is now what is called "the bottle dungeon," from its peculiar construction. "The keep, or dungeon, is at the north-west corner of the quadrangle of the castle, and is approached by

Thus perished Cardinal David Beaton in the fifty-second year of his age, while at the height of his vast power and in the full vigour of his great abilities. At no previous period of his career had he been so formidable, though, even if his assassination is not to be regarded as a proof that his recent accession of power involved danger to himself, it may be conjectured that his increasing oppression would ere long have been felt to be intolerable, and that many hostile weapons, grasped by men sorely wearied with the burden of his tyranny, and, indeed, driven to madness by his cruelties, would have stopped his persecuting course, and dealt out the vengeance which Lesley's dagger anticipated. It may be doubted whether the complete ascendancy which he had recently gained, and which he was certain to have used despotically against the obnoxious nobles and the whole body of Reformers, could have lasted more than a few months, in the event of his having escaped the conspiracy to which he fell a victim. Had the first attempt against his life failed, many others would have been made to rid the country of his insatiable cruelty towards all who dared to thwart his schemes or to think for themselves in matters of religion.

That the deed which gave deliverance to Scotland must be stigmatized as murder no one can doubt; at the same time, in passing sentence of condemnation on the murderers, we must not forget the situation in which they were placed. Some at least of their number had not only grievous wrongs to redress, but precautions to take for the protection of their lives; and it is certain that the law, which was entirely under Beaton's management and control, would have given them no satisfaction for the past, and no assurance of safety for the future; and that, at any moment, their unscrupulous adversary could pervert that law for their destruction. They and the Reformers (who appear, however, as a body, to have had no knowledge of, or share in, the deed which was the means of delivering them,) felt that he was an enemy who would hesitate at no means to destroy them, and that they and he instead of being like rival parties in the same country, who could appeal for adjudication to an impartial authority, were like two hostile nations, which must not only settle their quarrel by force of arms, but be each ready, in self-defence, to anticipate the movements of the other. The sixteen conspirators did to Beaton just what he would have done to them under cover of law. It is not wonderful, then, that the Scottish Reformers, though not implicated in the conspiracy, should

two very narrow entries. The apartment is thirteen feet in diameter, and is surmounted by an arched dome, while there descends from the centre, cut out of solid rock, a dark and dismal chasm, to the depth of twenty-seven feet, seven feet in diameter at top, and gradually expanding to the diameter of seventeen feet at bottom."—*Roger's History of St. Andrew's*, p. 92. After the surrender of the castle, the Cardinal's body was privately interred in the convent of the Blackfriars, St. Andrew's. In all probability, it lies in what is now the playground of the Madras School, a few yards to the west of the ruined chapel of the convent.

have gladly hailed its successful result. A bloody persecutor had been taken away, and that at a time when his enmity was becoming every day more inveterate, and its indulgence more easy. It was natural for men who lived in almost hourly dread of his machinations to feel relieved on hearing the news of his death, and not to investigate very minutely the morality of the conspiracy by which he had fallen. It has been justly said, that when he who uses the sword to maintain his opinions perishes by the sword, there is certainly no great occasion for sorrow or regret among good men. The sentiments of the great majority of the Scottish people, in regard to the murder of the Cardinal, were probably in unison with those expressed by Sir David Lindsay:—

“As for the Cardinal, I grant,
He was the man we weel could want,
And we'll forget him soon!
And yet I think the sooth to say,
Although the loon is weel away,
The deed was foully done.”

As might have been expected, the murder of Consternation of Beaton produced the greatest consternation among the clergy and the faction which favoured an alliance with France. Its consequences, rather than its character, occupied their attention; and the removal of the man, on whose energy and skill they rested all their hopes of maintaining both the ancient faith and the ancient leagues, filled them with indescribable alarm. They felt that a terrible crisis had been brought about by this untoward event; and, engrossed with its probable results, and with the measures which ought to be adopted for their own protection and the security of the church, they left to modern sentimentalists the duty of lamenting the cruel fate of the Cardinal, and denouncing his murderers.

The Queen-dowager had, for many months back, been personally estranged from the Regent and the Queen-dowager. Beaton, through his successful exertions to oppose her claims on the regency of the kingdom; but his death was such a blow to the interests of their common party, that she was ready to sanction and encourage active proceedings against the conspirators. The Regent, though, perhaps, not greatly displeased at being freed from an imperious dictation which, if it spared him the trouble of thinking and deciding for himself on national affairs, must have subjected him to considerable mortification, knew that decency required him to express his horror at the deed of assassination, whilst the fact that his youthful son and heir was in the castle of St. Andrew's and at the mercy of Norman Lesley and his associates, furnished him with a powerful motive to take prompt and vigorous steps for the reduction of the fortress.

There seems, indeed, to have been such moderation in the policy both of the Convention of the nobility and Regent and the Queen-dowager, at the clergy, 10th of June. This time, for the promotion of public order and quiet, that the representatives of the various parties in the State were strongly disposed towards a reconciliation.

The absence of Beaton's violent spirit had already produced a salutary effect. A convention of the lords, spiritual and temporal, was held at Stirling on the 10th of June, and was numerously attended by the leaders of the long-contending factions. There were present, the Bishops of Orkney and Galloway; the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, Glencairn, and Sutherland; the Commandator of Kelso, the Abbots of Melrose, Paisley, Dunfermline, Cupar, Crossregal, Dryburgh, and Culross, with the Lords Fleming, Ruthven, Maxwell, Somerville, Hay of Yester, Innermeith, Elphinstoun, Livingston, Erskine, Sir George Douglas, and Sir William Hamilton. Concessions were made by both parties for the purpose of promoting unanimity. On the one hand, to conciliate the Douglasses and those barons who had been in favour of the English alliance, Regent Arran renounced the contract of marriage between the young queen and his son, to which he had been advised by the late Cardinal, and annulled the 'bands,' or feudal engagements, by which many of the barons were pledged to see that contract carried into effect, whilst the written obligations, under which other nobles had come to the Queen-dowager, to oppose such a marriage, were cancelled.* On the other hand, the Earl of Angus, Lord Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas professed their cordial approval of the late act of the Scottish parliament, which had dissolved the treaty of peace with England; declared their opposition to any proposal of marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen of Scots; and solemnly repudiated for ever all the promises of loyalty and service which they had made to Henry VIII. At the same convention the office of chancellor, formerly held by Beaton, was conferred upon the Earl of Huntly.† The Lords Erskine and Livingston were confirmed in their charge of the person of the infant queen; Lord Maxwell was appointed warden of the west marches, and his strong castle of Lochmaben was once more restored to him. Twenty lords were nominated, four of whom in succession were to remain for a month at a time with the Regent, and form his secret council. To conciliate Angus and those who had hitherto acted with him, and to mark the confidence reposed in them, it was arranged that there should always be one of the party in this important council.‡ A clause in the treaty of peace which had lately been concluded between England and France, stipulated that Scotland might, if she chose, be comprehended in its provisions, and it was determined by the convention, that the 'comprehension should be accepted without prejudice to the queen, her realm, and its liberties.' A mild and apologetic reply was also

* MS. Book of the Privy Council, fol. xxx. p. 2. *Trust*, vol. vi. p. 4.

† Book of Privy Council, fol. xxviii. p. 2.

‡ This will be apparent from the selection for such month. "It is devised," records the Book of the Privy Council, "and ordained by the queen's grace, my lord governor, and hail lords convened in this convention, that certain lords remain with my lord governor, and be of secret

directed to be prepared and sent to Henry VIII., who had made complaints of certain depredations committed upon his merchantmen by Scottish privateers.*

At the same time, a summons of treason was issued against the persons concerned in the assassination of Beaton, ordering them to appear before a parliament to be held at Edinburgh on the 30th of July;† and a proclamation was made prohibiting all persons, under the penalty of death or confiscation, from corresponding with the assassins, or furnishing them with provisions and implements of war.

Meanwhile, Norman Lesley and his associates had concluded that the castle of St. Andrew's, of which they still held possession, was likely to be by far the most secure refuge which they could find against the vengeance of the Government, and they determined to remain within its walls. It was strongly fortified, and well stored with ammunition and provisions to sustain a protracted siege. It also afforded, by sea, an easy communication with England, so that the English fleet might at any time furnish the garrison with supplies. They were joined by no fewer than a hundred and forty persons, some of whom approved of the Cardinal's murder, whilst others, dreading that a period of even fiercer persecution against the Reformers was about to commence,

council with him, and they to remain monthly with him, and that to the number of four. The 1st month to begin this day, the 10th of June.

THE 1ST MONTH.

10th June to 10th of July.

Robert bishop of Orkney.
George earl of Huntley.
William lord Ruthven.
Sir George Douglas, of Pet-
tendreich, knight.

2ND MONTH.

Gavin arch. of Glasgow.
Arch. earl of Angus.
Hew lord Somerville.
George abbot of Dunferm-
line.

When five months had expired, the same councillors were to resume their duties in the same order."

* Book of the Privy Council, fol. xxxviii. p. 1., fol. xl. p. 2.
† "The persons contained in the summons were these: viz., Normane Leslie, Fear of Rothes, Petir Carmichael of Balmadie, James Kirkealdie of the Grange, William Kirkealdie, his eldest son, David Kirkealdie, his brother, Jhonne Kirkealdie, Patrick Kirkealdie, George Kirkealdie, brother to the said James Kirkealdie, of the Grange, Thomas Kirkealdie, his son, Jhonne Leslie of Parkhill, Alexander Inglis, James Malvil (elder), Jhonne Malvil, bastard son to the Lord of Raith, Alexander Malville, David Carmichael, Gilbert Gddies Zoumger, Robert Muncierf, brother to the Lord of Tilbermello, William Symson, Alexander Anderson, David Balfour, son to the Lord of Monquahny, Thomas Conyngam, Nicholl Hart, William Guthrie, Jhonne Sibald, brother to the Lord of Cuikstown, Petir Carmichael, Walter Malvil Zoumger, Sir John Auchinleck, chaplaine, Nicholl Lermouth, Sir Jhonne Zoung, chaplaine, David Kirkealdie, ouik, Ninian Cockburn, Jhonne Poll, guunar, William Crook, Jhonne Rollock, and Andro Tanzou."—*Keith's History*, p. 60.

entered the castle for shelter from the coming storm. Amongst these were the Laird of Grange, Henry Balnaves, a senator of the College of Justice, Henry Primrose, the Laird of Pitmillie, Sir John Auchinleck, the Barons of Ormiston and Lang-Niddry, and various other persons of considerable note, who were soon after joined by the celebrated Reformer, John Knox. A powerful, though irregular, garrison was thus at the command of the conspirators, who were well able, out of the deceased Cardinal's chests of plate and money, to reward the bravery and skill which might be shown in the defence of the fortress.

A period of more than six weeks was spent by the Government in complete inaction, probably in the vain hope that the conspirators would comply with the summons, and surrender themselves for trial on the day named by the Privy Council. On the 29th of July a Parliament was held, in which they were declared guilty of high treason, though the summons was prolonged, first, until the 4th, and, afterwards, until the 14th day of the following month.* Norman Lesley, Peter Carmichael, James Kirkaldy, and John Lesley, had, with the view of obtaining delay, offered to make a full confession regarding the murder of the Cardinal, and to deliver up both the Regent's son and the castle of St. Andrew's, on condition of receiving a pardon duly ratified and attested by the Great Seal. To this the Regent and the majority of the three estates were willing to assent; but the Archbishop of Glasgow protested against granting any remission, unless it were preceded and sanctioned by an absolution from the Pope. The proposal, however, was agreed to, with a modification introduced by the Chancellor—that the pardon should be held null and void if the promises made by the conspirators were not fulfilled.† Both parties suspected each other of a want of honesty in the agreement; and Lesley and his associates delayed their surrender.

When Parliament assembled on the 14th of August, the pardon was ordered to be cancelled, and all the minutes relative to the proposal, if inserted in the Books of Parliament, to be "reven and tane furth thairroff (torn and taken out) swa that na memoir be of the samyn in time to cum."‡ On the same day an Act was passed, by which the Regent's eldest son, who was heir-presumptive to the crown, was excluded from all right of succession so long as he was detained a prisoner, and his younger brother was appointed in his place. At this meeting of the estates, on the summons against the conspirators being called, and none of them appearing, they were formally declared guilty of treason, and sentence of forfeiture was passed against them.§

* Keith's History, p. 51.

† Ibid. p. 61.

‡ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 474.

§ The sentence against Norman Lesley was delayed for two days, it being expected that he would either comply with the summons or fulfil his former promises. It was, however, pronounced on the 16th of the same month.—*Keith's History*, p. 51.

On the 21st of August, the Privy Council issued an order that 'all fencible men, of whatsoever rank, within the sheriffdoms of Lothian, Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Strathearn, and Monteith,' should appear at St. Andrew's, on the 29th of the same month, to begin the siege of the castle. * The Regent went in person to conduct the operations. In that age, however, the Scots were very imperfectly acquainted with the art of besieging fortified places, and the forces under Arran failed to make any impression on the walls of the castle. The besieged had lost no time in opening communications with Henry VIII. Kirkaldy of Grange, Balnaves, and John Lesley, who had been sent as envoys to that monarch, returned, with an assurance of his prompt and powerful assistance, on condition that they would pledge themselves to retain the Regent's son in their custody, and to promote the treaty of marriage between their young queen and Prince Edward.† The difficulty felt by these messengers in disembarking at the castle, on their return, led to the construction of an iron gate and a secure passage to the sea, 'which,' says Knox, 'greatly relieved the besieged, and abated the besiegers, who then saw that they could not stop them of victuals, unless that they should be masters of the sea, and that they clearly understood they could not be.‡'

The siege had lasted several months without any perceptible progress in the reduction of the fortress. Panter, secretary to the Queen-dowager, was sent to France to procure assistance, and remonstrances were addressed to England, against granting any succour or countenance to the Castilians, as the conspirators were now called. The assistance promised by the English monarch, and the conditions which he required, were known to the Regent and the Privy Council, and excited great alarm lest the castle and the Regent's son should be delivered up to the English. Thinking that a temporary truce might lead to a discontinuance of such dangerous communications with Henry, and expecting that, ere long, aid would arrive from France for the reduction of the castle, the Council, on the 17th of December, passed an Act empowering the Regent to conclude an armistice. The besieged readily accepted the proposal, for reasons which were at the time unknown to the Regent. Their principal defences had been greatly injured by his artillery; and sickness and scarcity of provisions were also beginning to affect the garrison.§ Had Arran been aware of the feeble and half-famished condition of the garrison, he might easily have made himself master of the place; but, ignorant of the straits to which they were reduced, he consented to a truce which afforded them an opportunity of recruiting

their exhausted strength, and re-victualling the castle. They agreed to deliver up the fortress on the following conditions:—First, That the terms of the armistice. That the Government should procure a 'sufficient absolution' from the Pope for the slaughter of the Cardinal, and that they should not be 'pursued by force until the said absolution be obtained.' Secondly, That neither the besieged nor any individuals connected with them, should ever be prosecuted at law for the 'slaughter aforesaid;' and thirdly, That they should give pledges to surrender the castle whenever the absolution arrived; and that, 'for surety of those pledges, they should, in the meantime, retain the Regent's son and heir in their custody.' It is probable that neither of the contracting parties meant to keep this treaty, but that the real design of both was to gain time for the arrival of help from their respective friends in England and France. At the moment that the terms were agreed to, the conspirators despatched a messenger to Henry VIII., informing him of the armistice, and assuring him that their only object was to gain time to procure a supply of provisions. They disavowed all intentions of fulfilling any other engagements than those which they had entered into with himself. And, further, they requested Henry to write to the Emperor, and procure his intercession with the Pope 'for the stopping and hindering of their absolution,' that they might thus have longer time to carry out their designs.*

The conduct of the Regent was not less artful. As already mentioned, Panter had been sent to the French court as ambassador, to urge the fulfilment of the ancient treaties of alliance between the two kingdoms; to induce France to declare war against England; if Henry VIII. should refuse to maintain peace with Scotland; and to obtain a supply of money, ammunition, artillery, and the help of some engineers, experienced in the attack and defence of fortified places, and intimately acquainted with 'the ordering of battles.†' Knox also states that a plot was formed for the betrayal of the castle, by surprising some of the leading conspirators, 'in which design,' says he, 'was the Abbot of Dunfermline principal, and for that purpose had the Laird of Montquhary (who was most familiar with those of the castle) laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded so in the traffique, that from entering in daylight, at his pleasure, he got licence to come in, in the night, whenever it pleased him.‡'

The Regent, having disbanded his forces, returned to Edinburgh, to be present at a Parliament which had been summoned to meet in February, and to wait for the arrival, not of the Pope's absolution for the conspirators, but of French auxiliaries to assist in bringing them to condign punishment. His anxiety for the general security of the kingdom, and his

* Armistice agreed on by the Privy Council, 17th of December.

† The 17th of December, passed an Act empowering the Regent to conclude an armistice. The besieged

readily accepted the proposal, for reasons which were at the time unknown to the Regent. Their principal defences had been greatly injured by his artillery; and sickness and scarcity of provisions were also beginning to affect the garrison.§ Had Arran been aware of the feeble and half-famished condition of the garrison, he might easily have made himself master of the place; but, ignorant of the straits to which they were reduced, he consented to a truce which afforded them an opportunity of recruiting

* "On the 23rd day thereof the souldiers departed from Edinburgh."—Knox, p. 74.

† Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 82; Knox, p. 74.

‡ Knox, p. 74.

§ MS. State Paper Office. Report of the proceedings relative to the castle of St. Andrew's. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 7.

* MS. State Paper Office. Report of the proceedings relative to the castle of St. Andrew's. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 8. † MS. Book of the Privy Council, vol. ii. p. 2, folio 1. p. 1. ‡ Knox, p. 75.

fears of English intrigues and encroachments, were increased, rather than abated, by the death of Henry VIII., which took place on the 28th of January, 1546-7; for Henry's successor, Edward the Sixth, being only in his tenth year, his uncle the Earl of Hertford, Scotland's remorseless enemy who had been created Duke of Somerset, was appointed to the protectorate of England. The deceased monarch had, on his death-bed, enjoined a resolute continuance of the war, until the Scots should be compelled to accept of the treaties of peace and marriage which he had so earnestly prosecuted by force and craft for four years; and the schemes and passions of Somerset had been too much engrossed with the execution of Henry's policy to require any stimulus to follow it out with fresh energy in the new reign. Accordingly, one of the first acts of his government denoted the resumption of the oft-baffled enterprise, and of the old policy for carrying it into effect. On the 6th of February, he—as Protector of England and guardian of the young king—granted an interview to Balnaves, who had been sent by the Castilians to the English court, and confirmed the annuities promised to the conspirators by the late monarch. He also gave a favourable answer to the proposal that the garrison of St. Andrew's should be strengthened by troops raised and maintained at the expense of the English Government; whilst, with the view of facilitating communications with the Castilians, he retained at court John Lesley, one of the principal assassins. Balnaves was despatched home, with urgent orders to use every endeavour to seduce the Scottish barons from their allegiance to the government.*

Whilst Scottish affairs thus remained unaffected by the decease of Henry VIII., and the prospect of hostilities with England was unaltered, the death of another monarch, with whom Scotland was closely connected, took place at the interval of only a few weeks; but neither did this occasion any material change. Francis the First died on the 30th of March; and his friendly policy towards Scotland was continued by his son and successor, Henry the Second, who was ready to send all necessary help from France to the party of the Regent and the Queen-dowager.† Thus, the change of monarchs produced no change of policy on either side; for, if the enmity of England was to be continued, so was the friendship of France. As soon as the ceremony of his coronation was over, the new French king sent M. D'Ossell, who had formerly been on confidential terms with Mary of Guise, as ambassador to

the Scottish court, with instructions to confirm the ancient leagues between the two countries, and with assurances of liberal assistance against the murderers of the Cardinal and the designs of England.*

The preparations of the Regent for the defence of the kingdom were prompt and energetic. He induced his council, which met on the 19th of March,

to issue a proclamation, summoning 'all the lieges to be in readiness, on forty days' warning, to come with victuals for one month, to whatever place shall be assigned for the rendezvous.† On the 25th of May, he published an order that 'fires should be lighted as beacons on all the high hills from the coast towards Stirling,' where the court was, 'how soon any fleet from England should appear; and if the fleet happened first to be seen in the day-time, that post-horses should be in readiness for advertising the Governor; and that all fencible men between sixty and sixteen be charged at the market-crosses of the towns of Dunbar, North Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Lauder, Selkirk, and Peebles, to repair to the city of Edinburgh,' fully equipped for war, at the first notice of the English ships, to assist the Governor in the defence of the realm, who, on his part, declares that he will 'wair his life thairupon, with the help of God, the noblemen, and subjects of the same.‡ Arran also strengthened the border defences; and, for the purpose of training the whole population to military exercises, he revived those armed musters called 'weapon schawings,' which had of late become nearly obsolete. To compensate for the want of a national fleet, he gave every encouragement to the equipment of privateers and armed merchantmen. Nor was he less sedulously engaged in seeking to extinguish feuds and quarrels between the leading barons, and to attach the nobility to himself and his government. In these various efforts he had the cordial and energetic co-operation of the Queen-dowager, whose favour for him and his policy had greatly increased ever since the murder of the Cardinal. In this crisis the Regent had thrown off his constitutional indolence, and, as is generally the case with men who are industrious and energetic in their habits, he found time for recreation as well as for business; and, while ordering and superintending the national defences, he did not fail to accompany Mary of Guise in hawking and hunting expeditions. §

* Lesley, Bannatyne edition, p. 193. 31st March, 1547.

† Keith, p. 52.

‡ Ibid. p. 52.

* MS. Privy Council Records of Edward VI., p. 9. Transcript by Gregory King, Lancaster herald. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 11.

† Henry, in a letter, assures the Queen-dowager, "that no one can be better satisfied than he is of the goodwill she has for his service, and that, knowing full well the great need she has of his assistance, he will instantly attend to her affairs, and take care that succours shall be sent very soon, as the expedition, he hopes, will be ready to sail by the middle of April." (Balnaces MSS. Advocates' Library.) —Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 80.

§ There is an entry in the Royal Comptus for the expenses of 'removing the falcons and horses from Edinburgh to Peebles, on the 13th of June, the time of my Lord Governor and the Queen's Grace passing to hunting.' (Treasury Records in the Register Office, Edinburgh. Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 90.) On the previous month (May, 1547), a guerdon is recorded to have been given by the Regent to 'certain minstrels of the town of Dumbarton, and their Robin Hood,'—a popular hero imported, Miss Strickland suggests, by the English Queen Consorts from merry England. On the 13th of May, the day of Arran's return to Edinburgh, the Robin Hood of that city was also rewarded.—*Treasury Records*

Widely different were the occupations and amusements of the motley band which held possession of the castle of St. Andrew's. There were amongst them a few pious and zealous Reformers; but the greater part of the garrison seem to have given themselves up to all kinds of licentiousness; and so revolting were their excesses that Rough, the eminent preacher, who, on account of his zeal for the Reformation, had been dismissed from the situation of chaplain to the Regent, and, on the murder of Cardinal Beaton, had sought refuge among the conspirators, was compelled to quit the castle in disgust, and to take up his residence in the town.*

In the midst of these scenes, an event occurred which was destined to exercise a most momentous influence on the future history of Scotland. In the month of April, the famous John Knox, accompanied by his two pupils—the sons of the barons of Ormiston and Lang-Niddry—sought admittance into the castle. He was then in the forty-first year of his age, and known only to a very small circle for his learning and his attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation. The quiet and retired manner of his life, until he had reached middle age, must have confirmed the naturally strong individuality of his character, its stern and inflexible resolution, and its undeviating rectitude. A long and earnest study of the sacred Scriptures had rendered him not more antagonistic to the Romish Church than intolerant of a slight or partial reformation. He was for a 'root and branch work,' and that not by means of insidious intrigue, but by open and vehement attack. Divine principle, and not human, much less court policy, had been his study, and was henceforth to be vividly embodied in his life. He had, for some time back, been marked out by the popish clergy as a future victim, and had formed the design of escaping to Germany, but was dissuaded from the attempt by the parents of his pupils, who urged him to take shelter in the castle of St. Andrew's, where he might continue to give instructions to their sons. The lateness of his entrance upon public life, and the circumstances in which it took place, go far to explain the stern gravity that marked, more or less, all his subsequent appearances. His singular qualifications for preaching the Gospel, and for maintaining a controversy with the clergy of St. Andrew's, were soon apparent to the few Reformers in the castle, who urged upon him to assume the sacred office, to which, after a long and distracting mental conflict, he assented. In the castle chapel and in the town church he attracted large and eager audiences. His public disputations with some of the friars converted a great number of the inhabitants to Protestant views. His denunciations, however, of the shameful excesses in which the garrison indulged, were without effect. Knox has been sneered at by several

historians,* for 'lifting his awful voice,' and 'commencing his predicating labours,' as minister of 'this hopeful congregation.' It is enough to reply that it was a proof of his courage and of the thorough honesty of his character. And it cannot be doubted that the reviling would have been far more copious and just if he had suffered the wickedness of the garrison to pass unnoticed and unrebuked. When, afterwards, his stern reproof drew tears from the eyes of a beautiful woman, and that woman his sovereign, the fact that he had spared the licentious Castilians, and not directed, against their debaucheries and impieties, his most vehement condemnations and solemn warnings, would have been perpetually adduced as a proof of unfaithfulness or insincerity. It is certain that, at this time, when the scope of his activities was necessarily limited, and he was under strong temptation to moderate the vehemence of his rebukes, his eloquence had a fiery energy, which he never afterwards surpassed, and was brought to bear, day after day, with unsparing severity, upon the abominations practised by those to whom he was indebted for protection against his enemies.

In the beginning of the month of June, the absolution from the Court of Rome reached the Regent, who now called upon the Castilians to fulfil their stipulations. But they alleged that the Papal pardon was insufficient, because it contained these words: 'We pardon this unpardonable crime; 'for,' said they, 'if our crime be unpardonable, then we have no security by this absolution, since it is in itself null, if the crime committed by us cannot be pardoned.' They were told that the clause had been inserted only to aggravate the character of the crime, and neither to put it beyond the Pope's prerogative of forgiveness, nor to weaken the validity of the actual absolution which he had granted. Still, the besieged professed to be dissatisfied, and to dread circumvention, and, complaining that the promises made to them had not been kept, they resolved to retain possession of the castle, and to defend it to the last extremity, in the hope of receiving speedy assistance from England.

In the midst of these internal troubles and distractions, an incident occurred which led to a renewal of the irregular war with England. A Scottish privateer, named the 'Lion,' had been seized by an English vessel; and the Queen-dowager's remonstrances against the act were met by the allegation that it had been committed in self-defence.† This outrage was followed almost immediately by the incursion across the western borders of five thousand English, who ravaged the country, captured the Laird of Johnston and several of his kinsmen, and took possession

The arrival of the absolution, and its rejection by the conspirators, June, 1547.

Seizure of a Scottish vessel by the English, and the removal of her crew.

* Mr. Tytler and Miss Strickland among the rest.

† Keith, p. 52.

‡ Carte, vol. iii. p. 205. MS. Letter State Paper Office, Queen-dowager to the Protector. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 12.

of many of the strongholds upon the marches. Regent Arran might not have regarded this

The Regent meets aggression as a declaration of war the aggression. on the part of the English Government, but Maxwell and other border barons, on whom the brunt of the predatory expedition had fallen, repaired to Edinburgh, and, by urgent representations that their estates had been laid waste, the important fortresses occupied by English garrisons, and the cultivators of the land driven from their dwellings, and reduced to the alternative of beggary or a change of allegiance, they succeeded in rousing Arran to lead his army to the borders, for the purpose of avenging this aggression. He attacked and captured the castle of Langhope, which he razed to the ground. But, before he

could follow up this success, the Regent was suddenly recalled by the welcome news that the expected fleet from France had arrived, and that his presence and co-operation were required at St. Andrew's for the bombardment of the castle.* On reaching the scene of action, he found a squadron of sixteen galleys, † commanded by Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua, and a knight of Rhodes, of great military skill and reputation, who, without waiting for Arran and the Scottish land-forces, had commenced an assault upon the outworks towards the sea. The castle was, however, almost impregnable in this quarter; and though Strozzi directed against it the fire of his fleet for several days, yet the fortifications sustained no damage, and the besieged no loss; whilst many of his rowers had been shot by the garrison, and one vessel, approaching too near, had been disabled, and, but for timely succour, would have been sunk. ‡ As soon as the Regent arrived, preparations for an assault by land were vigorously made. Pieces of heavy artillery were landed, raised by engines, and planted on the steeples of the cathedral and St. Salvator's College, which commanded the inner court of the castle. Large battering mortars were also placed in the street to play against the gates and walls, whilst trenches were cast up, from which musketry might bear upon the defenders who ventured to appear on the battlements. With such celerity was the fortress beleaguered and all communication cut off, that, according to Buchanan, 'a number of the garrison were shut out, and a number who had not engaged in the conspiracy, but were in the castle, were shut in.' § On the 23rd of July, the Siege vigorously cannon of the besiegers began to resumed on the play upon the fortress. Mean- 23rd of July. while, the besieged, though closely environed, and so completely overlooked by the artillerymen mounted on the steeples of the college

and the abbey that it was dangerous to appear in any even of the recesses of the court yard, and though suffering severely from a very deadly kind of plague,* were as arrogant and infatuated as ever. John Knox's prophetic voice in vain seconded the roar of the assailing ordnance. "When they triumphed of their victory (the first twenty days they had many prosperous chances) he lamented and ever said—They saw not what he saw: when they bragged of the force and thickness of their walls, he said they should be but egge-shells. When they vaunted, England will rescue us, he said, ye shall not see them, but ye shall be delivered into your enemies' hands, and shall be carried into a strange cuntry." † The predictions of the Reformer were soon verified. During the night of the 29th of July, Strozzi completed his plans and dispositions for carrying the castle. A battery, mounted with thirteen large cannons, 'whereof,' says Knox, 'four were cannons royall, called double cannons,' had been erected, and at four o'clock in the morning (Saturday, 30th July), a storm of heavy shot began to beat upon all parts of the fortress. In the course of six hours, the strongest of the battlements, new and old, had fallen, and wide breaches were made in the walls. The garrison could no longer hold out, and William Kirkaldy of Grange was sent with a flag of truce to agree upon terms of surrender, not with the Regent ('because they would not acknowledge any lawful magistrate within the kingdom, being a native'), ‡ but with Strozzi, the Italian commander. At this moment a fearful tempest burst forth, which even drove the French gunners from the battery: and some of the Castilians suggested that a sally should be attempted, with the hope of seizing upon the deserted ordnance of the besiegers, or at least of making their escape.§ But the proposal was abandoned, and the surrender of the castle took place. Authorities differ respecting the stipulations; some affirming that Strozzi The surrender of engaged for the safety of the be- the castle 30th sieged, their conveyance to France, July, 1547. their freedom if they should assent to the conditions which might be proposed to them by the French King, and, in the event of their declining to enter the French service, for their removal to any country they might choose, except Scotland. Others contend that Strozzi would listen only to an unconditional surrender, and reserved their lives as well as their liberties for the will of the French monarch. || Regent Arran had his son safely restored to him; but the rest of the inmates

* Knox, p. 85.

† Ibid. p. 85.

‡ Keith's Kistory, p. 53.

§ Knox, p. 85.

|| Knox and Buchanan mention distinctly the conditions to which Strozzi assented, and which he subsequently broke. But Lesley (p. 194) and Anderson (MS. History, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95) affirm that the surrender was unconditional. Anderson says, 'At length he [Strozzi] was content to pardon them their lives, if the king of France should think it good, else to stand to his pleasure.' Knox, however, must have had the best means of knowing what, or if any, terms were agreed on; and there was nothing in his character to detract from the value of his testimony.

* Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 43, 44. MS. Records of Privy Seal, July 24, 1547. Letter to George, Earl of Huntly, of the Gift of the Gudia of George Earl of Caithness. The army was summoned to assemble at Peebles, 10th July, 1547. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 13.

† Knox says twenty-one.

‡ Ibid. p. 84.

§ Buchanan, book xv. chap. 45.

of the fortress were conveyed on board the fleet as prisoners. A large portion of the booty found in the castle, and which amounted in all to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, had been the personal property of the Cardinal, and consisted of plate, copes, vestments, and jewels. The valuables of many of the Fife barons, who held reforming doctrines, had also, in the course of the fourteen months that the fortress had been occupied by the conspirators, been conveyed thither as to a place of safety; and these along with the plunder which the garrison had accumulated, became the prize of the captors. The castle itself was demolished, as some allege, in obedience to an injunction of the canon law, which ordains that any house in which the blood of a Cardinal has been shed shall be laid in ruins; but others are of opinion that the fortress was dismantled to prevent it from falling into the hands of

The garrison carried the English. The prisoners were tried to France. conveyed to France, where some of them were consigned to various dungeons in Brittany, while others, including John Knox himself, were kept in chains on board the galleys, and treated with great indignity and cruelty.*

The English Protector, Somerset, had been for some time past busily engaged in collecting an army for the invasion of Scotland, and, on the 27th of

August, he reached Newcastle at the head of fourteen thousand two hundred men, of which four thousand were men-at-arms, two thousand light horse, and two hundred mounted Spanish carabineers. A fleet of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports, under Lord Clinton, appointed to co-operate with the land forces, at the same time anchored off that port. Meanwhile, the position of the Regent was exceedingly critical. On the capture of St. Andrew's, a register-book had been found

Treachery of the in the chamber of Balnaves, containing the signatures of two hundred of the Scottish nobles and barons who had secretly bound themselves to promote the designs of England. The most prominent among these infamous traitors were the Earls of Bothwell, Cassillis, and Marischal, Lord Kilmaurs, the eldest son of the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Gray, and the notorious Sir George Douglas. Bothwell had promised to transfer his allegiance to the English Government, and to surrender to them his strong castle of the Hermitage, on condition that he should receive the hand of the Duchess of Suffolk, aunt to the young English monarch.† The Earls of Athol, Crawford, Errol, and Sutherland, had been tampered with by Gray, and had intimated their willingness to join the English faction, provided they were honestly entertained.‡ Glencairn—a veteran in

treachery and state-craft—had secretly made overtures to the Protector, offering to co-operate in the invasion of Scotland with two thousand of his friends and vassals, and assuring Somerset that, if furnished with money to equip a troop of horse, he would hold the Regent in check till the arrival of the invading army.

These traitorous intrigues were only partially known to Arran, but he had learned enough to make him aware by the Preparations made of the perplexing and perilous the Regent for the defence of the country. position in which he was placed.

He seems to have thought that it was not expedient to inflict summary punishment on the traitor nobles, at the moment when the country was on the eve of a foreign invasion; and, therefore, though he threw the Earl of Bothwell into prison, he delayed farther proceedings against the rest of the conspirators. His military preparations, however, manifested greater vigour and resolution than his political measures. A continuous line of beacons was established from St. Abb's Head to Linlithgow, in order that immediate intimation might be given of the approach of the enemy; and the Fiery Cross—a warlike symbol hitherto pecu-

liar to the Highland districts—Fiery Cross sent through the country. was, on the present emergency, sent

throughout every part of the realm, summoning all the lieges who were capable of bearing arms, to repair to the place of rendezvous in defence of their native land.*

* "When a highland chieftain designed to summon his clan, upon any sudden or important emergency, he slew a goat, and, making a cross of any light wood, seared its extremities in the fire, and extinguished them in the blood of the animal. This was called the 'Fiery Cross,' also 'Cross Tarigh,' or the 'Cross of Shame,' because disobedience to what the symbol implied, inferred infamy. It was delivered to a swift and trusty messenger, who ran full speed with it to the next hamlet, where he presented it to the principal person, with a single word, intimating the place of rendezvous. He who received the symbol was bound to send it forward, with equal dispatch, to the next village; and thus it passed with incredible celerity through all the district which owed allegiance to the chief, and also among his allies and neighbours, if the danger was common to them. At sight of the Fiery Cross, every man, from sixteen years old to sixty, capable of bearing arms, was obliged instantly to repair in his best arms and accoutrements, to the place of rendezvous. He who failed to appear, suffered the extremities of fire and sword, which were emblematically denounced to the disobedient by the bloody and burnt marks upon this warlike signal." (See Appendix to *The Lady of the Lake*, note F.) The progress of the Fiery Cross is thus strikingly described by Sir Walter Scott in the above-mentioned poem, Canto III., Stanza XIV. :—

"Fast as the fatal symbol flies,
In arms the huts and hamlets rise;
From winding glen, from upland brow,
They pour'd each hardy tenant down.
Nor slack'd the messenger his pace;
He show'd the sign, he nam'd the place,
And pressing forward like the wind,
Left clamour and surprise behind.
The fisherman forsook the strand,
The swarthy smith took dirk and brand;
With changed cheer, the mower blithe,
Left in the half-cut swathe the scythe,
The herds without a keeper stray'd,
The plough was in mid-furrow staid;
The falc'ner toss'd his hawk away,
The hunter left the stag at bay,
Prompt at the signal of alarm,
Each son of Alpine rush'd to arms."

* Lesley, p. 195. A rude song was made on this event, of which the burden was—

"Priests content ye, now, now,
Priests content ye now,
For Norman and his companie
Have fill'd the galleys fou'." (full).

† MS. Letter State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 16.

‡ Ibid.

On the 2nd of September, 1547, the English Somerset enters army entered Scotland, and advanced along the coast till, on the 5th, they reached the celebrated ravine called the Peaths, which Hayward has well described as "a valley stretching towards the sea, six miles in length, the banks of which were so steep on either side that the passage across was not direct, but by paths leading slope-wise, which, being many, the place is for that reason called the peaths or paths."* If proper advantage had been taken of this perilous defile, where, as Cromwell afterwards said of it, 'one man to hinder was better than ten men to force a way,' the further progress of the invading army might easily have been arrested; but the neighbouring barons were all attached to the English interest, and the enemy was allowed to pass through without molestation. After crossing this rugged ravine, which occupied them the greater part of a day, the invaders sat down before the neighbouring castle of Dunglas, a stronghold belonging to Sir George Douglas. The captain, who was a nephew of Lord Home, finding resistance vain, speedily surrendered, and "brought with him," says an eye-witness, who has left a most interesting description of the English castle. "his band to my lords grace, which was of twenty-one sober (poor) soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed that so God help me (I will say it for no praise), I never saw such a bunch of beggars come out of one house together in my life." Six of these 'sober soldiers' were detained; the rest were allowed to 'gae their gate,'—that is, to go their way—with a warning that they would be hanged the next time they were caught. Patten, who happened to be one of the party that went to rifle the castle, says, "the spoil was not rich sure; but of white bread, oaten cakes, and Scottish ale, whereof was indifferent good store, and soon bestowed among my lords' soldiers accordingly. As for swords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarn, linen, hemp, and heaps of such baggage beside, were scant stooped for, and very liberally let alone; but, yet sure, it would have rued any good housewife's heart to have beholden the great unmerciful murder that our men made of the brood geese and good laying hens that were slain there that day, which the wives of the town had penned up in holes in the stables and cellars of the castle ere we came." The fortress was afterwards blown up with gunpowder, together with the neighbouring strongholds of Thornton and Innerwick, the former belonging to Lord Home, the latter to Lord Hamilton.

Somerset, continuing his march close to the German sea, left Dunbar within a gunshot on the right, and proceeded onward to east Liuton, where his army

crossed the Tyne. Here a brief skirmish took place between a body of the Scottish prickers and a squadron of the English cavalry under the Earl of Warwick. On the 7th of September the invaders reached Lang-Niddry, where they encamped for the night. Here a communication was opened with the fleet, which lay over against Leith, and the admiral having come ashore, it was arranged that the ships of war should leave their present station and cast anchor beside the town of Musselburgh, for the purpose of co-operating with the land forces. On the evening of Friday, September 8, the English encamped in the neighbourhood of a town called Salt-Preston—now Preston-pans—within sight of the Scottish army, which lay at Edmonstone Edge, about three miles distant. Midway between the two camps, facing the west, rose an eminence called Faside Brae, which was at this time surmounted by 'a sorry castle and half a score houses of like worthiness by it.' Early next morning the Scottish light-horsemen were seen 'pranking' up and down this hill, whooping and shaking their lances at the English vanguard, evidently with the view of provoking a contest. In the afternoon they were charged by Lord Grey, at the head of a thousand men-at-arms, and, after a sharp Cavalry skirmish, confict, which lasted for three hours, the Scottish prickers, who were mounted on slight, though hardy hackneys, were unable to sustain the attacks of the heavy-armed English troopers with their barbed steeds, and the greater part of them were cut to pieces. The Scots lost in this disastrous affair about thirteen hundred men. Lord Home, the leader of the cavalry, was severely wounded, and his son, the Master of Home, was taken prisoner.

After this affair, the Protector, accompanied by the Earl of Warwick and other captains, together with a guard of three hundred horse, proceeded to the eminence on which stands the church of Inveresk, for the purpose of examining the position of the Scottish camp. It consisted of four long rows of white tents, running from east to west, and about an arrow-shot asunder 'not unlike to four great ridges of ripe barley.' The ground which they occupied was very strong, and had been chosen with great skill. Their left was protected by the Firth, and by a turf wall defended by two field-pieces and some musqueteers, an extensive morass covered their right flank, while their front, looking eastward, was defended by the steep and rugged banks of the river Esk, which flowed between them and the English. Over this river, about twelve score paces from the sea, was the old bridge of Musselburgh, which the Scots had taken possession of and 'kept well warded with ordnance;' and, as their army was almost double to that of the enemy, it was evident to the English general that if they chose to keep their advantageous position, they could not be dislodged without great loss.

* Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 281.
 † Diary of W. Patten, reprinted in Dalzell's *Fragments of Scottish History*. Patten was conjoint judge-marshal of the English army along with the celebrated Wm. Cecil.

As Somerset and his attendants were on their way back to their camp, they were overtaken by a Scottish herald and a trumpeter, the former of whom, in the name of the governor, proposed an exchange of prisoners, and offered to permit the English to retire to their own country without molestation and upon honourable terms; while the latter informed the Protector that his master, the Earl of Huntly, eager to avoid the unnecessary effusion of blood, was willing to decide the contest either by single combat with the English general, or to encounter him with ten, or twenty more, on each side. Somerset, as was doubtless expected, declined both propositions. He informed the herald that since the governor had already refused fair and honourable conditions, their quarrel must now be decided by an appeal to arms; and then, turning to the other messenger, he proceeded,—“And thou trumpeter, say to thy master he seemeth to lack wit to make this challenge to me, being of such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to have so mighty a charge of so precious a jewel—the government of a king’s person and the protection of his realm—whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel without fear of a refusal.” The Earl of Warwick here eagerly expressed his willingness to accept Huntly’s challenge, and offered the trumpeter a hundred crowns if he should bring back a favourable answer from his master. But Somerset would not permit this, alleging that “Huntly was not equal in rank to the English Earl.” “But, herald,” he said, “tell the governor and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country; our force is but a small company, yours far exceeds us; yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and they shall have fighting enough, and I will give thee a thousand crowns for thy pains.”*

On the return of the Protector and Warwick to the camp, a counsel of war was held, and it was agreed to address a letter to the Regent, offering to withdraw the English troops from the country, if the Scots would consent to retain their youthful queen in her own realm, and free from any marriage contract with France, till she was of age to decide for herself whether she would fulfil the original engagement with the English monarch. But such was the exasperation which was now felt at the unjustifiable aggressions of England, that these moderate proposals were at once rejected by the governor, who appears to have been under the impression that they were dictated rather by the difficulties of Somerset’s position than by any sincere desire of peace. In this opinion he was confirmed by his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s, and it was agreed between them that they should keep this proposal a secret, and give out that Somerset had imperiously demanded that

the Scots should surrender their queen, and submit themselves to his mercy.*

This effort to avert hostilities having proved unsuccessful, preparations were made for an immediate appeal to arms. The Scottish camp was partially commanded by the eminence on which stood the church of St. Michael’s, of Inveresk, and by the higher part of a lane which led from the church to Faside-hill; and the English general resolved to occupy these places with his ordnance, for the purpose of annoying the enemy, and forcing them to remove from their strong position. He, therefore, broke up his camp early on the English order of morning of Saturday, the 10th of September, long remembered in Scotland as the ‘Black Saturday,’ and began to advance towards Inveresk. His force was divided into three battles. The vanguard was led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, the main body by Somerset in person, and the rear by the veteran Lord Dacre. The cavalry was under the command of Lord Grey, of Wilton, high marshal of the army, with whom were Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Peter Mewtas, Sir Francis Fleming, Master of the Ordnance, and Don Pedro de Gamboa, the leader of a body of mounted Spanish carabineers. On coming in sight of the ground which they intended to occupy, they were greatly surprised to find that it was already in possession of the enemy. It would appear that the Foolish conduct of the Regent had so strangely mis- the Regent. taken the movements of the English army, as to adopt the preposterous notion that they intended to seek refuge on board their fleet, which lay in Musselburgh bay. Afraid, therefore, that the enemy would escape from him by flight, he had precipitately quitted his strong position, in opposition to the advice of his best officers, and was now in full march to attack Somerset in his camp. The Scottish army advanced in three great bodies. The vanguard, consisting of four thousand of the men of Fife, Mearns, Angus, and the West country, was led by the Earl of Angus; the main battle, which was commanded by the Regent in person, contained the military array of Lothian, Strathern, and Stirlingshire, with the great body of the Scottish barons, having on the right four thousand Western Highlanders, under the Earl of Argyle, and on the left the Macleods and the Macgregors, with the men of the Isles. The men of the north—twelve thousand strong—led by the Earl of Huntly, formed the vanguard. The flanks were protected by some pieces of artillery, drawn by the soldiers themselves, ‘for, in all this enterprise,’ says Patten, ‘they used for haste so little the help of horses that they plucked forth their ordnance by draught of men.’ Along with the army there marched a numerous body of priests and monks, with a white banner displayed, on which was painted a female, with her hair dishevelled, kneeling before a crucifix, and underneath was the motto, ‘*Afflicta ecclesia ne obliviscaris.*’

* Patten intimates that these messages were not sent by the Regent and Huntly but by Sir George Douglas, in their name, without their knowledge.

* Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 283. Tyler, vol. vi. p. 26.

After passing the church of Inveresk, that portion of the Scottish forces which was nearest to the Firth was severely galled by the fire of one of the English galleys, which slew the Master of Graham and twenty-five others, and threw the Highland archers under Argyle into such confusion 'that,' says Patten, 'they could never after be made to come forward.' In consequence of this check, the army quitted their exposed position and moved away to the right, with the object of gaining Faside Brae and attacking the enemy from the high ground. They advanced at so round a pace 'that it was thought of the most part of us,' says Patten, 'that they were rather horsemen than footmen.' But the English were on the hill before them, and had succeeded in planting several pieces of artillery on the summit, so as to be enabled to fire over the heads of their men drawn up below. As soon as Somerset perceived the movement of the Scots towards Faside Brae, he directed Lord Grey, with the cavalry and the mounted carabineers, to attack the right wing of the Scots, and, if they could not break their array, at least to keep them in check till the other divisions should have time to take up their proper positions on the side of the hill. Observing the English men-at-arms advancing to execute this manœuvre, the Scottish vanguard halted in the midst of a ploughed field, and prepared to receive the threatened attack by forming in their usual impenetrable phalanx. "They were well furnished," says the English judge-marshal, Scottish mode of "with jack and skull, dagger, fighting. buckler, and swords, all notably broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to slice, that as I never saw none so good so think I it hard to devise the better; hereto every man his pike (eighteen feet long), a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array toward the joining with the enemy, they cling and thrust so near in the fore-rank, shoulder to shoulder together, with their pikes in both hands straight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backs, laying their pikes on their foregoers' shoulders, that if they do assail undiscovered no force can well withstand them. Standing at defence they thrust shoulders likewise so nigh together, the fore-ranks stooping low, and almost kneeling, held their pikes in both hands, their bucklers on their left arms, the butt-end of their pike against the right foot, the steel point inclining towards the enemy breast high; the second rank stooped a little, crossing their pikes over the shoulders of those in front; those farther back stood upright, presenting their lances over the heads of their comrades, so that it were as easy for a bare finger to pierce the skin of an angry hedgehog as for any one to encounter the brunt of their pikes."*

Undeterred by the formidable array of the infantry, Lord Gray boldly led his men to the

* Patten, p. 59.

attack; and though many of them stuck in the broad muddy ditch or slough which lay between them and the enemy, and their progress was also impeded by the cross ridges of the ploughed field, they charged full upon the Scottish spearmen, who stood ready to receive them, "striking their pike-points and crying, 'Come here, loons (rascals), come here, tykes (dogs), come here, heretics,' and such like." "Herewith," continues Patten, "waxed it very hot on both sides with pitiful cries, horrible war, and terrible thundering of guns; beside the day darkened above head with smoke of shot; the sight and appearance of the enemy in front, the danger of death on every side; also the bullets, pellets, and arrows flying each where so thick, and so uncertainly lighting, that nowhere was there any surety of safety; every man stricken with a dreadful fear, not so much perchance of death as of hurt, which things, though they were but certain to some, yet doubted of all, assured cruelty at the enemies' hands without hope of mercy—death to fly and danger to fight." "The whole face of the field, at this moment," he adds, "was both to the eye and the ear so heavy, so deadly, lamentable, furious, outrageous, terribly confused, and so quite against the quiet nature of man, that if to our nobility the regard of their honour and fame, to the knights and captains the estimation of their worship and honesty, and generally to us all the natural motion of bounden duty, our own safety, hope of victory, and the favour of God, that we trusted we had for the equity of our quarrel, had not been a more vehement cause of courage than the danger of death was cause of fear, the very horror of the thing had been apt to make any man to forget both prowess and policy."* The finest cavalry in the world would have failed to make an impression on the impenetrable phalanx of the Scottish infantry; and in the first encounter two hundred of the English horsemen were overthrown, including Edward Shelley, lieutenant of the Bulleners, † Ratcliff, Clarence, Preston, and other veteran officers, their horses being stabbed in the belly with the spears and the riders despatched by the 'whingers,' which the Scots carried in their belt. Sir Andrew Flammock, who carried the English standard, with great difficulty saved the colours, leaving, however, a part of the staff in the hands of the enemy. Lord Gray himself was severely wounded in the mouth and neck, and "so great was the tumult and fear among the English," says an old historian, ‡ "that, had not the commanders been men both of approved courage and skill, or haply had the Scots been well furnished with men-at-arms, the army had that day been utterly undone." Unfortunately, however, the Scottish cavalry had been destroyed in the engagement of the previous day, and the main body and rear

* Patten, p. 59.

† So called from their having been employed as the garrison at Boulogne.

‡ Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 284.

of the army were still at a considerable distance, so that the victorious vanguard were unable to follow up the advantage which they had gained. Meanwhile, the Earl of Warwick exerted himself to restore the ranks of the English cavalry, assuring them that if they would only behave themselves valiantly the day would be their own. By his advice a body of mounted carabineers were brought forward to the brink of the broad ditch, and discharged their pieces full in the faces of the Scottish spearmen. This attack was supported by the foot hagbutteers and the archers, while, at the same moment, the artillery, which was advantageously placed on the summit of the hill, began to play upon their serried ranks with great effect. The horse-men having rallied, prepared to renew their charge; and the main body of the English infantry, which had as yet taken no part in the engagement, were seen advancing in close order. The Scottish van, perceiving that they were about to be surrounded by an overwhelming force, began to withdraw from their forward position and to retire in good order to the main body. But the

Panic of the Highland archers, who were all Highlanders and ready dispersed over the field burgh troops. stripping the slain, unhappily mistook this movement for a flight, and began to disperse in all directions. The panic spread to the centre, which was mainly composed of the burgh troops; and though still a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy, they threw down their weapons and fled in the utmost confusion. Arran himself is said to have been one of the first to put spurs to his horse. The vanguard, finding themselves thus deserted by the rest of the army and exposed to the overwhelming attack of the English, who began to hem them in on every side, became infected by the panic, and followed the other fugitives.

Complete defeat "Therewith then," says Patten, of the Scots. "turned all the whole rout, east down their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their jacks, and with all that ever they might, betook them to the race that their governor began. Our men had found them at the first (as what could escape so many thousand eyes), and sharply and quickly, with an universal outcry, 'They fly! they fly!' pursued after in chase amain; and thereto so eagerly and with such fierceness that they overtook many, and spared indeed but few. But when they were once turned, it was a wonder indeed to see how soon, and in how sundry sorts they were scattered; the place they stood on like a wood of staves strewed on the ground as rushes in a chamber, impassable (they lay so thick) for either horse or man. Here, at the first, had they let fall all their pikes; after that everywhere scattered swords, bucklers, daggers, jacks, and all things else that either was of any weight, or might be any let to their course."* The fugitives fled in three several ways; one mass took the road to Leith by the sands, another made direct for Edinburgh, either by the high road, or through the

* Patten, p. 66.

Queen's Park, while the most numerous body turned towards Dalkeith, in the hope that the morass which had defended the right of their camp would interpose an obstacle to their victorious pursuers. The English cavalry, enraged at their previous defeat, and at the sight of the dead bodies of their companions who had fallen in the action, and had been stript by the Highlanders, showed no mercy, and crying to each other to remember Panierheugh (Penielheugh), where Sir Ralph Eure had been defeated and killed, in 1546, by the Earl of Angus, they spurred after the fugitives, who had now no means either of defence or of safety, and cut them down on all sides. The description which an eye-witness has given of this merciless slaughter is horribly graphic.

"Sundry shifts—some shrewd, some sorry, made they in their running; divers of Merciless slaughter them, in their courses as they of the fugitives. were ware they were pursued but of one, would suddenly start back, and lash at the legs of the horse, or foin him in the belly, and sometime did they reach at the rider also; whereby Clement Paston in the arms, and divers other otherwise, in this chase were hurt. Some other lay flat in a furrow as though they were dead, thereby past bye of our men untouched; as I heard say, the Earl of Angus confessed he couched till his horse happened to be brought to him. Other some to stay in the river lowering down his body, his head under the root of a willow tree, with scarce his nose above water for breath. A shift, but no succour, it was to many that had their skulls on, at the stroke of the follower, to shrink with their heads into their shoulders, like a tortoise into his shell. Others again, for their more lightness, cast away shoes and doublets, and ran in their shirts; and some also seen in this race all breathless to fall flat down, and have run themselves to death. . . . Soon after this notable showing of their footmen's weapons, began a pitiful sight of the dead corpses lying dispersed abroad; some their legs off, some but houghed, and left lying half-dead, some thrust quite through the body, others the arms cut off, divers their necks cut half asunder, many their heads cloven, of sundry the brains passed out, some others, again, their heads quite off, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and farther in chase, all for the most part killed either on the head or in the neck, for our horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus, with blood and slaughter of the enemy, this chase was continued five miles in length westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields, Underesk, until Edinburgh Park, and well nigh to the gates of the town itself, and unto Leith; and in breadth nigh four miles from the Frith sands up toward Dalkeith southward. In all which space the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may note cattle grazing in a full-replenished pasture. The river ran all red with blood, so that in the same chase were counted, as well by some of our men that somewhat diligently did mark it,

as by some of them taken prisoners, that very much did lament it, to have been slain above fourteen thousand. In all this compass of ground, what with weapons, arms, hands, legs, heads, blood, and dead bodies, their flight might have easily been traced to every of their three refuges. And for the smallness of our number, and shortness of time (which was scant five hours, from one till well nigh six), the mortality was so great, as it was thought the like aforetime not to have been seen.”

The narrator seems to have felt that this merciless slaughter required some apology; and he alleges in justification of it the cruelty of the Scots at the battle of Penielheugh, and ‘a tyrannous vow’ they were said to have made before the engagement, that ‘if they overcame, they would kill many and spare few.’† Besides, he adds, a thing well done is twice done; and this indiscriminate slaughter of men who had ceased to offer any resistance, prevented the Scots from assembling again in any force. He expresses his regret, however, that so many of the nobles and barons were slain in the pursuit; but this, he affirms, could not be helped—“their armour among them differing so little, and their apparel so base and beggarly, wherewith the lurdin was in a manner all one with the lord, and the lord with the laird; all clad alike in jacks, covered with white leather doublets of the same, or of fustain, and most commonly all white hoseen. Not one with either chain, brooch, ring, or garment of silk, that I could see, unless chains of latten, drawn four or five times along the thighs of their hoseen and doublet sleeves, for cutting; and of that sort, I saw many. This vileness of port was the cause that so many of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saved. The outward show, the semblance and sign, whereby a stranger might discern a villain from a gentleman, was not among them to be seen. As for words and goodly proffer of great ransoms, they were as common and rife in the mouths of the one as of the other. And, therefore, hereby it came to pass, at the examination and counting of the prisoners, we found taken above twenty of their villains to one of their gentlemen: whom no man need to doubt we had rather have spared than the villains, if we could have known any difference between them in taking.”‡

About fifteen hundred prisoners in all were taken, the most distinguished of whom were the Earl of Huntly, the Chancellor, Lord Yester, the Master of Semple, the Laird of Wemyss, a brother of the Earl of Cassillis, and the Captain of Dunbar; while no fewer than fourteen thousand fell in the battle and the pursuit, which lasted for five hours.

• Patten, p. 68.

† The cruelty displayed by the English throughout the whole of this campaign was worthy of Edward I. himself. There was a small fort on Faside Brae, the garrison of which, during the engagement, fired on such of the enemy as came within reach. Patten complaisantly mentions that, after the battle, “the house was set on fire, and they for their good will burnt and smothered within.” Ibid. p. 74.

‡ Ibid. p. 69.

Great numbers of the priests were found among the slain, together with the Lords Fleming and Lochinvar, the Masters of Graham, Erskine, Ogilvy, Avondale, and upwards of two thousand barons and gentlemen. In Edinburgh alone, this disastrous day made three hundred and sixty widows.

As night was now approaching, the Protector caused a retreat to be sounded, and the victorious army mustered again at Edmonston Edge, half a mile from Musselburgh, where the Scottish camp stood. Here they gave a great shout ‘in sign of gladness and victory,’ which was so loud and shrill that, as they afterwards learned, it was heard in the streets of Edinburgh. They then proceeded to plunder the tents of the enemy, which, according to Patten, occupied a space about a mile in compass. The description which he gives of the Scottish mode of encamping is exceedingly interesting: “As they had no pavilions, or Scottish mode of round-houses,” he says, “of any commendable compass, so were there few other tents with posts, as the used manner of making is; and of these few also none of above twenty foot length, but most far under; for the most part all sumptuously beset (after their fashion), for the love of France, with fleur de lys, some of blue buckram, some of black, and some of some other colours. These white ridges (as I called them), that as we stood on Fawside Brae did make so great muster towards us, which I did take then to be a number of tents, when we came we found it a linen drapery, of the coarser cambrick indeed, for it was all of canvas sheets, and were the tenticles, or rather cabins and couches of their soldiers, the which (much after the common building of their country beside) they had formed of four sticks, about an ell long a piece, whereof two fastened together at one end aloft, and the two ends beneath stiecked in the ground an ell asunder, standing in fashion like the bow of a sow’s yoke; over two such bows, one, as it were at their head, the other at their feet, they stretched a sheet down on both sides, whereby their cabin became roofed like a ridge;* but scant shut at both ends, and not very close beneath on the sides, unless their sticks were the shorter, or their wives the more liberal to lend them larger drapery; howbeit, within they had lined them and stuffed them so thick with straw, that although the weather was very cold, when they were once couched they were as warm as they had been wrapped in horse-dung.” With regard to the spoil of the camp, Patten states that Plunder of the there was found in the tents good provision of white bread, ale, oaten cakes, oatmeal, mutton, butter in pots, and cheese; and also in those of the principal persons, good wine and some silver plate. The English next fell to stripping the bodies of the slain. As many hands make light work, observes the judge-marshal, it was a wonder to see in how short a time all the bodies were stript stark naked throughout the whole space

* The tents of the Scottish gipsies of the present day are constructed in a similar manner.

over which the pursuit and slaughter had extended. He expresses great admiration of the athletic forms of the Scottish soldiers. Their tallness of stature, clearness of skin, bigness of bone, and due proportion in all parts, he says, were such that, unless he had seen them, he would not have believed the whole country had contained so many well-made men. An immense quantity of armour and weapons fell into the hands of the victors. Many articles were left on the ground, 'which they would not vouchsafe to give carriage for;' but upwards of thirty thousand jacks (coats of mail) and swords, together with thirty pieces of ordnance, were sent by ship to England. Thus ended the fatal battle of Pinkie (so called from its being fought on the fields adjacent to the old mansion of Pinkie House*), one of the most disastrous defeats the Scots have ever sustained. It was fought on the 10th September, 1547.

The battle of Pinkie was not followed up by any comprehensive or vigorous movements on the part of the victors. It was within Somerset's power to have marched upon Stirling Castle, the garrison of which, though defending the person of their infant sovereign, and increased by the forces of the fugitives from Pinkie, could not have held out against his forces. He might also have occupied and strengthened such commanding positions as Edinburgh, and the town and harbour of Leith, and have afterwards made a progress through the country to compel the dismayed inhabitants to submit to his authority, in return for forbearance and protection. It was fortunate for the cause of Scottish independence that Somerset had neither the leisure, nor the firmness of mind, requisite to mature and execute such a scheme of conquest. Amidst the rejoicings over the victory just gained, he was apprized of the formation of a formidable conspiracy in England against his authority. The maintenance of the supreme dignity to which he had been raised in his own country, was more desirable than a successful prosecution of his Scottish campaign, and he decided on returning with all haste to the English court, that he might crush the plots which had there arisen during his short absence. This abrupt departure only gave him the

Impolitic conduct of the Protector.

opportunity and means of indulging in useless ravages and cruelties, which resembled rather the termina-

tion of a border inroad, than the operations of a victorious general who aims at completing the subjugation of the vanquished. Wiser far would it have been to have made a quiet retreat, and to have refrained from irritating a people with whom, before the object of English ambition could be attained, either negotiations or hostilities must be tried anew. The measures which Somerset now took, before withdrawing from Scotland, were only calculated to increase the hatred of the nation towards the victorious invaders. Quitting Edge-buckling Brae, where he had encamped after the battle, he marched to Leith, quartered his cavalry

in that town, and ravaged the surrounding districts. Here he received the submission of the Earl of Bothwell, whom Arran had liberated after the battle; * and then proceeded to burn Kinghorn and several small fishing harbours on the coast of Fife, and to put a garrison in the deserted monastery of Incheolm, a petty island in the Forth. Failing, for want of time, in an attempt to reduce the castle and destroy the town of Edinburgh, he wreaked his vengeance upon the abbey of Holyrood, which he plundered and stripped of its leaden roof. After concluding a week's irregular havoc, by devoting Leith to the flames, he commenced

His retreat.

his retreat on the 18th of September, 1547.† The fleet which had accompanied him set sail at the same time, and in its homeward voyage, through the treachery of Lord Gray, obtained possession of the castle of Broughty, which was now fortified anew and garrisoned with an English force.‡ In his march home through the Merse and Teviotdale, the Protector compelled many of the leading barons of those districts to swear allegiance to the English king, and to surrender to him their strongholds. Some of these places of strength he demolished, others he garrisoned and increased their fortifications. He placed two hundred men in the strong castle of Home, under the command of Sir Edward Dudley, and built a new fort upon the site of the old castle of Roxburgh, which he intrusted to Sir Ralph Bulmer with a garrison of three hundred soldiers.

The defeat at Pinkie was not the only disaster which Scotland suffered at this Inroad of Wharton. period. Two days before the battle, Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox entered the West Marches at the head of an army of five thousand men, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. In this destructive inroad the stronghold of Castlemilk was taken and garrisoned by the English; the town of Annan was completely destroyed, and the church and steeple were blown up, after a desperate resistance on the part of the Master of Maxwell, the Lairds of Johnston and Cockpool, and a brave officer named Lyon, who were permitted, however, to retire with their lives. Such was the terror which these proceedings infused into the Annandale Borders, that they immediately gave in their submission to the English leaders, and swore allegiance to King Edward.§

This rough mode of wooing, however, served only to exasperate the Scottish people and to alienate their minds still farther from the alliance with England. Meanwhile, prompt Energetic conduct of the Queen-mother. and vigorous measures were adopted by the Queen-mother, and the patriotic portion of the nobles, to sustain the spirit

* Patten's expedition, p. 77.

† Lesley, pp. 200, 201. *Journal of Occurrences*, p. 44.

‡ MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Lord Clinton, Andrew Dudley, &c., to the Lord Protector, 24th September, 1547.

Quoted by Tytler, vol. vi. p. 35.

§ Letter of Lord Wharton to the Protector, Carlisle, September 16, 1547.

of the people and to preserve the independence of the country. The infant-queen, for the sake of security, was removed from Stirling to the priory of Inchmahome, situated on a little isle in the Lake of Menteith, where she remained along with her mother and her governors, Lords Erskine and Livingston, during the remainder of the month of September. A proclamation was made throughout the country for the levy of a new army, to expel the enemies who were waging such savage war against a free people, for the purpose of compelling them to enter into a pacific matrimonial alliance; and a considerable body of troops were assembled, who skirmished around the camp of the English, cut off their foragers and stragglers, and rendered it exceedingly unsafe for any of the soldiers to stray far from the main body during their retreat.*

As soon as Somerset had returned to England, a convention of the Scottish nobles was summoned by the Governor to meet at Stirling. It was attended by the Queen-dowager and a number of the leading barons, who were addressed by Arran in an animated speech, urging them to continue the war and to fight to the last, rather than surrender their youthful sovereign, and the independence of their country, to their haughty enemies. These sentiments were loudly applauded, and it was ultimately determined to provide for the personal safety of the queen by sending her to complete her education in France. This proposal was cordially welcomed by D'Ossell, the French ambassador, who assured the Scottish nobles of the affection of his master, and his determination to maintain the ancient alliance between the two countries. The Queen-mother, perceiving the favourable impression which this declaration had produced, dexterously hinted that the Dauphin would be a more suitable consort for their young queen than the English king, whose pretensions to her hand had been supported with such violence and barbarity. The suggestion was favourably received by the council, and the Scottish ambassadors, who were at this time despatched to solicit the assistance of the French court, were commissioned to sound the inclinations of Henry II. in regard to the match; and he, as might have been expected, received the overture with rapture.†

The war with England still raged, and it became evident that Scotland, deserted and betrayed by the multitudes of her leading nobles, would be unable to continue the contest unless assisted by her ancient ally, France. The Earls of Angus, Cassillis, Lennox, and Glencairn, the Lords Gray, Boyd, Maxwell, and Cranstoun, with many other barons, shamefully deserted the cause of their country and espoused the English interest. The veteran traitor, Sir George Douglas, not only signed certain secret articles which bound him to serve against his native land, in the event of the queen's marriage to any other person than Edward VI., but also communicated to the Protector

* Leslie, p. 200.

† Ibid, p. 204.

a 'device' or plan for the invasion and subjugation of Scotland, which, however, was rejected, from a well-founded suspicion that the venal and corrupt baron was not acting in good faith.* Argyle, a supporter of the Reformation, and one of the ablest and most powerful of the Scottish nobles, had collected an army of Highlandmen, for the purpose of capturing the castle of Broughty and expelling the enemy from the neighbouring district; but he, too, was gained over to the English interest, partly by skilfully playing off against him his great rival Huntly, and partly by a bribe of one thousand crowns. Even Huntly, the pillar of the Romish party (who, it will be recollected, was taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie), promised that, if allowed to return home, he would join the English faction and promote the views of King Edward.† In the midst of such baseness, treachery, and selfishness, on the part of those who were her natural defenders, it is matter of astonishment that the independence of Scotland was not entirely destroyed. The Protector, Somerset, still pertinaciously adhered to the long-cherished project of the English court, but perceiving that a great error had been committed in attempting to compel the Scots by force to agree to an alliance with England, he now tried a more conciliatory policy, and, on the 5th of February, 1547-8, addressed a letter to the Governor and lords of the council, in which he disclaimed all views of conquest, and declared that his only object was to unite the two kingdoms upon a footing of perfect equality. A form of prayer for the accomplishment of a peaceful union between England and Scotland, by the marriage of King Edward with the Scottish queen, was also drawn up about this time, and appointed to be read in all the churches.‡ But these attempts at conciliation came too late, and Somerset, finding that the Scots were inveterately hostile to the alliance with England, caused the war to be renewed with all its former cruelty and barbarity. On the 18th of February, the English Warden, Inroad of Wharton Lord Wharton, in conjunction with and Lennox.

the Earl of Lennox, who commanded a band of 'assured' Borderers, invaded the Western Marches, expecting to be joined, according to agreement, by the Earl of Angus and the Master of Maxwell, at the head of their numerous retainers. Neither promises nor oaths, however, could bind these men, in whom Wharton found, to use his own expressive language, 'an accustomed fashion of untruth.' Enraged at their violation of their engagements, the English leader proceeded to lay waste and plunder the country, but having incautiously divided his army, which consisted of three thousand men, and separated the cavalry from the infantry, he was attacked in the midst of a wild and difficult country by the Earl of Angus, and entirely routed. The assured Borderers

* Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 99.

† Tytler, vol. vi. Proofs and Illustrations ii. See Appendix, Note XIX.

‡ Privy Council Calendar, 1547-8; Miss Strickland's Lives, vol. ii. p. 95.

as at Penielheugh, when they saw the day going against their allies, threw away their red crosses and slaughtered the English fugitives without mercy.* The Warden himself with great difficulty escaped with the remnant of his force to Carlisle. Enraged at his defeat, and at the treachery of the assured

Cruelty of the Scots, he barbarously put to death English Warden. four of the noble youths whom they had given as hostages for their fidelity, and grievously maltreated a number of Scottish priests and friars whom he had taken prisoners, dragging them along with halters round their necks, and threatening to hang them on the nearest trees.† Shortly after, Lord Grey, at the head of a strong

Inroad of Lord body of troops, invaded the Eastern Marches, laid waste the country nearly to the walls of Edinburgh, burned Dalkeith and Musselburgh, surprised and fortified Lauder and Haddington, and placed in the last of these towns a powerful garrison, composed partly of English troops and partly of foreign mercenaries.‡ The castle of Dalkeith, the stronghold of Sir George Douglas, was captured by means of a dexterous stratagem of the English leader, who succeeded in completely outwitting the veteran intriguer. He himself narrowly escaped, leaving his wife, his eldest son, afterwards Regent Morton, the Abbot of Arbroath, the Laird of Wedderburn, and many others of his friends in the hands of the enemy, together with a great store of money and moveables; as, according to Grey's account, "all the country had brought their goods together, thinking that nothing could prevail against George's policy."§

The state of Scotland at this period, devastated Miserable state of by famine, pestilence, intestine dis- the country. visions, and the sword, was deplorable in the extreme. The inhabitants of Angus and Fife suffered severely from the spoliations of the crews of the English ships which lay in the Frith of Tay, between Broughty Castle and Dundee; so that, as Pitseottie informs us, the barons and gentlemen of Fife were under the necessity of keeping up a nightly watch for safety of their goods and gear.|| A fruitless attempt was made by the Governor to capture the castle of Broughty, and his efforts to dislodge the enemy from the strongholds of Incheith and Haddington were equally unsuccessful. The citizens of Dundee, who had cordially embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, declared for England, and offered to hold their town against all the efforts of the Governor.¶ Many of the Scottish barons had already given in their adherence to the Protector, and the number of these venal traitors increased so largely that six thousand men pledged themselves to join

* Letter of Wharton to the Protector, 23rd February, 1547-8.

† Letter of Wharton and Lennox to the Protector, 25th February, 1547-8.

‡ Carte, vol. iii. p. 222.

§ Gray to the Protector, June 4, 1548.

|| Vol. ii. p. 604.

¶ Dudley to the Protector, November 1, 1547; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 50

Wharton in his invasion of the country, and gave hostages for their fidelity. In this extremity, when the people were almost reduced to ^{Arrival of the} despair, a French fleet appeared in ^{French} the Frith of Forth, bringing men, ^{artilleries.} money, and food for the starving population; and, on the 16th of June, six thousand troops, including three thousand Germans, under their native prince the Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians, led by Leo Strozzi, landed at Leith. They brought with them a powerful train of artillery, and were commanded by Andrew de Montelembert Sieur d'Esse, an officer of brilliant talents and great experience, who was invested with full powers to complete the matrimonial treaty between the Dauphin and the Scottish queen.

The French auxiliaries were speedily joined by the Governor, with a force of five thousand men, and the united armies soon after proceeded to invest the town of Haddington.* But the garrison held out with such determination that the siege was first changed into a blockade, and then finally raised on the approach of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at the head of a large force, consisting of nearly twenty-two thousand men. Considerable success, however, had attended the Scottish arms. An escort of one thousand five hundred English horse, conducting a supply of ammunition, were encountered and defeated with great loss. A fleet appeared in the Forth, commanded by Lord Clinton, and a force was disembarked at St. Monance, in Fife, but it was encountered and almost totally cut off by the Laird of Wemyss and the Lord James, afterwards the famous Regent Moray, then a youth in his seventeenth year, who, with a wonderful promptitude, had assembled the people of the district and hurried to the coast. The English, to the number of twelve hundred, were drawn up in good order, and at first were successful in repulsing their opponents, but an impetuous charge from the Lord James changed the fortunes of the day and decided the victory. The slaughter was great, many falling in the contest, others being drowned in their unavailing efforts to reach their ships. On the other hand, serious losses were experienced by the Regent. A fort was erected at Broughty Craig, for the purpose of over-awing the country; another was commenced at Dunclas, where three thousand Germans were encamped to carry on the work; Dundee was taken, and Dunbar burnt to the ground.

Whilst Haddington continued to be invested by the Regent, a parliament assembled ^{Meeting of the} on the 17th of July, in the abbey ^{parliament.} adjoining the town. On this occasion, Monsieur d'Esse, commander of the foreign troops, appeared as commissioner from the French monarch, for the purpose of laying before the three Estates proposals for a union between his son, the Dauphin, and the youthful queen. Assuring them of his master's sympathy in their patriotic struggles against England, he promised them large assistance in the way of troops and money, engaging

* Lesley, pp. 208, 209.

they should want for nothing that was necessary for the energetic prosecution of the war. In conclusion, he expressed the anxiety which his master felt that this marriage should be consummated, and the two countries united more firmly than they had hitherto been by the leagues and treaties which had subsisted for centuries. If these his proposals were agreed to, he requested that the Scottish queen should be intrusted to his care, and educated at the expense of France. In the debate which followed much diversity of opinion was exhibited. Some protested that inevitable calamities would attend on the removal of the queen; and that such a marriage involved, among other consequences, slavery to France, and a perpetual war with England. It was their opinion that the offer of the Protector's friendship should be at once embraced, as thereby, without any further embarrassing stipulations, a peace would be secured to the nation for a period of at least ten years. Naturally the French interest was favoured by the Roman Catholics, who contended for the policy and expediency of the proposed union. By a majority of the parliament, the matter was decided according to the wishes of the French monarch, on the understanding that the liberties and independence of the kingdom were to be sacredly preserved. The departure of the queen being at the same time resolved upon, measures were taken to secure the safety of her passage to the French court. It was ascertained that the English would make every effort to intercept her, and stratagem was resorted to in order to defeat their designs. The fleet which was intended to convey the youthful queen to her new kingdom having sailed from Leith, apparently with the purpose of proceeding to France, altered its course on clearing the Forth, and passing round the north of Scotland, through the Pentland Firth, entered the mouth of the Clyde, and arrived without accident at Dunbarton, to which place Mary had, some time previously, been removed, in anticipation of this event. Here she embarked on board the royal galley, along with her

four Mariés, who were selected from the families of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingston, to be her companions and playmates.* She was accompanied also by her governors, Lords Erskine and Livingston, her two preceptors, the Abbot of Inchmahale and the parson of Balmaclellan, her three natural brothers, the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord John, Commendator of Holyrood, and Lord Robert, Prior of Orkney, and about a hundred attendants of both sexes and mostly of noble birth. An eye-witness of the embarkation states that "the young queen was at that time one of the most perfect creatures the God of nature ever formed, for that her equal was nowhere to be found, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes."† She fortunately escaped the efforts which were made for her capture, and reached the French shores in safety on the 13th of August, 1548. It has generally been supposed that Mary landed at Brest, but it appears that, after beating about for thirteen days on the coast of Brittany, the French admiral was forced, by stress of weather, to run into the little port of Roscoff, at that time a nest of pirates and smugglers.‡ On the 20th of August the Scottish Queen and her train The arrival of arrived at Morlaix, and from thence Mary in France. proceeding to the palace of St. Germain, she was received by Henry with every demonstration of respect and affection, and a court and household were arranged for her, with due consideration for her exalted rank.

* These young ladies, celebrated in tradition and song as the Queen's Mariés, were Mary Livingston, youngest daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, Mary Fleming, daughter of Lord Fleming, and the illegitimate daughter of James IV., Mary Seton, daughter of Lord Seton, and Mary Beaton, daughter of Beaton of Balfour, in Fife. They received precisely the same education as their royal mistress, being instructed in whatever she was taught, and by the same masters. The exquisite ballad of 'the Queen's Marie,' commemorates the crimes and the melancholy fate of one of these ladies. (See Sir Walter Scott's "Border Minstrelsy," vol. iii. p. 298.)

† Beaugue's History of the Two Campaigns.

‡ Dargaud. Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 25.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MARY.

A.D. 1548—1561.

[IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the Scottish queen in France, Henry directed his ambassador to intimate to the Protector, that as the father of the affianced husband of the queen, he had extended his friendship to Scotland, and required that the latter country should be included in his treaty with England, and that all hostilities should be brought to a conclusion. These representations, however, were not attended with success. Both parties carried on the war with unabated vigour

Progress of the war. and undisguised animosity. It was characterised at this period by a ferocity almost without parallel in the history of the respective countries.* The sufferings of the Scottish people had been extreme, and they now retaliated on the English in the fiercest spirit of revenge. Their disasters had been many and fatal. On the field of Pinkie the flower of their nation had perished; their country had been ravaged; their shipping destroyed; their harvests ruined; their Borders had been the scene of repeated invasions, cruel plunderings, and pitiless massacres. These excesses could neither be at once forgotten, nor easily forgiven.

On the departure of Shrewsbury for England, the cause he had so successfully promoted was materially endangered by a series of disasters, which followed close upon each other. In many parts of the country the inhabitants had submitted to the English, merely out of fear of the consequences of resistance. The arrival of the French excited them to immediate revolt, and, encouraged by the prospect of assistance, they attacked and speedily expelled the invaders. "The castle of Home was retaken; the governor of Haddington, Sir James Wilford, made prisoner, and the party he commanded entirely defeated; the German garrison, which had been left in Coldingham, were cut to pieces; the enemy expelled from their fortifications in Incheith; the important strength of Fastcastle recovered by stratagem, and the English at length compelled to abandon Haddington, the defence of which had cost them so much blood and treasure."† The exploit by which the castle of Home was taken was characteristically daring. A few soldiers, who were on the watch for an opportunity of surprising it, perceiving on a certain night that the guards had relaxed their vigilance, boldly scaled the precipitous rock on which the castle was built, and, killing the sentinel, took possession of the fortress without difficulty. Fastcastle was recovered in a manner equally adventurous. The governor having ordered a supply of provisions, they were brought in waggons, in which, at the same time, a number of armed men

were concealed; and these having suddenly emerged when the garrison were unprepared, obtained possession of the approaches, and with the assistance of their companions, who were waiting their signal in the neighbourhood, the enemy were easily overpowered, and the place secured.

In the meantime, considerable reinforcements were received from France. On the 23rd of June, De Thermes landed with one thousand foot and three thousand horse. This reasonable supply enabled the Regent to adopt more vigorous and decided measures. Everywhere the English were encountered with success. They were driven from point to point, and disputing every position, were yet compelled to relinquish them one by one. Broughty Castle, the strongest remaining fortress in Scotland, was wrested from them. Operations were next commenced against Lauder, which would also have been speedily captured, but at this juncture hostilities were arrested by the unexpected intelligence that peace had

Peace concluded.

been concluded at Boulogne between France and England, and that Scotland had been made a party to the pacification. Henry had taken care to secure favourable terms for his allies. It was stipulated that the English should immediately evacuate the country, surrender Lauder, demolish the forts at Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Eyemouth, and refrain from any future invasion of Scotland, unless provoked by new injuries.* These conditions were gladly acceded to on the part of Scotland, and the Master of Erskine was dispatched to France to signify the assent of the Regent. Hostilities having thus happily terminated, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 20th of April, 1550.

It was impossible that the conclusion of a war of nine years' duration should not be hailed throughout Scotland with universal satisfaction. Immense misery and bloodshed had resulted from its protracted continuance, and no ultimate advantage had been gained by either party. Power and reputation had been lost by England; freedom and independence bartered by Scotland. Miserably had the Protector failed to carry out his project for the union of the two countries, through the marriage of the young queen. The precipitate measures adopted, the violence which marked their execution, and the excesses committed by his arms, effectually defeated his object, and rendered it positively obnoxious to a people who refused to have forced upon them the acceptance of any scheme, however apparently framed and proposed for their own advantage. Another evil, in connection with this war, was the introduction into Scotland of French troops. The summoning to their assistance of foreign mercenaries is a step which should always be avoided in the policy of a nation. Evil, and often fatal consequences must be involved in the adoption of such a measure. The spirit of independence, which should always be assiduously nurtured, is thereby subdued and weakened. Opportunities are afforded for encroachments on the liberties of the

* See Appendix. Note XX.

† Lesley, pp. 231, 232. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 48.

• Lesley, p. 232.

kingdom, and the prince who has been invited to defend, may aspire to rule. This was unfortunately destined to be the experience of Scotland. The presence of a French army necessitated the presence of French advisers, and the ascendancy of French counsels. It was every way important to the French monarch that his influence should be paramount in Scotland, and no exertions were wanting on his part for the accomplishment of his object. In after times he succeeded beyond expectation, and the ascendancy thus obtained ultimately produced disastrous consequences to the peace and wellbeing of the country. During the continuance of the war, the nation had ample reason to lament their precipitate resolution in requesting aid from Henry II. The French troops were haughty in their bearing and unruly in their conduct, so much so that the people could hardly be induced to act with them, or at times restrained from taking arms against them, and insisting on their immediate return to their own country. The mutual animosity which existed is well illustrated by the following incident. An idle quarrel having taken place between a French soldier and a citizen of Edinburgh, the city instantly became the scene of tumult and bloodshed. Animated with equal rage, both parties flew to arms, and fought with as much intensity of hatred as if the French, instead of friendly allies, had been ruthless invaders. Several persons of distinction, and amongst the rest Hamilton of Stenhouse, the Provost, and his son, lost their lives in this deplorable disturbance.*

The conclusion of a peace with England could not fail to be regarded with profound satisfaction by the Queen-mother, as she now had ample opportunity for developing the ambitious projects which for some time had been occupying her mind. The House of Guise had ever been characterised by a bold and aspiring spirit, and Mary of Lorraine shared it in an equal degree with her distinguished relatives. Her abilities were good, her capacity for business great, and her character on the whole such as did not disqualify her for the assumption of supreme authority, and the discharge of its responsibilities. She had long entertained the idea of supplanting the Regent, and in her own person undertaking the conduct of public affairs. From time to time she had managed, by a dexterous application of her talents, to insinuate her influence into the counsels of the nation; and, without appearing to take more upon herself than her position warranted, had in many instances virtually administered the government. But the possession of a power so extremely precarious, resting as it did on the weakness of Arran, or the forbearance of the nobles, was neither adapted to her talents nor congenial to her disposition. She was one of those whose pride would stoop to occupy a secondary place, only with the view of employing it as a platform from which to rise to a loftier elevation, and a more commanding sway. Her plans for this pur-

* Lesley, pp. 217, 218.

pose were laid with great sagacity, and carried out with unwearied perseverance and consummate skill. In these schemes she was willingly assisted by her brothers, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who supported her with all their influence at the court of France. To arrive at the proposed elevation she could proceed in one of two ways. She might either openly assert her claims to the Regency, and violently wrest it from the hands of its present possessor, or she might succeed in persuading him to abdicate his authority in her own favour. The first was a scheme which she at once perceived to be wholly impracticable. The support of the nobility would certainly be extended to Arran in such a contest. Her present position exposed her, as a foreigner, to be regarded with distrust. The slightest intimation of an intention to engage in her service the French mercenaries would be sufficient to ruin her for ever, and to excite in the country a feeling of exasperation which would never be allayed. Nor, on the other hand, did it seem a less hazardous experiment to attempt to persuade a man voluntarily to abandon an office involving such dignity and power, and from the highest station in the realm to descend to a level with those over whom he had once ruled with an almost regal authority. To the attainment, however, of this apparently impracticable object the queen now devoted herself, and throughout all her intrigues exhibited great prudence, sagacity, and determination. As nothing could be ultimately accomplished without an understanding with the French monarch and securing his co-operation, she determined to effect this without delay. For this purpose, The visit of the Queen-dowager to France. on pretence of a visit to her daughter, she resolved to repair in person to the court of France.

Early in September, six galleys and other French ships, under the command of Strozzii, Prior of Capua, anchored at Newhaven, where the Queen-mother embarked for her destination. A numerous and distinguished company of the nobles of Scotland had been invited to attend her. Her retinue included not only her own personal adherents, but also many who were regarded by her with uneasiness and alarm, and whom she preferred to take with her, trusting that she might find means of overcoming their dislike, and at all events assured that in her absence they could not prejudice her cause. She was accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, and Marischal, the Prior of St. Andrew's, the Lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell, the Bishops of Caithness and Galloway, the French commanders Biron, La Chapelle, De Thermes, D'Ossell, and a brilliant train of ladies.* The voyage to the coast of Normandy was long and boisterous, having occupied no less than twelve days. Several times, through the severity of the weather, the fleet was compelled to take refuge in English ports, where—a safe-conduct having been granted to the Queen—they were kindly received and hospitably entertained. It is generally said that she finally landed at Dieppe on the 19th of

* Lesley, p. 235.

September, 1550. From the following letter, however, written by the Constable Montmorency to the French Minister at the court of Hungary, it appears that this is a mistake. "The Queen of Scotland arrived three or four days ago at Havre-de-Grace, in good health and in very good company. She made her entry into Rouen yesterday. On Sunday next she comes to meet the king at the Abbey de Bonnes Nouvelles, where she goes to-morrow to sleep and keep the festival of St. Michael." According to the account of Sir John Mason, in his letter to the English Privy Council, "she was received with much honour by the King of France, and almost worshipped as a goddess by the court." From Rouen she proceeded to Paris, and from thence to Chartres and Blois, where she passed the winter. While resident in this city, she entered into frequent and earnest consultations with her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, respecting the best mode of furthering her ambitious designs upon the Regency. In this undertaking she was warmly encouraged by her relatives, who promised to promote it with all their power, and to influence Henry and his court in her favour. Nor in this were they unsuccessful. They represented to that monarch that it was necessary to undermine the authority of the Regent, in order to maintain the French influence in Scotland, and to secure from destruction the ancient national religion. They pointed out the progress of the Reformation, and the danger of its becoming established in the land, and showed that the ascendancy of French councils was the only security they possessed against so terrible a catastrophe. Nor was this all. It was declared that Ireland was prepared to revolt against its present rulers, and 'needed but a token from France to be wholly at her devotion.* The idea of detaching Ireland from the English crown had originated with the Queen-mother, as a measure of policy during the invasion of the Protector; and, if she had succeeded in creating a rebellion in that country, she would most effectually have diverted from Scotland the attention of the English. It does not appear that her efforts were altogether vain; for, shortly after her arrival in France, there appeared at court the Archbishop of Armagh, an envoy of the Papal Government, who had been dispatched into Ireland for the purpose of encouraging a revolt, and who now reported that everything was ripe for an insurrection.†

These considerations had their proper weight, and Henry willingly consented to the schemes of the Queen-mother. It was now determined formally to propose to the Regent the resignation of his office. Panter, Bishop of Ross, the Scottish ambassador at the court of France, Sir Robert Carnegie, and Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, were dispatched to Scotland on this mission. In making their proposals to Arran they alternately bribed and threatened. They promised him, on the one

hand, in name of the French monarch, the dukedom of Chatelherault for himself, and for his son an establishment at court. A considerable pension was also offered to be guaranteed him, together with a public ratification of his conduct during the regency, and a parliamentary acknowledgment of his right of succession to the Scottish crown. On the other hand, in case he should refuse to comply, they pointed out to him that he would inevitably incur the displeasure of the French king; that he would be exposed to many dangers from the power and popularity of the Queen-dowager, and the growing alienation of the nobles; that he would be called to a severe reckoning at the majority of the sovereign; while, from the dilapidation of the revenue and the crown lands which had taken place during his government, and his general mal-administration, it would be utterly impossible for him to obtain an honourable discharge.* It is in the highest degree improbable that a proposal so extraordinary and unexpected would have been even for a moment acquiesced in by the Regent, had it not been for a circumstance which peculiarly favoured the views of the Queen-mother. This was the dangerous and well-nigh fatal distemper with which, at this time, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was afflicted. This prelate was distinguished for his almost unbounded influence over the weak-minded and fickle Arran. Separated from the counsels which would certainly have guided him to a wiser and more politic conclusion, the Governor allowed himself to be won over by the golden promises of Arran's consort, Henry, and consented to an arrangement which his better judgment ought to have at once repudiated.† For their services in this matter, Panter was rewarded with the rich abbey of Lassaye, and the Prior of St. Andrew's with the priory of Masçon. The great object of the queen's residence in France being thus happily accomplished she returned to Scotland, in full expectation of being immediately invested with the government. In the meantime two parliaments assembled at Edinburgh, in the spring and winter of the year 1551, when some laudable attempts were made to introduce measures calculated to improve and regulate the economy of social life. Enactments were passed in prohibition of adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship. And the press, which it is said teemed with indecent rhymes and ballads, with scandalous songs and tragedies, was subjected to the censorship of an ordinary, and restricted by a law, which compelled every printer to obtain a license from the queen and the governor.‡ Much exertion was used, and successfully, to repress disorder, to compose differences, to inspire respect for the law and the decisions of the justice courts, to stimulate industry, to humour the clergy, and either to conciliate or overawe the nobility.

* Maitland, vol. ii. p. 884.

† Lesley, p. 233.

‡ Maitland, vol. ii. pp. 886, 889; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 65.

* MS. Letter of Mason to the Privy Council, 4th December, 1550.

† Ibid.

While the country continued in the enjoyment of comparative tranquillity, and the queen had considerably advanced herself in the good opinions of the nation, she took advantage of the popularity she had gained, and claimed from Arran the fulfilment of his inconsiderate promise. But the

Arran retracts his promise. Regent had no intention of giving effect to his pledge. His friend and adviser, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, had recovered from his malady, which the Scottish physicians had pronounced incurable. His recovery was owing to the skill of the famous Cardan, a reputed magician.* His ascendancy over the Regent was the natural result of his restored health. Through his instrumentality it was that Arran retracted his promise, and declared his resolution to administer public affairs on his own responsibility. Though naturally indignant at such conduct, the queen dissembled her resentment, and concerted measures which should baffle the intrigues of her opponents, and bring about the event which she so ardently desired. All parties, without distinction, were assiduously courted by her. She distributed whatever favours were in her power, and when these failed she indulged in magnificent promises. In particular she endeavoured to gain over the Protestants, who had now organized a strong party, and possessed considerable influence in parliament and in the country. So tolerant were her opinions, so generous her sentiments, so large and liberal her professions, that she succeeded in detaching them from the Regent, and including them in the number of her most devoted adherents. To their exertions must be traced the ultimate resignation of the Governor, and the queen's appointment to the regency. It was evident that this consummation could not longer be delayed. 'Nearly a year had been spent in mutual crimination and intrigue.' The Regent had become contemptible in the eyes of his own subjects; his court was deserted by all men of rank or influence on all sides, with the exception of the primate. Intimation was made by the queen that parliament would be summoned, and an account exacted of his mode of administering the royal revenue. Thus pressed, Arran at length gave way; and at a meeting of the three Estates, which was held at Edinburgh, on the 12th of April, 1554, he solemnly abdicated the regency in favour of the Queen-mother. Instruments were produced, which formally approved of

* "I will be bold," says Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, "to trouble your honour a little with a merry tale. Carlotta, the Italian, took upon him the cure of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in a disease that to all other men was judged desperate and incurable. He practised upon him divers foreign inventions; he hung him certain hours in the day by the heels, to cause him to avoid at the mouth that the other ways nature could not expel; he fed him many days with young whelps; he used him sometimes with extreme heats, and so many days with extreme colds. It is said that at that time he did put a devil within him, for that since that he hath been ever the better, and that this devil was given him on credit but for nine years; so that now the time is near expired, that either he must go to hell with his devil, or fall again into his old mischief, to poison the whole country with his false practices."—*Tytler*, vol. vi. *Proofs and Illustrations*, No. VIII.

his conduct during the late administration; he was appointed governor of Dunbarton Castle, was invested with the Duchy of Chatelherault, and declared second person in the kingdom, and nearest in succession to the crown. A commission from the Queen of Scotland was then read, which conferred upon her mother the supreme authority; and the new Regent having intimated her acceptance of the office, immediately received the homage of the assembled parliament.* Thus did Mary of Lorraine, by her prudence, sagacity, and perseverance, attain to that dignity which for so long a period had been the object of her ambition.

The regency of Mary of Guise, hailed at the time with enthusiasm, was productive of consequences disastrous to the peace of the country as well as to the interests of the house of Stuart. By no means destitute of the qualities necessary Character of the to the discharge of the duties of her Regent. high position, she might have enjoyed a tranquil and prosperous reign, had she not from the first been involved in unfortunate circumstances and surrounded by bad advisers. In developing and maturing her ambitious schemes she had manifested great abilities, an accurate discrimination of character, and wonderful address in conciliating her opponents, in retaining the confidence of her adherents, and securing the affection and respect of all classes. Opposed from principle and prejudice to the Protestant party, she yet contrived by her prudent management to secure from them the support of her pretensions and the advocacy of her cause. To them, indeed, the ultimate success of her projects was principally owing.

The difficulties of her position were from the outset great. Her elevation to the Difficulties of regency was very much owing to her position. the assistance she had received from the court of France. The residence of her daughter, the youthful queen, at this court, had placed her in intimate and peculiar relations with Henry II. It was impossible that the obligations incurred by the Queen-mother should be lightly regarded or altogether ignored, nor were the Frenchmen likely to forget the part they had played or the services they had rendered. Thus, in the very commencement of her reign, the Regent was placed in circumstances which necessitated her giving offence to one or other of the powerful parties by which she was surrounded. She could not, on the one hand, endanger her alliance with France, by refusing to forward the interests of those whose claims were imperatively pressed on her attention; nor, on the other hand, could these claims be met without creating dissatisfaction among her subjects, and alienating the affections of her truest friends. Regardless of the consequences, Disposal of state however, which at first were not offices to the apparent, she proceeded to distribute the chief offices of state among the French noblemen and gentlemen who frequented her court. At this time the office of Lord Chan-

* Lesley, pp. 249, 250.

cellor was filled by the Earl of Huntly, a man of great abilities and occupying a prominent position, being at the head of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland. This nobleman was virtually dispossessed of his power, retaining it only in name, his place being filled by Monsieur de Rubay, who was intrusted with the great seal and dignified with the name of Vice-Chancellor.

The office of Comptroller, one of great importance and responsibility, involving as it did the management of the public revenue, was committed to Monsieur Villemore. D'Oscell, though without any formal position in the conduct of public affairs, was admitted into the confidence of the Regent, and constituted one of her most influential advisers. These appointments were naturally galling to the Scottish nobility; and insulting as they were to the national pride, they created universal indignation. They were the first subjects of dissension between the Regent and her people, and her popularity sustained a shock which it never afterwards recovered. There were other circumstances which materially increased the difficulties of the Queen-mother's position. Two rival parties in the state, equally matched, if not in numbers, at least in strength, with mutual jealousies and animosities, contended for the mastery over each other, and for influence over the Regent. These were the Protestants and Romanists. To the

Policy towards
the Reformed
and Catholic
parties.

former, as adherents of the ancient faith, she was closely united by her principles and her sympathies.

To the latter she was equally bound by the ties of gratitude, as without them she could not have attained to the proud eminence which had crowned and satisfied her ambition. Her wisest policy therefore was one of conciliation and forbearance, not exhibiting undue preference for either, but distributing her favours without partiality to both. It was out of her power, unfortunately, to preserve this balance of mind, or to refrain from furthering the aggrandizement of one party at the expense of the other. She wanted principles determinate in character; she was without singleness of aim and purpose; she was surrounded by selfish and unscrupulous advisers; she was besieged by needy and importunate suitors. Both parties could not be pleased. 'She could not grant enough to satisfy the Reformers, and she offended the Roman Catholics by granting their opponents anything.' The result, as might have been anticipated, was that both were dissatisfied and alienated.

One of the first acts of the new government was Disturbances in to dispatch the Earl of Huntly the North. with a commission of lieutenantcy to apprehend a notorious freebooter, John Murderac, the Laird of Moydart, a chief of the clan Ranald. The lawless character and predatory habits of the northern clans had frequently rendered necessary the adoption of severe measures for their punishment and suppression. James IV. had a crafty mode of dealing with these turbulent septs, which, as a general policy, was eminently successful.

To divert their attention and provide them with sufficient occupation in their own territories, he fomented their mutual jealousies and encouraged the natural antagonism of clan to clan, in order that, engaged with their own personal conflicts, they might neither have leisure nor inclination to combine for hostile movements against his own government. Frequently, however, and in spite of every precaution, one or other of the numerous septs started into open rebellion; and, on such occasions, a powerful nobleman, at the head of his retainers, set out for the seat of the disturbance, and aided by those who were only too glad to make common cause with him, for the purpose of avenging some old injury or fancied slight of their ancient rivals, crushed the insurrection.

During the regency of Arran, John of Moydart had openly defied the government, and refused, in answer to a summons, to appear before the court, which was then sitting at Inverness. Argyle, it appears, had undertaken to compel his attendance, and in case of his non-compliance to ravage his territories with fire and sword. This enterprise having never been conducted to a successful issue, if it was entered upon at all, and the year 1554 being

distinguished by a fresh outbreak on the part of the clan Ranald, Huntly was commissioned with full powers to bring the offenders to justice. This expedition failed; some asserting that Huntly had acted treacherously, others suspecting the fidelity of the clan Chattan, who had ruined the undertaking, they said, on account of their inveterate animosity to their leader. This animosity had its origin in the following circumstances. When the Queen-mother was about to depart for France, Mackintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, 'a young man liberally educated by the Earl of Moray,' had fallen into the hands of Huntly, who, without having charged him with any crime, except that which to him was the greatest of all offences, his refusal, arising from a love of independence, to acknowledge Huntly's superiority, had nevertheless confined him a strict prisoner, and contrived in his own absence, and by means of the instrumentality of his wife, to procure his execution.*

Whatever were the true reasons which led to the failure of Huntly's expedition to the Highlands, its unsuccessful issue was attributed to his own misconduct, and advantage taken of the circumstance by his numerous adversaries to compass his destruction. Returning in disgrace, he was immediately apprehended and committed to prison. Many circumstances might have operated in his favour with the Queen-mother. His services in her behalf, during the events which accelerated her ascendancy in the government, had been numerous and eminent. They were not sufficient, however, on the present occasion to protect him from the consequences of

* Lealey, pp. 251, 262. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 568.

his real or supposed delinquency. The fact of his punishment being already decided upon, the only question which occupied the council of the Regent was its degree and extent. Some contended that his conduct had amounted to treason, and demanded his death; others proposed his banishment to France. Both counsels were objected to by his principal enemy, Gilbert Earl of Cassillis. It was finally resolved to deprive him of all his offices and to banish him to France for five years. The latter part of his sentence was afterwards commuted for the payment of a heavy fine.

On the assembling of parliament at Edinburgh (June, 1555) many wise and salutary measures of legal reform were proposed and adopted. Subsequently to this the Queen-regent travelled in royal state into the southern counties to hold justiciary courts, and from the following account of her proceedings by an English nobleman she appears to have discovered ability and discretion in the exercise of her judicial powers. "So far as I can learn, the Scotch queen doth greatly desire that justice be ministered on the Borders; and for the mere appearance thereof, since her repair to Jedworth, I do well understand that she hath called before her divers of the worst and greatest faulters both of Teviotdale and the March, and doth punish them in ward."* The principal adviser of the Regent

Henry Sinclair in the framing of measures for the simplifying of legal processes and the abridgement of the vexatious delays which but too frequently occurred in the settlement of suits was the "learned Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, Vice-President of the College of Justice, who had been a favourite counsellor of her late husband, James V.; but finding himself neglected by the Governor Arran, had retired to France." His legal knowledge was profound, and he enjoyed an almost equal reputation as a scholar and a statesman. In the judicious exercise of the powers intrusted to him many abuses were corrected, many corruptions were swept away, and justice, it is generally acknowledged, was then more impartially administered than at almost any former period in the history of the country.

The same spirit of reform in another direction was manifested by certain statutes of the parliament of 1555, "proscribing Robin Hood, Little John, the Queen of May, and the Abbot of Unreason, and prohibiting those ancient games and festivals in which women 'singing about summer trees' disturbed the queen and her lieges in their progress through the country." †

An event now occurred which threatened seriously to impair the Regent's popularity and to create an irreparable breach between her and her subjects. This was the attempted introduction into Scotland of a standing army, and that army to be

* Fragment of a letter from Lord Conyers to the Earl of Shrewsbury, cited by Keith. Appendix to vol. i.

† Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 600. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 64.

composed of foreign mercenaries. Such a proposition could not fail to be equally offensive to the nobility and the nation at large. To the former it was especially obnoxious. For as an introduction to the measure, and in part Restraints to be also to furnish a pretence for its imposed on the adoption, it was contemplated to break down the power of the barons by enforcing a reduction in the number of their respective retainers, and prohibiting their appearance in public with a train of followers more numerous than their personal attendants. Under the feudal system it was not an uncommon thing for a Douglas or a Huntly to muster an assemblage of dependents sufficient to overawe the sovereign, and to impose upon him such terms as they thought proper. Acting in accordance with the counsels of her French advisers, the queen endeavoured, but without success, to introduce the sagacious policy of Henry VII., and to restrict within proper limits the almost regal domination of the Scottish barons. Proclamations were issued forbidding the attendance of a nobleman at the meetings of parliament, or the public conventions, with any other followers than his domestic servants.

As an answer to these proclamations, and by way of bravado, the Earl of Angus Bold conduct immediately rode to Edinburgh at of Angus. the head of a thousand horsemen. Appearing in the presence of the Regent, and upbraided by her for this daring violation of her express injunctions, the baron made this reply: "Well, madam, the knaves *will* follow me. Gladly would I get rid of them, for they devour all my beef and my bread; and much, madam, would I be beholden to you if you could tell me how to get quit of them." On this occasion she unfolded to the earl her scheme for the introduction of foreign troops, which, by forming a standing force, would effectually protect the realm from English invasion. With the old and sturdy spirit of a Scottish noble, Angus replied, shortly, "We will fight ourselves, and that better than any hired fellows."*

Notwithstanding this characteristic answer, the Regent persevered in attempting to carry out her measure. For the support of the foreign troops which should constitute a standing army, she proposed that a tax should be levied on landed property, and that for this purpose a general survey of the country should be undertaken, and the assessments adjusted according to the annual value of the estates which each baron possessed. The ob-

* Hume's History of the Douglasses. At another interview which took place on occasion of a court banquet, the queen proposed to Angus to place one of her garrisons of hired troops in his castle of Tantallan. For some time Angus made no direct reply, but addressing apparently a goshawk which he had brought in on his wrist, and which he was then feeding, he remarked, "The devil take the greedy gled! (kite) thou hast too much already, yet thou desirest more?" The Regent having again introduced the subject, he at length answered, "Oh yes, madam—why not, madam?—all is yours—ye shall have it. But, madam, I must be captain of your muster, and keeper of Tantallan."

noxiousness of this tax was speedily manifested in the spirit of determined opposition which it called forth. Noblemen and gentlemen, the barons to the number of three hundred, standing army. assembled in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and, after denouncing the measure in strong terms, deputed Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and the Laird of Wemyss, to wait upon the queen, and remonstrate with her against the unconstitutional step she was then meditating. They remarked that Scotland had never wanted brave defenders in the person of their own sons; that they, like their ancestors before them, were prepared to fight her battles; that the admission of mercenaries into the country was hazardous and uncalled for; that the proposed registration of their lands, and inquisition into their fortunes, were unjustifiable innovations on their ancient customs, and would hardly be submitted to by the nation. This spirited remonstrance had the desired effect, and the measure was at once abandoned.

Peace had for some time been continued with England. The commencement of the war, however, between Henry of France and Philip of Spain, threatened to involve the nation in hostilities. The former had the Pope as an ally; the latter, in consequence of his marriage with Mary of England, was strengthened by considerable reinforcements from that country. Sensible of the great importance of securing the assistance of Scotland as a means of diverting the attention of his enemies, Henry dispatched ambassadors to induce the Regent to declare war against England. Naturally attached to the house of Guise, the queen was willing to give effect

to the wishes of her kinsman. She assembled the nobles at Newbattle, recounted the numerous injuries which from time to time they had suffered at the hands of the English, and urged them at once to assume the offensive, and dispatch their forces to the Borders. Various motives have been assigned to account for the refusal of the barons on this occasion to carry out her plans. It is not improbable that jealousy of her French advisers, together with a natural unwillingness to engage in war merely to assist Henry, principally weighed with them in the decision they arrived at. It is certain their refusal was instant and peremptory. Foiled in her intentions, the queen compassed her end in another way. By the advice it is believed of D'Osell, she ordered, in violation of the late treaty, the fortress of Eyemouth, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, to be rebuilt. Here she planted a strong garrison, and established a magazine for military stores and artillery. This step, she was perfectly aware, would provoke the hostility of the English, for during the course of the last negotiations it had been mutually agreed that this fortress should be razed to the ground and never again reconstructed. The expectations of the Regent were at once realised. Eyemouth Castle was invested, and a pretence furnished for an immediate declaration of hostilities. In the

meantime, aware of the disposition of the Regent, the Border chiefs had already made an incursion into the English territory; but, after some successful forays, a body of these marauders, under Lord Home, were encountered and signally defeated at Blackbrey. War being now determined on, proclamations were issued sunmouing the army to assemble at Edinburgh. From this city the Regent proceeded to Kelso, and there, in council, proposed that England should be instantly invaded. This was a step which the nobles at once decidedly refused to take. Disappointed and indignant, the queen attempted to compel them to the adoption of her measures by continuing the war in her own person, and by besieging, with the French force at her command, the castle of Wark. Troops and cannon were dispatched across the Tweed by the orders of D'Osell. The council, who had not been consulted in the matter, were enraged at this assumption of authority on the part of a foreigner; and, at the instance of the Duke of Chatelherault, an assembly of the nobles was convened at Maxwell Haugh, when a resolution was passed, which ordered the siege of Wark to be raised, and the troops to return to their own country. Her plans being thus everywhere thwarted, the Regent with reluctance disbanded her army.

We now come to one of the most interesting events in the history of the present times, the marriage between the youthful queen and the Dauphin of France. Many reasons weighed with the queen-mother in desiring the consummation of this alliance. The centre of contending factions, she had to play a difficult and arduous part. Ambitious of power, and desirous, if possible, of perpetuating her government, she perceived that in order to gain this end rigorous restraints must be imposed on the growing domination of such noblemen as Huntly, Argyle, and Chatelherault. Nothing could be better fitted to further her projects in this respect, as well as to confer additional strength on her own party, than an intimate union with France through the contemplated marriage of her daughter. But, however popular this alliance might be in the latter country, there were not wanting at court advisers of the monarch who strongly dissuaded him from giving it his sanction. Among these was the Constable Montmorency, who had exerted all his influence to break off an engagement which 'reflected so much lustre on the princes of Lorraine.' He had pointed out, that in the absence of the sovereign it would be difficult, if not impossible, to maintain order in the country; and that for this reason the young queen should be betrothed on one of the princes of the blood, who, by residing in Scotland, 'might preserve that kingdom an useful ally to France, which, by a nearer union to the crown, would become a mutinous and ungovernable province.'* The constable, however, was at this

Mary's marriage to the Dauphin, Dec. 14, 1557.

French opposition to the marriage.

* Memoirs of Sir James Melville, p. 72. Published by the Maitland Club.

time a prisoner in Spain; and the influence of the house of Lorraine prevailed over these prudent counsels.

In the month of December, a parliament was summoned at Edinburgh to consider a letter which had just been received from the French monarch. After reciting at some length the ancient treaties and long continuance of friendship between the two nations, this letter expressed a desire that, as the Dauphin had attained the full legal age, the solemnization of his marriage with the Queen of Scots should no longer be delayed; and that for this purpose proper persons should be chosen out of the three Estates to proceed as ambassadors to the French court, and give to the important ceremony the sanction of their presence. This missive was favourably received by parliament; and, to give effect to the wishes of the

king, eight noblemen and gentlemen were selected as commissioners from the Scottish nation, and authorised to complete the marriage. These were the Earl of Cassillis, Lords Fleming and Seton, the Earl of Rothes, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, president of the Court of Session, Lord James Stewart, prior of St. Andrew's, and John Erskine, provost of Montrose. The instructions they received were such as to do all honour to the parliament from which they emanated. Every precaution was adopted which could

tend to secure the integrity and independence of the kingdom, and the maintenance of its laws and institutions. After a somewhat hazardous voyage, in which two of their vessels were wrecked, the ambassadors arrived at the French court, and at once entered on the peculiar duties of their mission. They found no difficulty in obtaining a full recognition of all their demands. To all appearance nothing could be more fair and honourable than the manner in which they were met by the French king. Preliminaries having been thus satisfactorily adjusted, both parties proceeded to arrange the conditions of the union. It was mutually agreed that the Dauphin, by consent of the king, his father, and his royal

consort, should bear the name and title of King of Scotland; that the arms of that crown should be quartered with his own; and that on his accession to the throne of France, he should assume the title and arms of both kingdoms united under one crown. It was provided further, that the eldest son of the marriage should be king of France and Scotland; and that if daughters were the only issue, the eldest should be Queen of Scotland; that as a daughter of France, she should be portioned with a dowry of four hundred thousand crowns, and be disposed of in marriage with the united consent of the Estates of Scotland and the King of France. The jointure of Mary was fixed at six hundred thousand livres if her husband died after his accession to the throne; but if she became a widow when he was still

Dauphin, it was to be reduced to half that sum. Lastly, the commissioners agreed, immediately after the marriage, to swear fealty to the Dauphin in the name of the Estates of Scotland, on the ground that their sovereign, the Dauphiness, was his consort.* These conditions having been formally arranged, the marriage of the illustrious personages was solemnized with great pomp at Paris by the Cardinal Bourbon, in the cathedral church of Notre Dame. The ceremony was attended by the King and Queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood, and the most august personages of the realm.

But while everything on the part of the French had been conducted apparently with fairness and impartiality, in reality they had been guilty of baseness and treachery. Possessed of an insatiable ambition, the house of Guise attempted to compass by fraud what they could not obtain by force. Projects of a dishonourable character were entertained and carried out by some of the most distinguished members of the court of Henry II., amongst whom were the King himself, the Keeper of the Great Seals, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Ten days previous to the public transactions which ratified the conditions of marriage between the queen and Dauphin, Mary had been induced to subscribe three secret documents, containing stipulations highly dishonourable and perfidious. By the first, should she herself die without issue, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or succession might thereafter be connected with it, in free gift upon the King of France. The second provided that the same monarch should hold possession of the kingdom, till the sum of a million pieces of eight should be received by him, in discharge of the nation's obligations for expenses incurred by the education and maintenance of the queen in France. The last document embodied a declaration to the effect that these deeds were to be held valid, notwithstanding anything to the contrary she might afterwards be persuaded or necessitated to declare in consequence of the solicitation of her subjects, or the resolution of her parliament.† As a party in these secret and underhand transactions, Mary, from her youth and inexperience, being at this time only fifteen, must be held guiltless. The whole scheme was evidently concocted by the princes of the Guisian family, for the purpose of aggrandizing that ambitious house. Their designs on the liberties and independence of Scotland were speedily apparent. We have seen that the commissioners had agreed to swear fealty to the Dauphin, in virtue of his marriage with their sovereign. Their own interpretation of this act attached to it slight importance. His title, as king, they viewed as simply honorary and complimentary. But the French insisted on annexing to it solid privileges and supreme power. When the rejoicings consequent on the marriage ceremonial

* Keith, vol. i. Appendix, No. XI. + Keith, p. 74.

were concluded, the ambassadors were summoned to appear before the French council, and the chancellor demanded that the crown, or other insignia of royalty, should be produced, in order that the crown-matrimonial might be conferred on the Dauphin, and the rights of a legitimate sovereign vested in his person. To a demand so extraordinary it was at once replied that their mission was explicit; that they could not exceed their powers; and that even if it were not so, they would never be a party in any transaction which tended to change the order of succession to the Scottish crown. In this matter they had lately been furnished with a precedent for their conduct, which they were prudent enough to follow. The marriage articles between Mary of England and Philip of Spain had been framed on the principle of regarding with jealousy and suspicion the near approach of a foreigner to the throne. The commissioners from Scotland acted on the same principle, and their refusal to depart from it was firm and decided.*

Shortly afterwards the commissioners set out on their return to Scotland. It was a disastrous

journey, for, on reaching Dieppe, four of their number died suddenly. Reid, the Bishop of Orkney, expired on the 6th of September.

After a few days, the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, together with Lord Fleming, were also carried off, their illness lasting only a few hours. From their determined opposition to the ambitious schemes of the house of Guiso grave suspicions were entertained that these unexpected deaths were the results of poison, administered by some of their unscrupulous adherents. It is certain that their removal was very opportune for the French party, as their influence would have been employed against them when the questions at issue came to be decided by the Scottish Estates. The parliament assembled at Edinburgh in the beginning of December. Great efforts were made by the partisans

of the house of Guise to obtain the consent of the three Estates to the conferring on the Dauphin of the crown-matrimonial. In this they were actively supported by the Queen-mother and the friends of the reformed religion. The movement was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Hamilton, whose interests would be seriously compromised by the proposed transaction. The contest was keen but unequal, for the party of the Regent, strengthened on this occasion by accessions from the Reformers, was all-powerful. Accordingly, an act was passed, declaring that the crown-matrimonial should be granted to the consort of Mary; that during his marriage his title should be King of Scotland; "that all letters should henceforth run in the style of 'Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Vienne;' and that the great seal of the kingdom and the current coin of the realm should be changed."† Every precaution was adopted to

guard against any alteration in the order of succession being effected by this act. But, not content with the security thus afforded, the Duke of Hamilton entered his solemn protest against the concession which had now been made. Perhaps the most surprising circumstance in this transaction is the important assistance rendered to the Regent by the party of the Reformation. Certain it is that without this the

would have signally failed in carrying out her measures. The only explanation which seems probable is, that the Protestants were desirous of conciliating the queen by timely compliances with her demands, when these were not incompatible with their ideas of absolute right and justice. Times of difficulty were at hand. Contests, the severity of which had been mitigated by intervening events, were about to be renewed; priestly tyranny was becoming every day more intolerable; and, with the prospect of coming into collision with the Romish party, a conciliatory policy was evidently the most prudent for the adherents of the reformed religion.

While these negotiations were being settled, the war between France and England was maintained on both sides with vigour and determination. In the progress of the campaign the arms of the Duke of Guise were attended with signal successes, and finally crowned by the capture of Calais. Scotland was but slightly involved in the contests of this period. The Borderers, indeed, of the respective countries were, as usual, actively engaged in forays; many incursions took place; many villages were burnt, and much booty secured. Two noblemen were taken prisoners by the English. An English fleet, under the conduct of Sir John Clare, was dispatched to harass the coasts of Scotland. Proceeding to the Orkneys, for the purpose of destroying Kirkwall, he landed a considerable force; but, before his operations could be carried out, his fleet was compelled, in consequence of a violent tempest, to put out to sea, and, without any further attempt, he returned to England.

At this time there happened an event the importance of which, in its bearings on the history of Europe, cannot be over estimated. This was the death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England. Distinguished in after years for the prudence, sagacity, and foresight of her counsels, this princess marked the commencement of her reign by an act of policy which proved her possession of the qualities now indicated. Motives were not wanting, urging her to carry on with vigour the war with France. Calais, which for two centuries had been in the possession of England, was now lost. The conduct of the house of Guise, in advancing the claims of Mary to the English throne, and setting aside the title of Elizabeth, whom they declared illegitimate, together with the assumption by Mary and her husband of the arms of England, were calculated to awaken her resentment and provoke her hostility.

* Maitland, p. 903. † Keith, p. 77; Lesley, p. 268.

Whatever were her feelings, she effectually dissembled them; and when treaties were concluded at the Chateau Cambresis between France and Spain, she consented to become a party in these negotiations. With this view she dispatched commissioners from England, who were instructed, however, that unless Scotland were included in the present treaty, it was needless to proceed further.* Treaty of Norham, The Queen-regent was not un-31st May, 1550. willing to conclude a peace, and Maitland of Lethington, her secretary, was sent to France to enter into such arrangements as might seem expedient. The result was that, independent of the treaties between England, France, and Spain, a separate treaty was concluded between Scotland and England.† The final negotiations on this subject were completed at Norham. It was provided by this treaty that the fortress of Eyemouth should be once more destroyed, that several castles lately erected on the English Borders should be also razed, and that a lasting peace should be proclaimed between the two countries.

In the meantime, the Reformation, which had Progress of the happily begun in Scotland, was Reformation. making rapid progress. Protestant opinions were almost universally diffused throughout the most populous parts of the country; and, whatever advances were made in religious enlightenment and zeal, were owing to the extraordinary exertions of the intrepid Knox. The Reformer, after the capture of the castle of St. Andrew's, having passed three years as a prisoner in France, regained his Career of John liberty (1550) at the intercession of Knox. Edward VI. Subsequent to this, having taken refuge at the English court, he was compelled to escape to the continent, in consequence of the accession of Mary. His residence at Geneva, and intimate association with Calvin, confirmed his attachment to the forms of Presbyterian worship, and induced a dislike of the more elaborate services of the Church of England. The year 1558 was memorable, as it witnessed the return of

His return to the Reformer to Scotland, the subject of unalterable convictions and an invincible determination to do, as God enabled him, his great work, and at all hazards to complete the establishment of the Reformation. Everywhere his efforts in the cause of truth were crowned with remarkable success. His followers comprised many of the most eminent of the nobility: Erskine of Dun, Archibald Lord Lorn—afterwards Earl of Argyle—the Master of Mar, the Lord James Stewart—afterwards Regent—the Earl of Glencairn, the Earl Marischal, Sir James Sandilands, commonly known as Lord St. John, were amongst the number of his most distinguished adherents. It was impossible that such an example should be without its effect on the nation at large. Multitudes of all ranks surrounded his pulpit, attracted by the impassioned discourses of the great preacher. The Roman Ca-

tholic party, for a long time indifferent to the growing ascendancy of their opponents, were at length alarmed, and summoned Knox to answer for his conduct before an Ecclesiastical Convention. Arriving in Edinburgh for this purpose, no proceedings were instituted against him, but, on the contrary, he was permitted to preach without molestation. Tolerant as the Regent appeared on this occasion, she exhibited a different spirit when, having received a letter from the Reformer, by the hands of the Earl of Glencairn, exhorting her to renounce the errors of the Papacy, she handed it with an expression of contempt to the Archbishop of Glasgow, asking him whether he desired to read a pasquil—meaning, a pasquinade. At this period of his history, Knox received an Departure of Knox invitation from the congregation of for Geneva. Geneva to become their pastor. Induced probably by the dangerous position in which he was at this time placed he accepted of the invitation, and immediately set out for the continent. No sooner had he departed than he was again summoned to appear and stand his trial. In consequence of his failure to obey this summons he was summarily condemned, and burnt in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh. Scotland, however, was not left without zealous and indefatigable preachers. Connected with a proclamation which was shortly issued to compel their attendance to answer Temper of the for their boldness, an incident hap- barons. pened which manifested the tone and temper of the barons who belonged to the Reformed Church. A numerous body having accompanied to the capital their respective ministers, and somewhat alarmed the Regent, she commanded all who had not been, specially summoned to repair to the Borders for fifteen days. Refusing compliance with this injunction, the significance of which was apparent, they forced their way into the presence of the Regent, and addressed her in the following strong terms: "We know, madam, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves. They trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer." This courageous address was delivered by Chalmers of Gathgirth, and, at its conclusion, the barons, who had hitherto remained uncovered, placed their steel caps upon their heads with a menacing air.*

Matters, which were evidently hastening to a crisis, were further precipitated by the drawing up, on the 3rd of December, 1557, by the lords of the congregation, of that memorable National covenant which at once put an end to all hesitation on the part of the Reformers as to their future proceedings, and formed the connecting link which banded them together into one united and powerful association. The signatures of many noblemen, including the Earls of Glencairn, Argyle,

* State Papers, vol. i. p. 69.

† MS. instructions of Elizabeth to Lord William Howard. Rymer Fœdera, vol. xv. pp. 513, 527.

* Knox's History, p. 103 Keith, p. 65; Spottiswood Book ii. p. 94.

Morton, and Lord Lorn, were attached to this document. It embodied a declaration of their principles, and set forth in plain language their determination to secure for themselves and their adherents, the free and undisturbed exercise of the religion they professed. The formation of this Protestant league may be traced to the influence of Knox, who had dispatched from the continent a spirited address to the leaders of the movement, particularly Erskine of Dun, and Wishart of Pitarrow. Great consternation prevailed among the Roman Catholic party, in consequence of the adoption of these measures. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the Regent, but, from motives which can easily be understood, they were at this time unheeded. Policy demanded, on the part of the Queen-mother, the greatest forbearance in her treatment of the Reformers. She was then engaged in the project she had always so much at heart—the union of Mary with the Dauphin. The marriage had been proposed to parliament, but the sanction of that body had yet to be obtained. It was obvious that any indication of hostility towards the Protestants would have been fatal to her designs. Again, we have seen her anxiety that the crown matrimonial should be conferred on the Dauphin, and that this was accomplished through the assistance of the adherents of Knox. These considerations sufficiently account for the seeming indifference of the Regent to the complaints of her Romish subjects.

Notwithstanding the toleration exercised by the Queen-mother, the priesthood were still powerful enough to manifest their old spirit of tyranny and persecution. This was exhibited in their cruel

Martyrdom of treatment of Walter Mill, an old Mill, April, 1558. and enfeebled man, who, at the age of eighty-two, was condemned to the flames in the city of St. Andrew's. Universal indignation was awakened throughout the country by this murder. Measures were taken to instruct the nation as to the extreme oppression experienced at the hands of the ecclesiastical rulers. An address was also presented to the Regent, demanding the acknowledgment of their rights, and redress for their injuries. This address, which was full and explicit, strong in its statements, and imperative in its requirements, was presented by Sir James Sandilands, Preceptor of the Knights of St. John; and, although the Regent gave it no immediate answer, she promised to take it into her serious consideration. This temporizing policy produced different effects on the Protestants and Roman Catholics. The former were, in a measure, satisfied, and relying on the assurances of the Regent, abstained for the present from any public exercise of their religion. The latter were indignant at the timidity she discovered, and attempted to urge her to the adoption of more decided and severe measures. Terms of compromise were offered to the acceptance of both parties, but these were so unfavourable to the Protestants, that they were at once rejected. Parliament having assembled, on occasion of the return from France of the commissioners

dispatched to arrange the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, the lords of the congregation had prepared certain articles embodying their demands, with the view of presenting them for the consideration of the three Estates. Through the influence of the Regent, and by her earnest request, they desisted from their intention, and contented themselves with presenting to parliament a solemn protestation. This instrument was remarkable for the character of its statements, and the energetic language in which they were expressed; but this is not the place to give a detailed account of its contents.

From the remarks which have now been made, it will appear that, so long as any change of policy thing was to be gained from the in the Regent. exercise of forbearance towards the Protestants, that forbearance was uniformly extended. From no love of the reformed religion were its adherents treated with leniency and consideration. State reasons alone weighed with the Regent in the adoption and prosecution of this course of policy. But, no sooner did these motives cease to operate, than her conduct underwent a material change. She had employed the Reformers as the instruments of her ambition. Without their concurrence and assistance her greatest projects could not have been realized. All her schemes had been crowned with success. In Scotland she reigned supreme; in France the marriage of her daughter with the Dauphin was consummated, and the title of King of Scotland conferred upon the latter. It is not unusual for princes to despise the instruments by which they themselves have been elevated to power. It was reasonable to expect that the solicitations of the Roman Catholic party, to which she was attached by her principles, would not always be disregarded; and that the exercise of the powers they demanded would one day be granted them. But these, though legitimate explanations of the Regent's change of policy, do not comprehend or exhaust the whole facts of the case. There were other and more weighty considerations which actuated the queen in the conduct she subsequently pursued.

We have already alluded to the circumstance that claims were advanced on behalf of Mary to the throne of England. By the unprincipled conduct of Henry VIII., plausible pretences had been furnished for the setting forth to the world of these claims. The illegitimacy of both his daughters had been declared by Act of Parliament; but, notwithstanding of this, they were both called to the throne by the monarch himself, who was empowered to settle the order of succession. The validity of this settlement had never been formally recognised by the sovereigns of other nations. The right of Mary, however, to the throne had never been the subject of dispute. But the cases of Mary and Elizabeth were, in the estimation of Roman Catholics at least, totally distinct. The former was a member of the true church, and pledged to the upholding of the ancient faith. The latter was an acknowledged heretic, bent upon carrying out the mea-

Projects of the
House of
Guise.

asures of her father, and completing the establishment of the detested Reformation. Her accession to the crown was, therefore, throughout Europe, viewed by the subjects of the Pope with indignation and alarm. Advantage was taken of this circumstance by the ambitious princes of the house of

Guise. Aware that their projects would be regarded with no unfavourable eye by their own partisans, and by those of every country

who would esteem the downfall of Protestantism as the happiest event for the world, they persuaded Mary and her husband, as already stated, to assume the title of King and Queen of England. This style and appellation were employed in public documents, some of which are still extant.* Their coin and plate were engraved with the arms of England, and everywhere throughout Europe their unfounded assumption was proclaimed. If the putting forth of these pretensions had been the only steps which they contemplated for the vindication of their claims upon the English throne, Elizabeth might well have afforded to despise such contemptible exhibitions. But the princes of Lorraine were resolved on the adoption of more serious measures. Their project pointed to the invasion of England; but how was this to be accomplished? "Elizabeth was already seated on the throne; she possessed all the intrepidity of spirit, and all the arts of policy which were necessary for maintaining her station. England was growing into reputation as a naval power. The marine of France had been utterly neglected; and Scotland remained the only avenue by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached." It was on this side, therefore, that the Guisian princes determined that the attack should be made.†

To obtain the promise of assistance from the Regent, now became an object of the first importance. Messengers, accordingly, were dispatched to Scotland for this purpose, soon after the Peace of Cambrai. To the honour of this princess, she was wholly disinclined to embark in so wild an enterprise. Monsieur de Bettancourt, who had been specially deputed from the court of France on this mission, attempted, but in vain, to obtain her consent. To all his arguments she replied that the project would meet with no encouragement from Scotland; that the nation were unwilling to embroil themselves in a war with England; that, above all, their predilections in favour of the reformed religion would rather incline them to assist Elizabeth than to further the ambitious designs of their own sovereign. In the spirit of these remarks the Regent addressed serious remonstrances to the princes of Lorraine, and endeavoured to dissuade them from their enterprise. In this, however, she was signally unsuccessful; and, in an evil hour, reluctantly, and against her better judgment, she at last consented to the schemes, which ended, not as their inventors imagined, in the dethronement of Elizabeth, and

the overthrow of the Reformation, but in their own discomfiture, the ruin of the French faction in Scotland, and the final triumph of the Protestant cause.

These negotiations, and their unfortunate issue, sufficiently explain the change of policy which was speedily manifested by the queen towards the Reformers. Committed by her own act to the adoption of measures which would involve the nation in a war with the English sovereign, her first step was directed to the breaking up of that powerful and united confederacy, of which the lords of the congregation were the acknowledged leaders. Unless this could be accomplished, and the Roman Catholics reinstated in their former position of influence and authority, it was hopeless to expect any earnest movement on the part of the Scottish people. Already was Elizabeth looked up to as the defender of the Reformed faith; and not till the sentiments of the country underwent a change in favour of the Papacy, could assistance be expected which should aid in her expulsion from the throne. Resolved, therefore, on the destruction of the Protestant party, she concluded that there was but one weapon with which her purpose could be effected, and that was persecution. The result, as might have been anticipated, was an immediate collision between the Protestants and Romanists. This more particularly occurred in a convention of the clergy, which was held at Edinburgh, in March, 1559, where the demands of the Reformers were not only refused, but steps taken which added considerably to their anger and exasperation. No language, it was declared, should henceforth be employed in the public services of the church except the Latin. An act was at the same time promulgated by the Regent, which condemned the principles of the Reformers, prescribed conformity in religion, and enjoined upon all the observance of daily mass; and summoning to her presence their chief leaders, she announced her intention of dealing with them in a different spirit from that she had hitherto discovered, and plainly intimated that their position was eminently perilous. Further, as a parliament was appointed to be held at Stirling, she issued proclamations enjoining the attendance of some of the most eminent of their ministers, to answer the accusations which had been lodged against them. This behaviour on the part of the queen naturally awakened indignation and alarm in the lords of the congregation. Resolved upon remonstrance, they dispatched the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr, to wait upon the Queen-mother. In calm and dignified language they represented their right to hold and profess such opinions in religious matters as they thought proper, and requested her to abstain from interfering with their preachers, so long as they could not be charged with disseminating principles dangerous to the state, or contrary to the word of God. Provoked

Collision between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics.

Remonstrance of the lords of the congregation.

* Anderson's *Diplom. Scot.*, No. 63, 164.

† Robertson, *Forbes' Collection*.

at these remonstrances, the Regent exclaimed with bitterness and contempt, that she would silence their ministers, though they were as eloquent as St. Paul.* Reminded of the fair promises of toleration, so frequently made to the leaders of the congregation, she replied in words which cannot be sufficiently reprobated—that the promises of princes ought not to be urged upon them, unless they could conveniently observe them. The reply of the deputation was bold and spirited: "If, Madam," said they, "you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance; and it will be for your grace to consider the calamities which such a state of things must entail upon the country."† It is possible that the adoption of this decided tone might have induced the queen to reconsider her decision, had not an event now occurred which determined her to pursue the course on which she had entered. Intelligence was communicated

Perth embraces to her at this time that Perth the Reformed 'had publicly embraced the Reformed opinions.' In great consternation, she instantly sent for the provost of that city, and commanded him to enforce the laws, and put an end to the religious disturbances which distinguished his district. The provost, Lord Ruthven, replied that 'he could bring the bodies of his citizens to her grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her, till she was fully satiate of their blood; but over their consciences she had no power.'‡ For this 'malapert' reply, as she termed it, he was sharply reprov'd; and the Regent having again recourse to her former oppressive measures, repeated her citation to Paul Methven and others of the Reformers, to repair to Stirling, and appear before the parliament summoned to assemble in the month of May. In addition to this, she ordered the festival of Easter to be celebrated with all the accustomed pomp and ceremony peculiar to the Church of Rome.

Affairs were now approaching to a crisis, and both parties prepared for the collision which appeared inevitable. At this period, however, the return of Knox to his native country, in consequence of the urgent invitation addressed to him by the lords of the congregation in the preceding year, produced an important change in the state of parties. The Reformers were immensely strengthened and encouraged. Their opponents were proportionably dismayed. Their former experience of the presence of this bold and uncompromising man, afforded the Romanists little comfort in the prospect of the struggles that were now before them. The effects of his commanding influence and overpowering eloquence were not yet forgotten; and they trembled to confront him in circumstances calculated to call forth all his surpassing powers and invincible energy. His first act was to repair to Dundee,

and enter into consultation with his friends on the measures to be adopted in this emergency. As the time approached for the appearance at Stirling of the ministers who had been served with citations, the lords of the congregation resolved to accompany them, and for this purpose some of the principal barons set out for Perth. From this place they deputed John Erskine of Dun, a man of great authority with their party, and distinguished for the prudence and moderation of his counsels, to wait upon the Regent at Stirling, and explain the object they had in view. Though their numbers were considerable, they were without arms, and had no hostile intentions; they were only desirous of affording, by their presence, countenance to their ministers, and aiding them in answering the unjust accusations which had been brought against them. Apparently, these representations were frankly accepted by the Regent, in the same spirit in which they were offered. In reality, however, this was not the case. But, concealing her duplicity of the real sentiments, she avowed her

willingness to concede any reasonable demands; and that, if the people would disperse, she would grant them the free exercise of their religion, discharge the summonses against their preachers, and secure to them the unmolested discharge of their sacred functions. Trusting to the sincerity of the Regent, Erskine wrote letters to his friends, detailing the results of his mission, and advising that the conditions of the Queen should be at once complied with. Accordingly, the greater part of the people were dismissed from Perth, by orders of the barons, who, however, remained behind to observe the issue. The conduct of the Queen-mother was on this occasion extremely treacherous. No sooner were her wishes fulfilled, than her promises were conveniently forgotten. Her conduct evinced that she had formed engagements without the slightest intention of giving them effect. She gave no orders for the toleration of the Protestant faith; she discharged none of the summonses against the ministers, but commanded them, in every case, to be rigidly enforced. On the day appointed for the trial, no appearances being made on the part of the Reformers, they were at once condemned as contumacious; sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them; and the lieges were forbidden, under the penalty of high-treason, to harbour or support them. It has been attempted to defend the proceedings of the Regent, on the plea that the conditions agreed upon between herself and Erskine had not been fulfilled, because the barons and the ministers remained at Perth. The fallaciousness of this defence is apparent, from the circumstance that the agreement evidently pointed to the dispersion of the people, and apart from their followers, she had nothing to apprehend from the lords of the congregation.

We can readily imagine the resentment of the barons at such palpable duplicity. Erskine indignantly withdrew from court, and, rejoining his friends at Perth, warned them to be on their

* Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 310.

† Narrative of Maitland of Lethington, Keith, vol. i. p. 186.

‡ Tytler, vol. vi. p. 96.

guard against the dangers which now threatened them. Knox, who was then at Perth, opportunely mounted the pulpit, and delivered one of his most powerful discourses against idolatry in general, and the adoration of the host in particular. The people

were agitated, but his large congregation dispersed without tumult. There now occurred one of those strange incidents which, trivial in themselves, give birth to momentous consequences. At the conclusion of the services, when the church was comparatively empty, a priest uncovered one of the rich altar-pieces and prepared to celebrate mass. A young man, who witnessed the proceeding, exclaimed that this was intolerable. A blow from the priest was answered by a stone, which struck the altar and demolished one of the images. This was the signal for a general attack. In a short time the altar was destroyed, the shrines despoiled of their ornaments, the beautiful carved work broken to pieces, and the images and pictures shared the same fate. On the same day similar excesses were committed in other parts of the town, the houses of the Grey and Black Friars were plundered, and the Charter-house or Carthusian monastery, a building of great magnificence, was wholly demolished. Nor was the popular indignation satisfied with this manifestation. The same spirit of destructiveness exhibited itself in other places, particularly in the town of Cupar-Fife.

When these proceedings were related to the queen, she was transported with rage and grief, and her resentment was expressed in no measured terms. She denounced summary and dreadful vengeance against the Reformers. Lamenting the destruction of the beautiful Carthusian Church, and the desecration of the tombs of James I., his queen, Jane Beaufort, and of her own mother-in-law, the late Queen Margaret Tudor, she declared her resolution to 'raze the town of Perth to the ground and sow it with salt, as a monument of perpetual desolation.'* She instantly summoned to her assistance the Earls of Hamilton, Argyle, and Athol, with their friends and vassals, and sent orders to D'Osell to join her with the French troops under his command. At the head of the forces thus collected, she advanced to Perth, on the 18th of May, with the hope of surprising the confederates. Intelligence, however, of these preparations had reached the Protestants, who lost no time in preparing for their defence. Everywhere throughout the country the greatest exertions were made to dispatch assistance to their friends. Amongst others who were foremost with their aid was Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, who mustered two thousand five hundred horse and foot, and marching with all speed, succeeded in avoiding the Regent's camp, and reached Perth in safety. This welcome reinforcement not only secured the town against the dangers of an attack, but in a few days enabled the Reformers to take the field and to face the Queen, who advanced against them with a strong force.

* Knox; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 101.

Previous, however, to committing themselves to more decided measures, the lords of the congregation addressed three letters, one to the Regent, another to the nobility, and a third to the Roman Catholic prelates. In the first they professed their willingness to continue in obedience to the State on the single condition of being allowed to worship God according to their consciences. They declared their determination to lay a statement of their case before their Sovereign and the King of France, and willingly to abide by their decision.* The second letter addressed the nobles in stronger language, embodying a defence and justification of their conduct. "Our long and earnest request hath been," they remarked, "and still is, that in open assembly it may be disputed in presence of indifferent auditors, whether that these abominations, named by the pestilent Papists religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ or not. Now this our humble request being denied us, our lives are sought in a most cruel manner; and ye, the nobility, whose duty is to defend innocents and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors, do, notwithstanding, follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us, your brethren and natural countrymen."† The third letter had this remarkable superscription: "To the generation of Antichrist,

Letter to the Regent from the congregation.
Letter to the nobility.
Letter to the prelates.

the pestilent prelates and their shavelings, within Scotland." In this, as may be imagined, prelay was denounced in the strongest and most vehement language. This epistle has been severely animadverted on by modern historians. This is not the place to enter upon a formal vindication of its matter or its language. Thus much we may state, that these were not the times when men were wont to indulge in courtly and unmeaning phrases; that the statements made in regard to the cruelty and profligacy of the prelates did not exceed the truth; that the wrongs endured by the Reformers at the hands of their opponents were not exaggerated, and that the terms they employed in characterising these wrongs were justified and demanded by the unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed.

All attempts at negotiation having proved abortive, the Regent would probably have attacked the Protestants, had she not suddenly become aware of the great accession to their numbers derived from the troops brought by the Earl of Glencairn. These reinforcements inclined her to desire terms of accommodation; and conditions of peace were arranged, through the mediation of the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, who, though they had subscribed the covenant, still adhered to the Regent, and refused to approve of the decided measures adopted by their party. It was agreed that both armies should be dis-

* Keith, vol. i. p. 194; Spottiswood Society's Edit.
† Knox, pp. 139, 140, 141.

banded, and the gates of Perth set open to the Queen; that indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of the city and to all in any way concerned with the late disturbances; that the town should not be occupied by a French garrison, and that no Frenchman should approach within three miles of it; that all religious controversies should be reserved till the meeting of Parliament; and that, in the meantime, the utmost toleration should be granted to the Reformers.* Matters being thus arranged, the Regent, with comparatively few attendants, entered the city, and met with an honourable reception. In her progress through the streets, an unhappy incident occurred, which inflamed the minds of the inhabitants, and tended to confirm the estrangement which already existed. Passing by the house of a respectable citizen, one Patrick Murray, six of the French mercenaries levelled their pieces and shot into a wooden balcony, whence his family were viewing the procession, thereby killing his only son, a youth thirteen years of age.† The remark of the Queen on this melancholy occasion, when the body was laid before the house where she was then resting, was at once heartless and impolitic. She said it was truly an unhappy event, the more so as it fell on the son rather than the father; but it was no fault of hers, neither was she accountable for accidents. Her conduct at Perth at once discovered that the treaty she had entered into was one of convenience only, and that, on the first opportunity, she would set it aside. Its articles, indeed, were never carried out. Several of the citizens were banished, others fined; the Provost and magistrates were removed from their office; and, on her departure for Stirling, a garrison of six hundred Scottish soldiers, in the pay of the King of France, was established in the city. Remonstrated with, on account of these unwarrantable infractions of the articles of peace, she replied that she was not bound to keep faith with heretics.

Fortunately for their cause, the lords of the congregation, before they separated, had solemnly entered into a new covenant, in which it was agreed mutually to defend each other and the body of which they were members, "sparing neither life, labour, nor substance, in maintaining the liberty of the brethren" against whomsoever should trouble them on account of their religion. This agreement was signed by the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Lord James, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and Mathew Campbell, of Tarmagannare. The intentions of the Queen being now manifestly of a hostile character, the Protestants discovered great activity in the reassembling of their forces. The court was immediately deserted by the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart, who were soon after followed by the Earl of Monteith, Lord Ruthven, and Murray, of Tullibardine. Summoned by the Regent to return, on pain of her dis-

pleasure, they replied that her conduct had rendered this impossible; that, through the duplicity of her measures, they felt themselves no longer safe in her presence; and that they could not afford to countenance her in the oppression of which she and her council were guilty towards those whom, in respect of their common faith, they regarded as brethren.

Subsequent proceedings of the Queen-mother opened the eyes of the Reformers to the extent of her designs. They perceived that she aimed not only at the repression of the Reformation, but that her efforts were directed towards the subversion of the liberties of the kingdom, and its subjection to the power of the French faction. The French forces had retired from Scotland in the year 1550, but they had continued to return at different times and under various pretences. This new feature in the policy of the Regent considerably strengthened the hands of the Reformers, alienated many of her own party, and induced not a few to engage actively in the struggle who would otherwise have remained passive and indifferent. Letters were now dispatched by the confederate lords to the Provost of Dundee, the lairds of Dun, and Pitarrow, and others of their supporters, urgently entreating their assistance in the impending contest, and requesting them, as a first step, to assemble without fail at St. Andrew's. On the 4th of June they were joined by many of their most zealous adherents and by Knox, who had been preaching throughout the country with great success. His sermons at Crail, and the neighbouring seaport of Anstruther, were followed by manifestations of popular feeling, equally violent with that which had lately been exhibited at Perth. A similar outbreak took place at St. Andrew's, when the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in that city were totally destroyed. St. Andrew's was the residence of the Metropolitan of Scotland, and the Archbishop, who was present when these excesses were committed, instantly repaired to the Regent, who lay with her French troops at Falkland. Amazed and indignant at these riots, she determined to march upon St. Andrew's without delay. Aware that the Reformers were without forces, she expected to surprise them, but in this hope she was destined to be disappointed. Intelligence of her movements was rapidly communicated, and no difficulty was experienced in raising a considerable army. Men of all ranks hastened to their assistance, and in such numbers that, to use the language of Knox, 'they seemed to rise from the clouds.'* It is said that Argyle and Lord James left St. Andrew's with only a hundred horse, but before they reached Falkland, about fourteen miles, their forces were so largely augmented, that the Regent hesitated to encounter them. In fact, when the congregation encamped on Cupar Moor, they found themselves considerably superior in numbers to their opponents, so that the Queen was necessitated to enter into negotiations,

* Knox, p. 146; Spottiswood, p. 122.

† Buchanan Book xvi. chap. 31; Knox, p. 133.

• Knox, p. 151.

After some delay, they consented to a truce of eight days. They demanded, as the conditions of its observance, that no Frenchman should remain in the kingdom of Fife, and that commissioners should be sent to St. Andrew's, with instructions to arrange a more lasting peace. It was clearly understood by the Protestants that the truce was a mere artifice to procure delay, and that the Queen had no intention of carrying the stipulations into effect. Her designs on the liberties of Scotland having been made apparent, she now found herself in a position of difficulty and danger. She had now to deal with men who had taken up arms not merely for the vindication of their religious rights, but with the full determination of asserting their independence as Scottish subjects, and defending the constitution of the realm against all assailants. They were prepared to protest against French influence and French domination; and no settlement of affairs would meet their wishes which had not the departure of the French out of the kingdom as its first and indispensable condition. But the Regent, had she been ever so inclined, could not have ventured to adopt so decided a step without the concurrence of the French monarch. Hence she was compelled to amuse the Reformers with fair words and promises which she had no intention to observe. Doubtless she expected to receive from France such reinforcements as should enable her to dictate her own terms. In the meantime, no commissioners were sent to St. Andrew's, and consequently no measures adopted for the maintenance of peace.

The Reformers were now joined by Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, 'a soldier of great military experience, and undaunted determination.' No steps having been taken by the Regent to recall from Perth the French garrison, and tidings being daily received of their cruelties and exactions, and also of the oppressive conduct of the new Provost, the unprincipled Charteris, the leaders of the con-

Reformers invest gregation resolved to advance on Perth. Perth, and to compel the French troops to abandon that town. Accordingly, they marched thither in great force, and on the 24th of June the garrison were summoned to surrender. On their refusal, the city was formally invested—batteries were opened upon it by Lord Ruthven on the west, and on the east quarter by the citizens of Dundee. These measures had the effect anticipated, and on the following day the town was surrendered to the Reformers, whose first step was to restore Ruthven to his office as Provost, from which he had been illegally expelled. The possession of this place was an object of importance to both parties, and, as might be expected, conferred considerable advantage on the Protestant cause. Alarmed at the loss of Perth, the Regent attempted to advance on Stirling, which was strongly fortified, and commanded the approaches to the only bridge over the Forth. Her intentions were defeated by the rapid marches of her opponents, whose appearance before the gates of the fortress was heartily welcomed, and their admission immediately

allowed. Animated by these successes, their measures became bolder and more decided. Mustering a force which amounted to no more than three hundred men, they proceeded from Stirling in the direction of Linlithgow. This force was under the command of the Lord James and the Earl of Argyle. But such was the enthusiasm of the people, that great multitudes from all quarters flocked to their standard, and their army speedily numbered five thousand men. Having secured Linlithgow, they pressed forward to the capital. No opposition interfered with their progress. The Queen-regent precipitately abandoned her position, and retired, together with her French forces, to Dunbar. Edinburgh was taken of Edinburgh. possession of without resistance, on the 29th of June, 1559. The ultimate intentions of the Reformers were now unreservedly declared. Resolved, not to be content with the mere toleration of their religion, they aimed at the total subversion of popery, and the establishment on its ruins of that protestantism for which they had so cheerfully laboured and endured. With these views, they determined to fix their residence in the capital, for the purpose of disseminating their opinions, and, if possible, augmenting the number of their adherents. Accordingly, the pulpits of Edinburgh were occupied by Knox and other ministers, whose zeal, energy, and eloquence were eminently successful in advancing to a prosperous issue the glorious enterprise to which they were devoted.

That the views of the leaders of the Reformed movement were such as we have now characterised may be easily determined. There are documents in existence which afford us some valuable information on this point. In a letter addressed to Sir Henry Percy by Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, on the day subsequent to the occupation of Edinburgh, the object of the party is thus explicitly declared: "I received your letter this last of June. Perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the congregation, whom I assure you, you need not to have in suspicion; for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly, throughout the realm, they will bring to pass; for the Queen and Monsieur D'Osell, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock, to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion, and resisting of the King of France, if he sends any force against them. . . . The manner of their proceeding in Reformation is this: they pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images, and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them; in place thereof, the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with:

Letter of
Kirkaldy, of
Grange, to
Sir Henry Percy.

a pennyworth of that which pertains to the church; but presently will take order, throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys, and other churches, shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no further remedy, will follow their desires, which is, a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her Grace will do so, they will obey her and serve her, and annex the whole revenues of the abbeys to the crown. If her Grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement."*

Another letter, on the same subject, was about this time addressed to Percy by Knox himself. From its tenor it appears that grave suspicions were entertained in England, as to the ultimate objects which the Reformers had in view; and that on this account it was highly advisable to furnish credible information of their doings and designs, for the satisfaction of Elizabeth and the nation. "The troubles," says Knox, "of this realm you hear, but the cause to many is not known. Persuade yourself and assure others, that we mean neither sedition, neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ's religion, and the liberty of this poor realm. If we can have the one with the other, it will fare better with England, which, if we lack, though we mourn and smart, England will not escape without worse trouble."†

Several points of considerable importance are brought out by these documents. They determine the views of the Protestants, which included civil and religious objects, the expulsion of the French, and the establishment of the Reformation. They evince the real moderation of the very men who apparently were chargeable with the wildest excesses; for while monasteries were destroyed, and images broken in pieces, they refrained from any distribution or appropriation of ecclesiastical property, and were willing to consent that a transfer of the whole should be made over to the crown, provided only that the ministers of the gospel had secured to them a sufficient maintenance. Further, we learn that in all their proceedings, they were not animated by mere selfish considerations, but were impelled onward by patriotic desires, which urged them to vindicate the independence of the kingdom, and to preserve in their integrity their ancient liberties. The event which they dreaded most was the arrival of French troops, and the exercise of an influence amongst themselves, which it was at once dangerous to admit and difficult to resist. Hitherto they had every reason to be satisfied with their progress. Their suc-

cesses had been as great as probably they were expected. Their cause was popular, the nobility had generally declared in their favour, numbers of strength were daily received, and it seemed not unlikely that a very advantageous alliance might be formed with England; for, soon after the letter of Kirkaldy had been dispatched, he was invited to a private interview with Percy, which took place at Norham. This event had been brought about by the arrangements of Cecil, secretary to the English Queen. Percy had received instructions to communicate with the barons, and inform them of the disposition of England, to enter into a league with them, and afford them substantial assistance.

In the meantime, the Regent made great exertions to recover the position which she had lost. In daily expectation of receiving large reinforcements from France, she adopted measures calculated to dampen the cause of the Reformers, and to cool the ardour of many of their adherents. Reports were suddenly promulgated that their intentions pointed to the subversion of the existing government, that religious reforms were only a colourable pretence for bringing about important political changes, and that the crown itself was an object of ambition to the Lord James, one of their greatest leaders. These charges were made in a public and formal manner. Proclamations were issued in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, setting forth, 'that the Protestants were guilty of sedition; that they had seized the irons of the Mint, and maintained a treasonable correspondence with England.' They were enjoined to depart immediately from the capital, and were informed that if they had grievances to complain of, a parliament would be summoned to consider them, and that for the present they should enjoy full liberty of conscience in all matters of religion. The Protestants indignantly repudiated the intentions attributed to them; and, in a letter to the Queen, declared themselves obedient subjects, willing to conform to the existing Government, and professed that their only objects were the promotion of God's glory, the defence of their ministers, and the destruction of idolatry.*

In spite of their remonstrances, however, the measures of the Regent were successful in detaching from the party not a few of their principal adherents. Negotiations were now entered into by commissioners from both sides, who assembled at Preston, in Midlothian. These negotiations resulted in no arrangement, as the principal condition proposed by the Regent, that wherever her residence was fixed the Protestants should refrain from preaching, was evidently one which could not be accepted. While the conferences were still in progress, letters were dispatched to Elizabeth and her secretary, Cecil. In answer to an inquiry from the latter, as to whether they were determined on a change of govern-

* Keith, vol. i. p. 215. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 151.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Sir W. Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 117.

† MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Knox to Sir Henry Percy. Ibid. p. 118.

ment as well as of religion, they replied, "that as yet we have made no mention of any change of authority, neither yet hath any such thing entered into our hearts, except that extreme necessity compel us thereto. But perceiving that France, the Queen-regent here, together with her priests, and Frenchmen, pretend nothing else than the suppression of Christ's evangel, the maintenance of idolatry, the ruin of us, and the utter subversion of this poor realm, we are fully purposed to seek the best remedy to withstand their tyranny, in which matter we unfeignedly require your faithful counsel and furtherance at the Queen and council's hands, for our assistance." * The policy of Elizabeth's chief minister at this time appears to have been undecided and temporizing. His anxiety was to keep on good terms with both parties. On the one hand he was unwilling to offend the Regent by openly countenancing her opponents, approving of their measures, and granting them substantial aid. On the other hand, he was far from desiring the suppression of the Reformed party: it was impossible not to sympathize with the movement, but it seemed equally impossible for the present to devise means which should effectually further its advances. Peace had been lately concluded with France, and it was not apparent how England could, on this account, consistently interfere in the affairs of Scotland.

It is evident that whatever her intentions were, Elizabeth had no wish that the disturbances of the country should be brought to a termination; and, on her part, nothing was left unsaid which could encourage the Reformers to pursue the course on which they had entered. These conclusions are apparent from the letter sent by Cecil to the lords of the congregation, and addressed to the Earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and Lords Boyd and Ochiltree. This communication exhorted them to prolong the contest, to purge the land from idolatry, and to despoil the prelates of their riches after the fashion of Henry VIII. "Ye know," he says, "your chief adversaries, the popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation: they be rich also, whereby they make many friends, by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness they be bold; but if they be once touched with fear they be the greatest cowards. In our first Reformation here, in King Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor; yet if the prelaey had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been their's. I like no spoil; but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the crown, the help to the youth and the nobility, the maintenance of the ministry in the church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the

poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent."*

Meanwhile, a vigorous attempt was made by the Regent to recover the possession of Edinburgh. Advancing unexpectedly from Dunbar by a rapid night march, she appeared before the city with all her forces. The affairs of the congregation were in no flourishing condition, and it was hopeless to attempt to cope with the superior strength of their opponents. In these circumstances, negotiations were resumed, and on the twenty-fourth of July a truce was concluded, to last till the tenth of January. Conditions were mutually agreed to, by which it was stipulated, on the part of the Regent, that the Protestants should evacuate the capital, and promise to render dutiful obedience to the government, to abstain from all future violation of religious houses, and to offer no impediment to the collecting by the popish clergy of their tithes, stipends, or any other revenue; on the part of the Reformers, it was settled that no molestation should be given to the preachers or professors of their religion, that the citizens of Edinburgh should be allowed to choose their own form of worship, and that no garrison should be introduced into the town. Little anxiety was felt by the queen in regard to the observance of this truce, as she had now received promises of assistance from France, and was in daily expectation of its arrival. Measures had been taken by the French court to make itself acquainted with the state of mat-

Mission of Melvil. ters in Scotland. For this purpose, Sir James Melvil, who had been educated in the house of the Constable Montmorency, was dispatched on a secret mission to that country. Here he instituted inquiries into the truth of the reports which had been so industriously circulated to the disadvantage of the Reformers, and his investigations seem to have been conducted with impartiality and prudence. A modern historian, indeed, has attempted to charge him with incompetence and insincerity, and affirms "that the manner in which he executed his commission, argues either extreme simplicity, or a predetermination not to seek the truth."† We apprehend, however, that this is a thoroughly gratuitous statement, and it is unsupported by other than the most unsubstantial evidence. The desire of the French government was to ascertain the truth of the allegation, that the Lord James was engaged in treasonable designs, which had for their object the seizure of the crown. That this was the case, has never been alleged even by his enemies. But no difficulty could have been experienced in coming to a conclusion as to its truth or falsehood; and we have no reason to suspect that care was not exercised in arriving at a correct decision.

On the conclusion of the truce, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly desired and obtained an interview with the lords of the congregation. This step was adopted in conse-

* MS. State Paper Office. Original Draft in Cecil's hand. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 122.

* MS. State Paper Office. Original draft in Cecil's hand. Tytler.

† Tytler, vol. vi. p. 125.

quence of their suspicions as to the projects of the Regent, and the threatened subversion of the liberties and independence of the kingdom. These noblemen, at this time the most powerful of the adherents of the queen, had continued their attachment to her cause during the late commotions, but disliking the tendency of her councils, determined, at all hazards, to provide for the safety of the realm, and, with this view, entered into consultation with Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and the Earl of Glencairn. With these barons pledges were exchanged, that if the queen should, with her usual insincerity, "violate any condition in the articles of truce, or refuse to gratify the wishes of the whole nation, by dismissing her French troops, they would then instantly join with their countrymen in compelling her to a measure, which the public safety and the preservation of their liberties" imperatively demanded.* Nor were these dangers imaginary. The superiority of the French troops over the undisciplined forces of the nobility was sufficiently apparent. The subjugation of the entire kingdom might therefore be attempted, with considerable chance of success, by the introduction of an army of adequate strength. Conscious of their own weakness, not less than inspired by a patriotic regard for their country's welfare, the leaders of the congregation, together with the most influential of the Regent's adherents, however they might differ as to their religious opinions, were at one in the adoption of measures which secured the independence and liberties of the kingdom.

At this juncture of affairs, the death of Henry II.

Death of Henry II. took place. This was in every respect an unfortunate circumstance.

Towards the close of his reign, that monarch appears to have entertained juster views as to the state of matters in Scotland, and to have had in contemplation liberal and comprehensive measures, which in all probability would have restored union and tranquillity to that kingdom.† The ascendancy of the house of Guise had visibly declined; their counsels were no longer followed, and, as a natural consequence, they were no longer able to prosecute their ambitious enterprises. The Constable Montmorency, whose influence had formerly been paramount with his master, was, by the assistance of the Duchess of Valentinois, restored to favour. It was by advice of this distinguished minister that Melvil had been dispatched on his mission to Scotland; and the monarch had undertaken to regulate his conduct according to the character of the report which his agent should bring back. But his tragical and untimely end terminated for the present all chances of accommodating matters in Scotland. The accession of Frances II. introduced important changes in the administration of affairs. The Guises were restored to power; and

Change of policy at the French court.

the chief of that house, together with the Cardinal of Lorraine, were intrusted with the government. The schemes which for some time they

had been compelled to lay aside, were again resumed, and, in consequence of their advantageous position, pushed forward with activity and vigour, and with greater probability of success. Nothing could exceed the uneasiness and chagria with which the progress of the Reformation had been viewed by this faction. It was easily perceived that its ultimate triumph would oppose insurmountable barriers to the carrying out of their projects; and that so long as Scotland remained Protestant, she would lend no assistance in promoting the dethronement of Elizabeth, and the claims of Mary to the English crown. Stimulated, therefore, by this consideration, they determined upon active measures for the suppression of the reformed movement, and the rendering substantial aid to their relative, the Regent. A change of policy so remarkable was soon communicated to the leaders of the congregation, by means of the correspondence which was constantly kept up with the brethren in France. Cecil, also, was similarly advised; and both parties thus placed upon their guard, prepared to watch the motions of the common enemy, and to meet them with effective resistance. On departing from the capital, in fulfilment of the articles of treaty, proclamations had been issued in name of the Reformers, which set forth that if the Measures of the conditions which were then agreed Reformers.

to, failed to be carried out on the part of the Regent, they would resent their violation, and again assemble their forces for the defence of their friends, and the vindication of their principles. This declaration of their intentions was followed up by the preparation of a new bond, which received the signatures of the most influential of the party, and conferred on the confederacy greater union and strength. The principal article of this bond provided that none of their adherents should receive communications from the Regent without laying them before their brethren, and consulting with them on the proposals which they contained.*

About this time the Reformed party was greatly strengthened by the accession of Arran John the Earl of Arran, eldest son of Reformers. the Duke of Chatelherault. This nobleman had resided for a considerable time in France, where he had commanded the Scottish Guards. His religious views tended to Protestantism, and his sympathies were enlisted in behalf of those who were struggling in Scotland in behalf of religious liberty. The known character of his sentiments rendered him an object of dislike and suspicion to the house of Guise. His conduct was not marked by the caution which was obviously necessary from the peculiar circumstances of his position. Naturally rash and impetuous, he had expressed opinions which gave great offence to a court bigotted in the extreme, and engaged at this very juncture in concocting measures for the suppression of the Reformation in their own country as well as in Scotland. Courts were established in various districts of France, to take cognizance of all who were thought to be tainted with the

* Knox, 154.
VOL. I.

† Melvil, p. 49.

• Keith, vol. I. p. 245.

crime of heresy, and 'several persons of distinction were condemned to the flames.' But the invincible animosity of the princes of Lorraine towards all professors of the reformed faith was not satisfied with these sacrifices; they resolved to mark their determination to extinguish protestantism, by taking signal vengeance on the Earl of Arran for his presumptuous adherence to a cause they abhorred and denounced. Such a measure in relation to so eminent a personage would impress the kingdom in the manner they desired, and strike terror into all hearts. Suspicions of their design being entertained by the earl, on account of some pointed observation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he immediately retreated from the country, and took refuge in Geneva. His presence, however, was earnestly requested at home, and letters were dispatched to hasten his movements. In his passage through England, he was cordially received by Elizabeth, who, inflaming the resentment he already cherished towards France and the persecuting Guises, dismissed him with many promises of future service. It was evidently her wish that the influence of Arran should be exerted in opposition to the authority of the Regent, and that the duke, his father, should also be detached from the French faction. Sir Ralph Sadler, who was at this time sent on a mission to Scotland, was instructed to exhort the duke, "for preservation of the expectant interest which he hath in the crown, if God call the young queen before she hath issue to withstand the governance of that realm by any other than the blood of Scotland. That upon this principle had acted the King of Spain, who, although husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal, to a stranger; likewise of his father, Charles V., who governed his countries of Flanders and Brabant by their own nation."*

If, as appears to have been the case, the English queen desired that these noblemen should be looked up to as the leaders of the congregation, her expectations on this point were destined to be disappointed. Neither the duke nor his son were calculated for the parts assigned them in the political drama. Their abilities were small; they were destitute of energy, weak-minded, inconstant, and not to be depended on. The times were critical, the circumstances of the Reformers by no means prosperous, the aspects of France threatening, and the conduct of Elizabeth vacillating and cool. Arran was not without ambition, but he was destitute of the capacity necessary for the development of his schemes, and of the firmness and vigour to carry them forward to a successful issue. The actual and acknowledged leader of the reformed party was a man of another stamp, equal to his position, and capable of acquiring and retaining the confidence and affection of his adherents. This was the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrew's, natural son of James V., and afterwards the Regent Moray. In early life, as is plain

* MS. Instructions State Paper Office, 8th August, 1559.

from his ecclesiastical standing, he was intended for the church. Nature had conferred upon him great and commanding talents; education had developed and matured his intellect; events had brought into play his varied and unquestionable abilities; and his first lessons in war and politics had tended to alienate his mind from the profession which had rather been chosen for him, than selected by himself. The influence of this nobleman at home and abroad, over the minds not only of his own countrymen, but also of the English, and even of foreigners, was commensurate with his remarkable character, which is thus excellently summed up by a modern historian:—"His acquaintance with European politics was superior to most of those with whom he acted, and enabled him to transact business, and conduct his correspondence, with uncommon clearness, brevity, and precision. His knowledge of human nature was profound. He possessed that rapid intuitive insight into the disposition of those with whom he acted, which taught him to select with readiness, and employ with success, those best calculated to forward his designs; and it was his peculiar art to appear to do nothing, whilst in truth, he did all. There was a bluntness, openness, and honesty about his manner which disarmed suspicion, and disposed men to unbosom themselves to him with equal readiness and sincerity. He was brave almost to rashness; his address was dignified; his countenance noble and kingly."* We may add that the general consistency of his conduct, the severe morality of his life, and his sincere attachment to the principles of the reformed religion, contributed much to place him at the head of the reforming party, and to secure for him the ascendancy for which he was distinguished. He was, on several occasions, charged with aspiring to the Scottish crown; and the suspicions which were entertained at the court of France respecting his intentions, appear to have been cherished to a certain extent by the English Queen; for, when Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Scotland, he was instructed by Cecil to investigate the matter, and if such was found to be his aim, "and the duke be seen to be very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let him follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him anything therein."† That the imputation was unfounded is proved, not to mention other circumstances, by the unanimity with which his measures were concurred in by the Scottish nobility, the confidence reposed in him by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Arran, and his own voluntary offer to reside constantly in France, on condition that the public grievances were redressed.‡

The Protestant chiefs having evacuated Edinburgh, retired to Stirling, from August 3, 1559. which city Knox was sent on a secret mission to Sir James Crofts, Governor of Ber-

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 136.

† MS. State Paper Office, August 8, 1559. Tytler, vol. vi p. 136.

‡ Melvil, p. 64.

wick. On this occasion, many urgent representations were made by him as to the state of matters in Scotland, the measures to be adopted, and the amount of assistance required from the English Queen. He pointed out that Stirling, from its importance as 'the key and principal place,' should be occupied and garrisoned; that a naval force would be required for the safety of Dundee and Perth; that fortifications should be erected at Broughty Craig; that Eyemouth Castle should be seized by the English, to secure it from the French; and that considerable supplies of money, together with men and ships, would be required to carry on the war with any prospects of success. These representations were prepared with the view of being communicated to Sir Henry Percy, and through him to Cecil, the English Secretary of State.* At this time the policy of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was marked by her characteristic duplicity. She addressed the Regent in letters which expressed her anxiety for the termination of the present commotions, and the continuance of peace between the respective countries; and yet she exerted all her influence in fomenting the disturbances she professed to deplore, urging on the leaders of the congregation the adoption of yet stronger measures, accusing them of inactivity, and taunting them with coldness in supporting the cause they had undertaken to promote. It was doubtless her wish, for state purposes, that affairs in Scotland should remain in an unsettled condition, and accordingly Sir Ralph Sadler was instructed to "nourish the faction between the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England."† Such conduct naturally gave great offence to the reformed party. Strong remonstrances on the subject were addressed to Cecil and Sir James Crofts by the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James. "Ye are not ignorant," said they, "how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to the revolt of an authority established. The last time that we were pursued, our enemies in number were thrice more than we, besides that the castle of Edinburgh declared plain enemy to us at our uttermost necessity, which was one cause of our appointment."‡ The unaccountable delays and suspicions of the English Queen were thus alluded to by Knox, in a letter to the Governor of Berwick:—"I must signify to you, that unless the council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle; but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France) to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the country, which our enemies may easily occupy; and when they have so done, make your account of what may ensue towards yourself." §

* MS. Instructions. State Paper Office, July 31, 1559, in the hands of Knox. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 128.
 † Ibid. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 129.
 ‡ MS. Instructions, August 8, 1559.
 § MS. letter Knox to Sir J. Crofts, August 6, 1559.

The irresolute and temporizing measures of Elizabeth are by no means inexplicable. It may be questioned without injustice to that princess, whether she had really at heart the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. Her tendencies towards Romanism are well known. Whether, of her own individual opinions had been carried out, the Reformed religion would have been settled in England, may be well doubted. Whatever may have been her real sentiments, she was called to the throne on the understanding that her principles were in harmony with those of the majority of her people. Thus much, however, is certain, that the anti-practical opinions of Knox were utterly repugnant to her own views; that the reformer himself was an object of contempt and hatred, and this, not only on account of the severity of his religious principles, but of a book which he had lately published containing some strong statements on the subject of female government. Her aversion to him was excessive. She refused his apologies and concessions, she prohibited his appearance in her dominions, and even interdicted him from preaching in some of the northern counties. These circumstances partially explain her indifference to the repeated applications for aid transmitted to her through her secretary, Cecil. At the same time she could not conceal from herself the importance of providing occupation for the French at the expense of Scotland. Amusing the Reformers, therefore, with promises which were easily made and as easily broken, she encouraged their revolt against the supreme authority. Dreading the ambitious schemes of the house of Guise, indignant at the assumption by Mary of her title and arms, she regarded with alarm the prospect of an alliance between the two countries, and the effect upon her Roman Catholic subjects of the establishment of French influence in Scotland.

In answer to a letter from Cecil, quoted above, advising the Reformers to enrich themselves with the spoils of the Romish church, it was replied by the Lord James:—"We are not ignorant that our enemies, the Popish kirkmen, are crafty, rich, malicious, and bloodthirsty, and most gladly would we have their riches otherwise bestowed. But consider, sir, that we have against us the established authority, which did ever favour you and us; and without support, we cannot bring them to such obedience as we desire. We cannot but persuade all men to favour our cause, and of our authority we have established a council; but suddenly to discharge this authority till that ye and we be fully persuaded, it is not thought expedient." ¶ The necessities of the Reformers, their necessities and demands on England for substantial assistance, are fully unfolded in the following important letter from Knox to the Secretary of State:—"The state of

¶ MS. State Paper Office, 13th August, 1559. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 132.

these gentlemen standeth thus: that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in numbers are now but five hundred, for their service by past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh) that some of them will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the Queen-regent or with France; but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness for their support. To aid us so liberally as we require to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France to many will appear dangerous; but, sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction will be your greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bettancourt bragged in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letter to the Prior (Lord James), that the king and his council would spend the crown of France, unless they had our full obedience. I am assured, that unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money; and some of our number are so poor that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if you lie as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the council, after the sight of your letters, immediately departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argyle is gone to his country for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support; and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them; and, therefore, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you, sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen* to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness. Some danger is in the drift of time, in such matters ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the queen's majesty wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good father, the most noble and redoubted of his time, disdained not lovingly to write to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and power than those be that wrote to her grace.†

In order to understand the urgency of this remonstrance, we must consider the new aspect which the affairs of the Regent had at this juncture assumed. Her repeated applications to France were at length attended with success. In the commencement of August the Sieur de Bettancourt had arrived in Scotland, and assured the queen that a French army was about to be dispatched to her assistance. Accordingly, at the end of the month, an Italian officer landed at the port of Leith with a force of a thousand men.

* Trust.

† MS. Letter State Paper Office, 15th August, 1550; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 128.

This was a seasonable but very inadequate supply. Octavian, their commander, was, therefore, immediately sent back to France to solicit further reinforcements. He was instructed to urge on behalf of the Regent that the Reformers were daily receiving fresh accessions of strength; that their leaders were soliciting aid, and would probably obtain it, from England and Germany; and that, with another thousand men, a hundred barbed horse, together with four ships of war, she had no doubt her opponents might be kept in check, if not altogether subdued.

Subsequent to the landing of the French forces there arrived at the Scottish court the Bishop of Amiens and two doctors of the Sorbonne, whose mission, according to profession, was for the peaceful purpose of holding disputations; but, according to appearance, was rather of a more warlike character, as they were attended by La Brosse, a French officer, two hundred men, and a company of eighty horse. Twelve of the principal nobility being then in Edinburgh, they were invited by the bishop to appoint a day when their demands might be stated and considered. To this challenge it was at once replied that if it was the purpose of the bishop and his coadjutors to argue the question, they must send back their troops, as no controversies could be decided with the presence on either side of armed forces. This prelate exercised a pernicious influence on the counsels of the Regent. It was expressly stipulated by the late convention that the cathedral of St. Giles should remain in the hands of the Protestants; but the Bishop, a furious bigot, and servilely attached to the house of Guise, induced the Queen-mother to violate her promise; and, taking possession of St. Giles, she ordered it to be again solemnly consecrated and the rites of the Romish Church to be re-established.

No sooner had the French reinforcements arrived, than the queen took possession of Leith is fortified Leith, which, from its vicinity to ^{by order of the} Regent. Edinburgh, and its excellent harbour, was a place of much importance. The seizure of this port, and the manner in which it was executed, excited the popular indignation. Not only were fortifications commenced, but, in order to provide quarters for the troops, many of the inhabitants were turned out of their houses and compelled to evacuate the town. Remonstrances, by order of the congregation, were addressed to the Regent by the Duke of Chatelherault, to whom she replied contemptuously: "It is as meet and lawful for the queen, my daughter, in whose behalf I act, to fortify any place she listeth in her own realm, as for you to build at Hamilton; nor will I desist at your bidding." Matters being thus hastened forward to a crisis, the Reformers, as we have seen, dispatched urgent representations to Elizabeth, setting forth their position, and requesting immediate assistance. This princess, being now convinced that without aid they could not proceed further, at once responded to their call. In consequence of recent treaties it was impossible for her openly to counte-

their proceedings were somewhat abrupt, they were not destitute of solemnity. Strangers to those forms which obstruct business, unacquainted with the arts which make a figure in debate, and much more fitted for action than discourse, a warlike people always hasten to a conclusion, and bring their deliberations to the shortest issue. It was the work but of one day to examine and resolve this nice question, concerning the behaviour of subjects towards a ruler who abuses his power." The clergy having been called upon to declare their opinions, a speech was delivered by Willock on the nature of the "Divine Ordinance of Magistracy," and its limitations, as defined by the Word of God. He adverted to the precepts and examples of Scripture, and maintained that it was lawful for subjects not only to resist tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of authority. He denounced the Regent as an oppressor, who had refused them justice, withheld from them their rights, and was now attempting to destroy their liberties. For himself, he avowed that no other sentence than that of deposition would satisfy his own mind.* Knox followed, and in a solemn and impressive manner delivered his sentiments. He could not disapprove, he said, of the decision which had now been intimated, but earnestly exhorted them to consider that the unworthiness of the Regent furnished no plea for the withdrawal of their allegiance or affections from their legitimate sovereigns. He warned them to anticipate the severest judgments of God, if in this matter they were actuated by other motives than zeal for the Protestant religion, and a desire to preserve from invasion the liberties and independence of the realm. And, lastly, he required that no such sentence should be pronounced against her, but that upon her open repentance she should be restored to those honours of which, for just causes, she might now be deprived.† The judgment of the assembly was now given in the most formal and emphatic manner. The votes were individually taken, and without a dissentient voice the Regent was deposed from her office, an instrument to this effect drawn up, and proclamation made of the same at the Cross of Edinburgh. Immediately afterwards, the Lion herald was commissioned with a letter to the Queen, to inform her of this decision.

This document declares:—"We plainly perceive, by the letters and mandates sent us by your herald, your persevering aversion to the true worship of God, and the public welfare of the nation, and our common liberty. In order, therefore, to preserve them, we, in the name of our King and Queen, suspend and prohibit you from exercising the government in their name, as Regent, or under whatever title you may assume, as we are assured that your proceedings are in entire opposition to their wishes for the welfare of this kingdom. And as your grace will not acknowledge us, our sovereign lord and lady's true barons, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for

any regent or lawful magistrate unto us; seeing, if any authority ye have, by reason of our sovereign's commission granted unto your grace, the same, for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended by us, and by name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are, of native birth, in the affairs of this our commonwealth."*

The bold measure which the leaders of the congregation had adopted in depriving the Queen-regent of her authority was followed up by a summons to all the French and Scottish soldiers to quit the town of Leith within twelve hours. As a matter of course, this order was treated with contempt by the queen's party; preparations were therefore made for an assault upon the town, and scaling-ladders were ordered to be made in the isles of the church of St. Giles, to the interruption of public worship and the great displeasure of the preachers, who regarded this occurrence as an omen of failure in their enterprise. Division indeed had already broken out in their Divisions among ranks. The Queen-mother had the confederated tampered with some of the leaders, ^{barons.} and had succeeded in detaching them from the cause, and the secret counsels of the confederated lords were treacherously betrayed to her. As the money which had been sent from the English court was now spent, the soldiers clamoured for their arrears of wages, and broke out into an open mutiny;‡ and the vassals of the barons who served without pay were unable to keep the field, and began to return to their homes. In this emergency it was agreed that the confederated nobles should give up their silver plate to be coined into money; but the workmen of the mint absconded, and carried off with them the instruments of coinage, so that this expedient failed. The only resource that remained was to solicit assistance from England; and accordingly an application for money was made to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, the governors of Berwick, who sent four thousand crowns by Cockburn of Ormiston, a zealous adherent of the congregation. But the Regent had in some way obtained notice of this, and at her instigation Cockburn was treacherously waylaid and robbed of the whole sum by the notorious Earl of Bothwell, although he had at this period professed great attachment to the cause of the Reformers.‡

Meanwhile, in order to rouse the depressed spirits of the party, it was resolved to Assault upon press the siege of Leith with vigour, ^{Leith.} and some pieces of artillery were planted on an eminence near Holyrood, under the command of James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, one of the ablest military leaders of the congregation. The

* Keith, vol. i. p. 234; Knox's History.

† Knox says, "The men of war who were men without God or honesty made a mutiny because they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the same in Linlithgow before, when they made a proclamation that they would serve any man to suppress the congregation, and set up the mass again."

‡ Appendix to Keith's History, vol. i. p. 381.

* Keith, vol. i. pp. 232, 233; Spottiswood Society's Edit.

† Ibid.

Regent, however, having received information from one of her secret adherents in Edinburgh, that, on the last day of October, all the leading men of the party had gone to attend sermon, which would last till noon, issued orders to a chosen body of her French guard to make a *sortie* from Leith, and seize the artillery. This attack met with complete success. The Scotch were defeated with considerable loss, and their leader besiegers. Halyburton was killed; the French pursued the fugitives as far as the Canongate and the foot of Leith Wynd, and cruelly murdered in cold blood several aged persons and a woman with an infant at her breast. On their return to Leith, loaded with the plunder which they had carried off from the houses of the poor citizens, they were cordially received by the Queen-regent, who, says Knox, "sat upon the rampart to salute and welcome her victorious soldiers. One brought a kirtle, another a petticoat, the third a pot or a pan; and of envy, more than womanly laughter, she asked, 'Where bought ye your ware? I guess ye have purchased that without money.' This was the great and motherly care which she took for the trouble of the poor subjects of this realm."*

On the 6th November the French made another sally from Leith for the purpose of intercepting a supply of provisions and stores for the congregation. The Earl of Arran and Lord James Stewart attacked them at the head of a small force, and compelled them to retire. But the French, having received reinforcements, renewed the combat, and the Scots, becoming entangled in the marshes betwixt Restalrig and the royal park, were defeated, and narrowly escaped being cut to pieces. The leaders of the congregation were so much disheartened by this second reverse, that they resolved to abandon the capital without delay; and accordingly, amid the shouts and insults of many of the citizens whom the recent disasters had alienated from their cause,† they quitted the city at midnight, and retired to Stirling.‡

In this day of darkness and distress, Knox alone seems to have 'bated not a jot of heart or hope,' and his spirit-stirring exhortations contributed greatly to support his perplexed and dispirited friends. Two days after their retreat to Stirling, he preached a sermon to the congregation on the 80th Psalm, in which he shewed that the happiness of the people of God was not to be measured by external appearances, since it frequently happened that He fed them with the bread of affliction, and gave them tears to drink in great measure, while the ignorant and idolatrous heathen were

* Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 460.

† Knox complains that the despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon them, calling them traitors and heretics, and that every one provoked other to cast stones at them. "We could never have believed," he continues "that our natural countrymen and women could have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity."—*Ibid.*

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 55, 271. Sadler's State papers, vol. i. p. 554.

living in peace and plenty. He pointed out the sin they had committed in trusting too much to an arm of flesh; reminded them of the holiness and humility which they displayed at the beginning of the struggle, when they had only God for their protection, and warned them to take care lest they should trust more to the power and dignity of their leader, the Duke of Châtellerault, than to the favour of God and the justice of their cause. Then turning to the duke himself, he reminded him of the sin he had committed in hesitating so long to join the Reformers, and in giving assistance to their enemies. "I am uncertain," said he, "if my lord's grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance given to the murderers who unjustly pursued us. I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ's martyrs, which was shed through his default. But let it be that so he hath done (as I hear he hath confessed his offences before the lords and brethren of the congregation), yet sure I am that neither he nor his friends did feel, before this time, the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when their blind fury pursued us; and, therefore, hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall in this confusion, as because we put our confidence in man, and them to make them feel how bitter was that cup which they had made others to drink before them. What then remaineth, but that both they and we turn to the eternal—our God, who beateth down to death that he may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance to the praise of his own name, which if we do unfeignedly I no more doubt that this our delour confusion and fear shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites after they were twice with ignominious repulsed and driven back. Be assured," said he in conclusion, "that this cause, whatever becomes of us and our mortal carcasses, shall, in despite of Satan, prevail in this realm of Scotland. It is the eternal truth of God, and however for the time oppressed, must in the end be triumphant."*

The condition of the Reformers rendered it now imperative that prompt measures should be taken for their immediate relief. Their resources were exhausted, and, having gone too far to render retreat possible, their destruction appeared inevitable. In this extremity, the leaders of the congregation having met in council, determined to dispatch Maitland of Lethington to lay before the Queen of England the desperate state of their affairs, and to implore her assistance. As it was impossible in the meantime to keep the field they agreed to dismiss their forces, and to disperse themselves in different directions. After having dined on the 16th of December as the time for their re-assembling at Stirling, this plan was carried into execution. The Earl of Arran, the Lord James, the Earl of Rothes, and the Master of Lindsay, retired into Fife. The Duke of Châtellerault, with the Earl of Glencairn and the Lords Boyd and

* Knox's History, vol. i.

Ochiltree, continued in Glasgow. Edinburgh being thus evacuated by the Reformers, was entered without delay by the Queen-mother. Anxious to obtain possession of the castle, she summoned it to surrender; and when this was refused, she alternately employed threats and promises to compass her end. All her efforts, however, were without success. The governor, Lord Erskine, was a stout soldier, who was not to be either seduced by flattery, or terrified into compliance with her wishes. In a peremptory manner he declared that the castle had been delivered into his keeping by the parliament of Scotland, and nothing but an order from the three Estates would induce him to abandon his charge.*

While Maitland was absent on his embassy, movements of the French exerted themselves to the utmost to destroy the party of their opponents, and thus terminate the war before the arrival of the English auxiliaries. They were the more stimulated to this course, as intelligence had reached them that great preparations were making in France for sending over reinforcements to their friends. It appeared certain also that Elizabeth would assist the Protestants, and that if they did not anticipate the arrival of this succour, they might be placed in a difficult position. They resolved to proceed first against the party which had retired to Fife. On their march they ravaged the country of the Hamiltons, and attacked Linlithgow. From thence they proceeded to Stirling, plundering wherever they came, and exciting consternation in the minds of the inhabitants. In order to put a stop, if possible, to their progress, a garrison was placed in Dysart. Here they were engaged in skirmishing for some days; and in one of their incursions into the country they destroyed the Grange, the seat of Kirkaldy. Soon after this they met with a signal disaster. An ambush was successfully formed by Kirkaldy, and an officer named L'Abbas, together with his company, fell into the snare. The enemy, finding that they were cut off from their friends, took refuge in a village which was near, and endeavoured to defend themselves behind the walls and hedges. The Scots, enraged by the former cruelties of the French, disregarding their own safety, in their eagerness to injure their enemies, although they had no other weapons than horsemen's lances, rushed within the place, and overthrew all before them. The captain, refusing to surrender, was slain, with fifty soldiers, and the rest were sent prisoners to Dundee.† At this time, also, the French auxiliaries were encountered by the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord Ruthven, and a few of the more spirited leaders of the congregation. "Having assembled six hundred horse they infested the French with continual incursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys of provisions, cut off their straggling parties, and so effectually harassed them with

perpetual alarms that they prevented them from advancing for more than three weeks." At last, this small but brave party were compelled to retreat, and the enemy advancing from Kirkaldy moved in the direction of St. Andrew's. Having marched for a few miles along the sea-coast, and reached the promontory of Kinraig, they perceived a powerful fleet sailing up the Frith of Forth. As they were now in expectation of receiving assistance from their own country, conducted by the Marquis D'Elbeuf, they concluded that these were the ships which conveyed his army, and were filled with exultation at the spectacle before them. To testify their joy a great number of cannon were fired, and the day was devoted to amusement and the exchange of mutual congratulations. Their rejoicings, however, were premature, as they were speedily informed that the fleet they had just saluted was from England, and that the army which was intended to co-operate with it was at no great distance from the Scottish borders. They were so much alarmed at these tidings that they resolved immediately to re-join their comrades on the south of the Forth, and, after a circuitous and toilsome march by Stirling, in the midst of a snow-storm, they succeeded in reaching Leith on the third day, having lost a number of men by the way, through the inclemency of the weather and the attacks of the Scottish cavalry, under the Lord James, by whom they were dreadfully harassed.*

The success of Maitland had been proportionate to his wishes. The cause of the congregation, indeed, did not require much advocacy at his hands. Elizabeth had already determined to afford them substantial assistance. This resolution had been taken by the advice of her secretary, Cecil. With his usual sagacity and penetration, he had always regarded the interference of the Queen of England as not only advisable but necessary. His views in regard to the position of affairs at the present crisis are ably embodied in two state papers, entitled, "A Short Discussion of the Weighty Affairs of Scotland," which are still extant in his own handwriting. The motives which should urge the queen to countenance and aid the Reformers are in these documents laid down with admirable clearness and great force. He pointed out that the French were the ancient and implacable enemies of England. No treaty of peace which had been formed between them had ever been sincere or permanent. Nothing, therefore, was to be expected from the late convention, which was only consented to on account of the weakness of their armies, and the exhausted state of their treasury. As soon as their affairs should attain to a more prosperous condition, the articles of peace would be broken on the slightest pretence. The French monarch, he observed, was influenced by the pernicious counsels of the house of Guise, and that house was ever distinguished for its animosity to England. They had openly called in question the legitimacy

* State Paper Office, Alexander Whitelaw to Cecil; Tyler, vol. vi. p. 151.

† Buchanan, book xvi. chap. 60.

* Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 65.

of his royal mistress, "and by advancing the title and pretensions of the Queen of Scotland, studied to deprive Elizabeth of her crown." England could with most advantage be invaded through Scotland; and if the French were successful in extinguishing the party of the Reformers, their next step would be to take measures for the dethronement of Elizabeth, and the restoration in her kingdom of the Popish religion. Her best policy was to arrest the progress of the enemy, and by supporting the Congregation with a powerful army, at once render the triumph of the French impossible, and put a stop to the further prosecution of the designs which were now being matured by the Princes of Lorraine.* These counsels being supported by the strong representations of Maitland, were adopted by the queen; and intelligence was accordingly conveyed to the Reformers on the 15th of December, by Robert Melvil, who had accompanied Lethington to the English court, that preparations were now making for the equipment of a fleet, and the assembling of such a force as would enable them without delay to take the field against the enemy.

Every precaution was taken by Elizabeth to conceal from the Queen-regent the real character of the measures she was now adopting. In their applications for assistance the Reformers were directed to make no mention of religion. They were instructed to express their apprehensions of the French, whose designs pointed to the subversion of the independence of Scotland, and through the conquest of that kingdom to the dethronement of Elizabeth. "Most true it is," say they, "that this practice of the French is not attempted only against this kingdom of Scotland, but also against the crown and kingdom of England and Ireland; for we know most certainly that the French have devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that our queen is right heir to England and Ireland; and to notify the same to the world, have, in paintings, at public jousts, in France and other places, this year, caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the crown of France."† Early in December the Reformers, having received a seasonable supply of money, were enabled to levy an additional force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse. At Glasgow, the Duke of Chatelherault actively employed himself in the suppression of idolatrous practices, taking possession of the archbishop's palace, and destroying the altars, images, and relics with which the churches were furnished. But the archbishop having procured the assistance of some French soldiers, recovered the castle and expelled the followers of the Duke.‡ About the close of November, proclamations were issued in Glasgow, professedly in the name of

Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, to the effect, that the whole authority of the Regent had been devolved upon the reformed lords of the Privy Council, and warning their subjects against the consequences of refusing to submit to the new government. Their only aim, it was further declared, was the glory of God and the destruction of idolatry. And, in order to the accomplishment of these ends, all clergymen who had not yet tendered their adherence to the new faith, were commanded, under the penalty of forfeiting their benefices, and being declared enemies of God, to repair to St. Andrew's, and appear before the council there assembled.* Following up this proceeding, the council of the Congregation at Dundee issued, in the name of the king and queen, strong denunciations against the consistory court, which they denominated the court of Antichrist, prohibited its future meetings, and interdicted "such wicked persons as had dared to disobey this injunction, from any repetition of their offences under pain of death."†

On the arrival in the Forth of the English fleet, the French ambassador, De Sevre, was dispatched by the Regent to demand the reason of this invasion in a time of peace. The answer of the admiral, Winter was to the effect that "his intentions were pacific, and having gone to sea in search of pirates, he had entered the Forth to watch for them there."‡ To this De Sevre replied, "that what chiefly gave discontentment to his court was, the aid which the Queen of England had given to the Scottish rebels." On the part of Elizabeth, it was immediately retorted, "that she could not consider the nobility and nation of Scotland as rebels; but, on the contrary, she deemed them wise and faithful subjects to the crown of Scotland, since they had ventured to offend the French king, in defence of the rights of his wife, their sovereign. And truly, if these barons should permit the government of their kingdom to be wrested out of their hands during the absence of their queen—if they tamely gave up the independence of their native country, whilst she used the counsel, not of the Scots, but solely of the French—her mother and other foreigners being her advisers in Scotland, and the Cardinal and Duke of Guise in France—it were a good cause for the world to speak shame of now. Nay, if the young queen herself should happen to survive her husband, she would, in such a case, have just occasion to redden them all as cowards and unnatural subjects."§ Shortly after this answer had been returned to the instances of the Regent, the Duke of Norfolk arrived in Berwick, to hold a conference with the lords of the Congregation, who were represented by Maitland, Balnave, Pitarrow, and Lord Ruthven. At this meeting a treaty was concluded, according to the terms of which Elizabeth bound herself to support the cause of the Reformers, to

* Keith, vol. i. Appendix, p. 370.

† Instructions of Elizabeth to Cecil. Sadler 570

‡ Keith, vol. i. p. 246.

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• Keith, vol. i. p. 247.

† Sadler, vol. i. p. 67.

‡ Keith, vol. i. p. 246.

§ Ms. State Paper Office

furnish them with money and a powerful army, to aid them in expelling the French out of the country, and never to abandon them so long as they continued faithful in their allegiance to their legitimate sovereign and maintained inviolate the rights of the crown. On

A treaty concluded between England and the Congregation, Feb. 27, 1560.

the other hand, it was promised by the commissioners that their forces should be united with those of England; that if the latter country should be invaded they would assist Elizabeth with an army of four thousand men; that no other union with France than that which already existed would ever receive their sanction; and they protested their intention to continue in their loyalty to the Queen of Scotland and the King, her husband, in "everything which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom." They promised, in the last place, that hostages should be given as a guarantee for the performance of these articles.*

These terms being satisfactorily arranged, and the hostages having arrived at Berwick, the English army, consisting of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, under the command of Lord Grey, crossed the Borders on the 2nd of April, 1560. At Preston they were joined by the army of the Congregation, numbering about eight thousand men, and conducted by the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Monteith, and the Lord James. The united forces having advanced rapidly from Preston to Restalrig, were encountered there by the French cavalry, when, after a short but sharp contest, the latter were compelled to retire with the loss of forty men and a hundred prisoners. Measures were immediately adopted by the English general for the siege of Leith. His army was encamped on the fields to the south and south-east of that seaport. Winter, the English admiral, opened a cannonade from the fleet, and a battery of eight guns, firing on the land-side, speedily silenced those which the French had mounted on the steeple of St. Anthony. Partial successes have ever a tendency to induce self-confidence and a relaxation of discipline. Taking ad-

Failure of the advantage of this, a sally was made on Leith. by the French, under the conduct of Martignes, who boldly attacked the English trenches, forced their opponents to give way, spiked three cannon, and put to the sword six hundred men.†

This defeat was a source of severe discouragement to the reformed party. They were further disheartened by the coldness and continued neutrality of some of the principal barons who had engaged to assist them. In order to account for this, it must be remembered that the position of many of these barons was difficult and trying. On the one hand, their attachment to the ancient faith remained unshaken; while on the other, they were indignant at the continued presence in the country

of the French forces, jealous of the ascendancy of French counsels, and anxious for the preservation of the liberties and independence of the kingdom. So long as it was possible to refrain from countenancing the Reformers, without endangering the interests of Scotland, they remained passive, and refused to embroil themselves in the contentions of the day. This was the course pursued in particular by the Earl of Huntly, a Roman Catholic nobleman of immense influence, and possessed of almost regal power in the northern counties. Having entered into an agreement with the lords of the Congregation to assist them with his adherents, he had delayed the fulfilment of his promises, watching the progress of events, and calculating the probabilities of success before he declared himself; and he now entered into a separate treaty, by which he stipulated for the preservation of his authority and the security of his possessions. On this subject some new and interesting facts have been brought to light by the investigations of a modern historian. It appears that the French had acquired such considerable influence in the northern parts of the realm, that they had succeeded in persuading certain nobles and clans to enter into a common league, by which they agreed to defend with their whole power the Roman Catholic faith, and to maintain the French authority within the kingdom. Huntly had been deterred for a long period from carrying out his engagements with the Reformers, influenced by the fear—not unnatural in the circumstances—that any decided steps in this direction would immediately expose him to the resentment and attacks of the combined members of this league. Re-assured, however, by promises The Reformers of support from the lords, he openly are joined by avowed his adherence to their Huntly. cause, and, accompanied by sixty horse, entered their camp on the 25th of April.*

At this period the Queen-regent, who on the advance of the English forces to Leith had retired to Edinburgh, and placed herself under the protection of Lord Erskine, governor of the castle, was visited by the Bishop of Valence, a commissioner from the court of France, with instructions to attempt negotiations between the two factions. Having held a conference with her for two days, he endeavoured to obtain an interview with the lords of the Congregation. This they were highly indisposed to grant, and only consented at the request of the English queen. But the attempted mediation completely failed. The prelate insisted that the basis of any agreement must be an express renunciation of the league with England. To this it was answered that no such measure could be adopted without the consent of Elizabeth; but that if he could show that this league was in any way inconsistent with their allegiance to their sovereign, or prejudicial to the liberties of Scotland, it would be at once abandoned. On their part it was required, as the fundamental article of any treaty, that the fortifications of Leith should be at once demolished,

* Knox, vol. ii. pp. 46—56. Keith, vol. i. p. 261.

† Keith, vol. i. p. 292.

* MS. State Paper Office; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 160.

and the French compelled to quit the country. This condition was peremptorily refused by the bishop, and the negotiations were in consequence broken off.

Elizabeth having dispatched reinforcements to the camp before Leith, Lord Grey determined to press the siege with greater vigour, the more so as the town was now suffering from famine. On the 4th of May the English set fire to the water-mills; the one they burned in the morning and next day they destroyed the other, notwithstanding the efforts of the French to extinguish the flames. On the 7th failure of the assault a general assault was made, but, in spite of the greatest exertions on the part of the troops, the attempt failed. Their positions were improperly chosen, their scaling ladders were too short, and they were but ill supported. They were in consequence repulsed, with the loss of a hundred and sixty men. The unfortunate issue of this attack may be traced in a great measure to the treachery of Sir James Crofts, who, having been entrusted with a division for the storming of the quarter nearest the sea, culpably delayed his advance till his assistance was rendered unavailing by the defeat of his associates. Encouraged by this partial success, the Regent again attempted the renewal of negotiations. Requesting an interview with the Earls of Huntly and Glencairn, she was waited upon instead, by Lethington, the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, and Lord Ruthven, who declared that on the single condition of the departure from the kingdom of the French forces they would disband their troops, acknowledge her authority, and refer all other subjects of dispute to the decision of parliament. Terms so moderate would not, there is reason to believe, have been rejected by the queen, if she had been permitted to exercise her own judgment and to act upon her own responsibility. But this was impossible. Her connection with her French advisers rendered it imperative that they should be consulted. The request which she made that the matter might be laid before La Brosse, D'Ossell, and the Bishop of Amiens, was refused by the barons, and the conference was abruptly closed.*

The health of the Queen-regent had for some time been in a very precarious state. On this account she had contemplated retiring from the cares of office, and returning to her native France, there to spend the remainder of her days in peace and quiet. That such a resolution had been adopted and communicated to her daughter appears from the following commission, executed at Blois, by Francis and Mary, on the 4th of December, 1559, constituting their uncle, René, Marquis d'Elbœuf, Regent of Scotland, "in place of their beloved lady mother, Queen-regent, who, on account of her infirm state of health, perceiving herself incapable of the fatigue of state affairs, desires to withdraw privately from Scotland into France, for change of air and milder climate, meaning to come at her first convenient oppor-

* M.S. State Paper Office, 14th May, 1560. Tytler, vol. v. p. 163.

tunity by easy journeys, as she can bear it, in order to obtain rest and relaxation for awhile, for the burden and vexation she has endured both by day and night, of care and conflicts which have entirely destroyed her health. For this necessary reason, they, her children, are desirous to receive her in France, and to commit the government of the realm, during her absence, into efficient hands for restraining the turbulence of the nobles, and protecting their subjects; and, for his many noble qualities, have made choice of the said Duke of Lorraine, their dearest uncle." Her last public act was to issue a proclamation commanding the parliament to convene on the 8th of July, for the purpose of composing the unhappy differences in the country, and arranging a treaty to include England, France, and Scotland. The day she had thus fixed, however, she did not live to see. During her residence in the castle she had been attacked by frequent fits of sickness, which undermined her constitution and prostrated her strength. Finding herself at the point of death, she requested a last interview with the lords of the Congregation. Accordingly, she was at once visited by the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Marischal, and Glencairn, and the Lord James. Both parties were equally affected at this solemn interview, and, in spite of their hostility to her government, the spectacle of the dying princess moved to tears the hardy barons who had been her most zealous opponents. She expressed her grief for the troubles that distracted the kingdom; and earnestly implored the nobles to conclude a peace, and to send out of the country both the English and the French forces. She advised them to a faithful observance of the ancient league with France, which had lately been confirmed in so special a manner by the marriage of Francis with their own sovereign. She expressed in pathetic terms her love and affection to the country and the people of Scotland, and exhorted the nobles to provide for their own and the nation's liberties. She professed her sorrow for having compelled them to seek support from any other than their own queen, and for having brought matters to such extremities, which she said were owing to the pernicious counsels of the Earl of Huntly and her French advisers, who had prevented her agreeing, as she wished, to the terms proposed at the conference held in France. "After many such endearing expressions, she at last burst forth into tears, asking pardon of all those whom she had in any way offended, and most heartily forgiving those who had offended her, wishing them also pardon and forgiveness at the hand of God. And, the more to demonstrate her love and affection, she embraced, and with a smiling countenance kissed the nobles one by one, and to those of inferior rank who stood by, she gave her hand to kiss, as a token of her kindness and dying charity." Much feeling was manifested by the barons towards the expiring queen, and imparting to her what comfort they could, they requested that she would

* Supplement in Labanoff, vii. p. 221, 222.

send for Willock, a distinguished preacher of the Reformed faith. To this she readily consented, and Willock, a mild but faithful minister of Christ, having pressed upon her the only way of salvation, as well as the vanity of the mass, "she did openly confess that there was no salvation but in and by the death of Jesus Christ; but of the mass we heard not her confession."* She died on the 11th of June, 1560, "and," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "she ended her life most Christianly."† It is not necessary to delineate the character of this princess at any length. The facts of her history speak for themselves. Her natural talents were excellent, her intellect clear, her disposition gentle and humane. Her capacity for government was undoubtedly great, and many judicious measures characterised the commencement of her reign, and secured for her the confidence of the nobility and the affections of the people. But in after years she became the tool of France, and the instrument of the unprincipled ambition of the princes of Lorraine. No longer influenced by the dictates of her own sound judgment, she allowed herself to be swayed by the pernicious counsels of the house of Guise, and thus outlived to a great extent her reputation and popularity. "Her death," says Buchanan, "variously affected the minds of men, for some of them who fought against her did yet bewail her death, for she was indued with a singular wit, and had also a mind very propense to equity. She had quieted the fiercest Highlanders and the farthest inhabitants of the Isles by her wisdom and valour. Some believed that she would never have had any war with the Scots if she had been left free to her own disposition, for she so accommodated herself to their manners, that she seemed able to accomplish all things without force."‡

Mary of Lorraine expired in the forty-fifth year of her age and the sixth of her regency. Her body, by her own desire, was transported to France after an interval of several months, and buried in the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, in Champagne, of which her sister Renée Lorraine was then Abbess.§

The French forces, shut up in the town of Leith, were at this period reduced to the last extremity of distress. They had suffered much from famine; and the failure of all supplies necessary to enable them to hold out, rendered it apparent that nothing could now save them but the immediate conclusion of a peace, or the arrival of powerful reinforcements from the continent. Whatever expectations might have been formed as to the arrival of the latter, they were destined to disappointment. Amusing their party in Scotland with liberal promises of large and speedy assistance, the princes of Lorraine had no intention of giving effect to their professions. Nor, indeed, was it in their power to comply with the demands which were made upon them. The condition of France

imperatively claimed their undivided attention. That country was the seat of popular commotions, distracted by religious dissensions, and weakened by frequent conspiracies; and the consequent position of affairs gave great uneasiness to the court and monarch. The Protestants were now a party formidable by their number, and the influence and genius of their principal leaders. Treated with extreme severity by Francis II. and his advisers, the house of Guise, who had openly avowed their determination to extinguish heresy, and persecute to the death its adherents, they were not on that account dismayed, but, on the contrary, resolved to secure their own safety by anticipating the designs of their enemies. Hence, among others, the famous conspiracy of Amboise, which, however, through the vigilance of their adversaries, was detected and rendered abortive. It was evident that this attempt would shortly be succeeded by others more desperate and probably more successful in their results, and that to counteract these plots would require all their energies. The attention of the French government being thus concentrated on their own country, they became desirous to conclude a peace, and to withdraw their forces from the Scottish kingdom. On the other hand, Elizabeth was not less anxious for the termination of hostilities. She had consented to become a party in the war with evident reluctance, and, even after she had dispatched her army to the assistance of the Congregation, she employed all her efforts to effect an amicable settlement with the French court. The Reformers were also desirous of peace, from motives the urgency of which admitted of no dispute. The struggle had proved too severe and too protracted for their limited forces and exhausted treasury. It was found to be impracticable to keep their followers together for any length of time, and to preserve the order and discipline so essential to the organization and efficiency of a body of troops. Mercenaries had been hired, but these could never be depended on, and now that their pay had fallen into arrear, they were proving refractory, and showing themselves ready to mutiny and to sell their services to the enemy. France had been found a more formidable opponent than was at first anticipated. All their operations at Leith had signally failed, and Lethington acknowledged in one of his letters that its fortifications were so strong that, if well victualled, it might safely defy an army of twenty thousand men. All parties were thus prepared and anxious for the commencement of negotiations. In these circumstances, a commission was granted by Francis and Mary to John Moluc, Bishop of Valence, Nicolas Bishop of Amiens, La Brosse, D'Osell, and the Sieur de Randan, to proceed to Scotland and arrange the conditions of a treaty to include respectively Scotland, England, and France.

Arriving at Edinburgh in the month of June, they were met by Cecil, the minister of Elizabeth, and Sir Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury,

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 71. † Keith, vol. i. p. 280.
 ‡ History of Scotland, Book xvi.
 § Knox, vol. ii. Appendix, Sec. iii.

who had 'grown old in the art of negotiating under three successive monarchs.' Two great interests required to be consulted in the treaty about to be concluded: the interests on the one hand of France and England, and on the other of the lords of the Congregation. No difficulty was experienced in the adjustment of the former. The only obstacle of any importance was the unjust assumption on the part of Mary and her husband of the title and arms of the Queen of England; and the French ambassadors at once consented that these should be renounced, and that the claims of Elizabeth to receive compensation for the injury she had thereby sustained, should be a question reserved for after consideration. Further, as France agreed to withdraw her forces from Scotland, the other points in dispute were easily settled, and matters accommodated to the satisfaction of both parties. To provide for the interests of the lords of the Congregation, however, was another and more delicate task. They had combined together for the expulsion of the French forces; they had entered unlawfully (so it was alleged) into a treaty with the English queen, who had assisted them with men and money; they had avowed their resolution to overthrow the established religion; they had attacked and destroyed ecclesiastical edifices; they had appeared in arms against their natural sovereign, inasmuch as they had deposed the Queen-regent from the exercise of her legitimate authority, and had assumed the supreme power, not only without any commission from their queen, but contrary to her express injunctions. They were regarded by the French as nothing better than rebels deserving of the most rigorous treatment. On the other hand, the lords of the Congregation were resolved upon maintaining their position till they were furnished with substantial guarantees against the encroachments of regal power, which, in the late events, had aimed at the subversion of their liberties and the overthrow of their ancient constitution. It was obvious that the Reformers would be exposed to the vengeance of the French court, and that their own sovereign might manifest her displeasure at their conduct by prohibiting the exercise of their religion, and by severe persecution of its adherents. To provide against this danger, it was necessary to include them in the agreement between France and England, and to recognise as valid the treaty which had been formed at Berwick between Elizabeth and the leaders of the reformed party. But to this it was objected by the French commissioners that such a treaty could never be acknowledged as binding by their sovereign, without compromising her dignity in the most serious manner. "They had received no authority (they said) on this point; it was even part of their instructions that any allusion to it should be carefully avoided." Elizabeth, however, fully alive to the advantages of this treaty, had resolved upon maintaining and confirming it; and her minister, Cecil, announced his intention of breaking off the negotiations, unless her wishes were in this

respect complied with. In that case, he intimated "the Duke of Norfolk should receive orders to advance with his army into Scotland, and the matter must once more be committed to the arbitrament of the sword." The sagacity of Cecil, and his acknowledged skill in diplomacy, were strikingly displayed in this protracted controversy, which ended in his obtaining all the articles he had so zealously contended for. The interests of the reformed party were successfully provided for in words that, without compromising their own sovereign, flattered the vanity of the French; while it was not made to appear that the concessions had been granted in consequence of their alliance with England. In a letter to Elizabeth, Cecil indulges in the following characteristic strain of self-congratulation:—"To make a cover for all this, these ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we consent with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal."

The treaty which was thus with some difficulty concluded, was in every way advantageous to the English queen. Her minister remarks, with great truth, that it "would be no small augmentation to her honour in this beginning of her reign, that it would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors, with all their battles, ever obtained—namely, the whole hearts and good-will of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the crown."†

In one of the most important articles of this treaty, the right of Elizabeth to the English crown was acknowledged in the strongest terms. It was provided that Francis and Mary should renounce the claims they had advanced, and neither assume the title, nor bear the arms, of king and queen of England, in any time to come. Honourable conditions were obtained for the leaders of the Congregation and the adherents of the Reformed faith. Instructed as Randon and Montre had been carefully to avoid reference to the treaty of Berwick, and to exclude the Protestants from participating in the benefits of the proposed negotiations, they nevertheless agreed to a clause which virtually afforded them protection, and sanctioned their connection with Elizabeth. An act of indemnity, it was further decided, should be passed by all wrongs or injuries committed from the 6th of March, 1556, to the 1st of August, 1560. Catholics and Protestants were to lay aside their animosity, and a general reconciliation was to take place among the barons and subjects of the land. The nobility were ordered to disband their forces, and interdicted from again assembling them, except in such cases as were provided for by established usage. Those of their number who, like the Duke of Chatelherault, had been in France, were to be restored to their possessions. Compensation was to be given to the bishops and other churchmen who had sustained injury in the

• MS. State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. pp. 166, 172.
† Ibid., Cecil to the Queen.

late contests, and none of them were for the future to be molested in the collection of their revenues. On the other hand, the fortifications of Leith were to be immediately demolished, the Frenchmen to evacuate the kingdom, and no foreign troops hereafter to be introduced without the knowledge and consent of parliament. It was also agreed that the affairs of state should be administered by native rulers; that no strangers should dispense justice or be advanced to places of dignity and trust, such as the high offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, and Comptroller. To secure an efficient government of the realm, during the absence of the sovereign, the conduct of public matters was to be vested in a council of twelve to be chosen out of twenty-four named by the Estates—seven to be appointed by the queen and five by the parliament. War was never to be declared, nor peace concluded, by the queen, without the concurrence of the Estates. None of the subjects of the realm, under pretence of being punished for any violation of the royal authority during the last two years, were to be deprived of the offices, benefices, or estates which they now held. It was lastly agreed that, for the settlement of religious controversies, a parliament should be convened in the month of August, for which a commission was to be sent by the king and queen of France, "and it was added, that this meeting of the Estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of these royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present resorted without fear to the parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unfettered."*

It will be observed that in this treaty no provisions were included favourable to the establishment in Scotland of the reformed religion. Its adherents were, indeed, protected, but their peculiar opinions received no countenance. Nor was there anything surprising in this omission. We have before alluded to the coldness with which Elizabeth regarded the cause of Protestantism, and her indifference, if not aversion, to many of the religious views of the Congregation in Scotland. It may, without injustice, be questioned whether she felt any great anxiety as to the universal diffusion and ultimate triumph of these views. It is more than probable that, in supporting the Protestants with her army, she was solely influenced by the desire of aiding them in their struggles for independence, in their natural endeavours to expel the foreign troops, and in their determination to preserve their country from the ascendancy of French councils. Nor was her conduct on this occasion wholly disinterested. The pretensions of Mary had been a source of infinite annoyance from the very commencement of her reign; she was aware of the ambitious projects of the house of Guise; she dreaded the consequences which might follow the extension of their influence to Scotland, as through that kingdom her own dominions might be invaded, her power shaken, and her throne endangered. These apprehensions

furnish us with an intelligible and adequate explanation of the proceedings of Elizabeth at the important crisis, the events of which have now been recorded. And as by this treaty she had not only gained her object, but secured other and considerable advantages, she had no motive for interesting herself in the religious views of the Congregation, much less for making the recognition of their opinions a fundamental article of the conditions of the peace. She was satisfied with attempting to provide that their persons should be protected and their property secured. But while it may, perhaps, appear that the interests of the Reformers had been designedly overlooked by this treaty, in reality they had been greatly forwarded. The sovereign authority was virtually transferred to their hands. They were empowered to assemble a parliament for the discussion and settlement of religious controversies, in order to the sanctioning of which a commission was to be sent over by the queen, whereby its proceedings would be rendered as regular and valid as if it had been summoned by her own command. Such concessions were in harmony with their utmost wishes, and amply rewarded them for their courage and perseverance in the conduct of an enterprise which, at one period, had promised very different results.

While the French and English commissioners were engaged in arranging the articles of treaty, the leaders of the Congregation had presented certain propositions on the subject of religion which they desired should be considered, and either received or rejected. On the refusal of the commissioners to pronounce or even to debate upon them, they were at once withdrawn, without remonstrance, and without any expression of disappointment. Nor was this unusual acquiescence the result of indifference or fear. It is rather to be explained by the confidence of the Protestants in the truth of their principles, and in their speedy recognition on the part of the country. They felt assured that the cities, burghs, and middle classes constituting the great body of the people, were favourable to the Reformation; and that, aided by the support of the great majority of the nobles, on which they reckoned, it would soon be firmly established in Scotland. They looked forward without anxiety to the meeting of parliament, satisfied that measures would then be taken to vindicate their principles and to put an end to the controversies which distracted the nation.

The treaty having thus been concluded, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 8th July, 1560. Shortly afterwards the French forces, to the number of four thousand men, embarked in English ships for their native country. At the same time the army of Elizabeth took its departure, and on its march homeward demolished the fortifications of Eyemouth, according to agreement. A solemn

A public thanksgiving was held in St. Giles's church on the 19th of July the peace.

by the reformed party. The services on the occasion appear to have been conducted

* Forbes, vol. i. p. 432. State Paper Office, MS. Letter, Cecil to Elizabeth. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 172.

by Knox himself, who, in forcible terms, described the miseries of their country, lately groaning under a foreign yoke and an idolatrous worship. He acknowledged God's mercy in sending them, through the instrumentality of Elizabeth, an unexpected and complete deliverance; called upon all to maintain the league which had been formed with her; and prayed that the counsels of those who endeavoured to dissolve this alliance might be confounded.* Ministers were then appointed to different stations of importance throughout the kingdom. Knox continued at Edinburgh, Goodman was sent to St. Andrew's, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, and others to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendents were selected for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and lastly for Argyle and the Isles.†

On the 10th of July, 1560, the parliament assembled, but was immediately adjourned, and the parliament, ^{Meeting of} ^{Parliament,} ^{1st August, 1560.} ^{the proceedings were opened with} ^{great solemnity.} Never, in the history of the country, had the Estates met at a period when the position of affairs more imperatively demanded grave and earnest deliberation. The critical character of the times, and the peculiar circumstances of the Reformed party, occasioned the attendance at this parliament to be more than usually numerous. The Estates, who conferred together and settled the affairs of the nation, were generally composed of bishops, abbots, barons, and a few commissioners of burghs. The lesser barons, though entitled to a seat and vote in parliament, seldom exercised their rights. In ordinary times the administration of the government was, without jealousy or distrust, committed to the monarch and the nobles. The expense of repairing to the national convention, with a numerous train of vassals and dependents; "the inattention of the age to any legal or regular system of government; the exorbitant authority of the greater barons, who had drawn the whole power into their own hands, rendered the privilege of attending of so little value, as to be almost totally neglected." It was only in extraordinary conjunctures, when men were roused by a long series of oppressions to vindicate their liberty and assert their independence, when the encroachments of the crown became so intolerable as to necessitate a struggle for the maintenance of their rights and privileges, that the lesser barons combined together, and in full force mustered in parliament for the purpose of resisting the aggression of the government. Such a period had now arrived. Everywhere the people manifested a surprising enthusiasm for civil and religious liberty. They had seen their country occupied by the forces of France, and the ascendancy of French councils had threatened them with the imposition of a foreign rule; they had been forbidden the exercise of that religion which they esteemed truth, in opposition to recognised and tolerated error, and in defence of which they were prepared to lay down their lives. They

had boldly and successfully contended for the Reformed faith, and they could not remain indifferent to the meeting of a parliament whose proceedings would result in momentous issues to the cause which they had so much at heart. On this account it was that, according to Lethington, the attendance at the national council was more numerous than had ever been witnessed in his own time. "Men flocked in from all corners of the kingdom, eager and determined to aid with their voices in the senate the same cause which they had defended with their swords in the field."* At this convention there appeared, in addition to the peers temporal and spiritual, the representatives of almost all the burghs, and upwards of a hundred barons, who, although of the lesser order, were gentlemen of the first rank and fortune in the nation.†

The business of the parliament would immediately have commenced, had not a preliminary objection been taken to the competency of its proceedings. We have already remarked, that so it had been summoned by authority of the nobles, and without permission from the sovereign, it was necessary to obtain her consent in the form of a commission, legalising their meeting, and sanctioning their deliberations. During the adjournment of the Estates, from the 10th of July to the 1st of August, it was provided, "that the lords deputies shall order a despatch to the king and queen, to advertise them of their having concurred to the sitting of a parliament, and to supplicate their majesties most humbly, that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have heretofore recorded."‡ That these deputies executed their mission with all due dispatch we can have no doubt; but it does not appear that any satisfactory answer was returned on the part of Mary. In these circumstances it was doubted whether they were warranted in holding a parliament. The question was very keenly agitated, and the debate lasted for a week. "In the beginning of the parliament," says Spottiswood, "there was great altercation; divers holding that no parliament could be kept, seeing that the sovereigns had sent no commission, nor authorised any to represent their persons; others, alleging that articles of the peace, whereby it was agreed that a parliament should be kept in the month of August, and that the same should be as lawful in all respects as if it were ordained by the express commands of their majesties, maintained that the said articles were warrant sufficient for their present meeting, and this opinion by voices prevailed."§

This question having been decided by the vote of the majority, the crown, the mace, and the sword, were laid upon the throne newly occupied by the sovereign, and the proceedings were opened by the election of Maitland to the office of speaker, as he was then termed, 'harangue maker.' Addressing the assembly in a short but effective speech, he

* MS. Letter, Lethington to Knox.

† Keith, vol. i. p. 317.

‡ Paul.

§ Spottiswood, p. 148.

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 85. † Ibid. p. 87.

sketched briefly the history of the late events, adverting to the necessity which had been laid upon them of taking up arms in defence of their liberties; the support which had been liberally extended to them, and in what way they were bound to acknowledge and repay it. He protested that no other designs had been entertained on the part of the Congregation, but such as were intended to promote the independence of their country and the toleration of their religion. He exhorted the Estates to the adoption of disinterested measures, which, leaving out of view individual interests and feelings, should have for their object the true service of God, and the advantage and happiness of the kingdom, which had fallen into so miserable a condition from the absence of good government, and the defective administration of justice. He enjoined them to live in union, to form hearty and mutual friendships, and to act as members of one body, enforcing his remarks by the illustration of the fable which represents "the mouth as having quarrelled with the members, and refusing to receive sustenance for so long a time that the whole body perished." Lastly, he prayed that amity and peace with all princes, and especially between the realms of England and Scotland, might be long maintained in the love and fear of God.*

The articles of the peace having been read over.

Proceedings of they were unanimously approved the Parliament. of, and ordered to be sent over to France, for the ratification of the sovereign. The parliament next proceeded to the election of the lords of the Articles, the order of which, says Randolph, is, that "the Lords Spiritual choose the Temporal, and the Temporal the Spiritual, and the Burgesses their own." † These lords of the Articles were a sort of committee of the Estates, whose consent was necessary before any articles or bills could be submitted to the parliament. "I observe," says Keith, "that for three hundred years backward, they have consisted of an uncertain number of members, not under three of the clergy, three of the barons, and three of the burgesses. But sometimes there have been sixteen prelates, and as many barons, though the burgesses have not been commonly so numerous, by reason, I suppose, that there was seldom any large number of those members out of which to make an election." As it was usual then for the nobility to appoint a certain number of the clergy to act in this capacity, they exercised their right by selecting those only who were well known to be favourably affected to the reformed religion, thereby giving great offence to a number of the prelates, who were altogether overlooked. "This being done," says Randolph in a letter to Cecil, wherein he describes the proceedings of the parliament, "the lords departed, and accompanied the Duke as far as the Bow, which is the gate going out of the High-street, and many down unto the palace where he lieth; the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music,

such as they have. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past, the lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use. The lords of the Articles sat from thenceforth in Holyrood House, except that at such times as, upon any matter of importance, the whole lords assembled themselves again, as they did this day, in the Parliament House."*

The lords of the Articles having met and deliberated, they first proceeded to ratify the conditions of the late treaty. The act of indemnity, and the nomination of twenty-four persons, out of whom the council to be entrusted with supreme authority was to be chosen, were immediately agreed to. As soon as this matter was settled, a petition was presented to the parliament on the part of the Reformers, having for its object the following important results:—

1. That the doctrines of transubstantiation, justification by works, indulgence, purgatory, pilgrimage, and invocation of saints should be abolished, by authority of parliament.
2. That the profanation of the Holy Sacraments be prevented, and the discipline of the ancient church restored.
3. That the Pope's usurped authority may be abolished, and the patrimony of the church be employed to the sustentation of the ministry, the provision of schools, and the support of the poor. † This was a bold and decided step. A blow was thus aimed at the whole fabric of Popish superstition, at a period when the party of the Protestants was powerful and well organised, and the circumstances in which they were placed favoured their designs, and justified their hopes as to the final triumph of their cause. Many of the prelates were members of the national convention; but taken by surprise, and conscious of their own weakness, they offered little or no resistance to the adoption of these vigorous measures. In this passive acquiescence they were perhaps confirmed by the expectation that by yielding to the torrent of religious zeal, which was now in its full strength, it would soon be exhausted, and that the king and queen, having their attention directed to the subversion of the ancient religion, would interpose their authority, check the progress of the Reformation, and restore the church to its rightful position and its former influence. Doubtless, also, some of them were willing to sacrifice their principles, in order to secure the safety of their persons and the undisturbed possession of their revenues.

Actuated by such motives as these, when the Confession of Faith, or summary of the Protestant doctrines, was laid before parliament, the prelates, aware that an overwhelming majority was arrayed against them, felt that all opposition would be useless, and declined to state their opinions. There was, consequently, no discussion, and the consent of parliament to this important document was given almost by acclamation, some of the lords declaring in their enthusiasm that they would sooner end their lives than think contrary to these doctrines.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 177.

† *Ibid.*, p. 178.

* MS. State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 179.

† Keith, vol. i., p. 320.

The Primate, with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, contented themselves with protesting against its adoption, on the ground that time had not been afforded for the examination of its contents. In this protest they were joined by the Earls of Cassillis and Caithness, and, as Spottiswood mentions, by the Earl of Atholl, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick. But, in spite of their objections, the Confession was adopted by the Estates on the 17th of August, 1560, and declared to be the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland.

In order to give effect to this resolution of the parliament, three other acts were immediately passed. The first declared that the former clergy were nothing else but usurped ministers; that the new preachers were the only persons that had power to administer the sacraments; "that the sayers and hearers of mass should, for the first fault, suffer the confiscation of all their goods whatsoever, movable and immovable, and a corporal discretionary punishment besides; for the second fault, banishment out of the kingdom; and for the third, loss of life—three punishments," quaintly adds the historian, "well enough calculated for compelling men to come in!"* The second act abolished for ever the authority of the Pope in the realm of Scotland; and the third repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, or known to be in spirit and tendency opposed to the Confession of Faith now ratified and approved by the Estates.

It has been justly remarked, in reference to the enactment which instituted penalties for the purpose of securing conformity in religious opinion, that "Few blessings have been of slower growth in Europe than religious toleration. The same men who had groaned so lately under persecution, and who upbraided their brethren, and with perfect justice, for the tyranny of maintaining their errors with fire and sword, now injured the cause they advocated by similar severities, and compelled the reception of what they pronounced as truth, under the penalty of death."†

Various other measures of a similar character were passed by this parliament against the Roman Catholic bishops. Many of these prelates considering the meeting to be illegal, for reasons which have been already alluded to, had absented themselves, and on this account had given great offence to the Reformed party. Others, having taken their seats, declined to take part in the proceedings, on the ground that when the lords of the Articles were chosen they were unjustly overlooked. For these and other reasons a bill of complaint was presented against them on the part of the barons, containing, according to Randolph's account, "rather a general accusation of all living bishops than any special crime that they were burdened with." Summonses were issued to the Bishops of Dunblane, St. Andrew's, and Dunkeld, who were called upon to appear and answer the complaint. But as they

declined to comply, judgment was passed in their absence, and a decree issued ordaining the 'stay of their livings.' But matters did not rest here. Aware that their possessions were endangered, and anxious to secure them from falling into the hands of the barons, many of the prelates had adopted the expedient of granting conveyances or leases of their lands to those who agreed to rent them in the meantime, and to re-convey them to their original proprietors when times should become more auspicious. Such a proceeding, it is obvious, was not likely to receive the sanction of the Estates, although it was approved of by the Pope; and, characterising it as an unjustifiable alienation of the estates of the church, which deserved to be severely censured, the parliament passed a resolution directing that all such leases should be void, without further process of law.

The next subject of importance which was brought before the Estates was the Confirmation of the treaty which had been entered into between the lords of the Congregation and the English queen. On this point the greatest unanimity prevailed, and without any discussion this important treaty was at once confirmed. The advantages of a lasting peace between the two realms was, indeed, so apparent to all, that a proposal having been made to place so desirable a peace on a secure footing, by the marriage of Elizabeth with the Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, it was received with the greatest favour, and even enthusiasm, and immediate steps were taken for its realisation. It was resolved "that suit should be made to the Queen of England, in the best manner, that it may please her majesty, for the establishing of a perpetual friendship, to join in marriage with the Earl of Arran."*

The parliament was subsequently occupied with the selection of the twenty-four members out of whom the Council of Twelve was to be chosen. The election issued in the appointment of the following noblemen and barons, among whom were included not only the principal leaders of the Congregation, but several influential members of the opposite party. The Duke, the Earls of Arran, Huntly, Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Atholl, Monteith, Marischal, and Rothes; the Lords James, Eskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvy, St. John, and the Master of Maxwell; the Lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Dun, Drumlanrig, Cunninghamhead, and Lethington. As it was necessary that six of the twelve should be appointed by the sovereign, it was resolved that, till the arrival of a commission from France which should determine this, six of the former should sit continually at Edinburgh, for the administration of justice. If, however, any measure of importance, involving the general interests of the kingdom should be brought before them, no fewer than sixteen of the above number were ordered to attend.†

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Lethington to Cecil. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 191.

† *Ibid.*, p. 190.

The last act of the parliament, previous to its dissolution, on the 27th of August, was to authorise Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem within Scotland, to proceed to France, and inform their majesties of the matters which had been arranged at the meetings of the national council. Lethington, with the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, was dispatched with the same commission to the court of England. This resolution, so far, at least, as it respected France, was in accordance with the agreement which had been entered into between the deputies of the king and queen, and the leaders of the Congregation, which provided "That the nobility of Scotland have engaged that, in the ensuing convention of estates, some persons of quality shall be chosen for to repair to their majesties, and lay before them the state of their affairs, at which time they shall get delivered to them a ratification done by their majesties."* It was not to be expected that the reception of Sandilands would be favourable. The proceedings of the Congregation had certainly been irregular. Parliament had assembled on its own authority, and without waiting

His reception. either for the sovereigns' ratification of the treaty, or the commission which should invest their meetings with a legal sanction. Resolutions had been taken, and measures passed, of vast importance, and calculated to effect a more momentous change in the constitution of the kingdom than any series of acts which had ever been introduced in the preceding history of the nation. These, to a great extent, must have been highly obnoxious to the queen, and still more so to the house of Guise, her most influential advisers. It was not to be anticipated that her consent would ever be accorded to the sweeping innovations which had overturned the established religion, and confirmed in its place a faith she had been taught from her youth to regard with suspicion and dislike. Nor could the evident influence of Elizabeth in the Scottish parliament fail to awaken resentment in the court of France. All their efforts had hitherto been directed to break off the good understanding which subsisted between the two countries, and the failure of these, together with the recent confirmation of the alliance with England, must have been extremely mortifying.

The feelings of the queen's advisers on this subjectment of the ject were strongly expressed in an French court. interview which took place between the English ambassador, Throckmorton, and the Cardinal Lorraine, soon after the arrival of Sandilands, who had been but coldly received. "I tell you frankly," said this proud minister, "the Scots, the king's subjects, do perform no part of their duties; the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say in their words they are the king's subjects. To tell you of the particular dis-

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 2.

orders were too long; every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order; and when fault is found with them, they threaten the king with the aid of the queen, your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for, rather than they shall be at this point, the king will quit all. They have made a league with the queen, your mistress, without us; what manner of dealing is this of subjects? Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly. They have sent hither a mean man, in post to the king and queen, their sovereigns; and to the queen, your mistress, a great and solemn legation. This great legation goeth for the marriage of the queen, your mistress, with the Earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such an one as he is, and one of the queen's subjects."* This language gives us a good idea of the light in which the conduct of the Reformers was regarded by the court of France.

The queen having for some time delayed giving an answer to the ambassador, who had requested from her a ratification of the treaty and of the proceedings of the late parliament, at length intimated her refusal. And it is to be observed, says Keith, that "neither now, nor at any time thereafter, even when she was returned into her ancient and hereditary kingdom of Scotland, and thereby free from the influence of her husband and French relations, could her majesty be prevailed upon to own and acknowledge the late meeting as a lawful parliament; nor were the acts therein passed ever allowed to be printed and published along with the acts of other parliaments, during her majesty's administration."†

At this time an interview took place between the Scottish sovereign and the English ambassador, which is interesting, not only on account of the insight it affords us into the real senti-

Interview
between Mary
and the English
Ambassador.

ments of Mary, but as giving us an opportunity of observing her behaviour in this, her first public appearance. She was then only sixteen; and "it must be admitted that in this conversation, with one of the ablest ministers of Elizabeth, she acquitted herself with uncommon spirit and good sense." Throckmorton having entreated her to ratify the treaty she replied:—"Such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council, hath made you in that matter, might suffice: but because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty. My subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me; but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them; and although I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 193.
† Keith, vol. ii. p. 5.

assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all to the king and me in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress: I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." "In this speech," says Throckmorton, "the queen uttered some choleric and stomach against them. I said, 'as to the Lord of St. John, I know him not; but he is Great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any earl within your realm.' The queen answered, 'I do not take him for Great Prior, for he is married. I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.' I said, 'madam, I have heard that if your majesty do proceed graciously with the Lord St. John, in observation of all that which was by the Bishop of Valence and Mons. de Randan promised in the king's and your name, the nobles and states of Scotland do mind to send unto the king and you a greater legation.' 'Then the king and I,' quoth she, 'must begin with them.' 'Madam,' quoth I, 'I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused; for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the queen, my mistress (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the king and you do bear openly the arms of England), will give the queen, my mistress, occasion greatly to suspect your well-meaning unto her.' 'Mine uncles,' quoth she, 'have sufficiently answered you in this matter. And for your part, I pray you, do the office of a good minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well.' And so, he concludes, the queen dismissed me, and Mons. de Lansac brought me to my horse."*

Successive historians have fallen into a mistake in regard to the reception of Sir James Sandilands. They have taken their account from Buchanan, who states, that when the Great Prior was received by the Guises, "they reproved him with great harshness, because that he, a man devoted to a holy military order, should have undertaken to carry the messages of rebels, in favour of an execrable heresy, which, with the universal approbation of all nations, had been condemned by the Council of Trent." On the other hand, it is stated by the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was, as we have seen, at court, and probably in daily communication with him, that "the Lord St. John had his *dépeche* here the 21st of this month. He took not his leave of the king, by reason of his indisposition, but of the queen, and the Cardinal Lorraine. He had very good words, and was required to use the part and office of a good minister towards the Estates of Scotland, and of a good subject towards his sovereigns. He hath a letter from the king and queen to the said Estates, the copy whereof I send your majesty herewith."†

Previous to his departure, St. John had a private interview with the envoy of Elizabeth, in which he entreated him to recommend to the English queen, 'the ordering of their affairs in Scotland,' as without her aid and interference it was probable the affairs of the Congregation would soon be in as unfortunate a condition as they had been before.

In the meantime the ambassadors of the parliament proceeded to England, and were cordially received by Elizabeth. ^{Results of the embassy to England.} Professing their gratitude for the seasonable and effectual assistance which she had afforded them, they besought her to render the friendship between the two nations perpetual, by condescending to a union with the Earl of Arran, who, though a subject, was nearly allied to the royal family of Scotland, and was indeed the heir-apparent to the throne. To this proposal an answer was returned, acknowledging the "great goodwill of the Estates towards her majesty, offering her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some danger of the displeasure of the French King in so doing; but that her majesty finding herself not disposed presently to marry, although it may be that the necessity and respect of her realm shall hereafter constrain her, wished that the Earl of Arran should not forbear to accept such marriage as may be made to him, for his own weal and surety; and that all other means be used to the continuance of amity firmly betwixt these kingdoms, whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realms, and in a manner to continue as good amity thereby as by marriage."*

It is interesting to observe the policy of the Guises at this period. Their object, now, as formerly, was to effect a separation between the Reformers and Elizabeth, to isolate them from the courts both of France and England—that when thus left to their own resources, and made sensible of their own weakness, they might be forced to purchase peace, however unfavourable the terms, and however great the sacrifice.

The important end to which all their schemes were directed, was the arresting of the progress of the Reformation, and the re-estab- ^{Policy of the Guises.} lishment throughout Europe of the ancient faith. "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes in Germany, to support the Council of Trent now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire, against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to free themselves from the trammels of many long-established errors, was the chief object to which they bent their efforts." The steps they should take, in order to the accomplishment of these designs depended on the issue of the embassy now dispatched on

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 17th Nov., 1560. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 195.

† Ibid, p. 196.

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 10.

the part of the parliament, to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and the Earl of Arran. If, as seemed probable, she should refuse to comply with their wishes, they resolved to persuade the Scots that she had acted solely from a desire to aggrandize herself, and that now their eyes were opened to the insidious character of her designs, it would be prudent to break off their engagements with her, and form with France such a close alliance, as would effectually protect them from the consequences of her displeasure. They proposed also to bribe Arran into the relinquishment of his connection with the Congregation, by offering to marry him to a daughter of France, to invest him with the office of Lieutenant in Scotland, where, acting for the king and queen, his powers would be almost unlimited, and the whole revenue of the kingdom would be at his disposal. Further, they determined to weaken the power of the Congregation, by sowing dissensions among their leaders. These schemes, it appears, however secretly concocted, were not unknown to Throckmorton, who, in order to counteract them, advised Elizabeth to employ one of his subtle and intriguing agents, named Clark, an archer of the French guard, who was accordingly dispatched to Scotland, to act as a spy upon the conduct of the Guisian faction.*

Certain state papers which have been recently brought to light place in a very striking aspect the unscrupulous policy of the house of Guise at this period. We have seen that, under the regency of the queen-dowager, the affairs of Scotland were entrusted to the management of a Frenchman, named D'Osell. This officer, however, on the return to the court, of Monluc, Bishop of Valence, found himself deprived of all influence, and subjected to the displeasure of his royal master. The cause of his disgrace is stated by Throckmorton. It appears that, during the late war, advice had been tendered to the queen-regent, by the Bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martignes, to the effect that, dissembling with the Congregation, she should summon a parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, and having thus got them into her power, should seize, and summarily put to death, the leaders of the Reformed party. Through the influence of D'Osell, his associates were compelled reluctantly to abandon their nefarious proposal. On this account, the want of success which attended the French cause was imputed to his conduct, and henceforth he not only ceased to be consulted regarding the affairs of Scotland, but was treated on all occasions with studied coldness and neglect.†

At this crisis an event took place which considerably modified the condition of affairs, and was productive of important consequences to Scotland. This was the death of the French monarch, Francis II., who expired at Orleans, on the 6th of December, 1560. By the

demise of her husband, the youthful queen was placed in a position peculiarly trying. Inexperienced as she was, however, she exhibited an energy and self-possession, which proved that she was not unequal to the duties and responsibilities which had thus so unexpectedly devolved upon her. In a letter addressed by Throckmorton at this period to the English council, we are presented with an interesting view, not only of the character of Mary, but of the position of parties, and the projected policy of England:—

“My very good lords—Now that God hath thus disposed of the late French king, whereby the Scottish queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment, one of the special things your lordships have to consider, and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that queen. During her husband's life there was no great account made of her; for that, being under band of marriage and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters; which, increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth, that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her.

“Immediately upon her husband's death, she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, became so solitary and exempt from all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the king, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger, saving Martignes, who, having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborne to do, knowing not the queen's majesty's pleasure in that behalf.

“Amongst others, the ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be far more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined, and had great conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine; and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of marriage for her with the Prince of Spain—for I think the Council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity—yet it is not amiss to hearken to the matter; for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, French Correspondence. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 197.

† MS. Letter, State Paper Office, French Correspondence. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 198.

of offers. But to conclude herein: as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now, in time, good occasions be not let pass, the King of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men (which is a great virtue in a prince or princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her) that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left, and offered her to take advantage by.

“I understand very credibly,” continued the ambassador, “that the said Scottish queen is desirous to return into Scotland; marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself, nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesley (who pretendeth title to the earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers; and, besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the Lord James and of all the Stewards, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the Duke of Chatelherault and his party; and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part, of those that carried themselves indifferently as neutrals all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people. And now to have their queen home [they] will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request, thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return, she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow-hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also look that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects; whom she will, for her part, recompense by all the favour, assurance, and benevolence, that a prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your lordships’ grave wisdom to consider of it.”*

It is not difficult to understand the universal satisfaction with which the news of the king’s death was received in Scotland. So long as he continued to reign there was every danger that the peace of the kingdom would be again disturbed by the machinations of the house of Guise. The influence of Mary over her weak and compliant husband was unbounded, and the conduct of that princess was entirely under the direction of her uncles, the princes of Lorraine. Their hostility to

the Reformed party, and their determination to take decisive measures to compass its destruction, have been already alluded to. Hitherto they had been thwarted in their designs, partly by the timely interposition of Elizabeth in behalf of the Congregation, and partly by the religious commotions which at this period distracted their native country. The latter would, probably, have soon been brought to a conclusion, and means might have been found to prevent a repetition of the former. In either case they would have been left at liberty to pursue their dark policy, and to visit Scotland with the consequences of their long-meditated vengeance. The dangers to which the kingdom was thus exposed were to a great extent averted by the death of Francis. “The princes of Lorraine were obliged to contract their views, to turn them from foreign to domestic objects, and, instead of forming vast projects with regard to Britain, found it necessary to think of acquiring and establishing an interest with the new administration.”

Shortly after the king’s death a parliament was summoned, which assembled at Meeting of Parliament, Edinburgh on the 16th of January, 1561. At this meeting Sir James Sandilands appeared, and, after giving an account of his mission, produced the letter with which his sovereign had entrusted him. This document informed the Estates that she had been assured of their determination to remain steadfast in their allegiance, but that in the account she had received of their late assembly (she refused to term it a parliament), she observed with regret that their conduct but little coincided with these professions. She was willing, she remarked, that their requests should meet with the consideration to which they were entitled, and that for this purpose she had resolved to dispatch two noble persons with authority to convene a legal parliament, where their alleged grievances would meet with a full discussion.* A good deal of consideration was given by the barons to this letter, which, however, lost much of its interest in consequence of the king’s death. The result of their deliberations was expressed in a very important resolution of the parliament—viz., that their sovereign, who was now unconnected with France by any tie of sufficient importance to detain her in that country, should be invited to return to her own dominions; and that their sentiments on this subject should be delivered to her by the Lord James, her own brother, and the principal leader of the Congregation. Explicit instructions were given to the ambassador as to the terms of his message. He was to assure the sovereign of a hearty reception from her loyal and devoted subjects, provided only that she reposed confidence in their attachment, and consented to return unaccompanied by any foreign force. She was advised to proceed through England, where she might obtain an interview with Elizabeth, and consult with her as to the maintenance of a permanent peace between the two countries. On the subject of religion he was admonished

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Throckmorton to the Council. Tytler, vol. vi. pp. 199—202.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 203.

by Knox that if he consented that she should hear mass either publicly or privately, he would be considered as betraying the cause of God and exposing religion to the utmost peril. To this he replied, "That he would never consent that she should hear mass publicly; but to hear it secretly in her chamber, who could stop her?"*

The activity of the Protestants at this juncture was not lost upon the opposite party. Alive to the necessity of obtaining, and, if possible, preserving an ascendancy in the councils of the young sovereign, the Romish party secretly assembled a convention and deliberated on the measures to be adopted. This meeting was attended by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross; the Earls of Huntly, Atholl, Crawford, Sutherland, Marischal, Caithness, and a number of influential barons. It was then resolved that John Leslie, Official and Vicar-General of the diocese of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop Ross, should be deputed to wait upon the queen, to express their attachment to her person, and to remain at court to watch the current of events. The departure of the Lord James was delayed for a short time, in consequence of the arrival in Scotland of four commissioners from the queen. These were Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesley of Auchtermuchty. They were the bearers of a commission from her majesty, directed to some of the principal nobility of the kingdom—the Duke of Chatelherault, Argyle, Atholl, Huntly, Bothwell, the Lord James, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's—authorising them to summon a parliament, at which she intimated an ambassador from France, in the person of Monsieur de Noailles, would appear, for the purpose of proposing a renewal of their ancient league with that kingdom. The message which accompanied these instructions was conciliatory. She expressed her intention of returning speedily to her own dominions, of extending forgiveness to all political offenders, and sending out of the country the few French soldiers who still remained in garrison within the fortress of Dunbar. She also informed them that, while she had received offers of marriage from the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the Prince of Spain, it was not her intention to take any decided step, 'without in person consulting her nobles, and receiving the assent of her people.' † Letters were at the same time dispatched by Mary to all the leading men of the kingdom, declaring that, notwithstanding their past conduct, she was resolved to continue them in their present offices, provided only that they remained faithful in their allegiance to herself.

The policy of Elizabeth, at this juncture, was marked by her characteristic sagacity and prudence. It was obviously her interest to retain the influence she had acquired in Scotland, and at the same time to keep on friendly terms with the young sovereign, as

well as to preserve amicable relations with the court of France. To secure the first, she instructed Randolph, then resident in Edinburgh, as her accredited envoy, in the particular line of conduct he was now to follow. This person was one of the ablest agents she had ever employed; but he is described as being of "a dark intriguing spirit, full of cunning and void of conscience; and there is little doubt that the unhappy divisions in Scotland were fomented, by this man's artifices, for more than twenty years." He was enjoined to hold friendly intercourse with the Protestant leaders; to assure them of the unabated determination of his mistress to adhere to the great principles of the Reformed faith; to exhort them to have no confidence in France, to avoid committing themselves to any alliance with that country, which could never be productive of good, and, finally, to ratify their engagements with England, and labour to secure permanence for the present peace.

For the purpose of gaining the second object embraced by the policy of the English queen, the Earl of Bedford was sent over to present her condolences to Mary, on occasion of her late bereavement; but he was also instructed to require from her that ratification of the treaty which had been hitherto refused. He was to remind her that the disturbances of her kingdom had terminated on the removal of the French forces; that for the last hundred years the borders had never enjoyed so much peace as at present; and that if she wished the prosperity to be lasting, it could only be perpetuated by allowing the country the same freedom as had been universally granted during the reign of her father, James V., "which consisted chiefly in its being governed by its own laws, and ruled by means of its 'natural or born' people." Bedford, in addition, was enjoined, if he discovered any disposition on the part of the house of Guise to promote the marriage of Mary with Spain or Austria, to stimulate the King of Navarre to protest against it, as contrary to his own greatness, and subversive of the interests of Christendom.*

This envoy arrived at Paris on the 3rd of February, and on the 15th proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was received by Mary with much kindness and cordiality. His interview, and that of Throckmorton, with the Scottish queen, is very minutely described, in a letter addressed by them to the Privy Council. On being much pressed to ratify the treaty which had lately been concluded at Edinburgh, she replied that "there were more reasons to persuade to amity between Elizabeth, her good sister, and herself than between any two princes in all Christendom. We are both," said she, "in one isle, both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh, I am here, as you see, without all counsel. And I pray you to tell the queen, my good sister, I trust, ere it be long, some of the nobility and council of

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 13.

† MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 208.

* MS. Instructions, State Paper Office, Sir J. Williamson's Collection, Tytler, vol. vi. p. 210.

Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some shortly unto me. And when I shall have communed with them, mind to send my good sister, the queen, your mistress, such an answer as I trust she shall be pleased with."* Much dissatisfied with the results of this interview, Bedford returned to England.

According to the statement of Secretary Lethington, Scotland was at this time divided into three parties. The first consisted of the Duke of Chatelherault and his adherents, whose efforts were directed to bring about a marriage between Mary and his eldest son, the Earl of Arran. The second were desirous of the immediate return of the queen to her own dominions, where they were ready to secure for her a favourable reception, under the single condition that she should arrive unaccompanied by a foreign force. Many of the nobility, of the highest rank and influence, were included in this party. They believed that if she consented to their wishes she would be induced to favour their religion, and ratify the treaty with England. A third faction are described as neutrals, who, without a settled policy, were willing to support the adoption of any measures, provided they were sanctioned by the authority of the sovereign.

While Mary was residing at Rheims, she was visited, on the 14th of April, by Lesley with Mary. Lesley, the envoy of the Romish party, who then delivered to her the message with which he had been entrusted. He assured her of the warm attachment and devotion of his friends in Scotland; and warned her to put no trust in the Lord James, who was now on his way to her presence, to reject his counsels, and, above all, to detain him, if possible, in France, till after she had arrived in her own kingdom. He recommended her to land at Aberdeen, where, as the Reformed religion had made little progress in the north of Scotland, an army of twenty thousand men could easily be collected, with which she might advance with security to Edinburgh, and defeat the designs of her enemies. It does not appear that Mary was favourably impressed by this interview. She was not disposed, and with reason, to put implicit confidence in the promises even of her professed friends. Several of the nobles who had deputed Lesley—Huntly amongst the number—while avowing their adherence to the ancient faith, had, nevertheless, for the furtherance, as she believed, of their own selfish projects, joined themselves to the party of the Congregation, and powerfully aided them in carrying out their extreme measures. It is not surprising, therefore, that the mission of the Roman Catholic envoy proved a failure. Mary intimated no approval of the advice he tendered, nor any intention of taking advantage of the offer so urgently pressed on her acceptance. In giving an account of his interview, Lesley simply observes, that he was graciously received and listened to, that she commanded him to remain by her person till her return

to Scotland, and in the meantime to assure the lords and prelates who had sent him of her favour towards them, and her intention to reside in her kingdom.*

It was a curious circumstance that this visit was paid on the very day previous to that on which the Lord James was admitted into her presence. This nobleman, in repairing to France, had passed through England, and solicited an interview with Elizabeth. Being pressed by that princess to obtain from Mary the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured her that, in his present visit to his sister, he was not the bearer of any public commission, and that the only message he conveyed from the council and nobility was 'a general declaration of their duty and devotion to their sovereign.' It appears that much difference of opinion prevailed on the part of Cecil and Throckmorton as to the propriety of allowing him to pass over to France. The latter observes, in one of his letters, "I learn that this king, by means of the Queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion, and for that purpose hath both procured for him the red hat, if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeyes and benefices in this realm. If he will be won, then your majesty knoweth he may be, as it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your majesty and your realm of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand this king in his best stead for the matters there, so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way; and I verily believe, if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh." Cecil, on the other hand, relying on his well-known disposition to cultivate and maintain friendship with England, was disposed to put implicit confidence in the Lord James; and, accordingly, after treating him with great distinction, dismissed him with many expressions of good-will.

Her brother was received by Mary with characteristic kindness. She had ever entertained an affection for him, and his frank disposition, and winning manners, were well calculated to dispose her favourably towards him. Had she been aware, however, of the character of his intercourse with the English sovereign and her ministers, her conduct on this occasion would have been very different. As it was, he soon gained a very decided influence over her, and induced her freely to disclose to him her intentions. She admitted, without hesitation, that she was by no means satisfied with the terms of intimate alliance which subsisted between Scotland and England; that, as to the treaty of Edinburgh, she was anxious that it should be broken off, and that, at all events, she would on no account ratify it without the advice and consent of her own parliament. She also intimated her intention to prohibit the meeting of the Estates till such time as she herself could meet with them, and attend their deliberations. From his conversation with the queen, Lord James soon learnt that, while she

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 213.

• Keith, vol. ii. p. 20.

would never consent to a union with the Earl of Arran, she was not averse to a marriage with a foreign prince. As to the manner of her return to her kingdom, she intimated her intention, instead of passing through England, to proceed by sea. Having made these explanations, she endeavoured to persuade Lord James to renounce the Protestant faith and return to the creed of Rome. In these endeavours she was strongly seconded by the Guises, who, among other inducements, held out the offer of a Cardinal's hat, and the highest advancement in the church; but, resisting every importunity, he remained true to his engagements with the Reformed party. This firmness of purpose raised rather than lowered him in the estimation of the queen, and confirmed the resolution she had already formed of entrusting to him the management of public affairs till her own arrival in her kingdom. As he proposed an immediate return to Scotland, she intimated that his commission for this purpose would be sent after him.

It must be admitted that the conduct of the Lord James at this time was marked both by ingratitude and duplicity. No sooner had he left his sovereign, who had now honoured him with such signal proofs of her esteem and confidence, than, proceeding to Paris, he held a secret interview with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, and disclosed to him everything that had passed between himself and Mary. This information was, of course, immediately transmitted to Elizabeth, with the remark that, on his return through England, Lord James would communicate the circumstances in greater detail to her Majesty.*

The history of this period is extremely intricate, and it is impossible to trace with accuracy the underhand and unprincipled transactions which then undoubtedly took place. This much is certain, that the policy of Elizabeth was dark and crooked; the measures of her ministers base; and the conduct of many of the Scottish nobles highly venal. The letter of Throckmorton to the queen, to which we have just referred, furnishes, we think, satisfactory confirmation of the statement now made. It discloses the nature of the advice tendered by her ministers to the English sovereign, and intimates the possible corruption of influential persons in Scotland, who might thereby be bribed to favour her designs. "At this present," says he, "your majesty hath peace with all the world, and I see no occasion to move unto your majesty or your realm any war from any place or person, but by the Queen of Scotland and her means. Then wisdom doth advise your majesty to buy your surety, quietness, and felicity, though it cost you dear. Tho means to assure this is, in time, before any other push in his feet, his hire, and practices, to win unto your majesty's devotion and party the mightiest, the wisest, and the most honest of the realm of Scotland. And, though it be to your majesty great charge, as twenty thousand pounds yearly, yet it

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Throckmorton to the Queen. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 221.

is in no wise to be omitted or spared. And in sorting your entertainment to every person, there should be some special consideration had of the Earl of Arran, because he is the second person of that realm, whose quality and credit your majesty knoweth better than I; and in like manner of the Lord James, whose credit, love, and honesty is comparable, in my judgment, to any man of that realm."

The visit of the Lord James to Paris was much resented by Mary. She had earnestly entreated him not to visit the French court or to return home through England; and, when her reasonable wishes in these respects were not regarded, her sentiments towards him were much modified. She changed her resolution of entrusting him with supreme authority, and dismissed the gentleman who had remained behind to receive from her hands the commission which appointed him Governor. This circumstance was taken advantage of by Throckmorton, who advised his sovereign that Mary's sentiments had been altered solely on account of the devotion she had discovered in the Lord James towards the English queen, "and on this account he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small need for the advancement of your desire." What were the precise objects which the ambition of the Lord James urged him at this period to compass cannot now be ascertained. Whatever might be the nature of these, certain it is that he courted the favour of Elizabeth in an extraordinary degree, and in so doing, acted, to say the least of it, an unfaithful and disingenuous part. We are not disposed, however, to put implicit confidence in all that has been stated as to his conduct during his residence at the English court. It is well enough known that, if all other schemes concocted for the purpose of detaining Mary in France failed, means were to be taken to intercept her on her passage; but it is difficult to imagine that her brother could prove so far forgetful of his duty to his country and his queen, or so ungrateful to a sister who had loaded him with kindness, as to become a party to so mean and despicable a measure.

In the month of March the court of France dispatched Monsieur Noailles with a commission, which empowered him to require—1. That the ancient league betwixt the two kingdoms should be renewed. 2. That the late confederacy with England should be dissolved. 3. That the churchmen should be restored to their places and benefices. It was not to be expected that such demands would be complied with; but the consideration of them was delayed till the meeting of the convention, which was appointed to take place in the month of May. Accordingly, at this period, the nobility having assembled, the French ambassador brought forward his propositions. They were at once rejected, and strong resolutions drawn up expressive of their determination to maintain their alliance with England. It was observed in the answers which were furnished to Noailles, that

An ambassador from France arrives in Scotland.

France had not deserved that either they or their posterity should again enter into any league or confederacy with that country, seeing that the French had traitorously and cruelly persecuted them, under pretence of unity and marriage. That they could not righteously dissolve a league which had been formed in the name of God with that sovereign who had delivered Scotland from the tyranny of the Guises. And lastly, "That such as they called bishops and churchmen, they knew neither for pastors of the church, nor yet for any just possessors of the patrimony thereof, but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies. And, therefore, as Scotland hath forsaken their Pope and Papistry, so they could not be debtors to his foresworn vassals."*

On these replies being transmitted to France, Elizabeth again endeavoured to procure from Mary the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. For this purpose, Throckmorton solicited and obtained an interview with Mary. He found, however, her resolution on this subject unshaken. She expressed herself desirous of preserving friendly relations with Elizabeth, but determined to take no steps in the matter alluded to till she had first an opportunity of consulting her parliament. It was urged in reply that there appeared no necessity for this, seeing that the treaty in question had been entered into with their knowledge and by their express desire. "Yea," she answered, "by some of them, but not by all. It will appear when I come amongst them whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of. But of this I assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and assured amity of the queen, my good sister, and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed."†

Let us here consider for a moment the motives which, on the one hand, constrained Elizabeth to insist on the ratification of this treaty, and, on the other, weighed with Mary in persisting with her refusal. Many of its articles, it is true, were extremely favourable to the interests of Elizabeth, but were such, also, as could not possibly be objected to by the Queen of Scots, with any show of reason. In almost every instance these articles had been carried into effect by both parties. The fortifications of Leith had been demolished, and the respective forces of England and France withdrawn at the appointed time. It was the sixth article which excited the resentment of Mary, and moved her to withstand all attempts to induce her to comply with its terms. Its stipulations were originally drawn up at the suggestion, or rather the demand, of Cecil, who had declared his determination, rather than give them up, to break off negotiations altogether. Offensive at the time to the French ambassadors, they could not be less so to their royal mistress. She was required, in accordance with them, to acknowledge the sole

right of Elizabeth to the crowns of England and Ireland; to renounce, in express language, her own claims to the same; and to engage for the future to abstain from using the titles or bearing the arms of those kingdoms. That a princess like Mary would at once consent to such a renunciation was not to be expected. She had been flattered into the belief that her pretensions were sound and valid. Their assumption had invested her with additional importance in the eyes of Europe. She had been promised assistance from various quarters, if she resolved to vindicate her rights by force of arms. The Roman Catholics of England—a numerous and active party—would willingly have seated her on the throne. On the other hand, she was acknowledged, even by the Protestants, as the legitimate heir of Elizabeth. In these circumstances we can easily understand her unwillingness to consent to the ratification of a treaty which deprived her of the advantages of her position, and forced her to surrender the ambitious hope, which she had hitherto so assiduously cherished, of attaining to the English crown. Elizabeth, on her part, was not insensible to the advantages to be gained by extorting from Mary the ratification of an article, in the formation of which she had not been consulted. In this way she would be delivered forever from the pretensions of a dangerous rival, and be left at liberty to alter the order of succession by authority of Parliament, and transfer the crown to some other descendant of the royal blood. Such an alternative would have been every way congenial to her disposition and desires. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that she laboured, through means of her ambassador, to persuade the Queen of Scots to adopt a course which would contribute so materially to advance her interests. We have seen, however, that Mary, under various pretences, still contrived to gain time, and to elude her request. "And, while the one queen solicited with persevering importunity, and the other evaded with artful delay, they both studied an extreme politeness of behaviour, and loaded each other with professions of sisterly love, with reciprocal declarations of unchangeable esteem and amity."*

Mary, in compliance with the solicitations of her subjects, and the advice of her Mary proposes uncles, the Princes of Lorraine, for her departure, had long determined to return to her own dominions. Her departure had been delayed for some time by the various proposals which were now made for her hand in marriage. These had emanated from the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden, and the Prince of Spain; an alliance with the latter being at one time probable, and creating much alarm to the English ambassador. This negotiation, however, not being concluded, she now began, with much unwillingness, to prepare for her voyage. Fondly attached to a country in which she had lived from childhood, where she had spent the few hours of the only happiness she ever knew—naturally attracted by the elegance,

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 25.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 33.

* Robertson.

splendour, and gaiety of a polite court—she contemplated with anxiety her appearance in her own country, where her subjects though loyal-hearted, were rude in their manners and turbulent in their conduct; and contrasting the difficulties of her position with her own inexperience, it was, doubtless, with painful apprehensions that she made up her mind to bid adieu to her beloved France, and undertake the discharge of her important but onerous duties. In order to the security of her

Requests a safe
conduct from
Elizabeth, which
is refused.

passage, it was necessary to apply to Elizabeth for a safe conduct. She accordingly deputed D'Osell, one of her most intimate advisers,

to proceed to England and solicit this favour. From thence he was to pursue his journey into Scotland, to prepare her subjects for the arrival of their queen. But it was the misfortune of this princess to repose her confidence in persons totally unworthy of so high a trust. On this occasion, D'Osell acted with deliberate treachery. Not only did he communicate to Throckmorton her intended movements, but disclosed them to Elizabeth; and instead of proceeding on his mission, he allowed himself to be sent back to Paris with the tidings that the passport he had requested had been ignominiously refused. Nothing could be more ungenerous or pitiful than this proceeding of the English queen. A letter which Cecil addressed at this time to the Earl of Sussex serves to explain and account for this crooked policy: "Monsieur D'Osell," he says, "came from the Scots queen with the request that the queen, his mistress, might have a safe conduct to pass along our sea coasts, and himself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to dislike her passage; but this only served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace, made at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and, that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur D'Osell was also gently required to return with this answer; what will follow we will shortly see."*

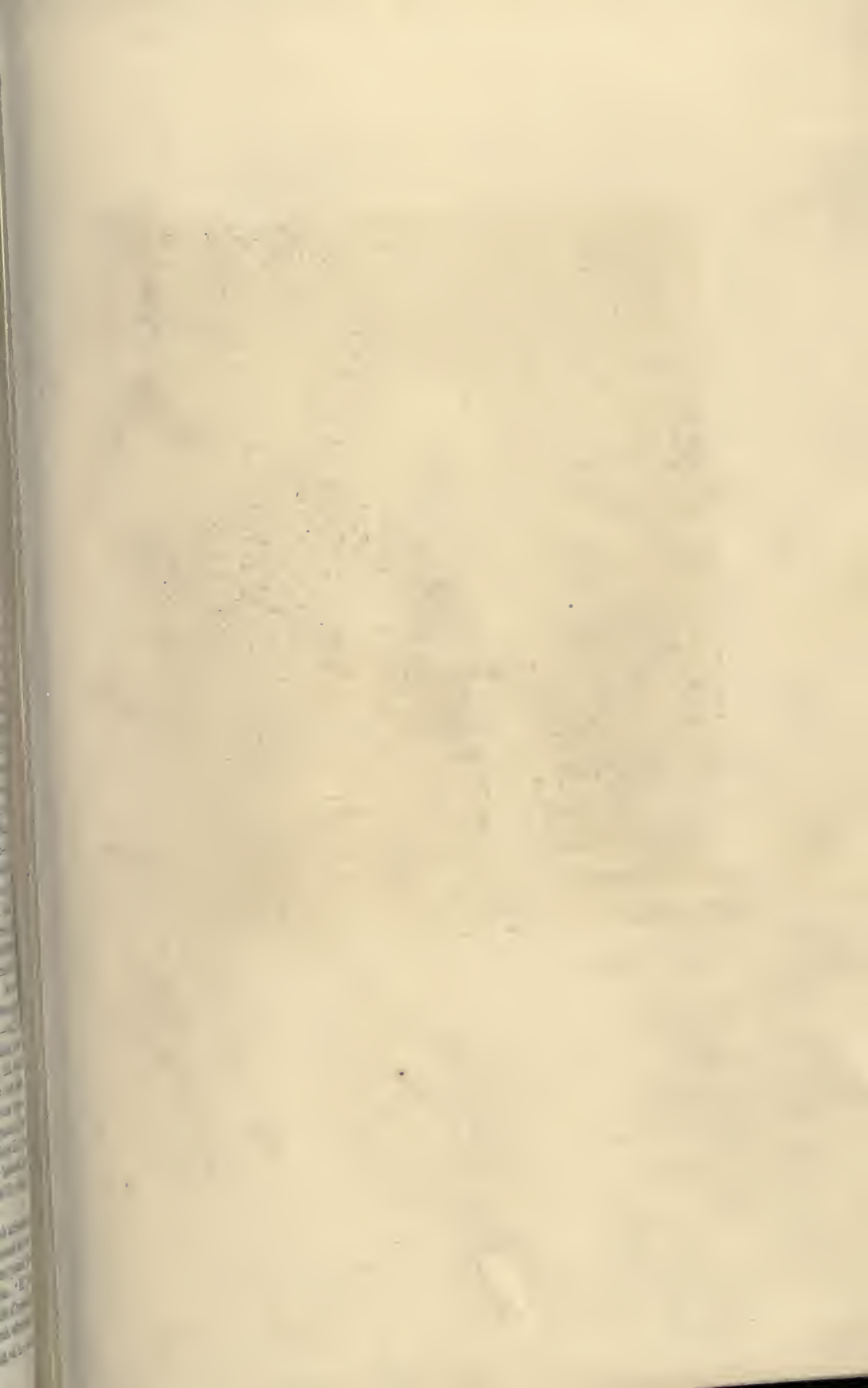
But not only did Elizabeth refuse the safe-conduct, she also adopted measures for intercepting and detaining the Scottish queen. She dared not act in this matter openly, as this would be to violate all the courtesies usually observed by one sovereign towards another; and the attempt she meditated would be reprobated by all Europe. She had, therefore, recourse to stratagem; and, under the pretence of securing the seas for pirates, by which they were then much infested, she gave orders that her fleet should hover about the coasts, and watch the passage of the French ships. On the 20th of July, Throckmorton had an interview with Mary, at which he explained to her, on the part of his

sovereign, the reasons why she had been refused a safe conduct. Mary, on this occasion, manifested a proper feeling of indignation at the unworthy treatment she had experienced, and expressed herself in spirited terms: "There is nothing," said she "that doth grieve me more than that I did so forget myself as to require of the queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to make her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for though the late king, your master, used all the impeachment (hindrance) he could, both to stay me, and to catch me as I came hither; yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. You have, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen, your mistress, and me was very necessary and profitable for us both. I have reason now to think the queen, your mistress, is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. I asked her," she continued, "nothing but friendship. I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion nor in other things. The queen, your mistress, doth say I am young, and do lack experience; but I have age enough, and experience to use myself towards my friends and kinsfolk friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than becometh a queen and my next kinswoman. Well, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I could tell you that I am as she is, a queen—allied and friended as is known—and I tell you also, that my heart is not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect could be had betwixt us on both parts."* At this interview, Throckmorton introduced again, and for the last time, the subject of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the assumption by Mary of the arms and title of England. As to the first, she replied, she had no other answer to give than what she had formerly advanced—viz., that previous to her coming to a final decision, it was necessary that the matter should be laid before parliament, and deliberated upon by that body. As to the second, she affirmed she was not responsible for what had been done in the name and by the authority of her father-in-law, Henry II.; but that since his death, and that of her husband, she had neither borne the arms nor used the title of England.

On the following day, the English ambassador took formal leave of Mary, and expressed his concern that a regard to his duty did not permit him to wait upon her at her embarkation. "If," said the young queen, almost in the spirit of prophecy, "my preparations were not so much advanced,"

* British Museum, MS. Letter, Cecil to Sussex. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 202.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Keith, vol. ii. p. 42, 4





Fazio

T. W. Hunt

MARY STUART.

LONDON JAMES S VIRTUE.

they are, peradventure, the queen, your mistress's, unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England, and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me; peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live. In this matter, God's will be fulfilled."*

On the 25th of July the queen departed from St. Germain with the intention of embarking at Calais. She had been accompanied in her journey from Paris by the King of France, Catherine de Medicis, the King of Navarre, and a numerous retinue of nobles and princes. In her passage through Normandy she was attended by a train of illustrious persons, including the Duke of Guise and the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise. "All the bravest and noblest gentlemen," says one of Mary's French biographers, "assembled themselves around the fairest of queens and women." Arriving at Calais on the 9th of August, she found that few preparations had been made for her voyage, and that the only available vessels were two galleys and two transports. Intelligence in the meantime reached her of the intentions of Elizabeth to intercept her passage. She then determined on a scheme, which, while apparently indicative of irresolution and fear, in reality afforded her an opportunity of exhibiting her courage, and successfully baffling the designs of her vigilant enemies. With this view she dispatched Lord Henry Stewart, Abbot of St. Colme, to the English queen, with a second request to be favoured with a safe conduct. Mary had no intention of awaiting the return of her messenger; but, after

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 51.

being detained at Calais for five days by contrary winds, she boldly embarked and put to sea. It was on the fourteenth of August, a sad and trying hour, which witnessed her last farewell to the land of her adoption. She looked at her friends, pressed her hands on her heart, and parted from them in silence expressive of an anguish too great for utterance. For many hours she remained leaning on the gallery of the vessel, and gazing with looks of the deepest grief on the country she was leaving for ever. Refusing to retire to her cabin, she ordered, on the approach of night, a temporary shelter to be erected on the deck. Owing to the calm which prevailed, the vessel made little progress, and in the morning the coast of France was still visible. This intelligence having been communicated to the queen, she raised herself from her couch, straining her eyes to catch a last look of the receding land, and exclaimed as it faded away, "Farewell France; beloved country, I shall never see thee more!"* Under cover of a dense fog, Mary was enabled to escape the vigilance of the English ships. One of her vessels indeed was captured and carried into port, but was released

as soon as it was discovered that the Scottish queen was not on board; and, after a prosperous voyage, she arrived at Leith on the 15th of August, 1561.

* The following beautiful lines, said to have been written by Mary on leaving France, are taken from an interesting volume published in 1835, entitled *Selections of the French Poetesses*, edited by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, A.B. The *Chanson* may be also seen in the *Anthologie Française*, tom. i. No. 10:—

"Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie!
La plus chérie!
Qui as nourri ma jeunesse en France!
Adieu, France! adieu mes beaux jours,
La nef qui de just' une ancrée,
Na cy de moi que la mortel
Une partie te reste; elle est la France,
Je la tien à ton amitié,
Pour que de l'autre il la servira."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A.D. 1542—1560.

DURING the reign of James V., the principles of the Reformation had made considerable progress in Scotland. Not a few individuals of rank and influence had become convinced of the unscriptural character of the Papal system, and vast numbers of the people throughout the country were sighing for a better order of things. The clergy were thoroughly alarmed, and, as they had secured a preponderating influence in the royal counsels, they were projecting measures, under the able guidance of Cardinal Beaton, for the complete suppression of the new doctrines. Their machinations, however, were defeated by the unexpected demise of the king; and the long minority which ensued, with its intrigues and struggles of opposing factions for supremacy, proved upon the whole favourable to the progress of the principles of the Reformation.

Strenuous efforts were made by the Cardinal to secure for himself the reins of government; but his claims were set aside, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was next heir to the crown, was invested with the office of Regent during the minority of the infant queen. This appointment gave general satisfaction. The Regent was favourable to the principles of the Reformation, and the friends of truth and liberty expected that his exaltation would give an impulse to the cause which was dearest to their hearts. And, for a time, there was every prospect that these hopes would be completely realised. The chaplains whom the Regent employed in his own house were Thomas Williams, a man described by Knox* as "of solid judgment, reasonable letters, and prompt and good utterance," and John Rough, characterised by the same authority as "not so learned, yet more simple, and more vehement against all impiety." These men preached the Gospel with zeal and faithfulness, their position secured for them the attention of multitudes; and the assaults which they made upon the Pope's authority, the adoration of images, and the invocation of saints—whilst they stirred up the rage of the Romish clergy, who exclaimed that Williams and Rough would carry the governor to the devil—contributed very greatly to the advancement of sound religious views.

But the most important measure by far that signalled the commencement of the new government, was an act passed by the estates assembled in parliament, 15th March, 1542-3,† authorising all men to read the Scriptures in the

vulgar tongue. There were laws in existence against the importation of heretical books, and against the use of works translated by heretics from other languages, which were also, though not formally abrogated by this statute, to a great extent neutralised by it. Keen opposition was given to these changes by the clergy, who argued that Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were the only tongues in which the Church allowed the Holy Scriptures to be read. But it was alleged, in answer to this argument, that if the Gospel was to be preached to all nations, as Christ commanded, it must be preached to them in languages which they understood; and if they might hear it, why, it was asked, might they not equally read it, in their own tongues? It was then argued by the clergy, that the common translation was not a correct one; but as the only defect which they were prepared to point out in it was the use of the word 'love' instead of 'charity,' as the rendering of ἀγάπη, it was finally decreed by Act of Parliament, that all men should be allowed to use the existing translation till the prelates should produce a more correct one. The act ran in the following terms: "It is statute and ordained that it shall be lawful to all our Sovereign Lady's lieges to have the Holy Writ, to wit, the New Testament and Old, in the vulgar tongue, in English or Scotch, of a good and true translation: and that they shall incur no crimes for the having and reading of the same, providing always that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament."* Previously to this period, the reading even of the Lord's Prayer, or of the Ten Commandments, or of the Articles of the Creed, in the English tongue, was sufficient to expose a man to the charge of heresy; and those who ventured to read the Bible were obliged to do so in secret, and to conceal the book from the prying eyes of unfriendly neighbours. But now the Scriptures might be seen lying openly upon many a table; they were read with eagerness by thousands; they were made the subject of conversation between friends when they met together; and thus a mighty impulse was given to the progress of the pure doctrines of the Gospel. Although the new law only authorised the reading of the Scriptures, yet mention had been made, by those who craved the interference of parliament, of treatises containing wholesome doctrine; and works accordingly began to be published in which the craft, and tyranny, and abuses of the Church of Rome were exposed, and productions of a similar character were imported in large numbers from the sister kingdom.†

The sincerity of the Governor in consenting to the act permitting the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was evinced by the fact, that not only did he make public proclamation of it at the market cross of Edinburgh, immediately after the close of parliament, but he also

Efforts of the Governor to forward the design of the act.

* Knox's History, vol. i. p. 96. Spottiswood, p. 72.
† Ibid., vol. i. p. 100.

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 415.
† Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

employed the English ambassador, Sadler, to procure a supply of Bibles from England, that all who desired copies of the Holy Scriptures might readily obtain them.* And he likewise expressed an earnest wish to the ambassador, that when books were published by authority in England, setting forth the doctrines of religion established and proved by the Word of God, they should be sent to him, that he might publish them in Scotland also for the benefit of the people.†

At this time an alliance of peace and marriage was concluded with England, which was opposed by the staunch adherents of Rome, but generally approved of by the supporters of the new doctrines, both as promising to terminate the Border-wars, which had so long wasted the strength of both kingdoms, and as calculated to check the tyrannical and persecuting measures by which the church of Rome sought to uphold her power.

The hopes inspired by the wise and liberal measures of parliament, and by the Regent's change of policy. Regent's apparent earnestness in carrying them out, were soon blasted. Though he was disposed himself to adhere to the principles which had procured for his government the general respect of the country, yet, being somewhat infirm of purpose, he was unable to compete with the astute and strong-willed Cardinal, who, through the representations of Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, and David Panter, afterwards Bishop of Ross, subtle and accomplished men, so wrought upon his fears, that he recoiled from the danger of doing aught in opposition to the authority of Rome, and was even brought to believe that the legitimacy of his title to the earldom of Arran depended upon her sentence. The first symptoms of his change of views appeared in the coldness which he began to manifest towards his chaplains, and the increasing insults which he allowed to be heaped upon them; in consequence of which, they were under the necessity of retiring from court. Very soon all his advisers, Sir David Lindsay, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Balnaves, whose wise counsels had shed so much lustre upon the commencement of his regency, were driven from the position which they occupied. And, in the end, the Regent, finding that the Cardinal's influence was daily augmenting, not only violated the engagements which he had made with England, but proceeded from Holyrood House to Stirling, and formally reanted his principles, received absolution from the hands of the Cardinal, and was reconciled publicly to the Church of Rome.‡ From this moment, though he retained the office of governor, yet it was merely the shadow of authority which he possessed. All real power passed into the hands of the Cardinal, who was not slow to wield it for his own purposes.

* It cannot be determined with any certainty whether an edition of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was printed at this time in Scotland or not.

† Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, vol. i. p. 92.

‡ Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 105, 109.

Immediately after the governor's renunciation of Protestant principles, an Act of *Measures adopted Parliament was passed at Edin- for the suppression burgh, 15th December, 1543, for tion of heresy.* the suppression of heresy, which was described as greatly on the increase; and all prelates and ordinaries were admonished to proceed against suspected persons, according to the rules of the church. It was also declared in the act that the lord governor would at all times be ready to do in such cases what was required of his office.* Nor did the Cardinal fail speedily to set an example of the manner in which it was his desire that heretics should be treated; for in the following month, when he was at Perth, making a visitation of his diocese, with the governor in his company, † a number of individuals of both sexes were brought to trial before him, of whom several were banished, and five were put to death. These five—viz., four men and a woman—were accused of violating the late Act of Parliament, and frequenting meet- *Four men and a woman executed at Perth on a charge of heresy.* ings where the scriptures were not only read, but also expounded.

One of them, Robert Lamb, a merchant in Perth, was further charged with publicly contradicting Friar Spence, who had taught that prayers to departed saints were indispensable to salvation. Other two of them, William Anderson, maltman, and James Ronaldson, skinner, were accused of nailing the horns of a ram to the head of an image of St. Francis, and eating a goose on All-Hallow-even. Nothing special was laid to the charge of James Hunter, the fourth individual, but only that he had kept company with the others, and concurred in their proceedings. The woman, Helen Stark, was the wife of James Ronaldson, and the particular crime laid to her charge was, that when in child-bed, and exhorted by her attendants to pray to the Virgin Mary, she had declared she would pray only to God, for Christ's sake, and had also said that it was not any superior merit of the Virgin, but God's free grace, which had raised her to the honour of being the mother of Jesus. For these offences, sentence of death was passed upon all the five. Great intercession was made to the governor to grant them a pardon, and he was himself inclined to spare them; but being entirely under the influence of the Cardinal, who was bent upon their destruction, he could not venture to annul the sentence.‡ The men were hanged at the ordinary place of ex-

* Act. Parl. Scot., vol. ii. p. 413.

† Bishop Keith places the Cardinal's visit to Perth considerably later, and questions the accuracy of the date assigned by Knox. But Mr. Laing, editor of Knox's works (vol. i. p. 117), adduces sundry quotations from the treasurer's accounts, which describe the governor as being at Stirling in Jan., 1543-4, and as proceeding from thence to St. Johnstone for the punishment of certain heretics. Mr. Laing's "Chronicle of Perth" also contains this notice.—"The execution of James Hunter, Robert Lamb, James Ronaldson, and his spouse, at Perth, in January, on St. Paul's-day, 1543-4 years." And Calderwood refers to the registers of the Justice-courts as affording decisive evidence in favour of this date.—Calderwood's Hist., vol. i. p. 173.

‡ Spottiswood's Hist., p. 75.

ecution, the spectacle being witnessed, it is said, by the Cardinal and his companions from the Spy Tower in the Earl of Gowrie's garden. They encountered death with much firmness and constancy, encouraging one another with the hope of supping together in the kingdom of heaven that night, and exhorting the people who were gathered around them to fear God, and to forsake the errors of Popery. The woman was desirous of dying with her husband; but this request being refused, she followed him to the place of execution, exhorted him to perseverance and patience, for Christ's sake, and at parting thus addressed him:—"Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful to us both, because we now shall have joy for ever. Therefore, I will not bid you good-night, for we shall shortly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." Immediately after his death, she was hurried away to the river Tay with her infant child in her arms, and there, having resigned her babe into the hands of a nurse, and commended her other children to the sympathy of friends and to the care of God, she was cast into a deep pool, and died full of faith and Christian hope.* What a shocking thing it is, that such deeds should have been done in the name of religion! Yet there are some historians who can make respectful mention of the men who were actors in these atrocious proceedings, whilst they hold up to scorn the friends of the Reformation as coarse and intolerant bigots, for merely speaking of ungodly persecutors with severity. †

* Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 709.

† The editor of Keith's History is at great pains to extenuate the conduct of the Cardinal at Perth. He thinks it probable that the conduct of the whole of the parties executed there had been peculiarly violent and offensive; and he conceives it to be a palliation of Beaton's share in the proceedings, that James VI. hanged Francis Tennent sixty-five years afterwards for writing pasquils against himself; that the same monarch allowed Archibald Cornwall to be executed in 1601, for exhibiting the royal portrait on a gibbet; that in 1615 John Fleming was hanged for uttering treasonable, blasphemous, and damnable speeches against the same king. Therefore Cardinal Beaton was not greatly to blame for hanging four men and drowning one woman at Perth, who, it is probable, had behaved in a violent manner. The logic of this is inimitable. And Mr. Parker Lawson might have strengthened his case, by producing not three, but thirty thousand monstrous crimes that darken the page of history. The object of the note, however, is to suggest the idea that the Protestants have been as bad as the Romanists in regard to persecution. Now the cases produced are altogether irrelevant to this view of the subject. What is wanting is a case in which the Scottish Reformers brought five Romanists, aye, or even one, to trial purely on account of their religious tenets, and hanged, or drowned, or burned them! When this case is produced we will not blame the Cardinal less, but we will blame the Protestants more, than we have been in the habit of doing. The unfairness of Mr. Lawson is most offensive. Whilst he extenuates the conduct of the Cardinal in the proceedings at Perth, he can find no terms black enough to depict the guilt of those who slew the Cardinal himself. Might he not have given them the benefit also of the arbitrary and cruel acts which he cites as specimens of what was done in those times? If the fact that an age is barbarous is to modify our view, as certainly it should, of the actions of one man, it ought to be applied in the same manner to the actions of all. The assassins of the Cardinal ought not to be tried by the maxims of the present age, while the Cardinal himself is judged by the maxims of his own. In-

Other instances of the Cardinal's persecuting fury, in the shape of fines, imprisonment, and executions, occurred in various parts of the country; but the one that excited the deepest indignation, and exhibited the bloodthirsty character of the enemies of the Reformation in the clearest light, was the martyrdom of George Wishart, brother of the Laird of Pittarrow, in Mearns. This man was endowed with a singular gift of eloquence; his attainments in knowledge, both secular and sacred, were very extensive; his gentleness and modesty won for him universal esteem and love; and he was devotedly attached to the pure doctrines of the Gospel of Christ. Nothing is known regarding his early years. He first appears as a teacher of the Greek tongue in Montrose, at the time Erskine of Dun was provost of that place; but having presumed to instruct his pupils in the Greek Testament, he was threatened with a prosecution by Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, which obliged him to retire from Montrose, and even to leave his native country. Traces of him are next found in Bristol, where he became a preacher of the Gospel, and denounced the worship and mediation of the Virgin, declaring, as the records of that city state, that Christ's mother neither had nor could have merit for him nor for us; but his faith had not yet attained full vigour, for when he was brought before the ecclesiastical authorities, and condemned as a heretic, he recanted, and, according to the custom observed in such cases, burned a faggot in the church of St. Nicholas. After spending some time in Germany and Switzerland, to which he refers in the answers he gave during his trial at St. Andrew's, he found his way to Cambridge, where he became a member of Corpus Christi College, and both prosecuted his studies with diligence and faithfully superintended the studies of others.* Whilst there he was noted for his piety, his self-denial, and his charity to the poor. One of his pupils, Emery Tylney, bears most honourable and affectionate testimony to the agreeableness of his manners and the distinguished excellence of his conduct. "He was a man of tall stature, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well-spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his clothing never but a mantle or fricze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffs at his hands.

deed, Beaton is less entitled to this kind of consideration than any other man of his times, for being vastly superior to the bulk of his countrymen in point of talent, and far beyond them in respect of mental culture, not to speak of his priestly character, he ought to have been greatly in advance of them also in humanity and all the virtues. The maxims of the present age may be applied to him more fairly and justly than to any of his contemporaries.—Keith's History, vol. i. pp. 100, 113.

* Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State vol. i. p. 103. Knox's History, vol. i. p. 535. McCrie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 383.

He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness—for his charity had never an end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvas sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which, his people being in bed and the candle put out, he used to bathe himself. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh! that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun. If I should declare his love to me and all men—his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing—yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all and hurt to none—I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him. All this I testify with my whole heart and truth of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.*

Entertaining an ardent desire to advance the knowledge of the Gospel in his native land, Wishart returned to Scotland, in company with the commissioners who had been sent to conclude the treaty with Henry VIII. The towns of Montrose and Dundee were the places which he chiefly frequented, and there he preached with such zeal and persuasiveness, commenting for the most part, upon the Epistle to the Romans, that all who heard him were filled with admiration, and many, by the blessing of God, were brought to the saving knowledge of the truth, and renounced the errors of Popery.

The effects of Wishart's preaching were soon reported to Cardinal Beaton, who took measures for compelling him to remove from these places. He was openly forbidden by Robert Myle, one of the principal men of Dundee, to trouble the town any more with his doctrines, for they would not tolerate his preaching; and finding that he could not maintain his position with any prospect of safety or usefulness, he withdrew, warning the citizens of the guilt which they incurred by putting the gospel away from them. From Dundee he proceeded to the west country, and, notwithstanding the opposition that was given to him by the Archbishop of Glasgow, he preached to multitudes in Ayr, Galston,

Mauchline, and other places, and thus scattered very widely the seeds of Christian knowledge, which were afterwards quickened into growth by the courageous and faithful testimony which he bore to the truth at the time of his martyrdom. He was led very soon to terminate his labours in the west, by the intelligence which reached him, that the plague

had broken out at Dundee. In the benevolent spirit of the Gospel, which repays good for evil, he set it to be his duty to visit his former hearers in their affliction; and, disregarding the danger, he remained amongst them, indefatigably preaching the Gospel, and ministering to the temporal necessities of the afflicted, until the plague had almost wholly disappeared. During his stay in Dundee on this trying occasion, an attempt was made upon his life by a Romish priest, who stood while he was preaching with a dagger concealed under his mantle, ready to pierce him as he descended; but something in the man's appearance exciting his suspicion, he caught his hand, and the assassin was immediately seized by the crowd, who would have taken summary vengeance upon him, but for Wishart's prompt and generous intercession. From Dundee he proceeded to Montrose, to establish and confirm the friends of Christ in that quarter, and while he was there he met with a very remarkable deliverance. A letter was put into his hands, as if from his intimate friend the Laird of Kinross, desiring him to come with all expedition, as he had been seized with sudden sickness; but, after he had left the town, the idea was forcibly impressed upon his mind that the message was a fabrication of his enemies to lure him into their hands; and therefore, remaining behind himself, he sent forward some of his friends, who soon came upon sixty horsemen, waiting at an angle of the road to intercept him.

From Montrose, after an interval of a few days, he went southward, and preached in Leath, Inveresk, and Haddington. When he was leaving the latter place, he said to John Knox, who was preparing to go with him as usual, "Nay, return to your pupils; one is enough at this time for a sacrifice." He went with the Laird of Ormiston to the Earl of Bothwell, to spend the night at his residence; but shortly after he had retired to rest, the house was surrounded by armed men, and the Earl of Bothwell, calling for the laird, required him to deliver up his guest, assuring him it was vain to attempt resistance, for the Cardinal and the Regent were at hand with all their power. At the same time, he pledged his honour for the safety of Wishart's person, and declared that he would either keep him in his own house, or restore him to his friends. These promises, however, were all violated, for the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager exerted all their influence with Bothwell to obtain possession of Wishart, and he was lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, and after a few days transferred to St. Andrew's.

Having now got hold of his long-sought victim, the Cardinal, with all possible expedition, summoned a council of the bishops and clergy to meet at St. Andrew's for the trial of Wishart, on the charge of heresy; and at the same time he applied to the Regent for the appointment of a civil judge to perform the part required of the secular law in cases of conviction for this offence. Earnest solici-

* Keith's History, vol. i. p. 184.

* Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. pp. 709, 710.

vours were made by Hamilton of Preston to convince the Regent of the wickedness of the measures which were contemplated against Wishart, and of the guilt and danger which he would incur by giving his sanction to them; and such an impression was produced upon his mind by these remonstrances, that he wrote to the Cardinal not to precipitate the trial, but to await his coming, as

he could not consent to the destruction of any man till the cause was very fully tried.* The Cardinal, however, though he little expected such an answer, was not to be diverted from his purpose. Such a triumph over heresy as was now within his reach was not to be so easily relinquished. He feared that delay might lead to the prisoner's escape, and the thorough examination which the Governor proposed was by no means what he wanted. He therefore signified his purpose of proceeding with the trial at once, assuring the Governor that he had written to him, not because he needed his consent, but because he desired that the heretic's condemnation might have the countenance of his authority. The proceedings against Wishart thus lost everything like the colour of a public judicial act; and the martyr's death was as really a private murder as the Cardinal's own subsequent assassination.

When Wishart was brought before the bishops and other clergy convened by the Cardinal for his trial, he appealed to the lord-governor, as supreme authority in the kingdom, because he denied the competency and had no confidence in the integrity of the court at whose bar he stood; but his appeal was disregarded. Eighteen accusations were read against him by John Lauder, touching the doctrines he had preached, to all of which, though expressed in a style of course invective and bitter malignity, he replied with great meekness, and with ready command of scripture. The first, second, and last charges may be stated as fair specimens of the whole:—"Thou false heretic, renegade, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and in like case contemnest my lord-governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and was charged by my lord-governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou would not obey, but persevered in the same. And therefore the Bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. That, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately." Wishart's answer to this charge ran in the following terms:—"My Lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the Gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore, it is written, Acts v., "We should obey God rather than man." Also I have read in the prophet Malachi, "I shall curse your

blessings, and bless your cursings." (Mal. ii.) I believe firmly that the Lord will turn ^{The charges} your cursings into blessings. An- ^{against Wishart.} other charge ran in these words: "Thou, false heretic, didst say that the priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July." To which Wishart answered: "My lords, I said not so. These were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God." The last accusation rose somewhat above the ordinary jargon of the rest, and related to the immortality of the soul. It was couched in the following terms: "Thou, false heretic, hath preached openly, saying that the soul of man shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and so shall not obtain life immortal until that day." To which Wishart replied: "God, full of mercies and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me. I wot, and know surely by the Word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live in immortal life." The other accusations had reference to the number of the sacraments, auricular confession, the bread of the Lord's Supper, extreme unction, holy water, the priesthood of believers, the eating of flesh upon Friday, prayer to saints, purgatory, the marriage of priests, fasting, and the obedience due to general councils;* to all of which the doomed martyr returned answers grounded upon the Word of God, and expressed in language clear, respectful, and impressive.

As might have been expected, the Cardinal's council of bishops and abbots, blind to ^{Wishart's} the beautiful spectacle of Christian ^{condemnation.} meekness and purity presented to their view, and wholly unmoved by the profound reverence of God that pervaded all Wishart uttered, at once found the charge of heresy established against him, and condemned him to be burned at the stake. He took his stand upon the Holy Scriptures, refusing to believe anything that could not be established by their authority, but bowing with implicit submission to whatever they taught; and for this he was judged worthy of death by the ministers of a church professing to regard the Bible as a revelation from God.

The execution of the sentence was delayed till the following day. The greater ^{Execution of the} part of the night was spent by ^{sentence,} Wishart in prayer, and next ^{March 1, 1546.} morning he was visited by two friars, who desired him to confess to them; but he declined their services, though he had a conference with Winram, the superior, who seems to have been a man of religious principle, and already dissatisfied with the Church of Rome. At the request of the captain of the castle, he took breakfast with him; and as he had been refused the privilege of having the Lord's Supper administered to him, he took the oppor-

* Lealey, p. 191. Knox's History, vol. i. p. 148. Calderwood's History, vol. i. pp. 199, 201.

* Calderwood's History, vol. i. pp. 206—216. Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. pp. 711—715.

tunity of praying aloud for the divine blessing upon a portion of the bread and wine that were upon the table, and distributed them to those present, exhorting them to mutual love, to the fear of God, and to the leading of holy lives. Having spent some time alone in prayer, and the appointed hour having now arrived, he was brought out by two executioners, who dressed him in a black coat of linen, and fastened some bags of gunpowder upon various parts of his body. The scaffold was erected with a tree in the centre of it, to which the prisoner was to be bound; and, lest the friends of Wishart should attempt to rescue him, the guns of the castle were all directed to the fatal spot, and soldiers were posted in readiness beside them. The windows of the fore-tower, too, were adorned with tapestry, and couches were spread with rich cushions, from which the Cardinal and the prelates might have the opportunity of beholding at their ease the triumph of their wicked and cruel machinations. And proclamation was made through the town, by order of the Cardinal, forbidding any person to pray for the heretic, under pain of the severest censures of the church.*

When Wishart was brought to the stake, he prayed thus three times:—"O, thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of the world, have mercy on me! Father of the world, have mercy on me! I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." And before the fire was kindled, he thus addressed the crowd gathered around him:—"I beseech you, Christian brethren, that ye be not offended in the Word of God, for the afflictions and torments which ye see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that ye love the Word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the Word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the Word of God, which I taught unto them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which lasteth not; and

show unto them that my doctrine was no old wives' fables after the constitutions of men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks from men; but for the Word's sake and true evangel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was woe, that I should suffer the fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage. Ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you not to fear them that slay the body, but afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this."

He continued alive some time after the gunpowder exploded; and when the captain of the castle, perceiving this, drew near, and exhorted him to be of good courage, it is recorded by some that he replied:—"This fire torments my body, yet does not disturb my mind; but he who now so proudly looks down upon me from his high place will within a few days be as ignominiously thrown over as he now arrogantly reclines."

These are the terms in which it is alleged by Buchanan and Spottiswood† that Altered prophecy Wishart predicted the death of of Wishart. Cardinal Beaton; and certainly they correspond with marvellous accuracy to the event. Doubts, however, may be entertained respecting the reality of this supposed prophecy. It is not mentioned by Fox, or by Knox, who could hardly have been ignorant of the prediction had it really been uttered. And therefore, the probability is that the general terms which Knox says the martyr did employ—"if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew"‡—were afterwards made more specific and circumstantial. It is certain that the body of the Cardinal was exposed, in order to satisfy the people that he was really dead, at the same window from which he is said to have exultingly gazed upon the dying agonies of Wishart; and so striking a fact was in itself calculated to arrest attention, and might very naturally cause words that merely denounced God's judgment against impious transgressors to be so altered in process of time as to seem a specific prediction of the persecutor's doom. It is true there is the same authority for the prophetic words that there is for the fact of gazing from the window—viz., that of Buchanan and Spottiswood. But words were far more likely to be altered in the process of repetition, than such a broad and palpable fact was to be invented altogether. We may therefore question whether any such denunciation was really made by

* Keith's History, vol. i. p. 103. Bishop Keith, and the editor of his history, both doubt whether there be evidence to prove that the Cardinal witnessed Wishart's incrimination; and certainly the evidence for this fact is not so strong as for the other circumstances mentioned. It is not noticed by Fox; it is not mentioned in the first edition of Knox's History; it has no place in Sir David Lindsay's Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton. David Buchanan, however, records it in his edition of Knox, published in London in 1644; and a much higher authority, Archbishop Spottiswood (p. 81) seems to entertain no doubt of it. Besides, George Buchanan, a contemporary historian, states it as an undoubted fact. (Vol. ii. p. 357.) Nor is it in itself a very unlikely circumstance. The Cardinal plainly was bent upon having Wishart destroyed, and the direction of the guns of the castle to the spot shows his fear that possibly there might be an attempt to rescue him. Is it therefore improbable that, being in the castle at the time, he would watch with his own eyes, that he might be ready to issue orders at the first appearance of any commotion? And the man who could forbid the sympathising people from offering up prayers for the sufferer, under pain of the heaviest ecclesiastical censures, cannot be supposed to have been troubled with any such yearnings of humanity, as would make it painful for him to witness the dying struggles of his tortured victim.

† Spottiswood, p. 82. Buchanan's History, vol. ii. p. 328.

‡ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 176.

Wishart, as reported by Buchanan and Spottiswood; whether, in short, he said more than any other preacher might have declared in similar circumstances; and yet not be under the necessity of rejecting the palpable fact recorded by these same historians, that the Cardinal gazed upon the execution from a couch conveniently placed in a window.

The death of Wishart was regarded as a signal triumph by the enemies of the Reformation. The priests extolled the Cardinal to the skies for the energy and boldness with which, in despite of the Governor's authority, he had taken vengeance upon the heretic. Everywhere they might be heard vaunting, "if the church in former times had found such a protector, matters had not been reduced to the doubtful terms wherein they now stand, but long ere his time, by her own power and authority, she had been able to maintain herself." And the Cardinal himself was delighted with the success of his measures. One most dangerous individual who had long escaped him was cut off, and the severity of the blow, it was imagined, would strike terror into the hearts of all who held the same opinions. But the feelings of men throughout the country were shocked by the cruelty, and disgusted by the illegality of the proceedings at St. Andrew's. The mild and blameless character of Wishart was universally known, and a very large number of persons were persuaded that it was not heresy, but the pure Gospel of Christ for which he had suffered. Much indignation was excited among all ranks of men, and the cruelty and tyranny of the Cardinal were declared to be quite insufferable.

These feelings, whilst they actuated multitudes throughout the country, acquired an overwhelming strength in the breasts of a few individuals, of whom some also were urged on by the desire of revenge for private wrongs, and some had long before been hired by English gold.* These men, of whom the principal were Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes; John Leslie, his uncle; William Kirkaldy, of Grange; Peter Carmichael, of Fife; and James Melville, of the house of Carnbee, formed a conspiracy against the Cardinal's life; and having obtained admission into the castle of St. Andrew's whilst it was under repair, they executed their purpose on the 29th May, 1546. The unhappy man, amidst the agonies of death, continued crying, "I am a priest! I am a priest! Ye will not slay me. I am a priest! I am a priest! Fy! fy! all is gone."

Nothing can justify the assassination of Beaton; no wrongs, either public or private, the conspirators can warrant the taking away of life otherwise than by legal process. The individuals who were accessory to the Cardinal's death brought a foul stain upon their own names, and also upon the party with which they were connected. Yet it must be remembered that the mur-

der of the Cardinal was not approved and applauded amongst the Reformers, as the burning of Wishart was amongst the Romanists. Doubtless there were some who approved the act itself on the ground—very dangerous and not at all to be defended, but yet, at the same time, very distinguishable from the indiscriminate right of private vengeance—that individuals of great criminality, whose position places them practically above the reach of law, may be assailed as opportunity offers by the victims of their cruelty. But the general feeling that prevailed amongst the Protestants was very different, and is correctly represented by the poet in the following lines:—

"As for the Cardinal, we grant,
He was a man we well might want,
And we'll forget him soon:
And yet I think, the sooth to say,
Although the loon is well away,
The deed was foully done."

How different was the view taken of the death of Wishart among the Romanists. That death was as really a private assassination as the death of the Cardinal, for the civil authorities had interdicted the proceedings, and yet it was celebrated by the Romish party as a signal triumph of the church over her enemies,* and the Cardinal and his associates were prepared to take similar vengeance upon all who questioned the dogmas of the Church of Rome. The murder of the Cardinal, and the martyrdom of Wishart, though both meriting the severest reprehension, yet stand upon wholly different grounds: Wishart was burnt at the stake, for no delinquency, but simply for holding and proclaiming certain doctrines of religion; the Cardinal was put to death, not for any religious opinions he held at all, but for the oppressive injustice and abominable cruelty which had signalised his whole career. Both deeds were disgraceful to their perpetrators, but to place the one upon a level with the other, shows an utter disregard of all moral distinctions. The Cardinal, as a murderer, deserved to die, though his death ought not to have been effected by private hands; but Wishart, so far from having done anything worthy of death, was a man of blameless integrity, whose whole time was spent in promoting the good of others.

It has been alleged that Wishart was a party to plots for seizing the Cardinal and delivering him into the hands of Henry VIII., and that it was the knowledge of these plots which stimulated the Cardinal to bring Wishart to the stake.† The only ground for this supposition is the fact, that a person named 'Wysshert' is mentioned in the famous letter of the Earl of Hertford to the king, which speaks of a plot for seizing Beaton even at the risk of slaying him. That such a conspiracy existed is now established beyond all doubt; but that George Wishart, the martyr, was

Attempt to
blacken the
character of
Wishart.

* Keith's History, vol. i. p. 106.

† Tytler's History vol. v. pp. 417, 456. Knox's History, vol. i. p. 536.

* Tytler's History, vol. v. p. 420. Keith's History, vol. i. p. 107.

connected with it is by no means so clear. There were many persons of the name of Wishart in Scotland; and it appears highly improbable that an individual of the martyr's character and position would have been appointed by Brunston to carry his letters to the Earl of Hertford. The barons, who attended Wishart's sermons in full armour to protect him from his enemies, were not likely to send him on an errand which any of their retainers, if trustworthy, could have performed equally well. Brunston's emissary is mentioned by Hertford as 'a Scotchman called Wysshert,' terms which would scarcely have been employed to describe the preacher, who was well known both in England and Scotland, and who, two years before, had returned to his native country in the company of the commissioners sent to Henry VIII. Besides, can we imagine, that if Wishart's supposed connection with such schemes had been any part of the Cardinal's ground for proceeding against him, it would not have been brought forward at his trial? It being past all doubt that the Cardinal put five individuals to death at Perth, purely on religious grounds, there is no occasion to imagine any other reason for the treatment given to Wishart than his religious principles, and the boldness with which he maintained and propagated them. And further, the idea that Wishart was accessory to any conspiracy for the capture and possible slaughter of the Cardinal is opposed to all that we know regarding his character. But even were it clearly made out that Wishart knew and approved the scheme for surrendering the Cardinal to Henry VIII., how extravagant is it to affirm that for this he deserved to die a thousand deaths! How many thousand, then, did Beaton deserve to die, who not only plotted for the apprehension of innocent men, but actually consigned them to cruel and barbarous deaths? * When Chalmers † pronounces the assassination of Beaton "to be the foulest crime which ever stained a country, except perhaps the similar murder of Archbishop Sharp, within the same shire, in the subsequent century, by similar miscreants," one is at a loss to imagine on what principle he estimates the relative magnitude of different crimes. Certainly it is not on the common-sense principle that the innocence of a party is the greatest aggravation of injuries done to him, for Beaton's own hands were stained with blood. The dictum of this author could only be made good on the pugilistic principle, that as the conqueror of the man who has conquered others adds all his laurels to his own, so the murder of the man who has murdered others, appropriates to himself the whole guilt of his victim, and thus swells the amount of his own criminality.

For their own security, the conspirators retained possession of the castle of St. Andrew's; and a number of others who favoured the reformed

opinions, betook themselves to the same place of strength, both for shelter and to aid their friends. Among these were ^{Comptroller of the Exchequer, and Governor of the town of St. Andrew's.} John Rough, who had been the Governor's chaplain for a time, and who became a preacher of the Word in St. Andrew's, and was gladly listened to both by the garrison and by the people of the town; and John Knox, who was destined to become the guiding spirit of the Reformation in Scotland, and to stamp the impress of his powerful and exalted mind, not only upon the men of his own age, but on many succeeding generations. Knox, at this time, had charge of some gentlemen's sons, and though it was his own desire to proceed to the Continent to prosecute his studies, and to escape the persecution which raged so fiercely at home, yet he was prevailed upon, a good many months after the Cardinal's death, to enter the castle, as a place where he might conduct the education of his pupils in quietness and security. His manner of teaching was very impressive. ^{Knox's study.} Both human authors and ^{as a teacher of} the Word of God he read daily

along with his scholars, and he made it his object to unfold every truth fully and clearly to their minds. And he catechised them publicly, in the parish church of St. Andrew's, on the subjects they were studying, whilst not a few attended to witness the examinations and to profit by them. It soon became apparent to all who thus took the opportunity of hearing him, that he was a man eminently qualified to preach the Gospel to perishing sinners; and some of his friends proposed to him, that he should enter the pulpit and publicly proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ; but he had so high an idea of the responsibility connected with the ministerial office, that he resisted all their solicitations. It was resolved, however, by Henry Balnaves, John Rough, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and others, to give him a formal call to the work of the ministry; and accordingly, on a certain day, Rough presented a discourse on the subject of the appointment of ministers, dwelling upon the claims which a congregation of God's people, however small they might be, possessed to the services of those in whom they espied the gifts of God, and ^{from purely natural and not of the ministry.} pointing out the danger of turning a deaf ear to the voice of men who were desirous of being instructed in the truth. Then, turning to John Knox, who was present, he addressed him personally, saying, "Brother, you shall not be attended, when I speak to you that which I have always given from all these that are here present, ^{which is this:} In the name of God and of his Son Christ Jesus, and in the name of those that do presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of us, whom you understand well enough to be over-

* Keith's History, vol. i. p. 110.

† Chalmers' Works of Lyndsay, vol. i. pp. 34, 35; vol. ii. p. 231.

dened, that you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire him to multiply his graces upon you." Then, turning to those who were present, he said, "Was not this your charge given to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was, and we approve it.*" Thus publicly called to the work of the ministry, Knox felt that he could no longer, with a clear conscience, decline accepting the office. Abashed, and bursting into tears, he withdrew to the secrecy of his own chamber. For many days together he kept aloof from society, and his countenance bore testimony to the mighty conflict which was agitating his bosom. Strengthened by this solitary communion with God, he at length presented himself in the pulpit, and thenceforth he co-operated with Rough in preaching the Gospel to all the inhabitants of the town, and also in defending the truth against the assaults of the Popish priests.

The public call given to Knox by Rough was ever regarded by him as one of the most interesting events of his life, and he viewed it as the true foundation of his right to preach the Gospel, and to discharge all the functions of the ministerial office. He had indeed been ordained a priest some years before by the authorities of the Church of Rome, but his views had undergone so great a change, and his convictions of the unscriptural character of Popery had become so strong, that he never thought for a moment of putting his early ordination upon a par with the call given to him in St. Andrew's. † He was not guilty of the absurdity chargeable upon many in our day, of maintaining, on the one hand, that the corruptions of Rome are such as to render the renunciation of her communion an imperative duty, and yet of holding, on the other, that no man can possess a valid title to preach the Gospel unless it has come to him through parties forming a chain all the way back to Rome. That it should both be a duty to forsake Rome, and yet wrong to preach unless ordination traceable up to her can be found, is a logic at which, however much it may please the advocates of a rigid Apostolical succession, common sense laughs in scorn. Either Rome is everything, or Apostolical succession is nothing. The true successors of the Apostles are those who are animated by the same spirit, who preach the same glorious truths, who manifest the same zeal in turning men from sin, and who themselves exhibit similar purity of morals and holy conversation.

Knox, in his assaults upon Popery, took higher ground than any of the opponents of Rome had ever yet ventured to do; for when Dean John Annand, at a public disputation in the parish church, was driven from all his other de-

fences, and took refuge in the authority of the Church as an impregnable fortress, Knox argued the necessity of previously defining what the Church was, of distinguishing between the true Church of Christ and spiritual Babylon; and he declared that he no more doubted that the Roman Church was the synagogue of Satan, and its head the Pope, the Man of Sin spoken of by Paul, than he doubted that Christ had suffered by procurement of the visible Church of Jerusalem.* And he concluded with offering to prove, either by word or writing, that the present Church of Rome had degenerated further from the purity which existed in the days of the Apostles, than the Church of the Jews had done, when they consented to the death of Christ from the ordinances given by Moses.

These words produced an extraordinary sensation. They were spoken publicly in the church, in the presence of a large assemblage of people, and the desire was awakened in every mind to hear what could be advanced in support of an affirmation so subversive of all that had hitherto been most firmly believed. "If this be true," said they, "we have been miserably deceived."

On the following Sabbath-day, accordingly, Knox did preach to a crowded audience, in the parish church of St. Andrew's, on the subject of Popery.

Instead of wasting his strength upon the smaller points at issue between the Church of Rome and the Protestants, he took for his theme the 24th and 25th verses of the VIIth chapter of Daniel, and, after pointing out the correspondence between the four great monarchies of ancient times and the four beasts seen in vision by the prophet, he boldly maintained that the Roman hierarchy was the wicked blaspheming power spoken of in connection with the fourth beast, which denoted the Roman empire. It was this same power which was referred to in the New Testament, when mention was made of the apostasy, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, the whore of Babylon. All the marks of opposition to God pointed out by Daniel and by the Apostles were to be found in the Papal system, and in no other that ever existed. Antichrist was not to be understood as denoting a single person, but a body and multitude of people, having a wicked head, which proved the occasion of wickedness to all under his authority. The true ground of the designation was contrariety to Christ in life, in doctrines, and in laws; and this contrariety in all its parts, he maintained, was to be found in the Church of Rome. Her contrariety in respect of life appeared in the gross immorality and licentiousness which had notoriously prevailed, both amongst the Popes themselves and amongst all orders of the clergy. Her contrariety in respect of doctrine was made good by comparing the scriptural principle of justification by faith with the Romish dogma of justification by works, and pilgrimages, and penances, and priestly absolutions. Her contrariety in regard to laws was established by a reference to church holidays, enforced abstinence

* Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 223. Spottiswood, p. 85.

† M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 12, 57, 348. Keith's History, vol. i. p. 146.

The validity of Knox's call to the work of the ministry.

Substance of Knox's sermon on Popery.

from meats, and prohibition of marriage, which had been left free by Christ to all men, and which even the Apostles themselves had entered into. One mark of the beast indicated by the prophet was, that he was to speak great words against the Most High. But what more presumptuous things could be imagined than were spoken by the Pope, who called himself Christ's vicar upon earth, the successor of Peter, the head of the Church, most holy, most blessed; who maintained that he could not err; that he could make right wrong, and wrong right; that out of nothing he could make something; that he had all truth enclosed in the shrine of his own breast; that he had power over all, and none had any power over him, even to say he did wrong, though he drew millions of souls with him to hell. If these titles and pretensions, which are contained in his own canon law, be not great and blasphemous words, and such as mortal man never spake before, let the world judge. Another feature of the predicted apostasy was adduced from the Apocalypse of John, who says that the great whore was to make merchandise of the souls of men, and such merchandise it was affirmed was made by the Pope and his clergy. For did they not take upon them to mitigate the pains said to be endured in purgatory, and to release souls from thence by means of masses sold for money to surviving friends? And also did they not make merchandise of pardons and indulgences, which no other church had ever had the hardihood to do? And in the conclusion of his discourse he declared that if any person present—and there were present many canons, and friars of both Orders, and the sub-prior, John Winram—would affirm that he had cited scripture, or any human author or standard, unfairly, he would exhibit the original documents before competent witnesses, and not only point out the passages complained of, but demonstrate that their meaning was what he had alleged it to be.*

This discourse, which was the first Knox preached in public, produced an extraordinary impression upon the minds of men. It shook the confidence of multitudes in the authority and character of the Church of Rome, and it led not a few to forsake her communion altogether. "Others (it was said) had hewed at the branches of Popery, but Knox struck at the root, to bring down the whole tree." "Let the doctors and masters now defend the Pope and his authority, so manifestly impugned in their own presence." Some said Wishart never spoke so plainly, and yet he was burned, and so shall this man. Others said the tyranny of the Cardinal made not his cause the better, nor the suffering of Wishart his cause the worse; and therefore the priests and bishops must now provide better defenders than fire and sword, otherwise they shall be disappointed, for men are looking with different eyes than in former days.

* Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 189—192. Calderwood's History of the Kirk, vol. i. pp. 229, 230. Spottiswood, pp. 85, 86.

The adherents of Rome felt the need of doing something to stem the tide of opposition that was setting in so strongly against their system; and the new Measure adopted against Knox and Rough. Archbishop of St. Andrew's, John Hamilton, brother of the Governor, although not yet consecrated, wrote to the sub-prior, Dean John Winram, expressing astonishment that he suffered such heretical and schismatical doctrines to be taught without opposition. Thus called upon by the voice of authority, the sub-prior, and a convention of Black and Grey Friars, drew up a number of articles, gathered out of Knox's discourse, and summoned Rough and him to appear before them, to answer for sentiments so strange and so subversive of all the principles held by the Church. The propositions complained of, as maintained by Knox, were the following:—

1. That no mortal man can be head of the Church.
2. That the Pope is Antichrist, and therefore is no member of Christ's mystical body.
3. That man neither can make nor devise a religion acceptable to God, but is bound to observe and keep the religion received from God, without chopping or changing it.
4. That the sacraments of the New Testament ought to be administered as they were instituted by Christ, and observed by the Apostles, nothing being added to them, and nothing taken away from them.
5. That the mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.
6. That there is no purgatory in which the souls of men can either be paid or purged after this life; but heaven awaits the faithful, and hell is the portion of the reprobate and unfaithful.
7. That praying for the dead is vain, and praying to them is idolatry.
8. That there are no bishops excepting those who preach themselves, and not by substitute.
9. That by God's law tithes do not bring of necessity to churchmen.*

In the disputation which ensued upon these articles, the sub-prior, whose leanings already were manifestly towards the reformed opinions, conducted himself with great moderation. When Knox said that he had long since heard he was not ignorant of the truth, and appealed to his conscience, as in the sight of the Supreme Judge, that, if he believed the doctrines expressed in the articles to be true, he ought openly to declare his mind, for the satisfaction and good of the people, who looked to him as an authority, he replied—"I come not here as a judge, but only familiarly to converse, and therefore I will neither approve nor condemn; but, if you choose, I will reason." The sub-prior then spoke of the power of the Church to appoint decent ceremonies, and instanced the band in baptism as significant of the

* Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. pp. 192, 194.

roughness of the law, and the oil as significant of God's mercy. But Knox argued that if you might invent ceremonies, and give them a signification at your pleasure, then the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and those of the Mahometans, might all be adopted, if you only took care to give them some plausible interpretation. The only safe rule was to take Scripture for a guide, and to introduce no rites into the Church but such as were sanctioned by God himself. When the sub-prior alleged that many things might be done without the express authority of Scripture—such as asking drink when thirsty—Knox besought him not to jest in so grave a matter, and reminded him that there was a liberty expressly allowed in the New Testament as to meats and drinks, while there was no such liberty conceded in respect of religious observances; but, on the contrary, the command was to add nothing to them, and to take nothing from them.

One Arbuckle, a Grey Friar, then attempted to prove the divine authority of the ceremonies instituted by the Church from the text of Paul, where he speaks of building gold and silver and precious stones, wood and hay and stubble, upon Christ the foundation; affirming that the

gold and silver and precious stones were the ceremonies of the Church, which she had built upon Christ, according to the express authority of the Apostle. But Knox met his argument by requesting to know what fire it was that the ceremonies of the Church, like gold and silver and precious stones, were able to abide? If it was the Word of God that was the fire, then it was obvious that as we are commanded not to add to this Word, nor to take anything from it, the ceremonies of the Church stood condemned as a human addition to the institutions of God. They could abide the trial of the Word only, as the thief abides the trial of law, and is condemned to be hanged. The friar, somewhat at a loss for an answer to the keen logic of his opponent, and trying to prove that we are not so closely bound to the Word as Knox supposed, affirmed that the Apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote their epistles, and that it was after they were inspired that they instituted the ceremonies of the Church. This foolish answer, while it drew from Knox the sarcastic exclamation, "If that be true, I have been long in error, and I think I shall die in my error," led to the immediate interference of the sub-prior, who cried out, "God forbid that you make such an affirmation as that, for then farewell to the ground of our faith." The friar now betook himself in confusion to the authority of the Church as a safe and impregnable fortress; and when Knox argued that the spouse of Christ could have no power or authority against the Word of God, the friar cried out, "Then ye will leave us no Church at all." Knox replied with keen irony that there was a Church mentioned in the Book of Psalms (xxvi. 5), *ecclesiam malignantium*—the congregation of evil-doers—which they might have without the Word of God, if they were

so disposed; but as for him he would abide by that Church which had Christ Jesus for its great pastor, and whose leading characteristic was to hear his voice, and to turn away from the voice of strangers. After some other matters were briefly considered, the conference was brought to a close, and Knox and Rough were dismissed, simply with an admonition to take heed what doctrine they delivered in public.*

The clergy, perceiving that public discussion only tended to give wider circulation to the views of their opponents, refrained from any further conference with the Reformers; and, having consulted regarding the best means of putting a stop to defection from the Church, they resolved that all the learned men of the Abbey and University should preach in the parish church on the Lord's-days, according to seniority, avoiding all controverted points that would furnish occasion for talk among the people. By this means, not only did they appear to be returning to a sense of their duty as public instructors, but Knox also was excluded from the pulpit, for which hitherto there had been none to compete with him. On the week-days, however, he continued to preach, and his enemies were restrained from molesting him by fear of those who held the castle.

The labours of Knox during his stay at St. Andrew's were the means of turning many from the errors of Popery; and a considerable number, both in the castle and in the town, were awakened to a sense of their sins, embraced Christ as the Saviour, and made an open profession of faith in him. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was publicly dispensed, free from all Popish mummeries, and in accordance with the method which has prevailed ever since in the Reformed Church.† These proceedings at St. Andrew's filled the adherents of the Church of Rome with rage; the priests and bishops ran to the Governor and to the Queen with the bitter complaint—"What are you doing? will you suffer this whole realm to be infected with pernicious doctrine?" A formal supplication was presented to the Governor and Lords of the Great Council, by bishops, prelates, and kirkmen, to the effect that it was not unknown to his Grace and their lordships that sundry parts of this realm, which had been Catholic from the beginning of the faith till these days, were now infected with the pestilential heresies of Luther; that many persons were openly preaching and instructing others in the said damnable doctrines, not in secluded places merely, but in the centre of the kingdom, and near the court; and that unless some remedy were applied, and the aid of the temporal power afforded to the spiritual jurisdiction, the evil would increase and extend from day to day, until it became so great as to baffle remedy. Therefore, it was humbly craved that speedy help and remedy might be given, which would be well

* Knox's History, vol. i. pp. 195—200.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 202.

pleasing to God, and conduce to the maintenance of the Christian faith, and the honour of his Grace and their lordships. To this application a favourable answer was returned by the Governor, and promise was given that the laws of the realm should be executed on all whom the bishops proved to be guilty of heresy.*

At the same time, renewed efforts were made to obtain possession of the castle of St. Andrew's, and those who held it were summoned to surrender. A promise had been given to them long before this of a full and free pardon of all past offences, on condition of a voluntary submission; but when the deed of absolution arrived from Rome, it contained the clause, *remittimus crimen irremissibile*—we pardon a crime which cannot be pardoned—which was justly considered as not securing the safety of those who had been concerned in the Cardinal's death. The surrender of the castle was therefore still refused; but the Governor having procured a fleet of galleys and a considerable body of troops

Castle of St. Andrew's surrendered. from France, was enabled to prosecute the siege with vigour; and at length, after various successes and reverses on both sides, the garrison agreed to surrender the castle on condition the lives of all who were in it, whether English or Scots, were to be spared, and that they were to be safely transported to France, and either allowed to remain there in freedom, or to be sent, at the expense of the King of France, to any other country they pleased, Scotland only excepted.† Great joy prevailed among the adherents of Rome in consequence of the recovery of St. Andrew's. The castle was ordered, by an Act of Council, to be razed to the ground, either as having been the scene of a Cardinal's assassination, or through fear that it might fall into the hands of the English. But this order seems to have been only partially executed. ‡

After the surrender of the castle, on the 31st July, 1547, on the conditions above specified, Knox and all his friends were carried into France, and, contrary to one of the express stipulations of the treaty made in St. Andrew's, they were confined—some in

Treatment of the captives in France. prisons, and others in galleys, and treated with the utmost rigour. They were subjected to great indignities, and endured much suffering, till the war was terminated, by the treaty of Boulogne, in 1550. Constant efforts were made to shake their principles, to induce them to attend mass, to kiss images of the Virgin Mary, or to comply with some other Popish rite. Henry Balnaves was confined in the castle of Rouen, and, being a very learned man, he had many conflicts with accomplished and skilful opponents, who were sent to shake his faith, and to bring him over, if possible, to the Church of Rome; but he repelled with energy and acuteness every assault that was made upon him, and remained true to his principles. In prison, he wrote a work on Justification,

which Knox characterises as a most profitable treatise, and which was afterwards published at Edinburgh, in 1584. Knox was among those prisoners who were confined in the galleys. He mentions that many threats were employed to compel him and his associates to adore the mass, but that not one of them ever paid the reverence that was demanded. They followed, says he, the instructions which were given by God to the Israelites in Babylon, that when they should see the Babylonians worship gods of gold and silver, and metal and wood, they were not to copy their example, but were to say, "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens." (Jeremiah x. 11.) When songs of praise were sung to the Virgin, the Scotchmen persisted in keeping on their bonnets and caps, and obstinately refused to kiss the painted image of Our Lady. The effort to coerce them was at length given up, after the following occurrence, which Knox calls a merry fact:—While on the Loire, at Nantes, a painted Lady was brought forward to be kissed, and when presented to one of the Scotchmen, who there can be little doubt was Knox himself, he said—"Trouble me not, such an idol is accused; I will not touch it." The two officers who had charge of it said that he must handle it, and violently thrust it into his face, and put it between his hands. Knox, in this extremity, took hold of the idol, and, watching for a fit opportunity, threw it overboard into the river, saying, "Let Our Lady swim over herself: she is light enough, let her learn to swim." Balfour and Knox were in the same galley, and sailing at one time along the bay between Harlow and St. Andrew's, Knox being exceedingly unwell, Balfour asked him if he recognised the spot. "Yes, I know it very well, for I see the steeples of that place where God first in public opened my mouth to His glory, and I am fully persuaded, how soon soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify His name in the same place." Nor was the piety of Knox undervalued even under the dress of a galley-slave, for the master of the galley, though a Papist, was in the habit, when storm and tempest threatened, of asking him to commend him and his galley to God in his prayers; and he was glad of his deliverance, because he thought he never had good success, on account of his keeping that holy man in slavery. †

From the time of the surrender of the castle of St. Andrew's till 1550, when peace was concluded at Boulogne, the attention of the Court and the Scottish people was engrossed with promoting the comparative advantages of the proposals of England and those of France for the hand of the infant queen, with the struggles of contending factions in reference to this question, and the ruinous war with England into which they plunged the country. No sooner was peace restored, than the clergy began to take measures for kind-

* Keith's History, vol. i. p. 147. Knox's History, vol. i. p. 228.

† See *supra*, p. 604. ‡ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 203.

* Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 228-229.
† T. Stapleton and Marshall mentioned in Dr. Paine's memoir of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, p. 118. London, 1836.

ling anew the flames of religious strife and persecution. That liberty of profession, which had now been enjoyed for several years, must come to an end. The fruits of the triumph which had been gained in securing possession of St. Andrew's must be reaped.

Relieved of the presence of Knox, whose burning eloquence had such an irresistible power over the whole community, and whose spirit it was impossible

to tame, the priesthood determined to take prompt and effective measures for the extirpation of heresy. Justice courts were held by the Governor at the instigation of his brother, the bishop, in various parts of the country, which proved a vast annoyance to the people, and involved in ruin not a few individuals favourable to the new opinions. It was at this time the martyrdom of Adam Wallace, tutor to the family of Lady Ormiston, took place. He was brought to trial at Edinburgh in presence of the Governor, the Earl of Argyle, great Justiciar of the realm, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Glencairn, with many bishops and abbots, and charged

with usurping the office of the Adam Wallace. Christian ministry without a lawful call—with baptizing one of his own children—with denying the existence of purgatory—with maintaining that prayers addressed to departed saints or for persons deceased were altogether superstitious—with styling the mass an idolatrous service, and affirming that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar remained, even after the words of consecration, nothing but bread and wine. Though not a man of much learning or ability, he conducted his defence with firmness and propriety, made a fearless profession of the truth as it is in Christ, and declared that he could hold no doctrines but such as were proved to him out of the Word of God. He had a Bible fastened to his belt in French, and Dutch, and English; and when the accuser endeavoured to convict him of heresy as diverging from the doctrines of the Church, he invariably brought the question to the test of Scripture as the only authority entitled to regulate his faith. When asked whether the bread and wine were not the very body of Christ—flesh, blood, and bones—he replied, that the body of Christ was in heaven, and would continue at the right hand of the Father till he came to judge the quick and the dead; and that the words in John's Gospel, "Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you," were to be interpreted on the principle laid down by our Lord himself in that very chapter: "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." "It is an horrible heresy!" exclaimed the Bishop of Orkney.

When the trial was drawing to a close, he addressed the Governor and the other lords in these solemn and affecting words: "If you condemn me for holding by God's Word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands when you shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who

is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance; as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it.'"^{*} Notwithstanding this solemn appeal to his judges, he was pronounced guilty of heresy, and condemned to the flames; and the sentence was carried into execution, on the following day, on the Castle Hill. † During the night he was confined with irons about his legs and neck, and various persons were sent to him to endeavour to shake his faith; but nothing could drive him from his trust in God, and from the doctrines which he believed to be grounded on Scripture. His Bible, which had been his constant companion wherever he went, was taken from him; but as he had the Psalms of David stored up in his memory, he was able to sing the praise of God, to his great consolation. Certain other books, also, which he had with him to sustain and comfort his soul in this trying season, were forced out of his possession; but no provocation could exhaust his patience, or shake the hope which he had in God through Christ. When morning came, renewed attempts were made to induce him to recant, Wallace burned but he was firm as a rock, which upon the Castle Hill.

so provoked Sir Hugh Terry, that, in a rage, he declared he would make the devils come out of him before night. The only reply of the innocent sufferer to these unfeeling words was, "You should be a godly man, and rather give me consolation in my trying case." On his way to the Castle Hill, he was followed by a numerous crowd, many of whom were moved with sympathy, and were heard to say, "God have mercy upon him." Before he entered the fire he lifted his eyes in prayer to heaven, and then began to address the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake, for the disciple is not above his master;" but he was prevented from giving further expression to his feelings; and the fire being kindled he commended his soul to God, and met his death of torture with unshaken con-

* Calderwood's History, vol. i. p. 268.

† Although Bishop Keith himself speaks respectfully of Adam Wallace, yet the Editor of his History, as published by the Spottiswood Society, so far from uttering a word in condemnation of the barbarity and cruelty of his wicked persecutors, only remarks, that his execution was the first public act of Archbishop Hamilton after his elevation to the primacy of St. Andrew's, and then adds, 'It is evident that the poor man was unworthy of notice from his obscurity, and the weakness of his intellect.' Surely this only made the putting of him to death in so cruel a manner an act of more aggravated criminality, and should have drawn forth from the impartial historian only sterner and more indignant reprobation. The poor man was unworthy of notice! What does this mean? Are we to understand that if Wallace had been a man of more ability and learning, it would have been all right and proper to burn him; but that with his intellect he was unworthy of the honour of being consigned to the flames by an archbishop? This editor's sympathies are always on the side of those who delighted to imbrue their hands in the blood of the innocent, and his indignation is only roused when any one presumes to touch the hair of a persecutor's head.—Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State, vol. i. p. 148.

stancy and firm trust in the promises of that Book which had ever been so dear to his heart.*

About this time a controversy broke out among the Romish clergy, which may be mentioned as an illustration of the almost incredible ignorance which prevailed among them. Richard Marshall, prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle, having taught in a sermon at St. Andrew's, in opposition to a practice sanctioned by many of the clergy, that the Pater Noster should be said to God only, and not to the saints; great offence was taken at this self-evident truth, and attempts were made to prove that the Lord's prayer, in all its petitions, might be addressed to the saints; for, said Friar Tottis, if you meet an old man in the street, you will say to him, 'Good morrow, father;' and why may you not call a departed saint your father? and as the saints are in heaven, why may you not say to any one of them, 'Our Father, which art in heaven?' and as God has made their names holy, why may you not address them in this manner, 'Hallowed be thy name?' The kingdom of God, too, is their's, as being possessed and enjoyed by them, and their will differs in no respect from the will of God: therefore, in praying to them, you may employ the language, 'Thy kingdom come: thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.' More difficulty was found in showing the applicability to the saints of the petition regarding daily bread; but the ingenious friar was not to be baffled; for, quoth he, the saints pray for us that we may get our daily bread, and thus in some sort we are indebted to them for the supplies we receive from time to time.

This discourse of the friar excited the ridicule of all who were able to comprehend what the words Pater Noster meant; and the very craftsmen and servants at St. Andrew's applied to the preacher the nick-name of Friar Pater Noster. Pasquils were also affixed to the Abbey Church in ridicule of the doctors of theology of fourscore years, who, though calling one another Rabbi and Magister Noster, yet knew not to whom to say their Pater Noster. For the settlement of this profound theological question, it was found necessary, in order to avoid greater inconveniences, to convene various meetings

of the clergy. Some maintained that the Pater Noster should be said to God *formaliter*, and to the saints *materialiter*; others, that it should be said to God *principaliter*, and to the saints *minus principaliter*; and others still, that it should be said to God *capiendo stricte*, and to the saints *capiendo large*.

While this weighty matter was under debate, the servant of the sub-prior asked him one night, on his return home, what business was on hand, and being answered, "We cannot agree to whom the Pater Noster should be said," he replied, "Sir, to whom should it be said but unto God?" "But what," rejoined the sub-prior, "are we to do with

* Spottiswood, p. 91.

the saints?" "Give them eyes and words even in the devil's name, for that may suffice them." For the farther consideration of this heavy question a provincial council was held at Edinburgh, in which there seemed to be a majority favourable to the idea, that the saints might have the Pater Noster addressed to them; but as several Melancholians refused to subscribe such a decree, it was at length agreed to entrust the matter to the sub-prior of St. Andrew's, who, on his return home, should declare to the people how the Pater Noster was to be said, yet so as not to deny that the saints might in some way to be invoked.*

In this council, and another which was held at Linlithgow in the following year, various measures were adopted for re-forming glaring abuses and transgressions, with a view of putting a stop to defection from the church. It was appointed that an English translation should be published, containing a short explanation of the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, and Ave Maria; and the curates were enjoined to read a portion of it to the people every Sunday and holiday when there was no sermon. This was generally known by the name of the "Tempting Faith," from the price at which it was sold, yet it was a work of some size, and competent judges have pronounced it to be a work of considerable merit. But it never passed into general circulation among the people; for Lord Hailes observes, that the Council which authorised it, used as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity, as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilential heresy.† In the year 1640, at Linlithgow, all opinions opposed to those of the Church of Rome were condemned, and the maintainers of them declared liable to severe and perpetual punishment; and the decrees of the Council of Trent, made in the time of Pope Pius III., were received.

Acts were also passed for the reformation of immoralities prevalent among the clergy, but Archbishop Spottiswood says they were hardly productive of any benefit; for the parties concerned with the execution of them were often the very parties who were themselves most deeply implicated.‡ Bishop Leslie, however, is of opinion that a considerable amount of good was effected by them.

Meanwhile, the reformed opinions were not making any apparent progress. They were thrown out of public view into the recesses of libraries and the closets of individuals. There was held them were at the mercy of their curators, and they could only sigh in secret over the obstructions that were done in the land, and pray for the advent of more propitious times. Yet we cannot doubt that the seed sown by Knox and Brough

* Calderwood, vol. 1. p. 276. Apud Wood, p. 91. Keith, vol. 1. p. 148.

† Provincial Councils, p. 28.

‡ Keith, vol. 1. p. 149. Apud Wood, p. 92.

was germinating in not a few hearts, and that a real progress was going on during this time of apparent inaction. The suspension of visible growth in winter is as needful to the subsequent harvest as are the shooting blades and bursting buds of spring. During the dark season of the year juices are elaborated, and unseen processes are carried on, which prepare the way for the visible changes that delight the eye in spring and summer. So, although nothing was openly done at this time to advance the principles of the Reformation, yet the people had time to meditate in the retirement of their houses upon the principles which they had heard from the lips of faithful preachers; and they were thus prepared for giving more attentive heed to the truths of the Gospel, and deriving greater benefit from them, when another opportunity should, in the good providence of God, be afforded for the public preaching of the Word. There is an ebb and a flow in all human affairs. Reverses follow times of prosperity, and reverses are often the means of eliciting greater energy and securing greater prosperity afterwards. From the days of Stephen downwards, the history of the church has exhibited persecutions and trials made subservient to the wider extension and firmer establishment of the truth. Out of the fire of affliction the people of God have come, like gold, purified and refined.

The next event that exerted an influence upon the state of religion in Scotland, was the accession of Mary to the English throne at the death of Edward VI., in 1553.

Effect of the death of Edward VI. on the state of religion. Her principles being altogether different from those of her predecessor, she very speedily overthrew the order of things which had been established by him, and raised so fierce a persecution against all who refused to submit to the authority of the Romish Church, that she has come to be known by the name of "the bloody Mary." It was in this persecution that John Rough, colleague of Knox at St. Andrew's, suffered martyrdom. Being obliged to visit London for articles requisite to the trade by which he supported his wife and family, he was apprehended, and brought to trial before Bishop Bonner, on the charges of being a married priest, refusing to use the Latin service, and absenting himself from mass; and having defended his conduct in all these respects, he was condemned to die, and was accordingly burned at Smithfield on the 21st November, 1557.*

One effect of the severe measures adopted during Mary's persecuting reign, was to drive the most faithful ministers into neighbouring countries. Some of them came to Scotland, and were the means of fanning anew the flame of religious zeal when it seemed threatened with extinction.

Ministers driven from England spread the truth in Scotland. Among these messengers of truth thus sent in providence, may be mentioned William Harlow, a plain, simple man, by birth a Scotchman, who

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 257.

had served some years with approbation in the English Church, and John Willock, a man of greater ability and learning, who had formerly been a Franciscan friar in the town of Ayr. On leaving England he had fled into Friesland, where he practised medicine for some time; and thereafter he was sent by the Countess of Friesland with a commission of some kind to the Queen-regent of Scotland. This commission naturally gave him some liberty of speech and action; and he availed himself of the opportunity of sowing the seeds of religious truth. Both he and Harlow* were visited by many of the friends of the Gospel, and by not a few persons of distinction; and the faithful instructions which they imparted, enforced by the sufferings which they were enduring for the sake of Christ, had no small influence in extending the knowledge of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and in confirming those who had already embraced them. Thus, as in the case of the persecution that arose at the death of the first martyr, good sprang from evil: the blast of persecution scattered more widely the seeds of evangelical truth. At this time there was a regular meeting of the friends of the Gospel in Edinburgh, held in the fields in summer, and in houses in winter. Harlow and Willock were their teachers, and sometimes also Paul Methven, John Douglas, and the laird of Dun. At first there were two small societies, but they were joined into one body through the influence of the laird of Dun; and their numbers increased from day to day. They had elders and deacons set apart for the management of their affairs, whose names are not unworthy of being mentioned, they were George Small, Michael Christison, James Gray, Adam Craig, John Cairns; and the office of reader was held by Alexander Hope.† This association, gathered together in such troublous times, and moulded into shape and form under the pressure of adversity, maintained its existence unbroken, and in the end became a great body. It was the acorn from which grew the oak of the religious privileges of Scotland. It was the nucleus of what was afterwards called the Congregation, which exerted so mighty an influence upon the institutions of the whole kingdom: a striking instance of the truth of the scriptural principle that God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and base things of the world and things which are despised hath God chosen: yea, and things which are not to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence.

But the event which produced the most powerful effect upon the state of religion in Scotland was the return of John Knox, towards the close of the year 1555. After his deliverance from the galleys in 1550, he had spent some time in England, where he refused the bishopric of Rochester, on account of his dislike of vrelacy. He had then proceeded to Frankfurt.

* Spottiswood, p. 93. Keith, vol. i. p. 150.

† Calderwood, vol. i. p. 304.

where he ministered for some time to the English church in that place; but keen controversies arising about the order and form of worship, he had left Frankfort, and gone to reside in Geneva. And now there being nothing to detain him upon the continent, he felt that it was his duty to venture back among his own countrymen; though his enemies at home occupied all the seats of power, and he knew they would not scruple to employ every possible means for his annoyance and destruction. His return was hailed with gladness and delight by all the friends of evangelical truth; and it gave a new impulse to the progress of the cause for which he had already done so much.

Knox resumed his labours at Edinburgh, where his private exhortations were attended by considerable numbers. His great object was to unfold the pure doctrines of the Gospel; to display the fulness and freeness of God's mercy in Christ; to exhibit the Son of God as the only mediator between heaven and earth; and his preaching brought peace and comfort to many who had been sorely distressed by the consciousness of sin. Finding that some who made a profession of the truth were in the

Knox's exposure of the evil of the mass. habit of attending mass, not because they valued it, but through fear of danger, and that they regarded Paul's payment of a vow in the temple as warranting their conformity, he exposed the idolatrous character of the popish sacrament, and showed that the Apostle's conduct was not a parallel case at all.* His arguments on this topic produced a deep impression on some men of high standing, such as Maitland of Lethington, who candidly acknowledged that Knox was right, and said, "I see perfectly that these shifts will serve for nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." Through these efforts of the Reformer, the mass fell into utter discredit among the friends of truth, and was shunned as an idolatrous rite.

From Edinburgh Knox proceeded to various parts of the country, Angus and Mearns, Lanark and Ayrshire, preaching the Gospel both publicly and privately to multitudes of all ranks, and dispensing the Lord's Supper, according to the purity and simplicity of Scripture. He went from place to place, at the invitation of different friends of the Reformation, and was successively the guest of Erskine of Dun, Sandilands of Calder, Campbell of Kinzeanleugh, the Earl of Glencairn, and others. Immense benefit accrued to the cause of truth from this preaching tour. The friends of the Gospel were instructed and encouraged, and their numbers were considerably augmented. And they were led to the determination to renounce all connection with idolatry, and to maintain to the uttermost the preaching of the Gospel, as God should give them preachers and opportunity.†

The success attendant upon Knox's preaching,

and, above all, the fact, that many now began to absent themselves from the mass as an idolatrous service, filled the priesthood with alarm and indignation. It seemed necessary to take vigorous measures in order to arrest the growing defection; and accordingly the bishops summoned the preacher to appear before them in the church of the Black Friars at Edinburgh, on the 13th May, 1556, to answer for the heretical principles which he was spreading throughout the kingdom. With that fearless intrepidity which never quailed before danger or difficulty, Knox at once determined to appear at the bar of his enemies to defend his cause; but when the day came, not his strength, but theirs, failed. Though he was upon the spot, and ready to answer his accusers, they were afraid to proceed with the trial, and they deserted the diet on the ground of some alleged informality in the summons. But the true reason was, that public sympathy was strongly excited in favour of the Reformer; and a number of barons and men of rank had come from the country for the very purpose of encouraging him by their presence, and defending him, if necessary, from the malversations of his unscrupulous enemies. In these circumstances, a trial could not answer the purposes of the priesthood, and therefore the idea of it was abandoned.

The abortive effort thus made by the clergy to arrest the Reformer's career, only aroused him to greater activity and zeal, and he preached with more publicity and fervour, and was attended by greater multitudes than ever. The Marquis of Glencairn and Marischal were among his daily hearers, and they were so struck with the clear and convincing exhibitions he gave of Christian truth, that they imagined the Queen-regent would hardly be able to resist his eloquence; and therefore they prevailed upon him to write a letter to her, in the hope that she might be induced to show some favour to the cause of the Reformation. This letter, which is contained in 'Calderwood's History,' is written with great power and faithfulness; but it was treated with contempt by the party to whom it was sent, and ridiculed as a paucity.

In this letter, after showing from Scripture that the victory of the saints was achieved through suffering and sorrow, Knox draws the attention of the Queen-regent to the persecutions which were everywhere directed by the Romish Church against all who differed from her. He adverts to the accusations and slanders which were spread against himself, and which he knows not had come to her ears; and he shows God that, by the dew of his grace he had so quenched the fire of displeasure in her Grace's heart, that the pains formed against him had hitherto been fruitless. He brings into view the evil done by Popery to the souls of men, by withholding from them the Word of Life, and teaching them painful doc-

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 305

† Ibid., vol. i. p. 306.

• Calderwood vol. i. pp. 308-317.

trines. "I know," he continues, "you will wonder how the religion which is universally received can be so damnable and corrupted. But if your Grace will consider, that from the beginning the multitude have declined from God, yea, even among the people to whom he spake by his law and his prophets: if you consider the complaint of the Holy Ghost, complaining that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth, have raged against the Lord and his Anointed: further, if you consider the question which Christ himself moves in these words, 'When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith upon the earth?' and lastly, if your Grace consider the manifest contempt of God, and of his holy precepts, which this day reigneth without punishment upon the face of the whole earth—if deeply, I say, your Grace contemplate the universal corruption that reigneth in all estates; then shall your Grace cease to wonder that many are called and few chosen; and you shall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition. The universal defection, whereof St Paul prophesied, is easily to be espied as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident; and religion is not judged nor measured by the plain Word of God, but by custom, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shall he who hath pronounced all the cogitations of man's heart to be vain, accept the counsels and consents of men for a religion acceptable and pleasing before him? Let not your Grace be deceived: God hath witnessed from the beginning that no religion pleaseth him, except that which he by his own word hath commanded—'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' Before the coming of his Son, God punished all who altered his ceremonies and statutes; and will he now, after he hath opened his counsel to the world by Christ, admit men's inventions in the matter of religion? Were an angel to say so, God's Word would convict him of falsehood: 'Not that which seemeth good to thine eyes shalt thou do to the Lord, but that which the Lord hath commanded thee, that do thou. Add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it.' God's messenger might now require of your Grace a motherly pity upon your subjects, justice against murderers and oppressors, a heart void of partiality, with the rest of the virtues required in God's rulers. But vain it is to crave reformation of manners where religion is corrupted; for like as a man cannot do the office of a man till first he have a being and life, so to work works pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolators. God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, move your heart to consider these things. To him I unfeignedly commit your Grace."

In consequence of an earnest solicitation from the church in Geneva, Knox, though warmly entreated by his friends to remain in Scotland, proceeded thither in July, 1556. Scarcely had he departed when a new summons was issued, requir-

ing him to appear before the clergy and, for non-appearance, he was condemned as a heretic, and his effigy was burned at the market-cross of Edinburgh. The sentence having been trans-
mitted to him, he wrote an answer to it, styled, "An appellation from the Clergy to the Nobility and Commons of Scotland," which is full of eloquent appeals and most convincing arguments, and which must have helped forward the cause of reform, as much as if he had been personally present labouring with all his wonted zeal.

In this appeal he shows, from the cases of Jeremiah and Paul, that he had a right, when his life was threatened by men calling themselves the spiritual power, to seek the protection of the temporal authorities—"If you be powers ordained by God, then is the sword given unto you for maintenance of the innocent, and punishment of malefactors. But I and my brethren do offer not only to prove ourselves innocent in all things laid to our charge, but also to show most evidently that your bishops are the very pestilence who have infected all Christianity. The words of the Apostolic teach how far the higher powers are bound to their subjects—to wit, that because they are God's ministers, by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, most diligently ought they to attend upon the same; and this is the reason why subjects are commanded to pay tribute, 'for this do ye pay tribute and toll.' Whence it is plain that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this I wish your wisdoms deeply to consider, that God hath not placed you above your brethren to reign as tyrants, without regard to their profit and commodity. You hear the Holy Ghost witness the contrary, that all lawful powers are God's ministers, ordained for the wealth, profit, and salvation of their subjects, and not for their destruction. Could it be said, I beseech you, that magistrates enclosing their subjects in a city without victuals, or giving them only such as were poisoned, did rule for their profit? Now, if the soul be greater and more precious than the body, we may easily espy how unworthy of authority those be, who debar their subjects from hearing of God's Word, and by fire and sword compel them to feed upon the damnable doctrine of Antichrist. It is not enough that you abstain from violent wrong and oppression: you are bound to rule for the public good, which you cannot do, if, by your maintenance of ravening wolves, you suffer men's souls to perish for lack of the true food, which is Christ's evangel sincerely preached. It will not excuse you to say that you supposed the charge of souls committed to your bishops; for if your bishops be proved to be no bishops, but ravening wolves, which I offer to prove by God's Word, by law and councils, by the judgment of all the godly learned from the primitive church to this day: then must your permission and defence of them be reputed before God a participation in their theft and murder. I am not

Knox proceeds to Geneva, and is condemned in his absence.

Substance of his bound to their subjects—to wit, appellation of his the nobility and commons.

ignorant what be the vain defences of your proud prelates. They claim a prerogative and privilege that they are exempted, and that by consent of councils and emperors, from all jurisdiction of the temporal power. But from what fountain did this their immunity spring? When the bishops of Rome had, partly by fraud, and partly by violence, usurped the superiority of some places in Italy, then began Pope after Pope to devise how they might be exempted from the judgment of princes and the equity of laws. In this point they were most vigilant, till at length iniquity so prevailed, that this sentence was pronounced—that 'neither by the emperor, neither by the clergy, nor yet by the people, shall the judge be judged; for, saith Agatho, all the precepts of the apostolic seat are assured as by the voice of God himself.' This immunity being established for the head, then began provision to be made for the members; and the fruit is, that none of the papistical order will be subject to civil magistrates, how enormous soever his crime, but must be tried by his own ordinary. This is just as if thieves, and murderers, and brigands, should conspire among themselves never to answer before a lawful magistrate, to the end that theft and murder should not be punished. Thus, my lords, I have declared what God requireth of you as rulers and princes. I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realm, the verity of Christ Jesus; and, with the hazard of my life, I offer to prove the religion which is maintained amongst you by fire and sword, to be false, damnable, and diabolical. Which things if you refuse, maintaining tyrants in their tyranny, then I dare not flatter, but must with Ezekiel proclaim to you, that you shall perish in your iniquity; and in the day of Christ's apparition be driven from his presence. May God, by the power of his Spirit, rule and dispose your hearts to consider these things with simplicity.*

It is recorded that many prodigies and signs were observed about this time;—a remarkable comet, which shone for three months; rivers dried up in winter, and swoln so high in summer that villages were flooded, and many cattle swept away into the sea; whales of immense size thrown ashore in various parts of the Forth; hailstones of the size of pigeons' eggs, which destroyed much corn; and a fiery dragon, which was seen to fly along the earth, vomiting forth fire, and rendering it necessary to watch houses and corn-yards. These signs were very generally regarded as portending great changes, particularly in the state of the Church. Doubtless this interpretation had no other ground than the fancies and feelings of the people; but still it is worthy of notice, as indicating a wide-spread defection from the Church, and a general anticipation of change. And certain it is that the estimation and influence of the Romish clergy began now rapidly to decline. Not a few of their number became converts to the new opinions, and, relinquishing their ecclesiastical position, made an

open profession of evangelical truth, and laboured to advance it. In all parts of the country numbers of the clerical body, both secular and regular, but especially of the latter, espoused the cause of the Reformation; and, speaking as eye-witnesses of what they condemned, they gave a mighty impulse to the progress of Gospel truth.*

This state of affairs was highly encouraging to the friends of reformation, and justly encouraging that the presence of Knox would be of equal service to the cause, they determined to write him back. On the 10th March, 1556-7, a letter was sent to him, dated at Striving, and subscribed by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Erskine, Lord Iars, and James Stewart, prior of St. Andrew's, in which they give him a hopeful account of Knox's success in the position of matters at home, ^{to return to Scotland,} and earnestly request him to return to his native country, to aid and encourage the friends of the Gospel in their struggles.—I dearly beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts, thanks be unto God, are steadfast in the belief wherein you left them, and have a godly thirst and desire day by day of your presence again; which, if the spirit of God will so move and permit time unto you, we will heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that you will return again into these parts, where you shall find all the faithful that you left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but will be ready to jump lives and goods for the setting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit time. And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet in the state you left them, yet we have no experience of any more cruelty than was before, but rather we have belief that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars, enemies to Christ's Gospel, in less estimation both with the queen's grace and the rest of the nobility of our realm.†

With the concurrence of Calvin, the Scottish Reformer, who shrank from no ^{Knox bore} danger when duty urged him on, ^{Geneva was the} speedily left Geneva at the call of ^{various} his countrymen; but when he had ^{ing to Scotland,} proceeded as far as Dieppe, he recoiled before a more discouraging character, which obliged him to pause. Averse to desist from a mission which he had hoped might be productive of benefit to the cause of Christ, he wrote to the lords from Striving, Oct., 1557, expostulating with them for having so soon changed their views, and exhorting them to let no temporal considerations interfere with their duty to God. "If any persuade you, he hath of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendly, let him be judged foolish, and your mortal enemy; because he understood nothing of God's appointed wisdom; enemy to you, because he laboured to separate you from God's favour; promising to re-

* Spottiswood, p. 91. Knox, vol. i. p. 254. Keith, vol. i. p. 192.
† Knox, vol. i. p. 258. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 318. Keith, vol. i. p. 192.

gaunce and grievous plagues against you, because he would that you should prefer your worldly rest to God's praise and glory, and the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of your brethren. I am not ignorant that fearful troubles must ensue upon your enterprise, as in my former letters I did signify unto you; but, Oh! joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities, which man sustaineth for the accomplishment of God's will; for, however terrible they be, the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth according to his promise all such as with simplicity do obey him." Yet it was no violent resistance of constituted authority to which the Reformer was urging his countrymen, but the unflinching profession and practice of those religious principles which they believed to be from God; for we find him, in another letter, written a few weeks later, for the same purpose as the former, speaking thus:—"But now no further to trouble you at this present, I will only advertise you of such bruit as I hear in these parts uncertainly noised, which is this—that contradiction and rebellion are made by some to the authority in that realm; for which point my conscience will not suffer me to keep back from you my counsel—yea, my judgment and commandment—which I communicate to you in God's fear, and by the assurance of his truth; which is, that none of you who seek to promote the glory of Christ do suddenly disobey or displease the authority established in things lawful; neither yet, that you assist or fortify such as for their own particular cause and worldly promotion would trouble the same. But in the bowels of Christ Jesus I exhort you, that with all simplicity and lawful obedience, joined with boldness in God, and with open confession of your faith, you seek the favours of the authority, that by it, if possible, that cause in which you labour may be promoted, or at the least not persecuted. The mighty spirit of the Lord Jesus rule your hearts in the true fear of God; open your eyes to consider your duties, and give you strength to execute the same."*

But though Knox, after waiting some time at Dieppe, felt it to be his duty to return to Geneva, yet the letters which he had thus written to the friends of the Gospel in Scotland were productive of the happiest effects. If any of them had wavered for a moment, their resolution gathered fresh strength; and a convention was held at Edinburgh, in which it was resolved to follow out their purpose of reformation, and to hold fast and avow their principles at all hazards. For mutual encouragement, they prepared and subscribed a bond, the first of those instruments which have become so famous in Scottish ecclesiastical history under the name of 'covenants.' It bears date 3rd December, 1557, and the names of the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, Maitland of Lethington, and many others are appended to it. It had a vast influence upon the state of religious parties in Scotland. It proved a standard

* Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 322, 324.

around which the friends of reformation gathered and it gave unity and consistency to their efforts. Its importance requires that we should present it to our readers.

"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrist of our time, cruelly doth ^{Bond subscribed} rage, seeking to overthrow and ^{at Edinburgh,} destroy the Gospel of Christ and ^{3rd Dec., 1557,} his congregation, ought, according ^{the Reformers.} to our bounden duty, to strive in our master's cause even to the death, being certain of the victory in him. The which, our duty being well considered, we do promise, before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we by his grace shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and his congregation, and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's Gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, and the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole power and waging of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power, that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which Holy Word and congregation we do join ourselves, and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abomination, and idolatry thereof; and, moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by our subscription to these presents. At Edinburgh, the third day of December, 1557. God called to witness it: Earl of Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Archibald Lord of Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, &c."*

In this document the word 'congregation' is repeatedly employed, to denote the whole body of Christ's followers, and hence the party favourable to a reform of religion came to be called 'the Congregation,' and the leading noblemen among them were designated the 'Lords of the Congregation.' It was their object to effect a reformation of the gross abuses which deformed the Church, and to secure for their countrymen the liberty of worshipping God according to his own Word. With this view they held frequent conferences, after the subscription of the covenant; and it soon became evident, from the number of subscriptions appended to the covenant, that in all parts of the country their adherents were numerous, and in some places even outnumbered their opponents.

The friends of the Reformation now began to withdraw themselves more and more from the mass and other rites of the Romish church. Both by <sup>Increasing with-
drawal from
the rites of the
Romish church.</sup> communication with learned and godly men on the continent, and by their own examination of scripture, they were led to the conviction that it was wrong for individuals among them, who were judges or magistrates, by their silence to

* Keith, vol. i. p. 154. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 326.

give countenance to idolatry. A true faith required an open confession, when Christ's Gospel was opposed; and not only were those persons guilty who did evil, but those also who assented to it. It was felt to be necessary, therefore, as well for avoiding the guilt of sinful compliance with error, as for promoting their own spiritual improvement and growth in religious knowledge, that they should assemble together at stated times, in the several places where they resided, to read the Holy Scriptures, and to engage in united prayer, till it should please God to give the gift of exhortation to some of the brethren, for the comfort and instruction of the rest.

These small beginnings were so greatly blessed, that within a few months something like the aspect of a church began to appear in many places. Elders were appointed by election to rule the several societies; and, in the absence of stated pastors, zealous individuals—among whom may be mentioned the Laird of Dun, David Forreth, Robert Loekhart, and Robert Hamilton—exhorted the brethren according to the grace and ability given to them. William Harlow, too, continued his labours; and Paul Methven openly preached the Gospel in various parts of Fife and Angus, and particularly in Dundee, where a reformed church was publicly set up, and the sacraments were administered in scriptural purity; and John Willock, although suffering under severe illness, laboured with much zeal in Edinburgh, and greatly encouraged and strengthened the friends of the Gospel there.*

And not only were congregations gathered in various towns, but sundry noblemen and gentlemen throughout the country took preachers into their houses to instruct their dependents, and to preach in the places over which their influence and authority extended. The Earl of Argyle thus afforded a shelter to John Douglas, who had been a Carmelite friar, but who now opposed the errors of Popery with all his might. These proceedings occasioned much uneasiness to the adherents of the Church of Rome, who felt that it would be vain to commence prosecutions against men so protected; and therefore the Archbishop of St. Andrew's used all his influence with the Earl of Argyle to induce him to dismiss Douglas. He not only wrote him a letter, which bears date 25th March, 1558, full of civility, and expressing deep interest in his welfare and in the honour of his name, but he also sent Sir David Hamilton as a special messenger to him, to set before him the evils which could not fail to accrue to himself, his house, his friends, and his servants, from the harbour which he was giving to heresy. But this ill-omened word had now lost much of its terrors, and the earl was not to be intimidated by the idea of having it associated with his name. He not only refused to dismiss his chap-

lain, but he entered into a defence of his character, and repelled the charges brought against his doctrine. And, with regard to the archbishop's plea of conscience, as constraining him to inquire into the heresies of Douglas, he replied, with some little spice of sarcasm:—"He preaches against idolatry; I remit to your lordship's conscience, if that be heresy or not. He preaches against adultery and fornication; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against hypocrisy; I refer that to your lordship's conscience. He preaches against all manner of abuses and corruptions of Christ's sincere religion; I refer that to your lordship's conscience."* In his letter, the archbishop had made offer of providing the earl with a learned and orthodox teacher belonging to the Catholic Church, if he would dismiss Douglas, to which the earl replied: "God Almighty send us many of that sort, that will preach truly, and nothing but one Catholic universal Christian faith; and we Highland rude people have need of them. And if your lordship would get and provide me such a man, I should provide him a corporal living as to myself, with great thanks to your lordship, for truly I and many more have great need of such men. And because I am able to sustain more nor one of them, I will request your lordship earnestly to provide me such a man as you wrote, for the harvest is great, and there are few labourers."

At a meeting of the Congregation, held in the beginning of 1558, it was resolved, Petition of the Protestants to the Queen-regent. for the purpose of making the government acquainted with their views and proceedings, and obtaining for them the sanction of public authority, to present a petition to the Queen-regent. This document was entrusted to Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, a man of venerable age, of distinguished integrity, and of unimpeachable loyalty. What they sought was, that it should be lawful, either publicly or privately, to use the common prayers in the vulgar tongue; that when any difficult passage of Scripture occurred, it should be permitted to any qualified individual present to give an explanation of it; that the *ordinance* of baptism should be dispensed in the language of the people, so that all might understand the duties connected with it; that the Lord's Supper also should be administered in the same manner, and in both kinds, agreeably to Christ's appointment; and, finally, that means should be taken for restoring the lives of ecclesiastical persons, so that they might be messengers of the truth, instead of composing it by their ungodly conduct to scorn and contempt.†

Whilst the lords of the Congregation were thus employing means to rectify the abuses that prevailed in the Church, one of those wicked and barbarous deeds, of which so many stain the annals of

* Knox, vol. i. p. 256. Keith, vol. i. p. 156. "That the bishop's conscience stood affected as to these points, we know not," says Dr. McCre, (vol. i. p. 256). "But it is certain that his practice was very far from being correct."

—*W'liams' Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 256.
† Calderwood, vol. i. p. 336. Appendix, p. 119.

the Church of Rome, was perpetrated by the priest-
hood at St. Andrew's. Walter
Mill, who had been a priest him-
self in his youth, but who had long
since relinquished the mass and other errors of
Popery, was apprehended at Dysart, by two priests
in the service of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's,
who brought him to their master's au-
thority, and imprisoned him in the castle. Many
efforts were made in private, by threatening him
with torture, to induce him to recant; and promises
were also held out to him of a monk's portion all his
days; but threatenings and promises were alike inef-
fectual to shake his constancy. At length, an assem-
bly of bishops, abbots, and doctors of theology, was
convened for his trial in the metropolitan church.

When he was brought before the meeting, he was
so weak and feeble, partly from age, being now
above fourscore, and partly from the treatment
which he had received, that he could not without
help climb up to the pulpit where he was appointed
to take his place, and it was feared that he would
not be able to make himself heard at all. But when
he began to speak, he made the church ring with his
voice; and the courage and vigour which he dis-
played confounded his enemies, as well as filled
with joy those of his friends who were present.
When asked what he thought of the marriage of
priests, he replied:—"I esteem it a blessed bond,
for Christ made marriage free to all men; but you
abhor it, and in the meantime you take other men's
wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond
that God hath made. You vow chastity, and break
the same." When charged with saying that there
were seven sacraments, he answered, "Give me the
Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest,
and part them among you. If there be seven, why
do you omit to observe one of them yourselves—viz.,
marriage—and give yourselves to ungodly whore-
dom?" To the charge of denying that the sacra-
ment of the altar was the very body of Christ, his
reply was, "that Scripture was not to be taken
carnally, but spiritually, and that the mass was
wrong, for Christ was once offered for man's sin,
and was never to be offered again, having made an
end of all sacrifice." He was charged with preach-
ing secretly and privately in houses, and openly in
the fields. "Yes," he replied, "and on the sea also,
sailing in a ship." He was asked, in fine, whether
he would recant his erroneous opinions; but he
said, firmly, "I am accused of my life; I know I
must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas,
'*Quod facis, fac cito.*' You shall know that I will
not recant the truth, for I am corn, and not chaff.
I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst
with the flail, but will abide both."*

At length, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the
bishops' priests, who had proposed
all the questions to him, pronounced
the sentence that he should be given over to the
temporal judge, and punished as a heretic. But
so deep and universal was the sympathy felt for

him, that the provost of the town, Patrick Lear-
mouth, absolutely refused to act the part of tem-
poral judge, and not a rope would any individual
supply to bind the victim to the stake. The spiritual
power, however, did not dismiss him, as should
have been done, according to the vaunted theory of
the Church of Rome—that she never herself inflicts
punishment upon offenders, but always with deep
regret hands them over to the secular arm—but
one of the archbishop's own domestics was made
temporal judge for the occasion, and the ropes of
the archbishop's pavilion were employed to bind
the victim to the stake.

The nearer the fatal moment approached, his
courage waxed the greater, and it manifestly ap-
peared that he enjoyed the support of a power
higher than human. While standing upon the
coals, he declared that the cause for which he suf-
fered was not any crime laid to his charge, but his
defence of the faith of Christ as set forth in Scrip-
ture, for which he declared that he most willingly
sacrificed his life. He exhorted the people, as they
would escape eternal death, to place their entire
dependence upon Christ, the one and only sacrifice,
and to relinquish the fatal errors of the Romish
priests and bishops. His last words, while the
flames were circling round him, were—"Lord have
mercy upon me: pray people while there is time."
The substance of his address was afterwards thrown
into the form of an epitaph, by Patrick Adamson,
Archbishop of St. Andrew's:—

Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces,
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

The martyrdom of Mill was not only a wicked
and cruel act on the part of the Romanists, but it was egre-
gious and suicidal folly. It ex-
cited the deepest indignation throughout the king-
dom. The cruelty of the priesthood was every-
where execrated, and the constancy of the venerable
martyr was the theme of universal admiration.
Many were shaken in their attachment to the
Romish Church; and those who had already joined
the Congregation were confirmed in the course
which they had taken. In St. Andrew's, the people
erected a great heap of stones upon the spot where
Mill had been burned, that the memory of his suffer-
ings might be preserved; and although the priests
repeatedly caused them to be removed, and threat-
ened curses to those who should lay down any more,
still there were hands ready to deposit new stones
in the place. In all parts of the country images
were taken out of the churches and destroyed; and
in Edinburgh in particular, the image of St. Giles,
the tutelary saint of the town, was first thrown
into the North Loch, and then burned to ashes.
These proceedings filled the priesthood with indig-
nation; but in the present temper of men's minds
they were afraid to proceed against the Reformers
on a charge of heresy, and therefore they prevailed
upon the Queen-regent to summon some of the

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 339. Keith, vol. i. p. 157.

preachers before the council, for exciting sedition among the people. But when the day appointed for their appearance arrived (19th July, 1558), they were accompanied by such a train of followers, determined to protect them from violence, that it was judged hazardous to take any measures against them till the multitude should disperse; and in order the more speedily to reduce their number, a proclamation was issued, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Galloway, commanding all who had come to the town without authority to repair to the Borders for fifteen days. Many of those who were present had but newly returned from service in that quarter, and perceiving the treacherous object of the proclamation, they went in a body to the palace to remonstrate with the queen, and declared they would not leave their preachers in the dangerous circumstances in which they were placed. James Chalmers, of Gadgirth, thus spoke in the name of the rest:—"Madam, we know this proclamation is a device of the bishops. They oppress us and our tenants; they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us. Shall we suffer this any longer? No; it shall not be." And every man seized his weapon. Their firmness prevailed. The queen had recourse to fair words, and not only was the proclamation recalled, but the preachers were all dismissed for the present.* Not long afterwards, however, Paul Methven was summoned before a meeting of elergy, and not appearing, sentence of banishment was passed against him, and all men were forbidden to receive him, or entertain him in their houses. But he continued to preach in Dundee as usual, and the citizens not only joyfully listened to his discourses, but also supplied him with all that was needful to his comfort.

The leaders of the reforming party now felt more strongly than ever the need of united and strenuous effort; they saw that unless by their union they could effect some change of measures, they must either abandon their principles, or fall victims to the persecuting fury of their enemies. They therefore prepared a series of articles to be presented to the Queen-regent, with the view of being laid before the parliament that was to meet during the ensuing October. In these articles they humbly craved that all Acts of Parliament authorising churchmen to proceed against heretics should be abrogated or suspended, till a lawful general council met; that charges of heresy should be tried before the temporal judge, prelates and priests being allowed to appear as accusers; that parties charged with this offence should have full liberty to defend themselves, and to state anything that might fairly be viewed as disqualifying witnesses from giving evidence against them; that they should have ample opportunity of unfolding their own views and principles, and that their declaration of what they believed should have more weight attached to it than the depositions of any

* Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 397, 398. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 344. Keith, vol. i. pp. 158, 159.

witnesses, as no man should suffer for religion who was not found obstinate in his damnable opinion. And, finally, it was asked that none should be condemned as heretics, unless it could be shown by the Word of God that they had erred from the faith declared by the Holy Ghost to be necessary to salvation.*

These proceedings of the Congregation gave great offence to the prelates, who formally declared that they would not do otherwise than abide from the decrees of the Council of Trent. At length it was proposed to adjust differences by a public disputation, in which the lords of the Congregation were willing to accede, on two conditions—viz. that the Word of God should be the only standard of appeal, and that their exiled brethren should be allowed to return and take part with them in the conference. But these conditions were rejected by the prelates. There were some of them, however, who proposed, as a basis of agreement, that if the Congregation would suffer the mass to be held in wonted reverence—if they would acknowledge purgatory, and allow the lawfulness of interdicting souls, and of offering up prayers for the dead—they should have liberty to use the vulgar tongue in public prayers and in the administration of the sacraments. But these propositions were either distasteful to the advocates of reform, and this project of reconciliation also fell to the ground.†

When parliament met, the Queen-regent, being desirous of procuring the consent of both parties to the bestowment of the crown matrimonial upon the young Dauphin of France, prevailed upon

the lords of the Congregation not to hold upon having their articles brought forward. She represented to them in private the difficulties of her position, assured them that she was not unworthy of what they had said about the reformation of religion, and promised that when the public business was duly arranged, she would grant them what they desired. Trusting to these promises, they contented themselves with reading a protestation, in which, after referring to existing abuses, to the redress they had thought of seeking from parliament, and to the reasons which had induced them to postpone their application, they took themselves at liberty to pursue their own course in matters of religion as commonwealths might desire, without being subject to charges or liable in any way to political pains, or being held responsible for any tumults that might arise through the continuance of abuses which they were most desirous of reforming.‡

The Protestants had great reason to complain of bad faith on the part of the Queen-regent, for, after the question of the crown matrimonial was settled, she broke the promise she had given that they should be unmolested in their religious services and lectures.

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 418. Buchanan, p. 115.

† Spotswood, p. 118.

‡ Ibid., p. 121.

and some of the preachers were summoned to appear before the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, on the 2nd February, 1559. This prelate and the Regent had long been on very unfriendly terms, but the rapid progress which reforming principles were making induced them to bury their mutual jealousies in oblivion, and to combine their efforts for the suppression of what they both hated; and it was in consequence of assurances of support received from the Regent that the archbishop issued his summons. Representations were immediately made to the queen by a deputation of Reformers, that, after what had happened in the case of Walter Mill, they felt it to be incumbent upon them to accompany their preachers to the place of trial, and to defend them from all such barbarous treatment. Dread of the consequences of a numerous assemblage at St. Andrew's, and the conviction that the object of the trial could not be attained in such circumstances, made the Regent falter in her purpose, and she wrote to the archbishop that it would be necessary to delay proceedings for the present. At the same time, she summoned a convention of the nobles to meet at Edinburgh on the 7th of March, for the purpose of considering the religious differences of the nation; and a provincial council of the clergy was appointed to take place during the same month.*

When this council met, certain articles were presented to them by Protestant commissioners, in which it was craved that the vulgar tongue should be used in religious worship; that means should be taken to prevent unfit persons from holding ecclesiastical offices; and that bishops should enter upon office with the assent of the local barons, and parish priests with the assent of the parishioners.† Another document, consisting of thirteen articles, was laid before the council by parties adhering to the Romish Church, which also craved that certain grievances might be redressed; that the English tongue should be used in the common prayers and litanies; and that a manual should be prepared in the same language, for the instruction of those who partook of the sacraments. Some of the grievances complained of by the adherents of the Church were partially redressed, but the council would neither concede to friend nor foe that any part of the public service should be conducted in English. They also condemned all the peculiar tenets that were held by the Reformers. They threatened excommunication against all who observed the sacraments otherwise than as the Church prescribed. Parents and sponsors, who had taken their children to Protestant preachers for baptism, were required to present them anew to the Romish priests, that the rite might be properly performed; and strict search was ordered to be made after all who absented themselves from mass, that they might be dealt with according to the laws of the Church.‡

These decisive measures received the entire concurrence of the Regent, to whom the clergy, it is said, had promised a large subsidy that she might be enabled to proceed with vigour against the Reformers; and the consequence was, that the Protestant commissioners, and other friends of the Reformation, who had assembled in large numbers at Edinburgh, felt constrained to retire to the country. After their departure a Proclamation issued by the Queen-regent forbidding any to preach or to administer the sacraments without authority from the bishops, and commanding all men to observe the ensuing feast of Easter according to the rules of the Romish Church. This was a proclamation which it was impossible for the Reformers to obey. They must either trample upon all their most sacred convictions of duty, or disobey the queen. They were at no loss how to decide. They continued to preach, and to observe the ordinances of the Gospel according to their own views of Scripture; and for this offence Paul Methven, John Christison, William Harlow, and John Willock, were cited to appear before the Justiciary Court at Stirling, on the 10th May, 1559. Sureties were required for their appearance, and George Lovell, burgess of Dundee, became surety for Methven, John Erskine of Dun for Christison, Patrick Murray of Gibbermuir for Harlow, and Robert Campbell of Kinzeaneleuch for Willock.*

Immediately after this citation was issued, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, were sent to the Regent to remonstrate with her against the course she was pursuing. But she plainly declared to them that, in spite of their hearts these preachers should be banished from Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever St. Paul did. They then reminded her of the repeated promises which she had given that the preachers should not be molested; but she scrupled not to tell them that the promises of princes should be no further strained than it seemed to them convenient to perform them. This unblushing avowal and defence of bad faith,† while it surprised Glencairn and Campbell, drew from them the remark—"that the duties of princes and subjects were reciprocal, and that if princes would not keep their promises, they could not expect subjects to acknowledge their authority." The queen was somewhat calmed by these unexpected words, and she promised to suspend the trial of the preachers, and to consider how existing differences might be adjusted. But the public adoption of reformed principles at Perth, and the intelligence which arrived from France, of measures to be adopted by France and Spain in conjunction, for the suppression of heresy, determined the Regent to persevere in her course, and to bring the preachers to trial at the appointed day.

When the time for the appearance of the minis-

* M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 248.

† *Levey*, p. 516.

‡ *Wilkins' Concilia*, pp. 210—217. Keith, vol. i. p. 185.

* Justiciary Records, May 10, 1559.

† Spottiswood, p. 121. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 254.

ters at Stirling drew nigh, their friends, remembering the recent martyrdom of Walter Mill, gathered together from all parts of the country, both to protect them from injustice, and to make profession of the same faith for which they were to be tried. Large numbers from Dundee and Montrose, from Angus and Mearns, assembled at Perth; but fearing lest a wrong construction should be put upon their proceedings, they sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling, to assure the Queen-regent that their only object was to aid the ministers in their defence, and to make confession of faith along with them. The Regent, in order to effect their dispersion, prevailed upon Erskine to remain in Stirling, and to write to his friends at Perth, advising them to return to their several homes, and assuring them that all proceedings against the ministers should be stopped. In consequence of these representations many of them did depart. The ministers, too, remained at Perth, instead of proceeding to Stirling on the appointed day. But the promises which had been given by the Regent were shamefully broken; for when they did not appear agreeably to citation, they were denounced as rebels, and all men were forbidden, under pain of rebellion, to aid them in any manner. The parties, too, who had given security for their appearance, were fined.*

But a few days before sentence was pronounced upon the preachers, John Knox had returned to his native country, feeling it to be his duty to take part in the arduous struggle to which the friends of Christ were there summoned. His presence filled the adherents of the Romish Church with consternation, and reassured the drooping spirits of the Reformers. From Edinburgh he at once proceeded to Dundee, and thence to Perth, that he might assist his brethren, and make confession of his faith along with them. His views are expressed in a letter to Mrs. Ann Locke:—"I am uncertain as yet what God shall further work in this country, except that I see the battle shall be great, for Satan rageth even to the uttermost; and I am come, I praise my God, in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the Queen-regent, the 10th of this instant, where I intend, if God impede not, also to be present, by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify his godly name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries. Assist me, sister, with your prayers, that now I shrink not when the battle approacheth." †

Whilst Knox was in Perth, an event occurred which has been made the ground of keen invective against the Reformer and his friends, and which exposed them to no small danger at the time. He had preached a discourse, in which he condemned the adoration of

images as tending to God's dishonour, and denounced the mass as an idolatrous rite. After the dismissal of the congregation, a priest, as if to show his contempt of the doctrine which had been preached, uncovered a rich altar-piece, and prepared to celebrate mass. A young boy, who was present, having said that such conduct was intolerable, the priest struck him, which provoked the boy to throw a stone at the priest, which hit upon the altar, and broke one of the images. An uproar was immediately excited. Altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church that had any appearance of idolatry were broken down. The crowd continued to increase every moment, and though the magistrates and ministers did everything in their power to quell the tumult, they were unable to restrain the fury of the people. From the church they passed to the monastery, which were speedily laid in ruins; and the charter-house also, which was a royal foundation, was not only thrown down, but the very stones and timber were carried away, till scarcely a vestige of the building was left.

This was a very disastrous occurrence to the Reformers. It was not their doing. It was the work of what Knox designates a "rascal multitude." But it was eagerly laid hold of by the Regent, as a means of covering them and their cause with odium; and she immediately prepared to let them feel the full weight of her displeasure. She summoned to Stirling the nobility and gentry, to whom she represented the Reformers as rebels, whose object was, not to effect a religious reformation as they pretended, but to subvert the authority of the government altogether. An army was immediately collected together, with which she advanced towards Perth, with the avowed determination of laying the city in ruins, and taking vengeance upon all who had been accessory to the late riots. The watchword was—"Forward upon the heretics; we shall rid the realm of them."*

The Reformers at Perth being alarmed with alarm at the report of the blow meditated against them, both wrote letters to the Regent, denying that they entertained any idea of attempting to subvert the government, and also sent messengers to all parts of the country, entreating their friends to come to their assistance. Their numbers grew with a ready response. Friends came to them from Angus and Mearns, from Fife and Perthshire; and the Earl of Glencairn brought about two thousand men with great celerity from Arbroath. These reinforcements made the Regent false in her purpose of attempting the destruction of the town; and therefore she sent the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart to treat with the Congregation, with the view of bringing about an amicable adjustment of differences. The Earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun met them as commissioners from the Congregation, and Knox also and Wal-

* Spottiswood, p. 121. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 441.
† Calderwood, vol. i. p. 440.

• Calderwood, vol. i. p. 442.

lock, who accompanied Glencairn, had an interview with them, in which they blamed them severely for deserting their brethren in the day of their ex-
Treaty concluded treme distress. Argyle and Stewart at Perth. avowed unshaken attachment to their principles, and when doubts were expressed that the Regent would not observe such terms as might be agreed upon, they promised that if any of the terms were broken, they would concur with their brethren,* in all time to come, with their whole power. An accommodation was then concluded, and the following were the articles upon which it was based:—that both armies should be dissolved, and the town opened to the queen; that none of the inhabitants should be called in question for what they had done in religion; and that no Frenchman should enter the town, nor any French garrison be placed in it.

After the conclusion of this treaty, public thanks were rendered by Knox in the midst of the assembled Congregation for the dispersion of the dark cloud which had threatened to burst upon them. And the lords of the Congregation, before retiring to their several homes, subscribed a new bond or covenant, by which they bound themselves to be faithful in maintaining the true religion, and to be ready on all occasions to defend the profession of it. This instrument, which had no small effect upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, ran in the following terms:—

“At Perth, the last day of May, 1559, the Congregations of the West Country, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for further setting of his glory; understanding that there is nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate and become bounden and obliged, in the presence of God, to concur and assist together in doing all things required of God in the scripture, that may be to his glory, and with their whole powers to destroy, and put away all things that do dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said Congregations of any part or member thereof, the whole Congregations shall concur, assist, and convene together, to the defence of the said Congregation or persons troubled; and shall not spare labour, goods, substance, bodies, or lives, in maintenance of the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever power which shall intend the said trouble for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.

“In witness and testimony of which, the whole Congregations foresaid have obtained and appointed

* Spottiswood, p. 122. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 493.

the noblemen and persons underwritten to subscribe these presents. *Sic subscriptur.*

“ARGYLE.

“JAMES STEWART.

“GLENCAIRN.

“R. LORD BOYD.

“OCHILTREE.

“MATTHEW CAMPBELL OF TARINGHAME.”*

The fears expressed by Knox and Willock as to the queen's adherence to the articles of the treaty were but too well founded. Before three days elapsed, they were all broken; Queen's breach some of the citizens of Perth were of the treaty. expelled from the town, and others fined. The existing magistrates were thrust out of office, and others put in their room; a garrison was placed in the town, and all worship but the Romish was interdicted. When remonstrances were made against this violation of the treaty, she only answered that princes ought not to have their promises so strictly urged. Such faithless conduct destroyed the confidence of all men in the Regent, and the Reformers were compelled to adopt a bolder course in order to save themselves from ruin. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart, feeling their honour tarnished by the breach of a treaty which they had solemnly ratified with the queen's consent, openly joined the Congregation, and determined to uphold the true religion at all hazards. Thus the queen's breach of faith recoiled upon her own head. The sacredness of promises is one of the most indispensable bonds of society; and the more elevated an individual is in rank, the evils resulting from his bad faith are only the more sweeping and calamitous.

After the accession of Argyle and Stewart to the party of the Congregation, important events took place in Fifeshire, and the principles of the Reformation rapidly rose to ascendancy. A discourse preached by Knox at Crail on the duty of boldly maintaining the Truth led the inhabitants to destroy altars and images, and all the monuments of idolatry in the town; and similar appeals were followed by like results at Anstruther, on the following day. Thence the Reformer proceeded, on the invitation of Lord James Stewart, to St. Andrew's, with the view of denouncing the errors of Popery, and persuading the inhabitants to adopt the principles of the Reformation, and to give full effect to them. But the archbishop, hearing of the attempt that was to be made, came to town on Saturday evening with a company of armed retainers, and threatened, that if Knox appeared in the pulpit he would salute him with a dozen culverins.† The friends of Knox, being alarmed for his safety, tried to dissuade him from preaching on the occasion, but he was prepared to run all hazards, and earnestly besought

Rapid spread of principles of the Reformation in Fife.

* Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 458, 459.

† Tyler, vol. vi. p. 127.

them to throw no obstacles in his way. "In this town and church," said he, "began God first to call me to the dignity of a preacher. When my body was absent from Scotland, reft away by the tyranny of France, my assured hope was in open audience to preach in St. Andrew's before I departed this life. Therefore, my lords, seeing God, above the expectation of many, hath brought the body to the same place where first I was called to the office of a preacher, I beseech your honours not to stop me from presenting myself to the brethren. As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. Therefore I cannot so fear their boast and tyranny, that I will cease from doing my duty when God of his mercy offereth the occasion. I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience, which if it be denied here to me at this time, I must seek further where I may have it."* And, accordingly, he did preach on the following day, with the entire concurrence of his friends, to a numerous audience, discoursing on the subject of our Lord's casting the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and showing that it was the duty of Christians to purify the Church from the shameful corruptions introduced by Popery.

The effect of his bold and eloquent appeals was so great, that the provost, magistrates, and people of the town immediately proceeded to destroy all monuments of idolatry, with the view of setting up the worship of God according to a purer form. The monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders were levelled with the ground, and a great number of images and pictures were burnt in the very presence of the priests.

Informed of these proceedings, and aware that Argyll and Stewart had but few followers with them at the time, the Queen-regent determined to come upon them suddenly, and by overwhelming them at once, to crush the cause of the Reformation. But their danger becoming known, such numbers flocked to them from all quarters, that, says Calderwood, it seemed as if men rained down to them from the clouds; and by the time the royal forces reached Cupar, they presented so bold a front, and were so skilfully drawn up on Cupar-moor, that the Regent declined the unequal contest, and proposals were made for an accommodation. The queen offered a free remission of all past offences, on condition that the Reformers should abstain from all further proceedings against monasteries and abbeys, and that there should be no more public preaching among them. But the lords and whole brethren declared that the fear of no mortal creature should make them betray the Truth, or suffer idolatry in the bounds committed to their charge. At length a

truce for eight days was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the French troops in the queen's service should retire from Fife, and that commissioners should be

sent by her during the truce to St. Andrew's to arrange the basis of a solid peace. The latter part of this stipulation, however, was altogether disregarded, and, therefore, the lords of the Congregation felt that it was necessary, in order to protect themselves from the Regent's duplicity, to commit in arms. At the same time, the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart sent to her a letter of expostulation in reference to the garrison which she had placed in Perth, contrary to the agreement which she authorised them to make with the Congregation; and receiving no answer, they and their associates repaired to Perth, expelled the garrison, and restored to the inhabitants their ancient privileges. The Bishop of Moray, having joined to the measures which had been taken to increase the citizens of Perth, and being also desirous to his share in Walter Mill's martyrdom,† they next proceeded to Scone, his place of residence, and though the leaders were desirous of saving the abbey and the palace, yet the multitude, enraged at the death of one of their number, killed by a son of the bishop, set fire to those magnificent structures, and burned them to the ground. Whilst the flames were ascending, to the sorrow and indignation of many, an aged matron, whose dwelling was near the abbey, thus expressed her satisfaction at the spectacle: "Now I see God's judgments are just, and no man is able to save when he will punish. According to my remembrance, this place has been nothing else but a den of prodigies, where those filthy beasts, the friars, have bred in darkness every sort of sin, and especially that worst wicked man the bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended."‡ Her words, as the testimony of one who had long resided near the abbey, appeased many who were indignant at the destruction of such noble buildings, and they began to look upon a result, so contrary to what had been intended, as God's just judgment upon a long course of profligacy.

Intelligence having been brought the night before the abbey of Scone was burned, of the Regent's purpose to place a garrison of Frenchmen in Stirling, the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart had set out with all expedition, and had anticipated her movements. There also the numerous were pulled to the ground. The abbey and church of all the churches were broken and dilapidated, and the abbey of Cambuskenneth was destroyed. From Stirling they proceeded to Haddington, and thence to Edinburgh, which they entered without resistance on the 29th of June, 1559, the Regent having retired to Dunbar. From before their arrival, the inhabitants of the capital, freed from the restraint of Lord Scone, their period, who left the town, had begun to destroy the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars; and the work of demolition was speedily completed by their joint

* Tristram, vol. vi. p. 112.
† Calderwood, vol. i. p. 62.

efforts. All images and other monuments of idolatry were destroyed both within the town and in places adjacent. The Romish worship was entirely suppressed, and preachers were appointed to proclaim the pure doctrines of the Gospel.

The rapid progress thus made by the lords of the Congregation can only be accounted for on the supposition, that the vast body of the people were everywhere alienated from the Church of Rome, and longed for the establishment of a purer worship. Doubtless some who adhered to the Congregation were swayed by political motives only, and their object in opposing the Queen-regent was to prevent their country, which already swarmed with French soldiers, from falling under the influence of a foreign power. But the vast majority were influenced mainly by religious considerations. They were convinced of the unscriptural character of the Romish tenets; they were disgusted with the immoralities so prevalent among all orders of the priesthood; and they were indignant at the savage persecutions by which so many of the best men in the country had been destroyed. And surely it is a distinguished glory of the Congregation, that notwithstanding all the cruelty with which their party had been visited in the shape of imprisonments, and drownings, and burnings at the stake, they did not retaliate when they had the power. Not one Romanist was brought to trial and executed for his religious principles.* The Reformers burned monas-

teries, destroyed altars, and threw down images, but they spared human life. Fierce denunciations have been uttered against them, for their rudeness and barbarism in destroying so many rare and precious works of art. Rather should they be praised for the moderation which led them, after the extreme provocation which they had received, to direct their zeal, not against the lives of their opponents, but only against the shrines of superstition. Some seem to think that it argued greater barbarity in the Protestants to burn images and abbeys, than in the Romanists to consign human beings to the flames. Not a few are loud in condemnation of the one procedure, who scarcely allow a word to escape them in reference to the other. This is a mode of computation which we are altogether at a loss to comprehend. The Reformers were concerned about objects of infinitely greater importance than the progress of art; and if, in their zeal for the advancement of these mighty interests, they sometimes did destroy fabrics which it were to be wished they had spared, it is as absurd to censure them severely for this, as it would be to blame the man who saved you from drowning because he inflicted some scratches upon you while dragging you ashore, or the man who extinguished the flames that enveloped your dwelling because he broke some beautiful mirror, or defaced a favourite painting.

The disinterested zeal, the heroic self-devotion, the untiring self-denial of the Exalted views leading Reformers, are above all of Knox. praise. Who can read these words of Knox, contained in a letter written during the progress from St. Andrew's to Perth, and Stirling, and Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, without feeling that he was a man wholly engrossed with great and glorious objects, and who was ready at any moment to die for their advancement:—"O that my heart could be thankful for the super-excellent benefit of my God! The long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance that is above my expectation; for now, forty days and more hath my God used my tongue in my native country to the manifestation of his glory. Whatsoever now shall follow as touching my own carcase, His holy name be praised; the thirst of the poor people as well as of the nobility here is wondrous great, which putteth me in comfort that Christ Jesus shall triumph for a space here, in the north and extreme parts of the earth. We fear that the tyranny of France shall, under cloak of religion, seek a plain conquest of us. But potent is God to confound their counsels, and to break their force. God move the hearts of such as profess Christ Jesus with us to have respect for our infancy, and open their eyes to see that our ruin shall be their destruction."*

With the view of arresting the progress of the Congregation, and detaching as Proclamation and many as possible from their stand- counter proclamation. ard, the Queen-regent issued a proclamation, in which she maintained that it was not religion, nor anything having reference to religion, that was the object of their confederacy, but the subversion of all constituted authority. To this proclamation the lords of the Congregation replied, both by a letter to the Regent and by a public proclamation of their own, in which they repelled the charges brought against them, and affirmed solemnly that their only object was to abolish idolatry, and all practices inconsistent with the Word of God, and to protect the preachers of the Gospel from the violence of wicked men. The lairds of Pittarrow and Cunningham-head were also sent to the Regent in the name of the Congregation—a safe-conduct having been provided for them—and they were instructed to assure her that it was liberty of conscience they wanted, the removal of unfit persons from ecclesiastical offices, the right administration of the Conference at sacraments, and permission to their Preston with a view to preachers to discharge their functions without molestation, till a view to accommodation. general council or a parliament within the realm should decide the controverted points. The Regent replying that she still suspected they had some higher object in view than the one alleged, a conference was appointed to take place at Preston between parties duly commissioned on both sides; but this step was productive of no benefit, for the Regent, whilst apparently conceding the free exercise

* Robertson, vol. I. p. 176. Lesley Ap. Jebb vol. i. p. 231.

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 470.

of religion. proposed the stipulation, that whenever she came to any place, the Protestant ministers should be silent, and the Romish worship only be observed. To this the commissioners of the Congregation could not at all agree, for they said it would leave them no church: the Regent could change her place of residence when she pleased, and there would be no certain exercise of religion anywhere, which would be equivalent to the subversion of it. Unwilling to break off the conference without coming to some arrangement, the commissioners requested some time to consider the Regent's proposals, and after deliberation they sent Lord Ruthven and the Laird of Pittarrow with this answer—that as they would not interfere with the religious rites which the Regent might be pleased to observe, so neither could they consent that Christ's ministers should be silenced on any occasion, or that the service of God should give place to superstition or idolatry.

The delay occasioned by these negotiations began to thin the numbers of the Congregation, for many of them were under the necessity of retiring to their homes in the country, to attend to their private affairs, and not a few believed that the Regent was sincerely disposed to an amicable adjustment. But whilst amusing the Reformers with conferences and proposals, she was only waiting patiently till the necessities of their position should have summoned the bulk of them away; and no sooner was she informed of the great diminution which had taken place in their numbers, than she marched with celerity from Dunbar on a Sunday, and came within two miles of Edinburgh on Monday morning before sunrise. The Protestants were taken by surprise, and, finding themselves unable to retain possession of the capital, they agreed to a truce, which was to remain in force till the 10th of January, in which it was stipulated that they should withdraw, and allow the Regent to take possession of the town. It was also agreed, on the one hand, that the Protestants should abstain from assailing religious houses, or defacing their ornaments; and, on the other, that the free exercise of their religion should be conceded to them,* and the use of such churches as they were in possession of, till the meeting of parliament.

Agreeably to this last article of the truce, John Willock remained in Edinburgh, after the lords of the Congregation retired, to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants, and to administer all religious ordinances. John Knox had indeed been chosen by the Protestants of the capital as their minister, and he had actually begun his labours among them;

but it was found that in the pre-
 extensive preaching of the Gospel sent juncture of affairs it would be
 Gospel. dangerous for him, on account of
 the extreme hatred borne to him by the Romanists, to remain unprotected in the midst of their army.† The great Reformer, however, was by no

means idle. Although suffering under a severe malady, he went from one place to another, preaching the Gospel with his usual earnestness, and his labours were attended with distinguished success. The unsettled state of the country, and the fear of impending commotions, seem to have disposed men's minds to more than ordinary thoughtfulness. "I have been," says Knox, in a letter written at St. Andrew's, on the 2nd September, to Mrs. Ann Locke, "in continual travel since the day of appointment; and, notwithstanding the fevers have vexed me the space of a month, yet have I travelled through the most part of this realm, where (all praise be to his blessed Majesty) men of all sorts and conditions embrace the truth. Besides we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen who are lately arrived, of whom our parties hope golden hills, and such support as we be not able to resist. We do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping for victory by his power alone. Christ Jesus is preached even in Edinburgh, and his blessed sacraments rightly ministered in all congregations where the ministry is established; and they be thus—Edinburgh, St. Andrew's, Dundee, St. Johnston, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, Ayr. And now Christ Jesus is begun to be preached upon the south borders next unto you, in Jedburgh and Kelso, so that the trumpet soundeth over all, blessed be our God. We lack labourers, alas! and you and Mr. Wood have deceived me, who, according to my request and expectation, have not advertised my brother, Mr. Goodman."* During his numerous journeys at this time, much vigilance was required on the part of Knox to protect himself from the machinations of his unscrupulous enemies. On one occasion, Lord Seton, Provost of Edinburgh, set out in hot pursuit of Alexander Whitaker, who was proceeding from Preston to Edinburgh in company with William Knox, and slackened not the chase till he came to the town of Ormiston, where he found that the prey he was following so eagerly was not, as he had imagined, John Knox at all.

After the departure of the Protestants from Edinburgh, Willock immediately began to preach in St. Giles's Church, admonishing sinners to repent and forsake their sins, and exhorting the brethren to be steadfast and faithful under their present difficulties; and his ministrations continued to attract a numerous assemblage of people. This was by no means pleasing to the Queen-regent. She therefore sent a deputation to the magistrates and council, to request that they would choose some other place of meeting, where their minister might officiate, and allow St. Giles's Church to be appropriated to her use, that the service of the mass might be performed in it. But the magistrates replied that this had been their ordinary place of meeting for religious exercises, and that it could not be taken from them without a manifest breach of the truce; and that they would serve

* Buchanan, vol. i. p. 413.

† Knox, vol. i. p. 358.

• Calderwood, vol. i. p. 264.

consent to relinquish it, nor allow services to be performed within its walls which they believed to be idolatrous. Another course of procedure was then adopted by the Regent's followers, with the view of constraining the Protestants to betake themselves to some more private place for their religious meetings. French captains and soldiers made a practice of walking in the church during the time of public worship, speaking and laughing so loud, that it was sometimes difficult to hear what the preacher said; but this rude and insolent conduct was patiently endured, because it was believed that occasion for a quarrel was sought, that there might be some plausible ground for breaking the truce. The minister was oft-times constrained to cry out against them for their noise, and to pray God to rid his people of "such locusts;" but the annoyance continued unabated.*

At the abbey of Holyrood-house, the service of common prayers, which had now continued for a considerable time, was forcibly suppressed, the funds set apart for that purpose being diverted to another object; and in the church at Leith, the pulpit which had been erected for the Protestant preachers was destroyed, and worship according to the Romish form was restored, in manifest violation of the truce.† After a time, too, at the instigation of Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, who were sent from France by the princes of the house of Guise to reside at the court of the Regent, and to aid her with their counsels, the church of St. Giles was seized,‡ and after being purified by a new and solemn consecration from the pollution which it was conceived to have contracted from Protestant worship, it was appropriated entirely to the service of the Romish Church. But it admits of doubt whether this act, although most offensive to the feelings of the community, was sufficiently early to allow it to be regarded as a breach of the truce. The Protestants observed their part of the stipulations, according to Calderwood, with scrupulous fidelity—with this single exception, that on one occasion a horned cap was taken off a priest's head, and cut in four quarters, because he said he would wear it in despite of the Congregation.§

Affairs were now rapidly hastening on to a crisis. Proclamations and counter-proclamations were issued, until at length the lords of the Congregation, being joined by almost all the leading nobility, held a great council at Edinburgh,|| exceeding in

number and equalling in dignity the usual meetings of parliament, at which, on the 21st October, 1559, after long deliberation, they un-

Suspension of
the Regent.

nimously passed an act suspending the Queen-regent from her office. This bold measure has been regarded by some as furnishing conclusive evidence that the Congregation were all along actuated by other motives than those which they pretended. But there seems to be no good ground for doubting that at first their motives were exclusively of a religious kind, and that throughout they continued to be predominantly of the same character. During the progress of the struggle, however, the love of civil liberty was awakened in many a bosom, and the leading motive of not a few, who ultimately joined the Congregation, was to save their country from becoming a mere appendage of France. The incorrigible duplicity of the Regent, too, rendered it impossible for the lords of the Congregation to avoid the grave step of throwing off her authority, however reluctant they might be to proceed to extremities; for they felt that no accommodation which it was possible to make, however solemn might be the sanctions with which it was confirmed and ratified, would prevent her from crushing them whenever she had them in her power. That this conviction had no small influence over them in the end is plain, from one of their own proclamations—"We are not ignorant that princes think it good policy to betray their subjects by breaking promises, be they never so solemnly made. We have not forgotten what counsel she and Monsieur d'Osell gave to the Duke against those that slew the Cardinal, and kept the castle of St. Andrew's—that what promise the list to require should be made unto them—but as soon as the castle was rendered, and things brought to such pass as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To which the Duke answered that he would never consent to so treasonable an act; but if he promised fidelity, he would faithfully keep it. Monsieur d'Osell said, in mockery, to the queen, in French, 'That is a good simple nature, but I know no other prince that so would do.' If this was his judgment in so small a matter, what have we to expect in this our cause? For the question is not of the slaughter of one cardinal, but of the just abolishing of all tyranny which that Roman Antichrist hath usurped above us; of the suppressing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermin of shavelings utterly corrupted. Now, if the slaughter of a cardinal be a sin irremissible, as they themselves affirm—and if faith ought not to be kept to heretics, as their own law speaketh—what promise can she, that is ruled by the counsel and commandment of a cardinal, make to us that can be sure?"*

Beyond all question, it was the bad faith of the Regent that was mainly instrumental in bringing matters to the extremity which they now reached. Yet she was less culpable than her brothers, the Princes of Lorraine, in France, whose scheme of

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 502.

† Keith, vol. i. p. 228. Knox, vol. i. p. 389.

‡ Robertson considers the seizure of St. Giles's Church as one of the Regent's violations of the treaty. It seems more probable, however, that it occurred after the resumption of the truce, when, of course, the treaty, though the time for which it had been made was not expired, could no longer be considered as binding. Leslie mentions that it took place some time after the arrival of Pellevé, which we know was on the 19th September; and Spottiswood assigns it to a period posterior to the passing of the act that suspended the Regent.—*Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 186.

§ Calderwood, p. 139.

|| Calderwood, vol. i. p. 502.

|| Robertson, vol. i. p. 188.

* Calderwood, vol. i. p. 530.

policy with regard to England required that the principles of the Reformation should be utterly suppressed in Scotland. Their influence over the Regent was unbounded; she was a mere tool in their hands; and in order to prevent her from wavering in the line of policy which they had marked out for her, they placed at her court Romish bishops and doctors, who were always ready to stimulate her zeal and to suggest severity when she might be disposed to adopt milder measures.* With such a policy—a policy which aimed at the destruction of the dearest interests of the nation, and which was pursued with an utter disregard of all treaties and promises—there were but two alternatives presented to the Congregation—either they must be utterly suppressed, and their leaders and preachers brought to the scaffold and the stake, or they must endeavour to emancipate their country from the degradation and misery of a foreign yoke. Blessed be God, they were equal to the duties and responsibilities of their difficult position. They threw off the galling yoke of spiritual and civil bondage—they restored their native land to freedom—and they laid the foundations of a system of government whose beneficial effects we are experiencing at the present moment. Had they failed, or proved recreant to the cause of liberty, Scotland might now have been in the same condition as Italy, or Spain, or Portugal. Yet, amid all their struggles, they preserved their loyalty untainted. And the best proof that could be imagined of their uprightness and integrity in this respect is furnished by the fact that they never once thought—as their enemies alleged was their purpose—of setting aside the authority of their young queen, and putting another in her room. They maintained their allegiance to her unbroken—they never questioned her title to the throne—and they received her with open arms and hearty acclamations of welcome when shortly afterwards she returned from France to reside amongst them.

The suspension of the Regent did not put a period to the war, which continued to be prosecuted with varied success till her death, which took place on the 10th of June, 1560. Shortly after this event, ambassadors from France and England met in Edinburgh, who, in conjunction with the lords of the Congregation, concluded a peace, the leading conditions of which were, that the French troops should be immediately withdrawn from the kingdom, and that the English auxiliaries should also return at the same time to their own country, and that the Estates of the realm should meet in parliament in August to settle the affairs of the kingdom.

Three days after the departure of the French and English troops, a solemn meeting was held in St. Giles's Church, by the friends of the Reformation, for the purpose of returning thanks

* Buchanan, vol. i. p. 430. Robertson, vol. i. pp. 164, 185. Spottiswood, p. 146.

to God Almighty for the success with which their efforts had been crowned, and for the peace which had been so satisfactorily concluded. This meeting was attended by nearly the whole of the nobility and preachers, and by a vast concourse of people. The services were conducted by Knox. After a discourse suitable to the occasion, he poured out the gratitude of his soul in his own name and in the name of the assembled throng: "O eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in how miserable an estate stand this poor country, when idolatry was maintained—when virgins were deflowered, matrons corrupted, men's wives violently and villainously approached, the blood of innocents shed without mercy, and the unjust commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as law. Out of these miseries, O Lord, could neither our wit, policy, nor strength deliver us; yea, they did but show how vain was the help of man. In these our anguishes we called unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we proclaimed thy name as thy troubled flock, persecuted for thy truth's sake. Mercifully hast thou heard us, O Lord, for neither in us nor in our confederates was there any cause why thou shouldst have given us no joyful and sudden a deliverance. O give us hearts with reverence and fear to meditate thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. We beseech thee, O Father of Mercies, that, as if thy well-deserved grace thou hast partly removed our darkness, suppressed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring sword of merciless strangers, as it would please thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit there is nothing in us to move thy Majesty to show us favour, O yet, for Christ's sake, whose name we bear, we humbly pray thee to suffer us to forsake or deny thee thy verity, which now we possess. But seeing that thou hast mercifully heard us, and hast caused thy verity to triumph in us, so we crave of thee mercies unto the end, that thy godly name may be glorified in us thy creatures. And seeing that nothing is more odious in thy presence, O Lord, than impetuosity and violation of an oath and sacrament made in thy name; and seeing that thou hast made our confederates of England the instruments to set us at liberty, to whom we have promised mutual fidelity in thy name, let us never fail to that performance. O Lord, that either we declare ourselves unfaithful unto them, or profaners of thy holy name. Confound thou the counsels of those that go about to break that most godly league contracted in thy name, and retain us so firmly together by the power of thy Holy Spirit, that Satan may never have power to set us again at variance or dissent. Give us grace to live in Christian charity, that other nations, provoked by our examples, may not walk ungodly war and strife, and live in power as heathens, those who look for final deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jesus, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all honour, glory, and praise, now and ever. Amen."

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 88.

At this time, also, an allocation was made of the ministers to various parts of the kingdom, that the preaching of the Gospel might be enjoyed as extensively as possible, and that the various churches might be properly organised. John Knox was stationed in Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman in St. Andrew's, Adam Heriot in Aberdeen, John Row in Perth, William Christison in Dundee, David Ferguson in Dunfermline, Paul Methven in Jedburgh, and David Lindsay in Leith. And besides the appointment of these individuals to the leading burghs, there was another arrangement adopted, which was intended to be of a temporary character, and which was suggested apparently by the paucity of preachers. Certain persons were placed over extensive districts of country under the designation of superintendents, whose duty it was to itinerate from place to place, and to use means for procuring and settling ministers in the various churches. John Spotswood was appointed superintendent of Lothian and Merse, John Winram of Fife, John Erskine of Dun of Angus and Mearns, John Willock of Glasgow, and John Carswell of Argyle and the Isles. These arrangements were all made by the commissioners of boroughs, with some of the nobility and barons, though it was left to the various congregations and districts to decide, whether they would receive the individuals assigned to them as their ministers and superintendents.*

Yet we must not suppose that it was only now,

when peace was restored, that the Protestant preachers laboured in disseminating the principles of the

Gospel. We have seen that John Willock with fearless intrepidity discharged all the functions of his office in the very centre of the Regent's troops in Edinburgh; and that John Knox, at the same period, was carrying the torch of truth in his powerful hand over the length and breadth of the country. Nor were the rest of the preachers idle. In all quarters, as they could find opportunity, they exposed the errors and corruptions, and degrading ceremonial of the Papal system, and they exhibited the Holy Scriptures as the only test of what was true and salutary in religion and morals. The very dangers which surrounded them roused their zeal and courage; and the uncertainty which they felt how long they might have the opportunity of proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ to their countrymen, spurred them on to extraordinary efforts. They were willing to spend and to be spent for the sake of Christ, and their self-denying labours were crowned with abundant success. Everywhere increasing multitudes renounced the delusions of Popery, and embraced the views of the Reformers; and not a few ecclesiastics, whose minds had been gradually undergoing a change, openly joined their standard at this time, and began to preach doctrines which they had been accustomed to regard as heretical

* Keith, vol. i. p. 311. Knox, vol. ii. pp. 87, 145. Spotswood, l. 149.

and damnable. While the war between the troops was prosecuted with continually varying success, the war of opinion exhibited one uniform result. And perhaps an earlier termination of the physical struggle, though most ardently desired by the Reformers, might not have been so advantageous to their cause. Perplexities and troubles God can overrule for the spiritual benefit of men, and times of protracted difficulty are often the means of awakening a serious and thoughtful spirit. Out of evil the sovereign ruler makes it his sublime and godlike employment to be always educing good.

It was but a feeble opposition the Romish clergy were able to give to the Reformers on the field of eloquence and argument; they were in general exceedingly illiterate; they had

Weakness of the Romanists on the field of argument.

scarcely any knowledge of the Scriptures, and had never been accustomed to anything that deserved the name of preaching. Rites and forms, ceremonies and consecrations were the weapons which they were most expert in handling; but these had now lost all their power over a people accustomed to the pregnant discourses and heart-stirring appeals of the Reformers. An attempt was made by the Romish clergy to create a diversion in their favour, by bringing pretended miracles into the field of conflict; but the detection of the artifice and falsehood which they employed covered them with confusion, and gave a new impulse to the cause, which it was their purpose to obstruct. Proclamation was made by the friars, that they intended to give irrefragable demonstration of the truth of the system to which they adhered, by restoring to sight at the Chapel of Our Lady of Loretto, near Musselburgh, a young man who had been born blind. And sooth to say, at the appointed time, in presence of a vast multitude gathered from all quarters, a youth was produced, whom many at once recognised as a blind man whom they had seen sometimes begging by the wayside; and this individual, of whose blindness none doubted, after earnest invocation of the Virgin, and the performance of many ceremonies by the friars, actually began to see the objects around him, and went down among the people to let them test the reality of the cure by inspection of his eyes. What clearer proof could be imagined of the soundness of the principles of Popery? All the world must now be convinced that the Reformers were quite in the wrong! When the very blind were restored to sight, surely they must be blind who saw not the conclusiveness of this argument! And some such obstinate doubting people there were. Robert Colville, of Cleish, a Protestant, having persuaded the young man to go with him to Edinburgh, and having reasoned with him about the wickedness of his conduct, drew from him the confession, that he was possessed of a peculiar faculty of turning up the white of his eyes, so as to make himself appear blind, and that the friars, having become acquainted with this fact, had prevailed upon him to lend himself as an ac-

complice to them, and had sent him forth to beg as a blind man, that he might become generally known before the time when the miracle was to be

Detection of a pretended miracle. On the following day, Cleish caused him to make a public declaration of these facts at the

Cross of Edinburgh, and to exhibit to the crowd the manner in which the pretended miracle had been performed, by *flying** up his eyelids and turning up the white of the eyeballs; and in order to protect him from the vengeance that would soon have despoiled him, not of his eyes merely, but of his life, he took him into his own service, and carried him along with him to his house in Fife. The blind man of Musselburgh, the winking Madonna, the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, the cures wrought at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, the holy coat of Treves—are all fruits of the same tree of wilful deception—lying wonders, that but serve to identify the Church of Rome with the mystery of iniquity spoken of by St. Paul in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.†

When the parliament met in August, as had been fixed in the articles of peace, the subject of religion was brought under their notice by means of a petition from a number of barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and other subjects, in which, after rehearsing the efforts which they had made for the advancement of the pure Gospel of Christ, they craved the states to interpose their authority for the reformation of all existing abuses and errors in the Church. First of all, they sought that the peculiar dogmas of the Church of Rome, such as transubstantiation, the adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of works, Papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, praying to departed saints—which were described as pestilent errors, most dangerous to the souls of men, and utterly unsupported by the word of God, should be condemned and suppressed. In the next place, they drew the attention of parliament to the guilt of profaning Christ's holy sacraments, and the necessity of restoring the discipline of the Church to its ancient purity; and they affirmed that the Romish clergy, so far from being patterns of good conduct, were notorious for their disregard of the most common principles of morality. And lastly, they craved that not only should the pope's usurped authority be altogether disowned, but that also a godly policy and discipline should be established by public authority, and that the revenues of the Church should be devoted to the support of the Christian ministry, the founding of schools for the instruction of the people, and the relief of the poor. This last topic was by no means agreeable to numbers of the nobility present, who had taken possession of ecclesiastical revenues in their several neighbourhoods, and were unwilling to relinquish their prey; but, in regard to the other points, they

were quite prepared to sanction a change, and therefore the ministers were commissioned to draw up a summary of doctrines to be laid before parliament for their consideration. This important task was confided to John Wieram, John Spottiswood, John Willock, John Douglas, John How, and John Knox, who, in the space of four days prepared a document which they designated, the Confession of the Faith and Doctrine held by the Protestants of Scotland.*

The principles of this Confession were thoroughly sound and evangelical. It excluded all prohibited the common doctrines of the Catholic Christianity respecting the divine nature, the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, the sanctification of Christ's person, the creation of man, the fall, original sin, redemption from the curse of sin and from its power. "It behoved the Redeemer to be very God and very man, because he was to underlie the punishment due for our transgressions, and by death to overcome him who was the author of death. But because the only Godhead could not suffer death, nor the only manhood overcome the same, he joined both in one person, that the subtility of the one should be subject to death, and the invincible power of the other purchase for us life, liberty, and perpetual victory." Participation in the benefits of Christ's death was ascribed to the influence of the Holy Ghost. "For by nature we are so dead, so blind, so perverse, that neither can we feel when we are pricked, nor the light when it shineth, nor assent unto the will of God when it is revealed, unless the Spirit of the Lord Jesus quicken that which is dead, remove the darkness from our minds, and bow our stubborn hearts to the obedience of his blessed will." Care was taken at the same time to guard against the abuse which has been made in all ages of the doctrines of free grace. "It is blasphemy to say that Christ abideth in the hearts of such, in whom there is no spirit of sanctification. And therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppressors, cruel persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, swearers, persons, idolators, drunkards, thieves, and all workers of iniquity have neither true faith, nor any portion of the Spirit of Christ. The sole test of what is good and acceptable to God is his own most holy law. To love our God, to worship and honour him, to call upon him in all our troubles, to reverence his holy name, to hear his word, to believe the same, to communicate with his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table. To honour father, mother, prince, rulers, and superior powers; to love them, to support them, yea, to obey their charges and respecting to the commandment of God, to save the lives of innocents, to repress tyranny, to defend the oppressed, to keep our bodies clean and holy, to live in sobriety and temperance, to deal justly with all men both in word and deed, and to repress all desire of our neighbour's hurt, are the good works of the second table. Our nature, however, is so

* Means to fold.

† M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 323. Keith, vol. i. p. 494.

* Spottiswood, p. 150. Knox, vol. ii. p. 70.

corrupt and imperfect that we can never, even after we are regenerate, fulfil the works of the law, and, therefore, we must apprehend Christ Jesus with his justice and satisfaction, who is the end of the law to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of God fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points. Those who boast themselves of the merit of their works, or put trust in works of supererogation, boast themselves of that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idolatry.* The marks, also, of the true Church, the supreme authority of the Scriptures in matters of doctrine, the nature and legitimate use of general councils, the number, purpose, and right administration of the sacraments, and the origin and authority of civil government, are all handled at considerable length. "Those who allege Scripture to have no other authority but what is received from the kirk, are blasphemous against God and injurious to the true kirk, which always heareth the voice of her own spouse without taking upon her to be mistress over the same. If men, under the name of a council, pretend to forge new articles of faith, or to make constitutions repugning to the Word of God, then utterly must we refuse the same as the doctrines of devils. The reason why councils assembled was not to make new articles of faith, nor to give authority to the Word of God, much less to make that his Word which was not his Word before, or that a true interpretation which before had no solid foundation. The purpose of councils was partly to confute heresies and partly to make a public confession of their faith to posterity, which they did by the authority of God's written Word, and not under any idea that they could not err, in virtue of being a general council."

The Confession of Faith prepared by Knox and his associates is not equal in respect of precision and method to Confessions that have been subsequently composed. It is in some points too full, in others it is deficient, and, upon the whole, it has too much of a polemical character. Nevertheless, it is a valuable document, and embodies a great mass of sound religious truth. It was first presented to the lords of Articles, whose approbation it received, and then it was formally laid before the whole parliament. The framers of it were in attendance to answer any questions that might be put regarding it. It was read article by article, on two several occasions, that all might have the opportunity of hearing it, and that no undue precipitancy might be shown in a matter of such importance; and, at the same time, ample opportunity was conceded to all parties to state their views and objections. The only individuals belonging to the temporal estate, who expressed dissatisfaction, were the Earl of Athol, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick, who said, they would believe as their fathers before them had believed.

* Knox, vol. ii. pp. 94—120. Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 14—57.

The Romish prelates maintained a profound silence. This led the Earl Marischal to declare that he had long carried some favour to the Protestant views, and been jealous of the Roman religion, but this day fully convinced him of the truth of the one and of the falsehood of the other; for the bishops, whose learning made them able, and whose zeal should make them willing to defend their views, said nothing against the Confession of Faith now presented to parliament. A formal vote was taken, and the document was approved as a correct exhibition of scriptural truth, and authorised accordingly by Act of Parliament.*

Ratification of the Confession by Act of Parliament.

On the following week—viz., 24th August—there were some other acts passed, bearing upon the subject of religion, and designed to carry out the Reformation already begun. By one, all former acts were rescinded that had been made for the maintenance of idolatry, or that were inconsistent with the new Confession of Faith; another act had respect to the Pope's authority within the realm of Scotland, which it described as having been most hurtful and pre-judicial to the authority of the so-vereign, and to the common weal of the country; and which it therefore abolished in all time coming, forbidding the subjects, under pain of proscription, banishment, and disqualification for civil office, to carry any question relating to any matter in Scotland before the Bishop of Rome. A third act was directed against the mass, in which the Romish clergy are described as usurped ministers, and in which the mass itself is declared to be a profanation of the Lord's Supper; and it was ordained that no persons but those who were properly admitted, and who had power to that effect, should administer the sacraments. And not only was the mass declared to be unlawful, but penalties were also enacted both against those who performed the service, and against those who countenanced by their presence. The first offence was to be visited with confiscation of goods, the second with banishment, and the third with death.†

Abolition of the Pope's authority in Scotland.

Penalties affixed to the celebration of mass.

These severities have been loudly condemned by the enemies of the reformed religion, and cited as proofs of the extreme bigotry and intolerance of the Reformers; and doubtless they were carnal weapons that ought not to have been employed against the adherents of the old system: but from whom did the Reformers learn the use of them? The maxim had been acted upon for centuries by the Church of Rome, that pains and penalties, that fire and sword, were legitimate means of propagating truth and suppressing error; and it is no great marvel that the Protestants were not able, during the first year of

Unreasonableness of the charge of bigotry brought against the Reformers.

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 121. Keith, vol. i. p. 321. Spottiswood, p. 150.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 123. Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 38. Keith, vol. i. p. 322.

their ascendancy, to unlearn a lesson so long and sedulously inculcated. Has the Church of Rome unlearned it even to the present hour? It is extremely unfair in sympathisers with Romanism to exclaim against the bigotry of the Reformers, as if they had been the first to introduce persecuting enactments—as if no such measures had ever been heard of till their day—when the fact is that for generations the Church of Rome had everywhere made pains and penalties her chief instrument in dealing with those who differed from her; and the unfairness appears the more deserving of reprobation, when it is remembered that never in one single instance did the Reformers of Scotland carry out the persecuting enactments made at this time to the extent of taking away life. Can the same be said with regard to the Romish Church in Scotland, or anywhere else? Of all men in the world, the adherents of Rome are the last who should make any complaints about persecution. We justify not the Reformers in regard to the penalties affixed to the celebration of mass—we condemn them—but we maintain that their opponents had no right to condemn them. He who chastises with scorpions should be very meek, when whips only are applied to himself. It is only the man who repudiates persecution in all cases who has a right to condemn it in any.

The ratification of the new Confession of Faith, ^{Altered position of the Reformers.} by Act of Parliament, was the most signal triumph which had yet been gained by the Reformers. The royal sanction, indeed, was as yet withheld from the document; but, though in ordinary times this would have been fatal to it, yet the whole proceedings of the period were of an abnormal character, and the Confession stood in the same position as numerous other acts which passed into laws, and were afterwards acquiesced in by the sovereign. The parliament of August, 1560, was one of the most numerous and influential that ever had met, and its decisions were the best index of the true mind of the country. By a public authority, therefore, which really represented the nation, the dogmas of the Church of Rome were set aside, and a legal sanction was given to the principles of the Reformers; so that they were now to be regarded as the only authorised teachers of religion, and the sole dispensers of religious ordinances. They stood now, with regard to the civil power, in the same position which the adherents of the Romish Church had formerly occupied. It was not enough, however, that the doctrines which Knox and his associates taught should be publicly approved and sanctioned; it was necessary also that a scheme of discipline and church government should be instituted, and that funds should be provided for the maintenance of religious ordinances, and the instruction of the young. The petition presented to parliament in August* had made emphatic mention of these important points, and it had been earnestly requested by the Reformers that some public en-

actments should be made with regard to them. Knox, too, in the discourse which he delivered upon the Book of Haggai, during the sitting of parliament, had drawn a parallel between the position of the Jews newly returned from Babylon and the position of the Protestants just delivered from the bondage of Rome, making a comparison between the Jewish temple and the Christian Church; and he had insisted, with his usual eloquence and earnestness, upon the sin of occupying one's self only with his own private affairs, and upon the duty of making a combined and strenuous and immediate effort to build the temple of the Lord. But the members of parliament were by no means so forward to make provision for the support of the Protestant Church, as they had been to sanction the doctrine of the new Confession. The spirit with which they received the application of the Reformers is evinced by the sarcastic remark, made by Melville of Lethington, regarding the discourse of Knox—"We must forget ourselves, and bear the burrow to build the house of God!" The subject, in fact, was quite distasteful to the great body of the nobles, and parliament separated without coming to any decision about the support and government of the Church, which was a great blow and severe discouragement to the Reformers.

The ministers, however, were not to be diverted from their purpose. They continued to urge the subject with so much earnestness, and with such weighty reasons, that the Privy Council, immediately after the dissolution of parliament, commissioned John Knox, John Winrow, John Spittiswood, John Willak, John Douglas, and John Row,† to prepare a scheme of ecclesiastical government.‡ This task they undertook with alacrity, and they performed it with the same ability and diligence which they had already shown in drawing up the Confession of Faith. "They took not their example," says Row, "from any book in the world—no, not from Geneva—but from the plan of the Holy Scriptures." They divided the work among them, and each individual prepared his allotted portion of it; and then they all met together, to bring the whole under the review of the entire body, and, by the effort of their united judgment, to give shape and form to every part of it.

When the document was completed, it was presented to the nobility, who perused it, says Knox, many days;‡ but though some of them were highly pleased with its principles, and were desirous that it should receive the sanction of law, yet many of them were averse. ^{Opposition} to the restraints which it imposed, ^{upon the nobles} and to the views which it suggested ^{of discipline}, as to the distribution of ecclesiastical property.

* It is rather an odd circumstance, that all the names who were employed in composing the First Confession of Faith, all who were first appointed to the office of session in parishes, and all who had any hand in composing the First Book of Discipline, were the ministers of parishes.

† M'Cre's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 4.

‡ Knox, vol. ii. p. 120.

* M'Cre's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 2. Knox, vol. ii. p. 91.

and in mockery they styled it a devout imagination. A convention of ministers and commissioners from various churches throughout the country—commonly styled the First General Assembly—was held on the 20th December. The Book of Policy and Discipline was laid before this meeting, and, after being somewhat altered and abridged, it received their approbation.* It was then submitted to the Privy Council, in January, but it was not destined to meet with the same favourable treatment from them. It was opposed by many, not because they disapproved in the slightest degree of the form of church government which the Reformers proposed to set up, but because they disliked the strict measures which were to be employed for the suppression of vice, and because they were unwilling to appropriate out of the ecclesiastical funds in their possession what was required for the support of the ministers, for the relief of the poor, and for the endowments of seats of learning. Not a few of the nobles had seized lands and revenues belonging to the Church in the vicinity of their respective estates,† and they wished to retain undisturbed possession of them. But, though not formally ratified, the Book of Discipline was

Approved by a considerable portion of the nobility.

approved almost universally in all its leading principles, and it was subscribed as a whole by a considerable portion of the nobility.

ity, who expressed their adhesion to it in the following terms:—"We who have subscribed these presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, and as is above mentioned from the beginning of this book, think the same good, and conform to God's Word in all points, conform to notes and additions thereto eked, and promise to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers, providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who else

have joined themselves to us, bruik* the revenues of their benefices during their life-time; they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as is herein specified, for preaching of the Word and ministering of the sacraments." †

This document in reference to the Book of Policy and Discipline was subscribed by the Duke of Chathelherault, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, Marischal, Monteith, and Morton; Lords James Stewart, Boyd, Yester, Ochiltree, Lindsay, Sanquhar, St. John of Torphichen, the Master of Maxwell, the Master of Lindsay, Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlies, Balgarnie, Cunninghamhead; Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway; Alexander Campbell, Dean of Murray, with a great many more. It bears date 27th Jan., 1560—1. †

The approbation of the Book of Discipline, expressed by these distinguished noblemen, has been described by various writers as an act of the Secret Council. It is so styled in Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions*, § and certainly it had all the weight of such an act, for the parties whose names were appended to it were the most distinguished and influential individuals in the country. Their expressed approbation of the Book of Discipline, coupled with the parliamentary sanction which had been given to the Confession of Faith in August, enabled the Reformers to proceed with all measures that were requisite for the due settlement of the Church. There does not appear to have been any difference of opinion at all with regard to the general framework of the ecclesiastical body that was to be substituted in place of the Romish Church, abolished by Act of Parliament, and therefore the whole country, with one consent, submitted to almost all the enactments of the Book of Discipline. It became in reality the model, in accordance with which the affairs of the Church were regulated, though it was not possessed of a strictly legal sanction.

The first Book of Discipline is a document of considerable length and of great interest. It exhibits the views which prevailed among the Reformers of Scotland regarding the order to be observed in Christ's Church, and it shows the deep anxiety which they felt to regulate all their proceedings by Scripture, and to take every means of reforming and preventing abuses. The first three heads relate to the test of sound doctrine—viz., accordance with Scripture, the right administration of the Sacraments, and the duty of abolishing idolatry and all the monuments of it. Then the nature of the Christian ministry is brought into view; and vocation to it is described as consisting in election, examination, and admission. To the people, and to every several congregation, it belongs to elect their minister; and after election the individual chosen was to be examined by the ministers

* Row's MS. History of the Kirk, pp. 12-16.

† The rapacity of the nobles, in seizing upon the lands of the Church at the time of the Reformation, has been the subject of bitter invective for many a day, and even Protestant ministers have spoken as if these properties had been wrested from them, though they were never in their possession at all. Perhaps the nobles have been more blamed in this matter than they deserved. The lands and revenues in the possession of the Church of Rome had been derived for the most part from the ancestors of the very nobles who seized them at the Reformation, and they had been acquired, not by lawful purchase, but by bringing the terrors of the spiritual world to bear upon the minds of men laid prostrate upon the bed of death, and by promising confidently to secure for them the glories of heaven in return for temporal gifts and endowments. Many estates, too, had been made over to the clergy by the living to provide masses for the deliverance of the souls of departed friends out of purgatory. When men's eyes, therefore, were opened, at the time of the Reformation, to the deceptions by which the Church of Rome had acquired the bulk of her enormous property, it is no wonder that the nobles were not very scrupulous in reclaiming estates which had been originally fished out of their hands by such means. Doubtless it was not possible to trace back every separate property to the source from which it had been originally derived, and therefore a perfectly equitable adjustment of this kind was impossible; but there can be little doubt that no small portion of the property of the Church had been acquired from the ancestors of the very individuals who seized it at the Reformation.

* Enjoy.

† Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 50.

‡ Knox, vol. ii. pp. 129, 258. Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 50.

§ Vol. ii. p. 436.

and elders of the Church on the leading doctrines of the Gospel; and finally his admission to office was to take place openly before the assembled congregation. Nor was the great scarcity of ministers to diminish the strictness of examination, for it was judged better to have a few well-qualified labourers than a greater number of inefficient ones; and fervent prayer meanwhile was to be made to God to thrust forth more labourers into his harvest. On account of the scarcity of ministers, men were to be appointed to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, and if they were diligent in extending their knowledge and cultivating their gifts, they might in the end be admitted to the office of the ministry. The same cause gave rise to the appointment of superintendents, who were to take charge of an extensive district of country. Their duty was not only to preach regularly themselves, in some part or other of their district, but also to take measures for supplying vacant churches with ministers or readers as they could be found. Yet, in the examination of candidates for admission to the ministry, they were bound to associate with themselves the ministers of the neighbouring parishes, and they were under the control of the provincial synod as much as other ministers, and might be rebuked, suspended, or deposed by them for negligence or misconduct. They were to be elected and admitted to office in the same manner as other pastors. They were not to remain more than twenty days in any one place during the course of their visitation, till they had gone through their whole bounds. Thrice every week they were to preach at the least. And when they returned to their principal town of residence, they were not to remain in it more than three or four months; and even then they were to be regularly employed in preaching.

From the appointment of superintendents by the Reformers, it has been imagined by some that it was their purpose to set up a modified episcopacy in Scotland. And certainly, if it was some form of episcopacy which they thought of establishing, it was a very different kind of episcopacy, as the facts already mentioned evince, from any episcopacy that now exists in the Church. But the terms employed in the first Book of Discipline make it plain that the office of superintendent was a temporary expedient occasioned by the great lack of ministers. Archbishop Spottiswood omits some clauses relating to superintendents; but even the passage as quoted by him implies the temporary character of the office: "It is found expedient for the erecting and planting of churches, that at this time there be elected ten or twelve superintendents." The passage as it stands in the Book of Discipline itself runs in the following terms: "We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to several places, there to make their continual residence, then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine, which

should not only be the occasion of great mourning, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And, therefore, we have thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now present in this realm, there be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment should be given to plant and erect kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now."* Such terms would hardly have been employed in describing an office which the Reformers considered to be as permanent and as necessary as the office of the ministry itself. Mr. Laing, who has very thoroughly investigated this subject, and made a careful comparison of all the original documents, pronounces the appointment of superintendents to have been a temporary expedient.†

Provision was to be made for the ministry out of the rents of the Church; and ^{Stipend.} modification of the same was to be made by the judgment of the Church every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons. A larger stipend was to be given to the superintendents, on account of the greater expenditure to which they would be liable in travelling from place to place.

Schools were to be established in every parish, colleges were to be instituted in ^{Habits,} every notable town, and there were ^{Colleges and} to be three universities—viz., at St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, with professors of arts, sciences, and languages, of medicine, laws, and divinity. And whilst the schools throughout the country were to be supported out of the best ecclesiastical revenue it was proposed that the maintenance of the universities should be derived from the temporalities of bishoprics and of churches collegiate.

Strict discipline was to be maintained throughout the church. Persons charge- ^{Church members} able with breaches of the law of ^{and covenants} Christ, were to be dealt with by the minister, elders, and deacons, with the view of bringing them to repentance; but if they continued obstinately in their sins, they were to be denounced publicly, and the sentence was to be promulgated through the whole realm, that none might have any kind of conversation with them. Their wives and families alone excepted, in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting, or conversing with them. Unto this discipline the whole realm of the realm, as well the rulers as they that are ruled, and the preachers themselves as well as the people within the Church, must be subject; the members specially, because they, as the eyes and nerves of the Church, should be the most impenetrable.

Besides ministers and superintendents there were also to be elders and deacons, the former to all the

* Dunlop's Confessions vol. 2. pp. 206, 207. 1746.
Life of Knox, vol. 1. p. 202.
† History of Scotland, vol. 22. pp. 12, 13.

ministers in the spiritual government of the Church, and the latter to receive the rents and gather the alms of the Church, and distribute the same according to the appointment of the ministry and the Church.

Sunday was to be faithfully observed. In the forenoon the Word was to be preached, the sacraments were to be administered, and the Lord's-day marriages solemnised. In the afternoon the Catechism was to be taught, and young children were to be examined in it in the audience of all the people. Parents and masters were to instruct their children and servants; and if any neglected this duty they were liable to censure, and, in the end, to excommunication, and then their case was to be referred to the civil magistrate.

It was judged proper, also, that there should be Weekly exercise in every town a weekly exercise of prophesying, called prophesying, to be attended by the ministers and learned men of the neighbourhood for six miles round. Portions of scripture were to be read and expounded at these meetings. And all who were known to have any gifts fitted for edifying the Church were to be charged by the ministers and elders to attend, that they might be trained for serving in the vocation of the ministry. And if any disobeyed, the censures of the Church were to be used against them, with consent of the civil magistrate; for no man was to be permitted to live as he pleased within the Church, but all were to bestow their labours where it was thought they might serve to the edification of others.

The remaining articles related to marriage, burial, repair of churches, and the punishment of those who profaned the sacraments.*

Such was the substance of the famous first Merits of the Book of Discipline. It manifests the first Book of Discipline. the ardent desire which the Reformers felt to have the whole nation thoroughly instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel, and so educated that all might be able to judge for themselves. The greater part of its provisions were not only unexceptionable, but admirable; and, in fact, the far greater number of them were universally approved. The only points which excited opposition, and which hindered the book from being ratified, as the Confession of Faith had been, were the appropriation proposed of Church revenues, and the discipline to be exercised upon persons chargeable with immoralities. Many of the nobles had seized considerable portions of ecclesiastical property, and they were unwilling to abandon the prize; and the discipline which it was proposed to institute was odious in the eyes of multitudes. The Reformers did not sufficiently distinguish between the Church and the nation. Their scheme of discipline, as applied to a Church consisting of parties who have voluntarily joined it, is unexceptionable, and such as ought to exist in every Church; but the idea that such a discipline could be carried out with respect to a whole nation,

or all the inhabitants of any given district, was certainly a great mistake; and it was no wonder that, viewed in this light, many styled it a devout imagination. If the Church is to be made co-extensive with the nation, then its discipline must be brought down to the standard of the world's morality; whilst, on the other hand, if it is determined to have a scriptural discipline, then it must be applied only to those who profess faith in Christ, and thus place themselves under ecclesiastical authority; and even with regard to them, what is due must involve no curtailment of civil privileges, nor appeal for enforcement to the civil magistrate.

When the enactments of parliament regarding religion were carried to France for ratification, by Sir James Sandilands, Knight of Rhodes, he was treated with great contempt and severity, particularly by the uncles of Queen

Unsuccessful mission of Sir James Sandilands to France.

Mary, who reproached him bitterly for acting so inconsistently with his position as a knight of the holy order as to take a commission from rebels, to solicit the ratification of execrable heresies. His mission altogether failed of its object; and though he made every effort to moderate the feelings of indignation that were manifested against him, he was dismissed without an answer. Meanwhile, Francis II., Mary's husband, died, and was succeeded on the throne of France by his brother, Charles IX., who, in March, sent an ambassador to Scotland—Noailles, a senator of Bordeaux—to endeavour to obtain a renewal of the alliance between the two kingdoms, and the restoration of all churchmen to the places from which they had been ejected. In the absence of Lord James Stewart, who had been commissioned to proceed to France to invite the now widowed Queen of Scotland home, the council declined giving an answer to the French ambassador; but in the end of May, after Lord James's return, a convention of the nobility was held at Edinburgh, at which the proposals of the King of France received a decided negative.* It was unanimously declared that Scotland could not abandon the alliance with England; that, having renounced the Pope's authority, she would maintain his priests and vassals no longer; and that she could not recognise the parties whose restoration to office was solicited as office-bearers in the church at all.

It has been objected to the ratification of the Confession of Faith by parliament in August, and to the establishment of the Reformed Church which ensued, that the parliament which took these grave measures was not a legal meeting. Calderwood, indeed, attempts to show that the previous pacification fully authorised the meeting, and that none of the preliminaries requisite to constitute it quite a formal parliament were wanting. But this is more than can be made good.

Alleged defect in the foundation of the Reformed Church.

* Knox, vol. ii. pp. 185-257. Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 50. Spottiswood, pp. 162-174.

* Spottiswood, p. 151. Robertson, vol. i. p. 232. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 263.

True it has been shown by Tytler that the crown, the mace, and the sword were laid upon the seat or throne usually occupied by the queen. But still the fact is, that the sovereign's authority was not given for holding the parliament, and that the sovereign's ratification of what was done in the parliament was refused, when Sir James Sandilands was sent to France to obtain it. It is vain, therefore, to treat the legality of this parliament as a question of forms, and to endeavour to show that in nothing did the mode of procedure deviate from the ordinary practice of the constitution. The fact is, that the whole proceedings of the Congregation were abnormal; but it does not therefore follow that they were unjust or unwarranted. Society was in a transition state, and it was impossible that old forms could be thrown aside, and new ones adopted, without some measure of violence. No friend of the British constitution, as at present existing, can maintain that resistance to the supreme power is at all times wrong; there are times when resistance is the duty of every patriot. The simple question, therefore, is whether the Congregation were warranted in the first steps which they took in resisting the Regent, after their repeated experience of her duplicity, when they found they could trust to no promise which she gave, and when the lives of all who breathed a word against the doctrines of Rome were in hourly peril. If they were justified in refusing submission to an authority which was only watching for their destruction, which sought to compel them to worship God according to forms they considered idolatrous, then they were justified in carrying out the work on which they had entered, and it is childish trifling to object to them that they violated various forms observed in the ordinary practice of government. The opponents they had to deal with were troubled with no such squeamishness, when their own ends were to be served. It is well known, and it is acknowledged by Tytler himself,* that the Guisean faction, who directed all the movements of the Regent in Scotland, and who had Mary completely under their influence, aimed at the total destruction of the party of the Reformation in Europe. And it is also a well-attested fact, that at the commencement of the religious troubles in Scotland, the French ecclesiastics sent over to direct the Regent advised her to dissemble with the Congregation, to call a parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, and, having got the chief leaders under one roof, to seize the most violent of them, and put them to death.† Was this according to the forms of parliament? And the lords of the Congregation, forsooth, were bound, in dealing with parties who thus trampled upon all

laws, human and divine, to observe every form and rule of etiquette! We have reason to bless God that they had juster notions of the duties and responsibilities of their position, and that they were enabled to complete, in spite of all opposition, the indispensable work of Reformation which they had begun. The wonder is, not that they opposed the sovereign's authority to the extent they did, but that they did not carry their opposition a great deal farther. Would a Popish country have received a Protestant queen as warmly as our ranks and conditions in Scotland welcomed Mary when she returned from France? No Romanist will say so. And yet there are Romanists who can censure the Congregation for disloyalty to Mary. But it seems to be a maxim with the adherents of Rome, that they have a right to expect immunities and privileges from Protestants, which they are under no obligation to grant in turn. Christ's golden rule does not apply to them!*

Thus was the Reformation in Scotland, which had been commenced in times of darkness and trouble, and which had been carried on for years amid great dangers and sore discouragements, brought at last, with the blessing of God, to a most triumphant issue. The faint dawn of morning had struggled through storm and tempest into the clear light of noon-day; and the work was now astonishingly complete. The mind of the nation was so thoroughly imbued with the principles of the Gospel, in consequence of the unwearied preaching of the Reformers, and the encouragement they gave to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, that the Romish dogmas never again made any progress in the country. Every effort to raise them to influence and power proved abortive. The truth of God had secured for itself a dwelling place in the mighty heart of the nation; and no creases or stains were ever able afterwards to dislodge it. May God in his great mercy maintain the pure principles of the Gospel amongst us, and enable us to be faithful in holding fast and spreading abroad the privileges we enjoy!

* It is painful to make such observations regarding any body of men, but their truth and justice can be proved to be questioned. Even at the present day the same selfishness continues to characterize the adherents of Rome—a clamorous demand for privileges is transmitted, coupled with the obstinate refusal of those to whom authority they have the power. In Romish countries we have seen, since the last few years, Protestants belonging to our own country thrown into prisons for reading and circulating the Scriptures, although in this country Romanists enjoy, by the most unbounded liberty of worship and religious liberty, the most unbounded liberty of worship and religious liberty. And what is no less marvellous than elsewhere, the Romanists of Britain never censure the opinions which are admitted in Popish countries against Protestants, which, at the slightest approach to a recantation of their principles here is met with a furious outcry against our dissenting and bigoted. Is there any Popish country where Protestants enjoy as much liberty as Romanists do in this country? Then where does the charge of intolerance fall?

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 230.

† Tytler, vol. vi. p. 231.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MARY.

A.D. 1561—1565.

MARY was indebted for her safe passage partly to a favourable wind, and partly to a dense fog, under cover of which she was enabled to avoid the English fleet. She landed in circumstances by no means calculated to divert her from the melancholy which had fastened on her spirits in consequence of her departure from her beloved France. The day on which, after thirteen years of absence, she returned to her native kingdom, was dull and gloomy. Knox says that, "In the memory of man, that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue; for besides the surface wet, a corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of *butts*. The sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after."*

Arriving at least ten days earlier than was anticipated, she found that few preparations had been made for her reception. Her greeting, however, was not on that account the less hearty or enthusiastic. All classes of her subjects hastened to express their joy and demonstrate their loyalty. "At the sound of the cannons which the galleys shot, the multitude being advertised, happy was he or she that might have the presence of the queen." Landing at ten o'clock, Mary would have proceeded immediately to Holyrood; but the defective character of the arrangements rendered it necessary that she should defer her intention till the afternoon. In the interval she remained at Leith, where she was visited by the Lord James, the Earl of Argyle, and other nobles. Accustomed to the splendid equipages of a rich and luxurious court, she was sensibly affected by the contrast presented in the miserable arrangements made for her conveyance to the palace. As there were no carriages in Scotland, she was obliged to proceed on horseback. This, in itself, was no hardship, as the queen rode well and gracefully; but as Brantôme, the French historian, relates, she was subjected on this occasion to a mortification trying enough to one of her years and disposition. Her favourite state palfrey, together with the rest of the choice stud reserved for the use of herself and ladies, had been captured by the English admiral, in the same ship with the Earl of Eglintoun, and carried into the port of London. In supplying this loss, it appears that the Lord James, probably from want of time, had not been very fortunate in the selection of steeds for the use of the royal party. This discovery of the poverty of her realm, in the presence, too, of the French nobility, was extremely mortifying to Mary. Her eyes filled with tears as

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 200.

she observed to her attendants—"These are not like the appointments to which I have been accustomed; but it behoves me to arm myself with patience."*

Unauspicious as was this incident, she could not but perceive that her reception, Mary's though rude, was sincere and correct reception. Her youth and beauty, and the peculiarity of her position, were all calculated to engage the interest and affection of a warm-hearted, generous people; and as they crowded round her with boisterous demonstrations of satisfaction, her momentary feelings of vexation must have given way to livelier emotions, more worthy of her character and prospects.

On her way to Holyrood she was met by a party of suppliants, who, being in some peril on account of an insurrectionary tumult which had disturbed the city about a month previous to her return, seized this favourable opportunity of suing for her majesty's pardon. As illustrative of the character of the times, we may notice the origin and nature of this disturbance. Austere in their principles and practice, the Reformers had for some time past expressed their strong disapprobation of the sports and pastimes of the people, which, however in themselves promotive of innocent recreation, were but too frequently the occasion of most disgraceful scenes. They had succeeded in prohibiting the May-games; but the popular pantomime of Robin Hood still survived. In the spring of 1561, this play was acted in Edinburgh, the principal characters being represented by servants and apprentices. The day on which it was performed happened to be a Sunday, and as a grave offence was thereby committed, the unfortunate man who had personated Robin Hood, James Kellone, a shoemaker, was committed to prison, and condemned by the magistrates to be hanged. Great efforts were made to get this severe sentence modified, but in vain. Knox and the bailies were solicited in his behalf, but they refused to interfere. But, as we are informed in the chronicles of the times, when the time of the unfortunate man's execution arrived, and the gibbet was set up, the craftsmen, apprentices, and servants flew to arms, seized the provost and bailies, and shut them up in Alexander Guthrie's writing-booth; pulled down the gibbet, and broke it to pieces; then rushed to the Tolbooth, which, being fastened from within, they broke open the doors with hammers, and delivered the condemned Robin Hood, together with all the other prisoners there, in despite of magistrates and ministers. One of the bailies imprisoned in the writing-booth shot a *dag* or pistol at the insurgents, and grievously wounded the servant of a craftsman. This was the occasion of a fierce conflict, which continued from three in the afternoon till eight in the evening, during which time not a man in the town made any effort to defend either provost or bailies. Eventually the rioters were so far successful as to compel the magistrates, in order to secure their

* Brantôme.

release, to promise them an amnesty.* Notwithstanding this, being in some apprehension that severe measures might be yet taken against them, they took advantage of the presence of their sovereign to implore her clemency. There was evidently much propriety as well as policy in the gracious manner in which their humble petition was received and granted.

Brantôme gives a lively and amusing account of the manner in which her subjects attempted to provide for the entertainment of their queen by concerts of vocal and instrumental music, with which they regaled her during successive nights, to her great apparent satisfaction, but certainly to the grievous annoyance of her refined attendants. The apartments she then occupied in the palace were on the ground-floor. "There came," he says, "under her window, five or six hundred citizens of that town, who gave her a concert of the vilest fiddles and little rebees, which are as bad as they can be in that country, and accompanied them with singing Psalms, but so wretchedly out of tune and concord, that nothing could be worse. Ah, what melody it was! what a lullaby for the night!" Knox speaks of these musicians as "a company of honest men, who, with instruments of music, gave their salutations at her chamber window;" and adds, that "the melody, as she alleged, liked her well, and she willed the same to be continued." However, she took good care to change her apartments, and removed to a quarter of the palace less accessible to the sound of this unwelcome minstrelsy.

It is difficult at this distance of time to appreciate the very trying and difficult position then occupied by the youthful sovereign. She was only nineteen years of age, and had entered on the cares of government without experience, with but few advisers on whom she could rely with any confidence, and with a very imperfect knowledge of the manners, laws, and customs, which prevailed among the people she was called to govern. The religious controversies of the age were a source of perpetual disquiet. Both parties carried on the struggle with violence and passion. The Protestants were now in the ascendant; but the remembrance of past injuries prevented them from at all times using their power with moderation and temper. The Catholics were depressed, and the contrast of their present circumstances with their former supremacy in the state urged them to resort to the most violent expedients for the purpose of recovering their authority. Mary's situation was one in which she might not unreasonably have looked for the forbearance and sympathy of her subjects. All her prepossessions and early associations were in favour of the Romish religion; and yet from motives, not less of justice than expediency, she was bound to afford her countenance and support to that form of religion to which from principle and education she was firmly opposed, but which, as the religion of the majority, she was

compelled to respect. Nor were the political circumstances of the kingdom more calculated to inspire her with confidence in this commencement of her reign. The people were rude and turbulent. The nobles, at all times difficult to control, had but only during the late disturbances accumulated considerable wealth, but, from the long absence of the sovereign, had attained to a state of independence inconsistent with the legitimate supremacy of the crown. The lengthened, and in many respects unfortunate character of the regency, had acted on the kingdom with injurious effect in weakening the authority of rulers, and engendering contempt for the law. For the last two years, in particular, a state of almost pure anarchy had prevailed—without a regent, without a supreme council, without the power or even the form of a regular government.

On the other hand, as no situation in life, however desperate, is without its partial alleviations, there were circumstances connected with Mary's advent to the throne which, if they did not altogether counterbalance the disadvantages now mentioned, at least contributed to render her position more hopeful. The presence of royalty never failed to command the attachment and respect of the Scottish people. The absence of the sovereign from Scotland had been viewed with regret by all parties, and her return was welcomed with enthusiasm. The establishment of the court at Holyrood, followed as it was by the revival of shows and pageantry, excited great and general satisfaction; but that which was most calculated to endear to her subjects their youthful queen, was her personal character, her extreme beauty, the gracefulness of her manners, her cultivated mind, and varied accomplishments. "The progress she had made in the arts and sciences, which were then esteemed necessary or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by princes: and all her other qualities were rendered more agreeable by a courteous affability which, without lessening the dignity of a prince, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation." The impression which her appearance produced is thus related by Castelnau—"She quickly won the hearts of the people by the graciousness and sweetness of her deportment. Nature had endowed her with every requisite for realising the beau idéal of a female sovereign, and the Scotch were proud of possessing a queen who was the most beautiful and perfect among the ladies of that age." The circumstances of her history, also, already a melancholy one, could not fail to prepossess in her favour a chivalrous and generous-hearted people. Buchanan thus beautifully alludes to the touching interest which attached to the youthful queen:—"Born amid the storms of war, she was deprived of her father within six days after her birth. She was educated indeed cursorily by her mother, an accomplished princess; but, still amid domestic seditions and foreign wars, a prey to the strongest, and before she could be sensible of her misfortune, exposed to the most imminent

* *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 56.

hazards of chance. Next, leaving her country as if sent into banishment, and preserved with difficulty from the arms of enemies and the fury of the waves. There fortune smiled upon her for a little, exalted by an illustrious marriage; but it was only a transient glimpse of joy, for her mother and husband cut off, she was now left to sorrow and widowhood, her new kingdoms gone, and her ancient inheritance uncertain.*

Soon after Mary's arrival at the capital, an incident occurred, trifling in itself, but which, threatening to issue in a serious disturbance, indicated but too clearly the temper of the times. When the Lord James had been dispatched to France, for the purpose of persuading the queen to return to Scotland, he had maintained, in opposition to the more zealous of the Reformers, that no one should venture to interfere with the sovereign in the exercise of her religion, so long as it was confined to the precincts of her own household. It was only reasonable and just that the same liberty of conscience and freedom of worship which were granted freely to her subjects should be enjoyed by herself. On the first Sunday subsequent to her return she ordered mass to be said in the Chapel Royal. The preparations for this service caused great excitement amongst the Protestants. The Master of Lindsay, with several other gentlemen, rushed into the court of the palace, exclaiming that "the idolator priest should die the death." A law had some time previous been promulgated, forbidding, under the penalty of death, the public celebration of the mass. The tumult increasing, and the multitude, who had now collected, threatening in their fury to enter the chapel, and lay violent hands on the priest, the Lord James placed himself at the door, and succeeded in preventing the entrance of the rioters. This conduct gave great offence to many members of the Congregation. The real motive of his action is apparent enough, but his excuse was, that he wished to prevent any Scotchman from witnessing the idolatrous service. After the priest had performed his functions, he was committed to the protection of Lord Robert, the Commendator of Holyrood, and Lord John of Coldingham, who conducted him in safety to his residence. "And so," says Knox, "the godly departed with great grief of heart, and that afternoon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification that they could not abide that the land which God had by his power purged from idolatry should be polluted again.†

A few days after, Mary, by advice of her Privy Council, issued a proclamation, in which she stated that a meeting of the Estates would be held shortly, in order that the religious differences among her subjects might be satisfactorily accommodated. In the meantime, she assured her subjects of her

determination to uphold that form of religious worship which she found established in the country, and that any one attempting, either publicly or privately, to make innovations upon it, would be punished with death. On the other hand, she expressed her resolution to assert for herself the same liberty of conscience as she granted to others, and prohibited, under the same penalty, any of her Protestant subjects from interfering with her domestic servants, or any of the persons who had accompanied her from France, in the exercise of their religion, either within or without the palace. This proclamation was but ill-received on the part of the Reformers, who refrained, however, from any expression of their opinion. The only man who protested against it was the Earl of Arran, who, when it was made known at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, exclaimed, in the hearing of the heralds and people, "that he dissented that any protection or defence should be made to the queen's domestics, or to any that came from France, to offend God's majesty, and to violate the laws of the realm, more than to any other subject; for God's law had pronounced death against the idolator, and the laws of the realm had appointed punishment for the saying and hearing of the mass, which (said he) I here protest, be universally observed, and that none be exempted, until such time as a law, as publicly made, and as consonant to the law of God, have disannulled the former."* The following Sunday, Knox, denouncing the abominations of idolatry with his usual vehemence of manner and language, observed, that "one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm for the purpose of suppressing the whole religion. For in our God there is strength to resist and confound multitudes, whereof, heretofore, we have had experience; but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt but that God's amicable presence and comfortable defence leaveth us; and what shall then become of us."

The queen had only been a week in Edinburgh, before she took what was deemed Interview of Mary by her own party the bold and im- with Knox. prudent step of requesting an interview with the great Reformer. Whether this measure originated with herself or with her Protestant advisers, it was certainly, in the peculiar circumstances of her position, judicious and politic. Recognising in Knox the acknowledged leader of the most influential party in the state, to which in so many points she was unfortunately opposed, it was obviously her best policy to have a personal meeting with that leader, not only for the purpose of hearing his views and explaining her own, but, if possible, of conciliating one who exercised so great an influence upon the interests of her subjects and the security of her government. The circumstances of this interview, which, in many not unimportant respects, have been grossly misrepresented, are recorded by Knox himself. According to his own

* Duchaban, vol. ii. p. 240.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 271.

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 274.

statement, the queen commended the conference by accusing him of exciting a part of her subjects against herself and the late Queen-mother; affirming that he had written a book against her just authority; and that he was the cause of much sedition and great slaughter in England. To which Knox replied, that "as touching that book which seemeth so highly to offend your majesty, it is most certain that I wrote it, and am content that all the learned world judge of it. I hear that an Englishman hath written against it," but I have not read him. If he have sufficiently disproved my reasons, and established his contrary proposition with as evident testimony as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think, myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute."—"Ye think, then," said Mary, "that I have no just authority?"—In reply, Knox affirmed that this was by no means a just inference, from the fact of his having written against female government; his book containing a summary of his opinions, and not pledging him to resist legitimate authority—"men in all ages having their judgments free in such matters, publishing them both with pen and tongue, and yet, notwithstanding, they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not mend." "Even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, with the testimony of a good conscience. I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm find no inconvenience from the regiment of a woman, that which they approve I shall not further disallow than within my own breast, but shall be also well content to live under your grace, as Paul was to live under Nero."—"But," said Mary, "you speak of women in general."—"Most true it is, madam," he replied, "and yet it appeareth to me that wisdom should persuade your grace never to raise trouble for that, which to this day hath not troubled your majesty, neither in person nor yet in authority."—"But yet," she rejoined, "you have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commands subjects to obey their princes?"

In replying to this remark, Knox took occasion to lay down the true doctrine of the obedience which a ruler might claim from the subject, and the nature of the limitations which of necessity were attached to that obedience. In the matter of religion, for example, he contended that subjects were bound to follow not the will of their prince, but the commands of their God. "If all men in the days of the Apostles should have been compelled to follow the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion would there have been on the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion, neither of the

one nor of the other."—"Yea," said Mary, "but none of these men raised their swords against their princes."—"Yet," he replied, "you cannot deny but that they resisted; for those that obey not the commandments that are given, in vain shall make."—"Nay," she said, "but they did not resist with the sword."—"God, madam," said Knox, "had not given them the power over the means."—"Think you then," said the queen, "that subjects having power may resist their princes?"—"If," said the Reformer, "princes exceed their bounds, madam, and do against that for which they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power; for there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to Kings or princes, than God has commanded to be given to father or mother. But so it is, madam, that the father may be stricken with a palsy, in the which he would slay his own children. Now, madam, if the children arise, approaching the father, take the sword from him, and finally bind his hands and keep him in prison till his palsy be past, think you, madam, that the children do any wrong? It is even so with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject to them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad phrenzy, and, therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the Word of God."

This exposition of these new and startling principles so strongly affected Mary, that, says Knox, "her countenance altered, and she stood, as it were, amazed more than a quarter of an hour." Recovering herself, and turning to the Bishops, she remarked, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me, and shall do what they list, and not what I command, and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me."—"God forbid," he replied, "that ever I should take upon myself to command any to obey me, or yet to sit subjects at liberty to do what pleaseth them. But my anxiety is, that both princes and subjects obey God; for it is He that subjecteth people under princes. Yea, God craves of kings that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to His Church, and commands queens to be nurses unto His people."—"Yea," said Mary, "but you are not the Church that I will nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God."—"Your will, madam," rejoined the stern Reformer, "is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the true and legitimate spouse of Jesus Christ. And would you, madam, that I call Rome a harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinds of heinous superstition, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, madam, I offer myself further to prove, that the Church of the Jews that crucified Jesus Christ was not so far degenerated from the wilderness and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, when they manfully hated the Jews

of God, as the Church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined from the purity of that religion which the Apostles taught and planted."—"My conscience," said Mary, "is not so."—"Conscience," said Knox, "requires knowledge; and I fear, madam, that right knowledge you have none." Knox then proceeded in a few short, but emphatic, sentences to expose the idolatry of the mass, and expressed his earnest desire, "that the most learned Papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument; and that you would patiently abide to hear the matter reasoned to the end."—"In that wish," rejoined Mary, "you may be satisfied sooner than you believe." The conference was then closed, the Reformer parting from her majesty with these remarkable words, "I pray God, madam, that ye may be as blessed within the Commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the Commonwealth of Israel."*

Notwithstanding the unkind treatment which Elizabeth's letter Mary had experienced from Elizabeth to Mary. both, in being refused a safe-conduct, she was still desirous of continuing on friendly terms with that princess. The latter, on hearing of the arrival of the Scottish queen, lost no time in dispatching to her a letter of congratulation, in which she gave formal assurances that she had never intended to intercept her in passing to her

* Knox, vol. ii. pp. 277—286. The important interview between Knox and Mary, the particulars of which we have just recorded with some minuteness, has been represented by a recent historian in a style which cannot be accounted for, except by the desire of the author to exhibit the character of the Reformer in an aspect calculated to diminish the respect in which he is so justly held. The exaggerations in which Mr. Tytler has indulged, and the fanciful colouring he has imparted to a plain narrative, would be amusing if they were not discreditable. In the first place, he altogether omits to state the accusations which the queen brought against Knox, omission which leaves many of the explanations of the Reformer wholly unintelligible. He states that the queen "advised him to treat with greater charity those that differed from him in opinion," an advice which has no other foundation than the imagination of the historian. If he designed to insinuate that Knox had forgotten the presence in which he stood, or had taken a mean advantage of the position of the young sovereign, he certainly has succeeded in leaving this impression on the mind of his readers. Thus he says of her that in replying to Knox, as if he had said something disrespectful and insulting, "*She started and spoke with great energy,*" which account of her apparent excitement is a pure invention. Again, he relates of Knox, that in explaining the right of subjects in certain circumstances to resist princes, "*he fixed his eyes on the young queen, and raised his voice to a tone which almost amounted to a menace*"—all this being a flourish of his own. As has been well remarked, "So far as history tells us, we are left in utter darkness as to whether Knox spoke in a low whisper or with a loud tone and furious gestures, whether his eyes were on the floor or on the ceiling, or fixed on the queen or on Murray, or staring straight forward or winking askance or half shut. Mr. Tytler also informs us of Mary's feelings as precisely as if she had left a journal of each varying emotion for his service, 'she thought of her own youth and weakness—of the fierce zealots by whom she was surrounded—her mind pictured to itself, in gloomy anticipation, the struggles which awaited her, and she burst into tears.' All this is fanciful, with the exception of her weeping, which happened, as Randolph observes, at the conclusion of the conference, but whether on account of her fear or her anger, does not certainly appear."—*North British Review*, vol. iv.

own kingdom; that the object of the naval force she had collected was the capturing of certain pirates, to effect which she requested her assistance and co-operation. At the same time, she once more renewed the request she had so often ineffectually made—viz., that Mary would grant her the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. This letter was delivered by Randolph, who had now been resident in Scotland for a considerable period, and had lately been appointed the accredited agent of the English sovereign. As an acknowledgment of this communication, Mary authorised her secretary, Lethington, to proceed to the court of Elizabeth, with a message reciprocating the friendly sentiments which had been expressed towards her, and expressing her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace between the two countries. Besides being the bearer of a letter from his royal mistress, Lethington was entrusted with despatches from the nobility to Elizabeth, the contents of which were highly important. They expressed their gratitude and affection for her former good offices. They requested her to show kindness and courtesy, both in public and private, towards their queen; that her friendship, so frankly begun, might not only be preserved by good offices, but, if possible, be daily knit closer; and they on their part would omit no opportunity of exerting their zeal and anxiety for the preservation of perpetual amity between the neighbouring kingdoms.* Lethington, however, had instructions of a much more explicit character, and relating to a subject of extreme delicacy. Whether they were contained in the written papers with which he was furnished, or were merely of a verbal nature, is a matter of some uncertainty, as the original documents exist only in a mutilated state. That he was instructed as to the point alluded to is evident from the communications which he made to the English court. These related to the subject which had already given rise to so much bitterness and bad feeling, and hereafter was to be productive of more disastrous consequences—viz., the claim of Mary to the English crown, and her assumption of the arms of that kingdom. It is true that she had partially disclaimed the pretensions imputed to her, and transferred the blame of their promulgation to the world to its true authors—the ambitious Princes of Lorraine. But Mary was not disposed tamely to relinquish a claim which she regarded as founded on right and justice. Believing, however, that all hopes of making it good during the life of the reigning sovereign were at an end, she appears to have been willing to disclaim any present right to the throne of England, provided that her title to be considered as the next heir, failing Elizabeth and her offspring, were recognised by the English parliament. In this way it is obvious all parties might have been satisfied; the fears of Elizabeth as to her dangerous rival would be forever removed; the ambition of Mary would be

Embassy
of Lethington
to England.

His instructions.

satisfied with the acknowledgment which secured the crown to herself and her successors; ancient animosities would be buried in oblivion, and the prospective union of the two countries under one monarch would operate favourably for the preservation of peace and the cultivation of mutual friendship.*

The scheme by which Mary proposed to reconcile the differences between herself and Elizabeth was regarded by her advisers and the nobility with the highest satisfaction, and Lethington was instructed to communicate the same to the English court. The secretary, indeed, had long considered it with favour, and previous to the queen's return had alluded to it in a letter to Cecil. A more formal and explicit overture on the same difficult subject was also made by the Lord James, in a letter to Elizabeth, dated about six months after the communication of Lethington. In this remarkable epistle, he congratulated the queen on the mutual esteem which subsisted between herself and Mary, and earnestly prayed that it might be continued and strengthened. "You are tender cousins," he wrote, "both queens, in the flower of your ages, much resembling each other in excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and fortune, whose sex will not permit that you should advance your glory by wars and bloodshed, but that the chief glory of both should stand in a peaceable reign." He then remarks that the only ground of dispute between them related to the title put forth by Mary, and laments that such pretensions should have been ever started. "I wish to God," said he, "my sovereign lady had never, by any advice, taken in head to pretend interest or claim any title to your majesty's realm, for then I am fully persuaded you should have been, and continued, as dear friends as you be tender cousins; but now, since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two realms were in war together, your majesty knoweth, I fear, that unless that root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness between you. Your majesty cannot yield; and she may, on the other hand, think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it." He then approaches the delicate question of the recognition of Mary as heir to the throne, and proposes this as a compromise which would prove advantageous to both parties. "If,"

* So much has been said above of Mary's pretensions and title to the crown of England, that it may be proper to add a few words on this perplexing topic. The two roses—the symbols of the families of York and Lancaster—were conjoined by the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York. Of this marriage were born Henry VIII. and the Lady Margaret. Henry VIII. left three legitimate children—Edward VI., his successor, who died in July, 1553; Mary, who succeeded him, and died in November, 1558; Elizabeth, who was born on the 7th September, 1533, and succeeded her sister Mary. The pretensions of the Scottish queen arose in this manner:—The Lady Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., married James IV., who died in 1513, leaving by her James V., who was the father of Mary by the Duchess of Longueville, also called Mary of Lorraine and Mary of Guise.—*Chalmers's Life of Queen Mary*, vol. i. p. 113.

says he, "any midway could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments, then it is likely we should have a perpetual quietness. I have thought of it long, and never doubt communicate it to the queen my sovereign, for many of my countrymen, nor yet will hereafter follow so farther than shall seem good unto your majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple overture your highness can lay a larger foundation. What convenience were it if your majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as for the issue of your body, to provide that to the queen my sovereign her own place were reserved in the succession to the crown of England, which your majesty will pardon me if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather, and in the meantime this title to be united in a perpetual friendship? The succession of realms cometh by God's appointment, according to his good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter that which he hath determined, but it may needs come to pass; yet there is appearance that, without injury of any party, this accord might breed as great quietness. Everything must have some beginning. If I may receive answer from your majesty, that you will allow of any such agreement, I will refer with the queen, my sovereign, to do what I see to bring her to some contentment. If your majesty dislike it, I will no further trouble thereafter." Able and judicious as this letter is, it is not probable that it produced any great effect on the mind of Elizabeth. From the character and temper of that princess, we may readily conclude she would not be disposed to consent to an arrangement which recognised as her successor on the throne one who had been for so long a period the object at once of her dislike and fear. "Notwithstanding all the great qualities which threw such lustre on her reign, we may observe, she was tainted with a jealousy of her right to the crown, which often betrayed her into violent and ungenerous actions. She suffered the title by which she held the crown to remain ambiguous and undetermined, rather than submit it to parliamentary discussion, or derive any addition to her right from such authority. Every pretender to the succession she observed not only with the attention which prudence prescribes, but with that aversion which suspicion inspires." †

The manner, therefore, in which she received the proposal of the Scottish queen was no other than might have been expected. Lethington was repugnant in his representations, and pressed upon her the advantage of declaring Mary her successor. At first, it appears, she refused to enter on the discussion of such a matter, and, instead of giving any reply, introduced the subject of the treaty of Edinburgh, insisting that it should be immediately ratified. Buchanan says, that after several deliberations

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 1796, vol. 16, p. 261.
† Buchanan, vol. i. p. 262, see note.

views the queen consented to the following arrangement:—"That the queen of Scots should abstain from using the arms and titles of England and Ireland, so long as the queen of England or any of her children were alive; and, on the other hand, that the queen of England should make an act restricting herself and her posterity from impairing the queen of Scotland's right of succession to the crown of England." This, however, appears improbable, from the fact that, soon after, for the very purpose as it seems of avoiding the discussion of the succession question, Elizabeth dispatched Sir Peter Mewtas to request from Mary a confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh—a proposal which she was quite aware would be firmly refused. The reception accorded to Lethington's proposition, and the consequent embarrassment of the English court, are pointedly alluded to in a letter from the French ambassador, Throckmorton, to Secretary Cecil. "For the matter," says he, "lately proposed to her majesty by the Laird of Lethington, in which to deal one way or other you find difficulties, even so do I think, that not to deal at all, no manner of way, is more dangerous, as well for the queen's majesty as for the realm, and especially if God should deal so unmercifully with us as to take the queen from us, without issue, which God forbid, considering the terms the State standeth in presently." The important object which Mary had in view in these negotiations of her secretary may be regarded as the true key to the policy adopted by her during the first years of her government. In conformity with this policy, she greatly favoured Mary's treatment of the Protestants, and entrusted of the Protestants. them with the administration of affairs. Her council was filled with the most eminent persons of that party, not a single Papist being admitted into any degree of confidence.* "I thank you," says Lethington to Cecil, "for your good advice towards our Papists, which hath been as yet mostly followed, and I trust since the queen's arrival they have obtained no great advantage, but, to be plain with you, be in worse case a great deal than before."

This depression of the Romish party was a severe blow to the expectations they had formed from Mary's return to Scotland. They had suffered much in her cause, and had naturally looked for a reward proportionate to their fidelity. Instead of this, they found themselves almost universally neglected, and beheld with indignation their most bitter enemies advanced to the chief offices in the state. Treated with bare toleration in matters of religion, and politically ignored, they resolved upon adopting measures calculated to restore to them in some degree the influence they had lost. For this purpose they communicated with the Guises, but found them less disposed than on former occasions to commit themselves to the intrigues of the Romish faction. They determined, however, if possible, to bring about a renewal of the league with France, and to secure the

* Knox.

co-operation of the queen in the carrying out of their schemes; "and if they failed—if Mary declined their great offers, and refused to 'hang her keys at their girdle—they would form a faction against her, at the head of which should stand Chatelherault, Arran, Huntly, and Hume."*

A few days after the departure of her secretary for England, the queen made her public entry into Edinburgh with great pomp. A minute and interesting account of this event is chronicled in the "Diurnal of Occurrents." Nothing was neglected which could express the duty and affection of the citizens towards their sovereign.† "Her highness," says the ancient record from which we quote, "departed from Holyrood House with her train, and rode by the long street on the north side of the burgh, till she came to the foot of the Castle-hill, where a gate (probably a kind of triumphal arch) had been erected for her to pass under, accompanied by the most part of the nobles of Scotland, with the exception of the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Arran. She then rode up the bank to the castle, and dined therein at twelve o'clock. Her highness afterwards came forth from the said castle to the said burgh, at which departing the artillery shot vehemently. And thereafter, as she was descending the Castle-hill, there met her highness a convoy of young men of the burgh, to the number of fifty, their bodies covered with yellow taffaty; their arms and legs bare, coloured with black, in the manner of Moors; upon their heads black hats, and on their faces black vizors; in their mouths rings, garnished with intellable precious stones; about their necks, legs, and arms, an infinite of chains of gold. Also sixteen of the most honest men of the town, clad in velvet gowns and velvet bonnets, carried about the pall (or canopy), under which the queen rode—which pall was of fine purple velvet, lined with red taffaty, fringed with gold and silk. And after them was a cart with bairns, together with a coffer wherein was a cupboard and propyne,‡ which should be propynit

* MS. Letter, Throckmorton to Elizabeth.

† Some interesting notices of the preparations that were made for this great event occur in the "Registers of the Council of Edinburgh;" from which it appears, that on the 28th of August, 1561, "the provost, bailies, and deacons of crafts, ordain Luke Wilson, treasurer, to deliver to every one of the twelve servants, the Javillour and Guild servants, as much French *blaber* as will be to every one of them one coat; also as much black stennyng as will be to every one of them one pair of hose, and one black bonnet, against the time of the triumph. Also ordain (here are set down the names of ten persons) every one of them to have and make one gown of fine black velvit reaching to their foot, lined with *pan* velvit; one coat of black velvit, one doublet of crimson satin, with velvit bonnet and hose. And these twelve to bear the pall (or canopy) above the queen grace's head, and none others. And all the other neighbours that shall be seen upon the *gait* to have side-gowns of fine French black satin, with *pan* velvit coats, and doublets of satin; and every man to go in his due and proper order, and the servants to order the causeway, and to make room for the nobility and neighbours aforesaid."—Register Book of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 1561.

‡ i. e. present.

to her highness; and when her grace came forward to the Butter-trone * of said burgh, the nobility and convoy proceeded. At the Butter-trone there was a port made of timber in most honourable manner, coloured with fine colours, and hung with sundry arms, upon the which port were singing certain bairns in most heavenlywise. Under the port was a cloud opening with four leaves, in the which was put a bonny bairn. And when the queen's highness was coming through the said port, the cloud opened, and the bairn descended down as if it had been an angel, and delivered to her highness the keys of the town, together with a Bible and a psalm-book, covered with fine purple velvet; and after the good bairn had spoken some small speeches, he delivered also to her highness three writings—the tenour thereof is uncertain. † After this, † continues the ehronicle, “the queen's grace came to the Cross, where there were standing four fair virgins, clad in most heavenly clothing; and from the Cross the wine ran out at the spouts in great abundance, and there was the noise of people casting the glasses with the wine. ‡ Our sovereign lady then came to the Salt-trone, where there were some speakers, and after one little speech, they burned upon the scaffold made at the said trone the manner of a sacrifice; and that being done, she departed to the Nether-bow, where there was another scaffold made, having a dragon in the same; and after the dragon was burned, § and the queen's grace heard a psalm sung, she passed to her abbey of Holyrood with the said convoy and nobility; and there the bairns, which were in the cart with the propyne (present), made some speech concerning the putting away of the mass, and thereafter sung a psalm. This being done, the cart came to Edinburgh, and the said honest men remained in her outer-chamber, and desired her grace to receive the said eupboard, which was double overgilt, and the price thereof two hundred marks. This being received by the queen, who thanked them, the honest men and convoy returned to Edinburgh. ||

A few days after her public entry into Edinburgh, Mary undertakes a progress through the central counties 11th Sept. burgh, Mary resolved to make a progress through the central counties, and to visit several of the principal towns, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the general condition of that part of her kingdom. She was accompanied by fifteen ladies of her household, six of the members of her council, her unele, the Marquis d'El-

* Weighing machine.

† Knox says they were “verses in her own praise, at hearing of which she smiled.” “The Bible,” he adds, “she gave unto the most pestilent Papist in the realm—to wit, Arthur Erskine.”

‡ An allusion to the old custom of flinging over the left shoulder the glass which had just been emptied, in compliment to the person whose health had been drunk.

§ Randolph says an interlude was performed, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed, as they offered strange fire upon the altar. “They were minded also to have the effigy of a priest burned at the altar at the time of the elevation of the host.”

|| Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 67.

beauf, and her brother, the Lord James. The queen and her retinue departed from Holyrood on the 11th of September, and arrived at Lichington the same evening. On the following day, she held her court in the palace, and the day after proceeded to Stirling. Here, according to the account of Randolph, an unfortunate accident occurred, which, in consequence of a serious prediction, “that a queen should be burnt at Stirling,” made a great sensation. While in bed and asleep, with a lighted candle beside her, the curtains and tester took fire, “and so was like to have smothered her as she lay.” Leaving Stirling on the 15th, she advanced by Alloa, Culross, and Inverkeithing, to Leslie Castle, in Fifeshire, the seat of the Earl of Buchan, where she passed the night. On the 16th, she made her entrance into Perth, which is distant from Leslie Castle about twenty miles. Here she was received with great favour, many presents being displayed in her honour, and a heart of gold, full of gold pieces, was presented to her. The next day, while riding in procession through the streets, she was suddenly taken ill, and, being lifted from her horse, was carried into her palace in a state of insensibility. This, however, appears to have been but a slight indisposition, as the next day she rode twenty miles through the Carse of Gowrie, on her way to Dundee, where she remained two days. From thence, crossing the Tay, she proceeded to St. Andrew's, and, after a week's residence in that city, she visited Falkland, where her father James V. died; and on the 23rd September returned to Holyrood. This progress appears on the whole to have given great satisfaction to the young queen. Wherever she appeared, she was received with cordial demonstrations of attachment, and had such presents offered her as the poverty of the inhabitants permitted. None of her subjects, indeed, could fail to be attracted towards their fair sovereign, whose personal charms and gracious deportment commended her to the affection of all who saw her.

The queen now turned her attention to the state of the Borders, which for some time had been the scene of violence and crime. At this period, the want of a regular administration of justice was much felt. Laws, indeed, were in existence which aimed at the preservation of public order and the security of private property, but, from the impotence of the royal authority, the exorbitant power of the nobles, and the violence of faction, the execution of these laws was feeble, irregular, and partial. Bands of ruffians congregating on the Borders had lately resorted to excesses which called for the special notice and powerful interference of government. By the advice of her council, Mary dispatched her brother, the Lord James, at the head of a large army, to reduce them to obedience. Extraordinary powers, together with the title of the queen's lieutenant, were vested in him for this purpose. To assist him in this service, he summoned to his aid the freeholders of no less than eleven counties, with all their fol-

lowers completely armed, constituting an overwhelming force, which rendered opposition useless. Proceeding to Jedburgh and Dumfries, he pursued the marauders into their strongholds, "razed their towers to the ground, hanged twenty of the most notorious offenders, sent fifty more in chains to Edinburgh, and in a meeting with the English wardens, Lord Grey and Sir John Foster, restored order and good government to the Marches."*

During the absence of the Lord James, the Roman Catholics made great efforts to be received into the confidence of Mary. Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, entered Edinburgh with great pomp, at the head of eighty horsemen, and repaired to court. At the same time, Mons. de Moret, an envoy from the Duke of Savoy, was admitted to an audience with the queen, and endeavoured to influence her in favour of the Romanists. In this, however, he failed, partly because she had already pledged herself to support the Reformation, and had entrusted the administration of affairs to members of the Congregation, and partly because, owing to his connection with the house of Hamilton, she had no confidence in the Archbishop of St. Andrew's. She could never forgive the Duke of Chatehault and his son in alienating themselves from the Catholic cause; and the conduct of these noblemen since her accession to the throne tended rather to increase than abate her displeasure. The former absented himself from court, and lived in retirement. The latter, though avowedly aspiring to the hand of his sovereign, had yet acted in a manner which made his pretensions appear contemptible. He was the only man of any consequence in the kingdom who had refused to consent that Mary should enjoy the exercise of her own religion, and having published a solemn protestation against it, he thereby entirely forfeited her favour.

At this period, an important meeting of the General Assembly took place, chiefly for the purpose of presenting the following supplications to the

Privy Council. First, That the queen should put away her mass as well from herself as from the whole realm. Second, That the Book of Reformation and Discipline might be established. Third, That order might be taken for the sustentation of ministers. Fourth, That such as were known to be open and manifest Papists might be removed from the session. "These being considered, weighed, and divers reasons given on either side; of them all, the request for the ministers was thought most reasonable, notwithstanding they would travel with her grace for the rest." †

The Reformation was now established in Scotland, but no arrangements had been made for the support of the Protestant ministers. Hitherto they had drawn a scanty and precarious subsistence from the benevolence of their people. They now began, however, to take mea-

sures for the fulfilment of their not unreasonable expectations of being supported by the state. The vast revenues of the Popish Church were the only fund from which they could look for an endowment. These were already distributed in a manner which made no provision for the wants of the reformed clergy. They were either retained in the hands of the Romish prelates, or had been divided among the nobles, who had unjustly appropriated them to their own use. "A great majority of abbots, priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, either from a sense of duty, or from views of interest, renounced the errors of Popery; and, notwithstanding their change of sentiments, they still retained their ecclesiastical revenues. Almost the whole order of bishops, and several of the other dignitaries, still adhered to the Romish superstition; and, though debarred from every spiritual function, continued to enjoy the temporalities of their benefices. Many laymen, especially those who had been active in promoting the Reformation, had, under various pretences, and amidst the license of civil wars, got into their hands possessions which belonged to the Church. Thus, before any part of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues could be applied towards the maintenance of the Protestant ministers, many different interests required to be adjusted, many claims to be examined, and the prejudices and passions of the two contending parties demanded the application of a delicate hand."* On the meeting of the General Assembly, the ministers consulted as to the steps to be taken in order to secure a suitable provision for their wants. In this they met with considerable, and, in some cases, vehement, opposition from the nobles, who dreaded, and with reason, that any arrangements which could be entered into would be detrimental to their interests. Knox says that "the rulers of the Court began to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and to fret and grudge that anything should be consulted upon without their advice. Master John Wood (then secretary to the Lord James), who before had shown himself very fervent in the cause of God, and forward in giving of his counsel in all doubtful matters, plainly refused ever to assist the Assembly again, whereof many did wonder. The courtiers drew unto them some of the lords, and would not convene with their brethren as before they were accustomed, but kept them in the abbey." †

After much contention, an act was passed by a majority of the Convention, providing that an exact account should be taken of the value of ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom; that the present incumbents should be allowed to keep possession of two-thirds of their revenues; and that the remaining third should be appropriated by the queen, with the understanding that out of it she was to provide for the maintenance of the ministers, the endowment of

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 249. MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil.
† Keith, vol. ii. p. 129.

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 276.
† Knox, vol. ii. p. 295.

schools, and the support of the poor. Various circumstances contributed to render this scheme inadequate for the purposes it was designed to accomplish. On the overthrow of Popery, the bishops and other dignitaries, desirous that their own relations, rather than the crown or the Protestant clergy, should be enriched at the expense of the church, had entered into transactions with their friends and kinsmen, by which large portions of ecclesiastical property passed into private hands. For this reason, they willingly connived at the encroachments of the nobles; they divided the patrimony of the church amongst their own connections, and by granting feus and perpetual leases of lands and tithes, which were confirmed by the Pope, they in a measure legalised what was strictly speaking mere usurpation. Other means were adopted by which the operation of the act was evaded or neutralised. Fraudulent returns were rendered; many refused to produce their rentals; others estimated the corn, and similar payments in kind, at an under value; and thus, by the connivance of collectors, greatly diminished the charge against themselves: so that, when every source of revenue was taken into account, it was found that the third of all the money collected fell far short of the sum necessary to afford an adequate support to the clergy. The assigning, or, as it was termed, *modification* of the stipends, was undertaken by the Earls of Argyle and Morton, the Lord James, and Maitland of Lethington. The Laird of Pitarrow was appointed to pay the stipends of the ministers according to their modification. "But," says Knox, "so busy and circumspect were the modifiers that the ministers should not be over wanton, that it was determined that one hundred merks Scottish was an allowance sufficient for a single man, being a common minister. Three hundred merks were the highest that was appointed to any, except unto the superintendents and a few others. Shortly, whether it was the niggardliness of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the queen,* we know not; but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heaven, that neither were they able to live upon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that small thing that was appointed.†

About twenty-four thousand pounds Scots appears to have been the whole sum allotted for the maintenance of the ministers. There is no doubt that this was an inadequate provision; but we cannot attach too much value to the fact of even this having been granted. It involved the legal recognition of the Reformed Church, and was an evidence of Mary's determination to uphold the religion which the majority of her subjects had accepted. The conduct of the queen in this matter gave great offence to the Romish party, who declared that

* One of the objects proposed by the new scheme was the increase of the revenue of the crown. In allusion to this, Lethington, in one of his letters, observes—"The ministers being sustained, the queen will not get at the year's end so much as to buy her a pair of new shoes."

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 311.

nothing was now wanting but an interview between Mary and Elizabeth to complete the overthrow of the ancient faith. Cecil, the English secretary, having expressed his disapprobation that any portion of the revenues which had been taken from the bishops should be handed over to the crown, was thus answered by Randolph, who acted at all parties concerned in the arrangements:—"Where your honour," says he, "think better the diminution of the bishop's, and other things, than the augmentation of the crown thereof, what can I better say than that which I find written—'Merx meretricis et ad meretricem reversa est.' I find it neither done for zeal to Christ's religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of the lives that had it. If she did it for such, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more; I find, not also that all other men, besides the queen, were pleased with this: the Duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Ayrbroath; the Bishop of St. Andrew's from as much of his livings; the Lord Claud, the Duke's son in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh; the Abbot of Kilwinning as much besides divers others of that race: so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a beggar."

On occasion of the marriage of the Lord James with the daughter of the Earl of Mar, Lord James Marischal in the spring of 1562, created Earl of the queen, as a mark of her great attachment to her brother, created him Earl of Mar. "At this royal marriage," says Randolph to Cecil, "one thing there was which I must testify with my own hand—which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the lords at supper in sight of the queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank with the queen's majesty, and sent me the cup of gold, which weigheth eighteen or twenty ounces. After supper, in giving her majesty thanks, she returned in many affectionate words her desire of unity and perpetual kindness with the queen, and conversed and talked long with me thereof in the hearing of the duke and the Earl of Huntly."†

The desire of Mary to continue on good terms with her sister of England was at this period strongly manifested by the anxiety she expressed for an interview with that princess. Cecil had previously advised Lethington to encourage a meeting between the two queens. The Scottish secretary was not indisposed to promote the interview, but refrained from proposing it to his sovereign, being uncertain how the comparison would be received on her part. Mary herself referred him from this difficulty by addressing a letter to Elizabeth, earnestly desiring that a meeting might as soon as possible be arranged between them. In the month of May she dispatched her secretary, Lethington, to the English court, for the purpose of arranging the

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tylor, vol. vi. p. 202.

† Ibid.

preliminaries of this interview. "Our trusty and well-beloved councillor," she writes to Cecil, "the Laird of Lethington, our principal secretary, will report unto you what he has in charge from us, towards our dearest sister, the queen, your mistress, wherein we desire you, for the place of credit you occupy, to procure him by your good means favourable and hasty dispatch. Nothing doubting but that ye will give him firm credit in such things as he will declare unto you upon our behalf, being a man of a long time well known unto you, and one whom we especially trust."

This approaching interview was regarded with great suspicion by the Catholics. The Protestants were divided in opinion. Knox appears to have been strongly opposed to it. "Our Papists," says Randolph, "greatly mistrust the meeting: our Protestants as greatly desire it: our preachers, to be plain with your honour, at one word, be more vehement than discreet or learned, which I greatly lament. The little bruit that hath been here of late, that this queen is advised by the Cardinal to embrace the religion of England, maketh them now almost wild, of the which they both say and preach, that it is little than when it was at the worst. I have not so amply conferred with Mr. Knox in these matters as shortly I must, who, upon Sunday last, gave the cross and the candle such a wipe, that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He accompanied the same with a marvellous vehement and piercing prayer, in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England."*

About this time the Earl of Arran became suddenly deranged, and in his madness accused himself, his father, and the Earl of Bothwell of a conspiracy to seize the person of the queen, murder the Earl of Mar, and possess themselves of the government. Arran's madness appears to be the only explanation which can be given of so improbable a plot; at least the researches of historians have not been successful, owing to the want of all authentic records on the subject, in placing it in a clearer light. This much, however, is certain, that whether the conspiracy was merely the invention of Arran, or had some foundation in truth, the madness of that nobleman was not apparent on his first discovery of the enterprise. It appears from the statements of Knox, that the accusations which compromised himself and his father, the Duke of Chatelherault, were made in the first instance to the Reformer himself. "Upon Friday," says he, "the said Earl of Arran came to the house of the said John Knox, and brought with him Master Richard Strange and Alexander Guthrie, in whose presence he said, 'I am treasonably betrayed;' and, with these words, he began to weep. Knox demanded—'Who has betrayed you?' 'One Judas or other,' said he;

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Many of the ceremonies of the Romish Church were retained in the Reformed Church of England. amongst the rest, the burning of candles on the altar. It was against this practice that Knox directed his sermon.

'but I know it is my life that is sought.' 'My lord,' said Knox, 'I understand not such dark manner of speaking: if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plainly.' 'Well,' said he, 'I take you three to witness that I open things unto you, and I will write it to the queen. An act of treason is laid to my charge. The Earl of Bothwell has shown to me in council that he shall take the queen, and put her in my hands in the castle of Dunbarton; that he shall slay the Earl of Mar, Lethington, and others that now misguide her; and so shall I and he rule all. But I know that is devised to accuse me of treason, for I know that he will inform the queen of it; but I take you to witness that I open it here unto you, and I will pass incontinent, and write unto the queen's majesty, and unto my brother, the Earl of Mar.'"* On this determination he acted; for as the "Diurnal of Occurrents" informs us—"My lord of Arran came forth in ane phrenzy in the night, and passed to the queen's grace at the palace of Falkland, and said to her, that my lord duke, his father, and my lord Bothwell, and Gawin, commendator of Kilwinning, had conspired against the queen's grace and Lord James."†

Arran's disclosures appear to have been at first clear and consistent. Afterwards, however, as his malady developed itself, they became confused, and exhibited such inconsistencies in several important particulars of his statements as left no doubt as to the state of his mind. Knox adds, "that he plainly forewarned the Earl of Mar that the Earl of Arran was stricken with phrenzy, and thus, that over great credit should not be given unto his words and inventions. And as he advertised, so it came to pass. Within a few days, his sickness increased; he devised of wondrous signs that he saw in the heavens; he alleged that he was bewitched; and, finally, he behaved himself in all things so foolishly, that his phrenzy could not be hid."‡ Some credit was, notwithstanding his illness, attached to his allegations, and by order of the Council he was committed to prison—first in St. Andrew's, and afterwards in the castle of Edinburgh. The conduct of Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning having given rise to some suspicions, they were apprehended and detained in custody. The only step which was taken in regard to the Duke of Chatelherault was the obliging him to resign the governorship of the castle of Dunbarton, which he had held ever since the time of his quitting the office of Regent. This nobleman was now advanced in years, and, on this occasion, was treated by the queen with kindness and consideration. In the following letter from Randolph to Elizabeth, we have a valuable testimony to the gentle and amiable character of Mary, which is all the more trustworthy as the writer cannot be charged with being prejudiced in favour of the Scottish sovereign. "For the likelihood," says he, "that the queen is not moved with any

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 327. † Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 71.
‡ Knox, vol. ii. p. 329.

evil mind towards the duke or his, besides that which I have heard her grace say, I will only declare unto your majesty that which I myself (having many times had suspicion thereof) have observed and marked. I never saw yet, since her grace's arrival, but she sought more means to win the Duke of Chatelherault's good-will, and my Lord of Arran's, than ever they had wish to acknowledge their duties as subjects unto their sovereign. She knoweth herself in what place God hath appointed them, and that he is the revenger of all injustice. To separate them from her, being her subjects, there is no cause but disobedience and transgression of her lands. She is not ignorant also of the affection of many in this realm toward that house, how many they are, and how they are allied; wherein to attempt anything against them unjustly, or that should not manifest unto the world what their fault were, it should be her own ruin. These things an't like your majesty, are no small stays to the appetite of man's will, and much more unto her's, being a woman lately returned unto a country where never yet such obedience hath been given unto the prince or princess, as is due unto them. In token also that no such thing was meant of her part, it appeared in nothing more than in the usage of his father, of himself, and their friends, with all gentleness; the more to let them know, and the world judge, that she did love them as her kinsmen, esteemed them as her successors (if God gave her no issue), and favoured them as her subjects, if their doings do not merit the contrary. Unto the one, not long since, she promised a reasonable support towards his living, for the time of his father's life; and remitted unto the other many things that, both by law and conscience, he was in danger for both body and goods. After the detection of this crime, the queen's grace so well conceived of my Lord Arran, and judged so well of his sincere meaning towards her, that she devised with her Council what yearly sum, either of money or other thing, she might bestow upon him. What grief this is unto her heart, it hath appeared in many ways, and she hath wished that it could be known unto your majesty, without whose advice, I believe, she will not hastily determine anything against either the one or the other." Of these things, he concludes, "likewise the whole country doth bear witness, my testimony needeth the less."

About this time, disturbances on the Borders again called forth the interference of government. "Murder, robbery, and offences of all kinds prevailed to an intolerable degree; and men who had been publicly outlawed walked abroad, deriding the terrors of justice." Determined to restore tranquillity to these districts, and to vindicate the supremacy of the law, the queen dispatched the Earl of Mar with full powers to proceed against the offenders. His success was not less than that which attended him on a former expedition. Di-

recting his march to Hawick, he surrounded it with soldiers, and, entering the market-place, proclaimed by proclamation any citizens from giving shelter to the outlaws. These, and other vigorous measures, resulted in the apprehension of fifty-three of the most notorious offenders, of whom eighteen were instantly drowned "for lack of trees and halibuts," six were hanged at Edinburgh; and the rest either acquitted or imprisoned in the castle. "By this memorable example of severity, the disturbed districts were reduced to a state of sudden and extraordinary quietness, whilst the courage and excess of Mar contributed to raise him still higher than before in the favour of his sovereign."

Many propositions of a matrimonial union had already been made to the Scottish Mary, late queen, and on the 3rd of June, 1562, there arrived at Holyrood an ambassador from Eric XIV., King of Sweden, who had, on a previous occasion solicited her hand, for the purpose of renewing the seat of that monarch. He brought with him, as a present to the queen, a full-length portrait of his master, which Mary graciously accepted, and placed in her private cabinet. He met with a courteous reception, but his offers were not entertained. On being dismissed, he was presented with many valuable gifts, and entrusted with letters and a safe-conduct for the Swedish monarch and his navy to land within any port of her realm which they might find most convenient.

To the great satisfaction of Mary, Lethington now arrived from the English Court with the welcome tidings that Elizabeth had consented to the proposal for an interview. He informed her of the arrangements which had been made with a view to that event. The Scottish queen was to be received at Berwick by the Earls of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Arundel, by whom all her travelling expenses were to be paid from the moment that she crossed the English frontier. The Duke of Norfolk was to meet her at York, to conduct her to the presence of his sovereign, in whose company she was to proceed to Nottingham, and there to spend a month in the enjoyment of "all princely pleasures and devices." Elizabeth, together with a letter, sent also her portrait to Mary. The latter received the proposal with the greatest joy, and immediately commenced preparations for her journey. She summoned a number of the principal nobles to receive at Edinburgh, and attend her in her progress. Her feelings on this subject are well represented in a letter from Randolph to Cecil, giving an account of his interview with Mary about this period. "It pleased her grace," he says, "immediately after she had conferred with the Laird of Lethington, and had received my sovereign's picture, to send for me. After she had rehearsed many such passages, as by the Laird of Lethington's report unto her grace had been spoken of her by my sovereign, concerning

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 257.

* MS. Letter, Randolph to Cecil. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 256.

her sisterly affection towards her, her good-will and earnest desire to continue in peace and amity, and in special that they might see each other, she showeth unto me my said sovereign's picture, and asketh me how like that was to her lively face? I answered unto her, that I trusted her grace should shortly be judge thereof herself, and find much more perfection than could be set forth by the art of man." "That," said she, "is the thing that I have most desired ever since I was in hope thereof, and she shall well assure herself there shall be no stay in me, though I were to take any pains, or to do more than I may well say; and I trust by the time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that shall ever after be between us, will be when we shall take leave the one of the other. And, let God be my witness, I honour her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister. Let me be believed of you that I do not feign." "Since, therefore," concluded Randolph, "the princesses' hearts are so wedded together, as divers ways it is manifest they are, seeing the purpose is so goodly, without other respect but to live in love, I doubt not but, how much soever the world rage thereat, the greater would be the glory unto them both, and the success of the enterprise the happier. To resolve, therefore, with your honour therein, I find in this queen so much good-will as can be possible; in many of her subjects no less desire than in herself; the rest not such that any such account is to be made of, that either can hinder the purpose, or do great good, whatsoever they become."*

It may be reasonably doubted whether the Queen of England was ever sincere in her intention of meeting with Mary. Her ministers, indeed, desired it; but there were many personal considerations which might weigh with that naturally jealous princess, and induce her to avoid the interview. Certain it is, that when every preparation had been made for the journey into England, Sir Henry Sidney † arrived at court with the tidings that the long-expected meeting was delayed till the summer of the following year. Nor were there wanting apparently good reasons for this conduct of Elizabeth. From the instructions given to Sidney, it appears that she was desirous of remaining in London or its vicinity, on account of the troubles then raging in France. The Catholics and Protestants of that country were now engaged in one of the most sanguinary conflicts which distinguished this age of religious and political contention. A league had been formed between the respective governments of France, Spain, Savoy, and Rome, for the purpose of suppressing the Reformation. The aspect of affairs became every day more serious, and Elizabeth, who had invariably extended her support to the Protestants, considered it expedient—so at least she avowed to Mary—that for the present summer she should remain at

home, and watch the proceedings of the common enemy. At the same time, her communications to her sister sovereign were extremely friendly. In her instructions to Sidney, she says—"Of mere necessity, and utterly against our will and determination, we are forced to forbear that which we most desired this summer, which was to have seen our said dear sister; of the lack whereof we be sure our grief shall be more than any other care whatsoever that shall happen; and yet, for the ease of our mind and the relief of our sorrow, we have devised, and fully determined, by God's will, if our sister shall so agree, to see her and enjoy her company in the beginning of the next summer; for assurance whereof we have at present sent unto her a confirmation of the former accord, for our meeting to be at the city of York, or our castles of Pomfret or Nottingham, at any time that she shall name and appoint, betwixt the twentieth of May next and the last of August then following; with assurance of like safe-conduct for that year as was now presently intended for this."* Mary felt this disappointment keenly. She seems to have looked forward to the interview as an event which would tend to conciliate the affections of her cousin, and cement the friendship between the respective countries. On being first informed of the embassy of Sidney, her eyes filled with tears, and, retiring to her chamber, she gave passionate expression to her regret. † Conscious of her own generous intentions, this unexpected withdrawal on the part of Elizabeth appeared to her strange and suspicious. Reassured, however, by the communications of the envoy, she entrusted him with a friendly letter, and would at once have agreed to the meeting appointed for next year, had she not been advised by her secretary, Lethington, to delay her final answer till her council, the most of whom were at this time absent, could be conveniently assembled.

The queen now determined to undertake a journey through the northern part of her dominions. Before she set out, she was visited by an emissary from the court of Rome. His object was to persuade her majesty to send a representative to the Council of Trent, which was then sitting. Not daring to receive him openly, he was conducted secretly to her presence while the Protestant nobles were attending sermon. The papal messenger, however, had a narrow escape; for, returning somewhat unexpectedly, the Earl of Mar, attended by the English ambassador, Randolph, entered the ante-chamber, and but for the presence of mind of one of the queen's maids, who conveyed him away by a private entrance, he would have been seized, and not improbably put to death. Randolph says that he caught a glimpse of "a strange visage, which filled him full of suspicion," and that inquiry having been made, he was diligently sought for, and only saved by the remonstrances of the Earl of Mar. ‡

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, July, 1561. Tyler, vol. vi. p. 261.

† Father of the illustrious Sir Philip Sidney.

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 153.

† MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Sidney to Cecil.

‡ Randolph to Cecil, 1st August, 1562.

Having completed her arrangements, Mary started for Inverness, accompanied by her principal nobles. In connection with this royal progress, we have now to give some account of the conspiracy of the Earl of Huntly, which is one of the most intricate and mysterious of the Earl of Huntly. passages in Scottish history. "As it was a transaction purely domestic, and in which the English were but little interested, few original papers concerning it have been found in Cecil's collection, which is the great storehouse of evidence and information with regard to the affairs of this period." George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, who laid the foundation of the subsequent greatness of his family, was one of the nobles who had enjoyed the confidence and shared in the bounty of James IV., as a reward for the services he had rendered to that monarch. Great accessions of wealth and power were then obtained by a family already opulent and powerful. Alexander, the next earl, on receiving his appointment of lord-lieutenant of all the counties beyond the Forth, had retired from court, and, proceeding to his estates in the north, resided there in a state of princely independence. The conduct of George, the present earl, had not been such as to deserve the confidence of government. During the late commotions, under the regency of the Queen-mother, he had acted a vacillating and temporising part. At one time, when the affairs of the Congregation had appeared desperate, he had assisted the Regent in her attempts to overpower them. At another, when the prospects of the Reformers were more encouraging, he had pretended to join them, but avoided giving them any material aid. "He was courted and feared by each of the contending parties; both connived at his encroachments in the north; and by artifice and force, which he well knew how to employ alternately, and in their proper places, he added every day to the exorbitant power and wealth which he already possessed."* Huntly was a man of inordinate ambition, which he only waited for a seasonable opportunity to discover. He had long been jealous of the growing reputation and authority of the Earl of Mar, and ardently desired to supplant him in his influence with the queen. This desire was shared by the Duke of Chatelherault, to whom Huntly was closely allied, through the marriage of his son, Lord Gordon, to the daughter of Hamilton. Personal injuries had increased his animosity to Mar. He had discovered that the latter was endeavouring to persuade the queen to bestow upon him the earldom of Moray, together with the extensive domains appertaining to that title. Of these he had for many years appropriated the revenues, and enjoyed the power; and he could scarcely be expected to view with indifference their bestowment upon his rival. In addition to all this, he was indignant at the treatment he had received at court. Professing the same religion as his sovereign and regarded as the head of the Catholic party, he had not unnaturally expected to be advanced to one of

the chief offices of state. Instead of this, he found himself treated with coldness and neglect—a neglect, however, of which he had perhaps the less reason to complain, as it was invariably shown to all who were not of the Protestant persuasion. His influence at court was merely nominal, although he was invested with the high office of chancellor, and had a seat in the Privy Council. He was the more keenly sensible of these slight, as, on the death of Francis, he had made large offers of service to the widowed queen, promising to afford her every assistance to re-establish the ancient faith. From these circumstances, it is probable that, being strongly disaffected to the present government, and ambitious of still greater influence than he already possessed, he had resolved upon employing his extensive resources to effect the destruction of his rival, and to secure to himself the chief power in the administration of affairs.

The most important schemes are sometimes forced into premature development in consequence of some unforeseen event, which involves the necessity of immediate action. An incident which happened at this time appears to have had this effect in the case of Huntly. Sir John Gordon, of Fintrach, one of his younger sons, having some dispute with Lord Ogilvy, attacked that nobleman at night, in the streets of Edinburgh. The latter was desperately wounded in the encounter, and Gordon was immediately arrested, by order of the magistrates, and conveyed to prison. Soon afterwards, escaping from confinement, he fled, and took refuge in his own estates. Through the influence of his mother, however, he was persuaded to submit himself to the pleasure of his sovereign, who committed him to custody in the castle of Stirling. On his way thither, he repented of his submission, escaped from his guards, and, gathering a thousand horsemen, bade defiance to the royal power. He then proceeded to the north, and induced his father, the Earl of Huntly, to join in the rebellion, which terminated in the violent death of that nobleman, his own execution, and the temporary ruin of the noble family of Huntly."

Before relating the proceedings of the rebels, we may briefly notice the progress of Mary's journey the queen in her journey to the north. "From Stirling," writes Randolph to Cecil, "she taketh her journey as far north as Inverness, the farthest part of Moray—the Morayshire, a terrible journey both for horse and man, the countries are so poor, and the winters so severe. If a her will that I should attend upon her father, it is thought that it will be a journey he has of two months or more. It is rather desired by herself than approved by her mother." It might well be called "a terrible journey," as the roads in that remote district were, at this period, and what the more than two centuries afterwards, in the most wretched condition. Randolph's account seems satisfactorily to disprove the conjecture of some historians, that this northern progress was planned by the council at the head of which was Mar, for

* Robertson.

the purpose of prejudicing Mary against Huntly, and accomplishing his ruin. "It was natural," as Mr. Tytler remarks, "that Mar should rejoice in the fall of so potent an enemy to the Protestant cause as Huntly. It is true that he availed himself of his offences to strengthen his own power; but that, prior to the rebellion, he had laid a base design to entrap him into treason, is an opinion founded on conjecture, and contradicted by fact."*

Mary commenced her progress from Edinburgh on the 11th of August, 1562, on horseback, and rode to Calder, twelve miles distant, with part of her train; and after dinner crossed the country to Linlithgow, where she was joined by others of her attendants, and passed the night in the palace. On the following day she rode to Callender House, the seat of Lord Livingstone, from whence she proceeded to Stirling Castle, where she remained till the 18th of August. The queen arrived at Old Aberdeen on the 27th of the same month. She was accompanied by Randolph, the English ambassador, the Earl of Mar, Secretary Lethington, and the greater part of the nobility. The absence of the Duke of Chatelherault, who was now restored to favour, seems to have been occasioned by the infirmities of age. After all her attendants and men-at-arms had arrived, she left Old Aberdeen on the 1st of September, intending to make a public entry into the neighbouring town of New Aberdeen, and to remain there twenty days. Departing from her design, and proceeding northward, she was pressed by Huntly to visit his magnificent residence at Strathbogie; but, notwithstanding that his invitation was supported by the majority of her council, she steadily refused, alleging that she would not visit the father of a rebel. Leaving Kinloss Abbey, where she passed the night, on the 8th of September, she set out for Darnaway Castle,† the chief mansion of the earldom of Moray. Here a Privy Council was held, at which

Mar created the Lord James produced his patent Earl of Moray. of the earldom of Moray, and relinquished that of Mar. In relation to this circumstance, Randolph writes to Cecil:—"The queen, it may please your honour to know, hath given the

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 268.

† "Darnaway Castle, the seat of the ancient and present Earls of Moray, is in the united parishes of Dyke and Moy, partly in the county of Moray, partly in the county of Nairn, on the north side of the Moray Frith. The castle is in the Morayshire portion of the united parishes, about five miles south-west of the town of Forres. It is a magnificent old structure, built at different periods, and of irregular architecture. Randolph, Earl of Moray, nephew of King Robert Bruce, erected the great hall, one of the finest apartments of the kind in the United Kingdom, measuring eighty-nine feet in length, by thirty in breadth, and said to be capable of containing a thousand armed men. The original roof remains, and resembles that of the Parliament House at Edinburgh, and that of Westminster Hall. Earl Randolph's table and chair of state are preserved in Darnaway Castle. In 1839, Francis, tenth Earl of Moray, the direct descendant of Lord James Stuart, gave a splendid entertainment to his tenants in this noble hall, in which his great ancestor first assumed the title of Earl of Moray, and relinquished that of Mar."—Keith, *Note by the Editor*, vol. ii. p. 161.

earldom of Moray, which was once Earl Thomas Randolph's, to the Earl of Mar. It is both more honourable and greater in profit than the other."

From Darnaway the queen proceeded to Inverness, the gates of which, however, she found insolently shut against her. On the place being summoned, the governor declared that he held it for Lord Gordon, and that, acting under his orders, he refused her admittance. This conduct being equivalent to rebellion, the spirit of Mary was roused, and without any further parleying she prepared for an assault upon the town. "On this occasion," says Randolph, "she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapsell."† The queen having again summoned the garrison to surrender, the demand, as they were not prepared for a siege, was immediately complied with. The governor suffered the penalty of treason, and was hanged. This expedition appears to have excited the military enthusiasm of the English ambassador. "What desperate blows," he writes, "would that day have been given—when every man should have fought in sight of so noble a queen, and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours, and not to be bereft of them—your honour may easily imagine."

Huntly appears to have taken the decisive step, and to have openly assumed arms in defiance of the proclamation of his sovereign at the period when the earldom of Moray was conferred upon his hated rival. Having assembled his vassals, and fortified his castles of Findlater, Aehendown, and Strathbogie, he pushed forward with rapid marches in the direction of Aberdeen, with the hope of seizing the person of the queen. To this place Mary had retired on leaving Inverness, having on her way summoned the castle of Findlater to surrender, but without effect. Not being provided with the means of enforcing the submission of this strong fortress, she proceeded to New Aberdeen, at the head of three thousand men. "The Earl of Huntly," says Knox, "was then charged to deliver the said castles, on pain of treason. To show some obedience, he caused the keys of both to be presented by his servant, Mr. Thomas Ker. But before this the queen had sent Captain Stuart, with six score of soldiers, to lie about the said place of Findlater. Upon a certain night, Sir John Gordon, falling upon them with a company of horsemen, captured their leader, slew certain of the soldiers, and disarmed the rest. This fact so inflamed the queen, that all hope of reconciliation was past; and so the said Earl of Huntly was charged, under pain of putting him to the *horne*, to present himself and the said Sir John before the queen and council within six days; which charge he disobeyed, and so was pronounced a rebel,"‡

The forces of Huntly were at first considerable;

* Randolph to Cecil, 15th September, 1562. Chalmers' *Life of Mary*, vol. i. pp. 81-84.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Knox, vol. ii. p. 354.

but, as he advanced towards Aberdeen, they gradually melted away, till they numbered only between Moray encounters seven and eight hundred. He and found himself opposed by the Earls defeats Huntly. of Moray, Morton, and Atholl, at the head of upwards of two thousand men. Of these, however, a considerable number could not be trusted. They were brought into the field by the neighbouring barons, who were suspected of being favourable to the designs of Huntly. The latter posted his army on a hill named Corrichie, a very advantageous position, about twelve miles distant from the city. The adherents in whose fidelity Moray had placed but little confidence were the Forbesees, Hays, and Leslies, whose conduct in immediately betaking themselves to flight, on the first attack, amply justified his suspicions. But Moray, who was both a prudent leader and a courageous soldier, with a small but determined force took up a position on a rising ground, and there awaited the attack of his opponents. After a short but severe conflict, the insurgents were completely defeated, and their leader himself slain—whether by the sword or suffocation from the weight of his armour, in consequence of his extreme corpulency, is uncertain.* Huntly's two sons were made prisoners, and conveyed to Aberdeen. Three days after

the battle, Sir John Gordon, the Sir John Gordon, second son, and chief instigator of the rebellion, was beheaded in that city.† Execution and imprisonment of his brother. Huntly's third son, on account of his youth—being then only eighteen—received a pardon. Lord Gordon, the eldest of this unfortunate family, was shortly afterwards apprehended in the south, and, having been brought to his trial, was found guilty of treason. Through the clemency of the queen, his punishment was commuted for imprisonment. On the first meeting of parliament, Huntly's immense estates were confiscated to the crown, the title was forfeited, and "this all-potent house reduced in a moment to insignificance and beggary." There is no doubt that Huntly had meditated the most violent measures against his sovereign. Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, relates that "Sir John Gordon confessed his treasonable designs, but laid the burden of them on his father; that two confidential servants of that nobleman, Thomas Ker and his brother, acknowledged that their master, on three

* "The vale of Corrichie, the scene of this battle, is in the parish of Mid-Mar, amid the mountain scenery of the hill of Farr, which is upwards of two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the base is described as nearly twenty miles in circumference. The locality is nearly twenty English miles west of Aberdeen, near the rivulet of Corrichie, on the borders of Kincardineshire. An excavation on the side of a rock in the vicinity of the vale is traditionally designated the *queen's chair*, from the assertion that Mary halted at the spot while returning southward from Aberdeen, and viewed the scene of the then recent engagement. This, however, must be a popular error, for the queen's progress from Aberdeen was by Dunnottar, along the coast to Montrose, whence she passed to Dundee and Perth."—*Keith*, vol. ii. p. 170. *Note by Editor.*

† Buchanan says:—"He was generally pitied and lamented, for he was a noble youth, very beautiful, and entering on the prime of his age."

several occasions, had plotted to cut off Moray and Lethington; and that the queen herself, in a conversation with Randolph, thanked God for having delivered her enemy into her hand. She declared," he says, "many a shameful and detestable part that he thought to have used against her, as to have married her where he would, to have slain her brother, and whom other he loved; the place, the times, where it should have been done; and how easy matter it was, if God had not preserved her."*

On the queen's arrival at the capital from her expedition to the north, she was 21st Nov. 1562. taken ill with a new distemper, which confined her to her room during six days. In the month of December, the Reformer preached a sermon, which was the occasion Knox's account of his second formal interview with the queen. Mary. It appears, from the account of Randolph, that Knox "invighed sore against the queen's dancing, and little exercise of herself in virtue and godliness. The report hereof being brought to her ears, yesterday she sent for him. She talked a long time with him: little thing there was between them of the one or the other, yet did they so depart as that no offence or scandal did arise thereon." Knox himself explains his conduct by saying that the gaiety of the court was occasioned, not only by the news that peace had been restored between France and England, but by letters having been received with the intelligence that "persecution was begun again in France, and that her nobles were beginning to stir their tails, and to trouble the whole realm; upon which he preached against the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes."† Three accusations were preferred against him: that he had spoken irreverently of the queen—that he had laboured to bring her into hatred and contempt of the people—and that he had exceeded the bounds of his text. Having received a summons from the hands of Alexander Cockburn to attend her majesty to answer for his conduct, he proceeded to court, and was immediately conducted to the royal chamber, where the queen awaited him, surrounded by her ladies and several nobles of the Reformed party, including the Earls of Moray and Morton, and Secretary Lethington. Knox himself has preserved in his 'History' the defence which he made in answer to the above-mentioned accusations. "Madam," said he, "this is all the just recompense which God gives the soldiers of

* MS. Letter, Randolph to Cecil. *Tytler*, vol. ii. p. 98.

† This distemper appears to have been an acute form of influenza—at least, so we judge from the following description of the symptoms by Randolph:—"It is a pain in the head that hure it, and a soreness in the stomach, with a great cough; it remaineth with some heat, but with the shorter time, as it findeth yet better by the nature of the disease. It is called the 'New Consumption.' The queen kept her bed six days. There was no appearance of danger, nor many that die of this disease, except some of the My Lord of Moray is now presently in it, the Lord of Lethington hath had it, and I am ashamed to say I have been free of it, seeing it is soleth dangerous at all times."—*Randolph to Cecil.*

‡ Knox, vol. ii. p. 331.

the world—that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are often compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not that it came to the ears of Herod, that our master, Jesus Christ, called him a fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murder an innocent, as he had lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. If the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have repeated my words, and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit at court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they needs must have somewhat to please your majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies; but such pleasure, if any your majesty take in such persons, will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the spirit of God, yea, of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with anything that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your majesty to hear myself rehearse the same so near as memory will serve. My text, madam, was this—'And now, O kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour wherein God has placed them, the obedience which is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question: but, Oh, alas! what account shall the most part of princes make before that Supreme Judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true—that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth; for whilst that murderers, bloodthirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed? And how can it be otherwise? For princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them; but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand; for in fiddling and singing they are more exercised than in reading or hearing God's most blessed Word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who, by wholesome admonitions, may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we are all born, but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, madam, I said that, albeit in Scripture I found no praise of it, and in profane writers that it is termed the gesture of those that are mad and in frenzy than of sober men, yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided; the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that

exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing; secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for, if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be to drink in hell, unless they repent." "Your words are sharp enough, even now," said Mary, "and yet they were told me in another manner. I know that you and my uncles are not of one religion, and therefore I cannot blame you for conceiving so ill an opinion of them; but, for myself, if you disapprove of ought, come to myself, speak openly, and I shall hear you." "Madam," answered Knox, "I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his son Jesus Christ; and for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore, I am assured, their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now."

On the 25th of December the General Assembly was convened, at which meeting; Meeting of the General Assembly. many complaints were made that "churches lacked ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends; and that wicked men were permitted to be schoolmasters, and so to infect the youth." These complaints had reference to the negligence or avarice of those who had been appointed to collect and distribute the small and inadequate fund appropriated for the maintenance of the clergy. Petitions to the queen were presented, praying for redress of these grievances, but without effect. For the other transactions of this assembly we must refer our readers to that portion of our history which treats of the ecclesiastical affairs of this period.

About this time, Lethington was dispatched to England on a special embassy, Embassy of Lethington to England, Feb. 1563. in consequence of a rumour, that measures were contemplated by the English parliament prejudicial to the interests of the Scottish queen as the nearest heir of Elizabeth. Naturally jealous of an attempt to invalidate her rights, she instructed her secretary "to renew unto our good sister, and reduce to her remembrance all conferences and communications past betwixt our good sister and herself, touching that matter; and shall also enlarge unto her and make manifest the good title and interest we have in the succession of that crown, as nearest and lawful in the right line from King Henry VII., by just descent from his eldest daughter Margaret, sometime Queen of Scots; and desire our good sister that, according to justice and equity, and having respect to the good amity and intelligence presently standing between us, she neither do procure nor suffer to be done anything prejudicial to our aforesaid title."* Lethington was a skilful diplomatist, and, in consequence of his active exertions, no steps were taken by the English parliament in the matter of the succession.

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 191.

Various circumstances combined to press upon the attention of Mary the question of her marriage. Her widowhood had now continued for three years. Her youth and inexperience, the difficulties of her position, the interests of the kingdom, the advice of her councillors, the expressed wishes of her subjects, rendered it apparent that it would be for the advantage of all parties that she should bestow her hand upon one or other of the numerous suitors who then solicited it. Several proposals had been made to this effect. In the summer of the previous year, the Cardinal of Lorraine had made a visit to Ferdinand, the Emperor of Germany, as he was returning home from assisting at the Council of Trent, and had suggested a marriage between Mary and the Archduke Charles, the youngest son of the emperor.* Charles, however, had formerly made overtures of marriage to the Queen of England, and that princess, hearing of the project now mentioned, warned Mary, through her envoy, Randolph, "That if she listened to the Cardinal as to anything relating to that match, it would be the ready way to dissolve the good agreement between Scotland and England, if not to exclude her from any hopes of succeeding to the crown of England; which, that she might not come short of, she warned her, as a friend, to make choice of such an husband out of the *English* nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the foundation of a firm peace between the two kingdoms at the same time, and secure her succession to the crown, which would never be declared till her choice were publicly known as to this matter."† Cecil also addressed a remonstrance on the subject to the Earl of Moray, who replied that nothing had been yet concluded as to this proposal; but that it was not consistent with her honour to repress the suit of princes, neither to such a course could he advise her, however deeply interested in the continuance of the friendship between the two queens and the mutual love and quietness of their subjects.‡ Besides the offer of the Archduke, proposals for the hand of Mary were made by Philip II. on behalf of his son Don Carlos, Infant of Spain; and by Catherine de Medicis on behalf of the brother of her former husband, the Duke of Anjou. Knox speaks of Lord Robert Dudley and Lord Darnley being also aspirants for the hand of the Scottish queen. It is probable that Mary was prepossessed in favour of a foreign alliance, but two circumstances tended to divert her thoughts from such a marriage. On the one hand, she was desirous of giving effect to the wishes of her own subjects, and these she was fully aware were opposed to any project that would again connect them with a foreign power. They had suffered much from her former marriage with the King of France, and could never forget the miseries entailed upon the country in consequence of the interference of that kingdom with their rights and liberties.

Strong opinions prevailed as to the limitation of the prerogatives of the crown, and a union with a foreign prince would probably lead to an extension of these beyond their ancient bounds. For these and similar reasons, such an alliance as that contemplated with the archduke, would not only be viewed with suspicion and aversion, but be vehemently opposed by the great body of her people. On the other hand, Mary was extremely desirous to consult the wishes of Elizabeth, as it necessarily was her interest to do. We have seen the opinion entertained by the queen of England on the subject of a marriage with the son of the Emperor of Germany. Not content with expressing her dislike to this alliance, she insinuates that Mary's choice of a consort should fall upon one of her own subjects. In somewhat ambiguous terms, she held out a promise, that if her wishes were complied with in this respect, she would take measures for the immediate recognition of her right of succession to the English throne. As this was one of the great objects of Mary's ambition, she appears to have been impressed with the necessity of countering the rival, whom, without the greatest impediment, she could not venture to offend.

A circumstance now occurred which occasioned deep grief to the Scottish queen. Death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated during the progress of the civil war which then distressed France. The queen was residing at St. Andrew's when the fatal intelligence was communicated to her. Her attachment to her relative was great, and her sorrow proportionately poignant. The unhappy commotions in France were a source of anxiety and sorrow, and all her influence was employed to restore tranquillity to the Kingdom and to secure the preservation of a peace with England. About this time, also, Envoys of the conduct of a Frenchman named Chastellet, who had arrived from France in the train of Monsieur D'Anville, gave rise to many injurious reports affecting the character of the queen. This person is described as a gentleman of good family, handsome, and accomplished, "a scholar by education, and a poet by choice." Mary, who was passionately fond of music, had shown considerable favour to Chastellet; but whether, as has been insinuated, she gave him "such encouragement as turned the unfortunate man's head," and behaved towards him in a manner unbecoming a woman and a queen, so as to excite his subsequent extravagant conduct, is a point which is not to be hastily decided; and the testimony of Knox is, in our opinion, not sufficient to determine the question. But however this may be, it is certain he received a strong attachment for Mary, and the violence of his passion induced him to commit the offence of concealing himself in her bedchamber. This was in the palace of Holyrood, on the night of the 12th of February; and it is supposed that he armed himself with a sword and dagger. When informed of his conduct on the following morning,

* Melville's Memoirs, p. 32. † Camden Annals, p. 88.
‡ MS. Letter, Moray to Cecil.

the queen, with unfortunate forbearance, no further manifested her displeasure than by commanding him to quit the court. The infatuated Frenchman, however, followed her to Dunfermline, and from thence to Burntisland, where he repeated his audacious conduct by intruding into her apartment at the moment when she was making preparations to retire for the night. His own excuse was, that he wished to clear himself from the former imputation against his conduct. On seeing Chastellet, Mary and her ladies called for help, and their shrieks soon alarmed the royal household. The wretched man was immediately seized, and unhesitatingly acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt on the honour of the queen. Roused to indignation at this insulting confession, Mary commanded Moray, who first came to her assistance, to dispatch the wretch with his dagger. The latter, however, acted a more prudent part, observing that "it would not be for her honour if he were punished in a summary way, but that he should be dealt with according to the laws of the realm." The Earl of Morton, who had succeeded Huntly as Lord Chancellor, the Lord Justice-clerk, Bellenden, and other members of the Privy Council, were summoned from Edinburgh. On the second day after the outrage, Chastellet was tried, condemned, and executed at St. Andrew's on the 22nd of February. Randolph says that he died penitent; and Knox that "he made a godly confession, and granted that his declining from the truth of God and following vanity and impiety was justly recompensed upon him." Somewhat inconsistent with these statements is the fact, that on the scaffold, instead of attending to his religious devotions, he took out of his pocket a volume of Ronsard, and read that French poet's hymn on death, "after which he resigned himself to his fate with gaiety and indifference."* This is a sad story: but we are not disposed to consider the infatuated conduct of Chastellet as traceable to any undue favour which was shown towards him on the part of Mary. Our own ideas of propriety would doubtless condemn her familiarity with the accomplished musician, but we have no reason to believe that it exceeded the limits allowed by the opinions of society as then constituted.† We may safely assume, that up to this period, at least, the character of Mary was such, as it is thus drawn by Sir James Melville: "The queen's majesty, after her returning out of France, behaved herself so princely, so honourably, so discreetly, that her reputation spread in all countries, and she was inclined and determined so to continue in that sort of comeliness unto the end of her life, desiring to hold none in her company but such as were of the best qualities and conversation, abhorring all vices

and vicious persons, whether they were men or women."*

While Lethington was absent on his embassy respecting the succession, the Catholics, in defiance of the queen's proclamation, celebrated mass in the houses of many of their adherents. The Bishop of St. Andrew's and the Prior of Whithorn were particularly conspicuous in their violations of the law. No steps having been taken by government for the punishment of the offenders, the Reformers took the law into their own hands, pursued and apprehended several of the priests, and intimated to the Romish clergy that henceforth they should neither complain to queen nor council, but should execute the punishment that God has appointed to idolators in his law by such means as they were able.† These proceedings were naturally obnoxious to Mary, and sending for

Knox sent for by the queen.
the Reformer to Lochleven, where she was then residing, she expostulated with him on the conduct of his friends. "She travailed with him earnestly two hours before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the West, not to proceed to the punishment of any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them." Knox replied by exhorting her to punish malefactors according to the laws. But if she thought to elude the laws, he feared that some one would let the Papists understand that without punishment they should not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's majesty. "Will you," said the queen, "allow that they shall take my sword in their hand?" The Reformer replied that the sword belonged to God, who entrusted it to princes to the end that justice might be done; and if the latter failed to perform it, others must do it for them. Nor would God be offended if men, though neither kings nor magistrates, took it upon them to inflict judgment. "Samuel," said he, "spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had saved; nor did Elias spare Jezebel's prophets, and Baal's priests, although king Ahab stood by. Phineas was no magistrate, but he feared not to strike Zimri and Cosbi. And so, madam, you may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished, the vice and crimes that God commands to be punished. Consider," he concluded, "what is the thing your grace's subjects look to receive from your majesty, and what it is you ought to do unto them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that only in God. You are bound to keep the laws unto them. You crave of them service; they crave from you protection and defence against wicked doers. But if you deny your duty unto them, do you expect to receive full obedience from them? I fear, inadaun, you shall not."‡ These were bold words, but they do not appear to have left an unfavourable impression on the mind of

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 178. Note by Editor.

† The ideas of propriety current in that age were strange enough—for example, Knox himself says, "The queen would lie upon Chastellet's shoulder, and sometimes, privately, she would steal a kiss of his neck. And all this was honest enough, for it was the gentle entreatment of a stranger!"

* Memoirs, p. 130. Bannatyne Club Edition.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 371.

‡ Knox, vol. ii. p. 376.

Mary. The very fearlessness of the undaunted Reformer, who cared nothing for the displeasure of princes, and was anxious only to express his strong convictions, disposed her to receive from his lips what he conceived to be the scriptural exposition of her duty as a queen. On the following day, being desirous of another interview, Mary sent a message to Knox by the hands of Walter Melville, to meet her at Kinross, whither she proposed to go to enjoy the pastime of hawking. Their intercourse on this occasion was of an unusually friendly character. Mary even ventured to tender to the Reformer some excellent advice. He was about to proceed to Dumfries to preside at the election of a superintendent for the surrounding district. Understanding that Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens,* was a candidate for that office, she warned him, in a friendly spirit, that the character of that person was not such as to justify his appointment to the proposed office. Knox had reason afterwards, as he himself confesses, to acknowledge the soundness of her counsel.† She then proceeded to inform him that, as regarded their conversation of the day previous, she had resolved to do as he required. "I shall cause all offenders to be summoned, and you shall know that I shall minister justice."‡ Nor did she fail in her performance of this promise; for, as we learn from the "Diurnal of Occurrents," on the 19th of May, a few days before the meeting of parliament, "the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Prior of Whithorn, and other Romanists, appeared before Argyle, the Justice General, to answer the charge of having celebrated mass contrary to her majesty's proclamation. The archbishop and the prior (to this indictment having pleaded guilty) were ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh during the queen's pleasure, and the rest, having given security for their future obedience, were dismissed."§

The first parliament which had met since Mary's Meeting return into Scotland assembled of parliament. on the 26th of May. The queen determined to open the proceedings in person.

* In consequence of a typographical error in some of the printed copies of Knox's History, Mr. Tytler and others have been led into the mistake of saying that the queen here refers to "the Bishop of Cathness." It is true that in MS. G. we find "the Bishop of Cathness," but the marginal note in that MS. reads correctly "Bishop of Athens." The person referred to is undoubtedly, as stated in the text, Alexander Gordon, titular Archbishop of Athens, afterwards Bishop of Galloway. He joined the Reformers, and still enjoyed his titles; but he was not allowed to exercise his functions as a bishop, nor was his petition acceded to, to be appointed visitor to the churches within his diocese of Galloway. We are indebted for the correction of the above mistake to the valuable notes appended to the edition of Knox's History printed for the Wodrow Society, and edited by David Laing Esq.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 374.

‡ It is supposed that, at this interesting interview, Queen Mary presented the Reformer with the small watch enclosed in a crystal case, of an oblong octagon shape, which, when the late Dr. M'Crie wrote his celebrated biography, was in the possession of Mr. Thompson of Aberdeen.—(Notes to M'Crie's Life of Knox. Strickland's Life of Queen Mary.)

§ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 76.

Surrounded by her peers and great officers of state, she rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the Estates were convened. The spectacle was brilliant and imposing. The Duke of Chastellain carried the crown, the Earl of Argyll the scepter, and the Earl of Moray the sword. The hall of the Tolbooth was fitted up with galleries for the accommodation of the royal household and the ladies of the court. Mary appeared wearing her state robes and diadem. It must have been an elevated and splendid scene, when this young and beautiful sovereign for the first time addressed her people from the throne. The hall rang with rapturous applause, every heart beat with most loyal feelings, and many an exclamation was heard,—"God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator speak so properly and sweetly!"

The proceedings of the parliament were not of any great importance. The grant of the earldom of Moray to the Lord James was confirmed; the attainder against Kirkaldy of Grange and several of his accomplices in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, was reversed; and the Act of Oblivion, mentioned in the treaty of Edinburgh, received the royal sanction. Mary, however, refused, as before, to grant confirmation of the treaty as a whole, and only gave her consent to the Act of Oblivion in consequence of the urgent entreaties of the Lords, who, it is said, "besought her, on their knees, to allay the jealousies and apprehensions of her subjects by such a gracious law."

On the 28th of May, the queen was obliged to witness a strange and repulsive ceremonial. This was the attainder of the body of the unfortunate Earl of Huntly, which, according to a barbarous custom, had for this purpose been kept undecayed ever since the battle of Corrichie, in the month of October. After the indictment was read, the body was carried into court, in a coffin covered with his escutcheons, when, his treason having been declared proven, the forfeiture was passed, "and the name of the said earl were riven off, and debited forth of memory." †

The Reformers were at this period much scandalised by the licentious manners of the court, and the extravagance of the ladies in the matter of dress. "They spake boldly," says Knox, "against their vanity, and affirmed that the vengeance of God would fall, not only on the English women, but on the whole realm; especially against those that maintained them in that odious showing of things that might have been better hid." His own remonstrances continued to multiply, and were presented to parliament with the view of procuring the enactment of a summary law, which should regulate dress, and provide for the reformation of other abuses. To this great distribution of the preachers these proposals were referred without discussion. A more important measure, however, occupied the attention of Knox; he desired

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 281.

† Spaldingwood, p. 188. Robertson, vol. i. p. 228, 229, 230.

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 78.

that the question of religion should be formally brought before the three Estates, and that measures should be taken to establish the Protestant faith in the kingdom. In this he was opposed and thwarted

by the ministers of Mary, and especially by the Earl of Moray. This conduct on the part of one with whom he had been so long and intimately associated, and who was so much indebted to his power and influence, was extremely painful to the Reformer. He expostulated with the earl, plainly hinting that he was acting from selfish motives; that he dared not introduce the subject of religion, lest his own interests should be compromised; and that the true explanation of his reserve was the fear that confirmation would be refused to his grant of the earldom of Moray. These insinuations exasperated the earl, and he replied to them in terms of great severity. But the Reformer was not a man to remain silent when his conscience prompted him to speak, nor to refrain from administering a rebuke when the most solemn engagements were broken, and that cause for which he had suffered so much was betrayed for the promotion of selfish ambition and personal aggrandisement. In a letter to Moray, he reminded him of their first acquaintance, in what condition he was when they had met in London, and how, since that period, he had been promoted, beyond his own and the expectations of other men, to the chief offices of state. He expressed the sanguine hopes he had once entertained of being assisted by him in the establishment of the truth, and how he was now reluctantly compelled to abandon these hopes. "But seeing," says he, in conclusion, "that I perceive myself frustrate of my expectation, which was, that you should ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of the truth to your singular commodity, I commit you to your own understanding, and to the conducting of those who can better please you. I praise my God I leave you victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credit and authority with your sovereign. If you shall long continue so, none within the realm will be more glad than I; but if, after this, you shall decay (as I fear ye shall), then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was neither by bearing with impiety, nor yet by maintaining of pestilent Papists." This remonstrance was so keenly felt by Moray that for nearly a year and a half he had little communication with the Reformer.*

Notwithstanding the failure of his efforts to procure the establishment of the reformed religion, Knox determined to address some serious admonitions to the nobility, previous to the dissolution of parliament. Accordingly, he delivered from the pulpit a powerful discourse on the mercies of God towards the realm of Scotland, and the ingratitude of the multitude for their deliverance from the cruel tyranny which had oppressed both body and soul. He reminded the

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 382.

Lords that he had been with them in their most desperate trials; that in their greatest extremity he had ever desired them to depend upon God, and in his name had promised them victory and preservation. "I see before me," said he, with that vehemence of voice and action which distinguished the preaching of this extraordinary man, "I see before me St. Johnston, Cupar Muir, and the Craggs of Edinburgh;—yea, in that dark and dolorous night wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear, left this town, is still in my mind, and God forbid that I should ever forget it. There is not one of you, against whom death and destruction were threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? Shall this be your thankfulness to God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The queen, you say, will not agree with us. Ask of her that which by God's Word you may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, you are not bound to agree with her in the devil. But I see nothing but such a recoiling from Christ, as that the man that first and most speedily flyeth from Christ's ensign holdeth himself most happy." Before concluding his sermon, Knox alluded to the rumours then current in regard to the marriage of the queen. "And now, my lords," said he, "to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best game. But this, my lords, will I say—note the day, and bear witness hereafter—when ever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, you do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country."† Knox tells us that these words, and his manner of speaking them, were judged intolerable. Protestants and Catholics were equally offended; his own friends remonstrated with him on the vehemence of his language. Placemen and flatterers posted to court to give information that Knox had spoken against the queen's marriage. The consequence was, that Mary sent Douglas of Drumlanrig with a summons to the Reformer to appear before her. Introduced into her presence by Erskine of Dun, then superintendent of Angus and Mearns, Mary upbraided him in terms of much severity. She reminded him that in various ways she had courted his favour—that she had not complained of the censures directed against herself and her uncles—that whenever he wished to admonish her she had freely admitted him to an audience. "And yet," said she, "I cannot get quit of you; I avow to God I shall be once revenged." With these words she burst into a passionate fit of weeping. "It is true, madam," said Knox, "your grace and

* Melville says that the Reformer was so vehement in the delivery of this sermon, that "he was like to ding the pulpit in tatters, and flee out of it."

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 389.

I have been at divers controversies, in the which I never perceived your grace to be offended at me. Without the preaching place, madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me; and there, madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth." "But," said the queen, "what have you to do with my marriage? or what are you within this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same," rejoined the Reformer; "and, albeit, madam, neither earl, lord, nor baron within it; yet has God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it does to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and my conscience crave plainness of me; and therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I speak in public place: Whosoever that the nobility of this realm shall consent that you be subject to an unfaithful (viz., Catholic) husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall, in the end, do small comfort to yourself."

Words so emphatic and stern could not fail to produce a deep impression upon the youthful queen, and she began again to weep and sob bitterly. Erskine of Dun, "a man of meek and gentle spirit," who was present during the interview, in vain attempted to mitigate her anger. It has often been alleged, from his conduct on this and similar occasions, that the Reformer was but too frequently the hasty ebullition of a petulant temper, and who actually found a cruel satisfaction in exciting the anger and witnessing the tears of his sovereign. Let the following expressions bear witness to the natural warmth-heartedness and even tenderness of Knox's character:—"Madam," said he, in taking his departure, "in God's presence I speak. I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys, whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your majesty's weeping. But seeing I have offered you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, your majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the commonwealth through my silence."*

This apology had no effect in appeasing the resentment of the queen, and she ordered Knox instantly to quit the apartment. While waiting in the outer chamber, the nobles of the court shunned him as "one whom men had never seen." But the undaunted Reformer regarded their displeasure with indifference or contempt, and turning to the ladies of the queen's household, who were sitting near attired in their richest dresses, he said, "O, fair ladies! how pleasant were this life of yours,

if it should always abide, and thus in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear. But, fie upon that knave Death, that will come, whether we will or not; and where he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so foolish, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, trappings, pearl, nor precious stones." In the midst of this conversation, the superintendent came out of the queen's apartment, and informed Knox that he was allowed to go home until her majesty had taken further advice. Her attendants persuaded her to abandon the idea of prosecuting the Reformer for this interference with her marriage, "and so that storms quiet in appearance, but never in the heart."

Parliament being now dissolved, Mary resolved to undertake a progress through the Highlands. She left Edinburgh, ^{on the 29th of June, and proceeded} on the 29th of June, and proceeded to Linlithgow, where she spent the night. From Linlithgow she passed to Glasgow, where she remained during fourteen days. Several castles were made to Hamilton, Paisley, and other places in the neighbourhood. On the 23rd day of July, she proceeded to Inverary, for the purpose of visiting her sister, the Countess of Argyll. Crossing the Clyde, she spent a short time at the residence of the Earl of Eglinton. On leaving Ayrshire, she passed on to Dumfries, where she had a month, and then returned to Edinburgh, after an absence of between two and three months. She remained in the capital for eight days, and then withdrew to Stirling.

In the meantime, a riot occurred in Edinburgh, occasioned by the manner in which the ^{Mass was celebrated in the chapel} mass was celebrated in the chapel ^{of Holyrood.} of Holyrood. The absence of the ^{queen had emboldened the Catholics to give greater publicity to their obnoxious proceedings.} queen had emboldened the Catholics to give greater publicity to their obnoxious proceedings. It appears, from the account of Knox, that on those days when the sacrament was dispensed in the town, great numbers of the Papists resorted to the abbey, to engage in the administration of their faith. Much scandalised, the Reformers determined that certain of the brethren distinguished by their piety and zeal should be sent to the entrance of the chapel, in order to learn the doctrine of those who attended the services. Not content to obey their instructions, they imprudently attempted to enter the abbey, in which they were opposed, and a riot immediately ensued. Several succeeded in gaining admittance, and amongst the rest one Patrick Cranstoun, who, finding the altar covered, and the priest preparing to celebrate mass, ^{was} ^{very} ^{indignant} ^{and} ^{demanded} ^{him} ^{to} ^{desist} ^{from} ^{that} ^{administration,} ^{saying} [—] "The queen's majesty is not here! how dare they then be so misapert as openly to proceed against the law!"* The arrival of the lord of ^{the} ^{court,} with the provost and several of the council, put an end to the disturbance. Two of the rioters were

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 389.

seized, and a day appointed for their trial. Knox himself was much disturbed by this event. Considering them sufferers in a righteous cause, he determined, if possible, to secure them from the consequences of their conduct. For this purpose, he issued circular letters, to the effect that all who professed the true religion, or were concerned for its preservation, should assemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial, that by their presence they might comfort and assist their distressed brethren. Through the treachery of some of his pretended friends, one of these letters fell into the queen's hands. Its contents afforded an opportunity to his adversaries to compass his destruction. His attempt to assemble the subjects of the sovereign without her sanction was regarded as an act of treason, and it was resolved to prosecute Knox before the Privy Council. His trial took place on the

15th of December, and a full account of its proceedings is recorded in his History. The result was, that, after a long hearing, he was fully and unanimously acquitted. It is somewhat remarkable that this decision, much to the displeasure of the queen, was acquiesced in by the zealous Catholic, Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and President of the Court of Session.*

The marriage of Mary was at this time a subject of great anxiety to the English sovereign. She was under considerable apprehension that the Scottish queen might contract an alliance with a foreign prince. It is not improbable that intrigues for this purpose were then secretly agitated, both in Scotland and on the Continent. The importance of obtaining such a husband for the queen was apparent to the Catholics. It was the only circumstance which afforded them the slightest prospect of regaining their lost ascendancy. Catherine de Medicis, in particular, was sensible of this. That princess had acted a most ungenerous part towards her royal relative. Soon after the death of the Duke of Guise, she had shown her dislike to the Scottish queen by stopping the payment of the dowry to which she was entitled as the widow of Francis II., by depriving the Duke of Chatelherault of his pension, and by bestowing on a Frenchman the command of the Scottish guards. Jealous, however, of the intimacy which she now perceived to subsist between Elizabeth and Mary, she changed her policy, and employed all her art to conciliate the latter princess. The arrears of her dowry were paid up, with the promise, that future payments would be more punctually tendered. She made Mary warm professions of friendship, and was extremely liberal in her offers of service.

The queen of England had her own views with regard to Mary's choice of a consort. She had frequently expressed her determination to oppose with all her influence an alliance with a foreign potentate. Her sentiments on this point are forcibly described in a

document entitled, "A memorial of certain matters committed to our servant, Thomas Randolph, sent to our good sister, the Queen of Scots, twentieth August, 1563." In this paper she writes, "The seeking of a husband for our sister is honourable and convenient for her, and a thing that we like very well in her, although hitherto we have not found such disposition in ourself; remitting, nevertheless, our mind and heart to be directed by God, as it shall best please Him, for his honour and the weal of our realm. But this herein we consider, that to seek such a husband, as we will many ways perceive is sought for in the emperor's lineage, by her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, of whose former practices against us we have had good experience, must needs bring a manifest danger to our private amity; an apparent occasion to dissolve the concord that is presently between our nations; and thirdly, an interruption of such a course, as otherwise might be taken to further and awake such title or right as she might have to succeed us in this crown, if we should depart without issue of our body."* But Elizabeth was prepared to interfere much further in this marriage than is apparent from the language we have just quoted. She wished, in fact, if not to dictate, at least to suggest the person, whom she considered a suitable consort for the Scottish sovereign. In her own mind, she had fixed upon her favourite, Leicester, then Lord Robert Dudley,† and without immediately proposing him for the acceptance of Mary, she instructed Randolph to sound her inclinations, and confer upon the subject with Moray and Lethington. Randolph was not for the present to speak of Dudley, but only, "if she shall press upon you, what kind of marriage you think might best content us and our realm, you may well say, you can but wish that there might be found some noble person of good birth within this our realm that might be agreeable to her." Randolph was by no means pleased with the task which was thus assigned him. It is probable, indeed, that he entertained suspicions of the sincerity of his royal mistress in her

Her insincerity. expressed intention of bestowing upon Dudley the hand of the Scottish queen. Considering the extraordinary favour which she had shown towards that courtier, the partiality and even affection with which he had been long regarded, he conceived it impossible, from her well-known character and dispositions, that she should be really willing to unite him in marriage with one whom she looked upon as her rival, and on this account both disliked and feared. His sentiments in this respect were thus forcibly expressed in a letter to Cecil: "To persuade the queen of Scotland," he remarks, "to marry any man under the rank of a prince, would be a dangerous and dishonourable task for any subject to adventure; and even if

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 203.

† Elizabeth, in creating him Earl of Leicester, pretended that his title and honours were conferred upon him to render him more worthy of the Scottish queen.

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 412.

Mary was ready to forget her royal dignity, and listen for a moment to the proposal of Elizabeth, there remained a greater difficulty behind. In offering the noblest in England, none could be at a loss to divine who was meant. But how unwilling the queen's majesty herself would be to depart from him (that is from Dudley), and how hardly his mind would be divorced or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see, where it cannot be thought but it is so prized for ever, that the world would judge worse of him than of any living man, if he should not rather yield his life than alter his thoughts. Therefore thus, both Moray and Lethington conclude, as well for her majesty's part, as for him who is so happy to be so far in her grace's favour, that if this queen would wholly put herself into Elizabeth's will, as to receive a husband of her selecting, either she should not have the best, or, at least, match herself with him that hath his mind placed already elsewhere; or if it can be withdrawn from thence, she shall take a man unworthy, from his disloyalty and inconstancy, to marry with any, much less with a queen. Whereupon they, knowing both their affections and judging them inseparable, think rather that *no such thing is meant* on my sovereign's part, and that all these offers bear a greater show of goodwill than any good meaning.*

After considerable delay, Randolph received permission to diselose to Mary the name of the nobleman whom Elizabeth proposed as her consort. This communication was heard by the queen with surprise and displeasure. The ambassador having urged her to come to a decision as soon as possible, Mary replied that his own mistress had been long

Mary's views of the proposed marriage with Dudley.

enough of coming to a decision; "and you know she hath counselled me to have regard to three points, whereof the special one

was honour. Now, think you, Master Randolph, that it will be honourable in me to imbase my state and marry one of her subjects? Is this conformable to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter—to advise me to marry my Lord Robert—to ally myself with her own subject?" In order to reconcile her to the intended match, Randolph artfully represented to her the advantages which would result to the respective kingdoms, and in particular stimulated her personal ambition, by reminding her of the assurances formerly given by Elizabeth, that her right of succession to the crown of England would, on the consummation of this union, be formally acknowledged. To this, however, it was reasonably objected by Mary, that she had no guarantee that these promises would be faithfully observed. "Where," said she, "is my assurance in this? What if the queen, your mistress, should marry herself and have children? What, then, have I gotten? and who will say I have acted wisely in taking this step, which requires long consideration, on so

sudden a proposal as this? I have conferred with no one; and although willing not to obstruct your mistress, the adventure is too great." All that she would consent to was, that Randolph should mention the proposal to Moray, Lethington, and Arryn. This having been done, it was answered by those noblemen, that the arrangement might be taken into consideration, but, in the meantime, no definite reply could be given.* The conduct of Elizabeth in these transactions appears to have been characterised by the duplicity which marked all her negotiations with the Queen of Scotland. From the very first she had been jealous of Mary. The fame of her accomplishments and beauty gave birth to envious and ungenerous feelings. The relationship in which the Scottish queen stood to herself, and her consequent nearness to the throne—the unfortunate and precipitate manner in which her claims had been set forth and pressed on the attention of the world—the imprudent assumption by Mary and her husband of the arms of England, and the conduct of her friends and partisans in France—had all exerted a fatal influence on the suspicious temper and fretful disposition of the English queen, and moved her to the adoption of unjust measures, and the employment of most sordid artifices to counteract the schemes of her dangerous opponent. Three years had now elapsed since the return of Mary to her own kingdom, and while many negotiations had been entered into on the subject of her marriage—in every point of view a desirable event—nothing as yet had been definitely concluded. In deference to the wishes of her royal sister, she had refused to entertain many advantageous offers from illustrious suitors, and even consented to sacrifice her own undoubted pretensions in favour of a foreign alliance. Indeed by the urgent representations of Elizabeth, and flattered into compliance with her wishes by the promise of having her right of succession to the crown acknowledged and legalised by parliament, she had promised to be guided in her selection of a consort by the advice of her royal sister, and had, in consequence, been subjected to most humiliating treatment—forced, as it were, to wait upon the pleasure of the Queen of England, who made a party by insufferably tedious negotiations, protracted month after month, and ending at last in a proposition which was offensive, both as apparently compromising her dignity as a sovereign, and as being unlikely to be carried into effect. It was the result of all these tedious negotiations which angered and disgusted Mary. Elizabeth, she felt, would never consent to part from Dudley. The latter would naturally be averse to a union which must for ever terminate his hopes of a still more illustrious alliance. Thus Mary found herself required to acquiesce in a proposal which was neither seriously entertained by the person who made it, nor even agreeable to the ambitious suitors who was proposed for her acceptance.

Character of Elizabeth's policy at this period.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 2nd March, 1564.

The insincerity of Elizabeth throughout the whole transactions was rendered painfully apparent in their conclusion. Mary had been her dupe: she could not but feel that her own amiable feelings and sanguine anticipations had been artfully turned to advantage by the more experienced and unscrupulous queen. It appears, from this conduct, not improbable that Elizabeth designed to prevent her rival from entering into any matrimonial engagements, and thereby best

Projects of Elizabeth in regard to the succession.
 furthering her own wishes. There can be no doubt of her strong repugnance to allow the recognition of Mary's rights. Many professions to the contrary were indulged in, but the conduct she pursued satisfactorily demonstrated their insincerity. If really entertaining an aversion to that recognition, she would naturally be desirous of rendering it unacceptable to the English people. One very obvious way of accomplishing this end would be to keep the queen of Scotland unmarried. With a greater plausibility she could then absolutely refuse to sanction, through a decision of the legislature, the acknowledgment of Mary's claims. She dared not, indeed, openly promulgate these views, nor discover her deliberate intention of frustrating the matrimonial projects entertained by her sister and approved of universally by her people. The injustice and cruelty of such a design would be too apparent. But measures which a regard to her own character prevented her from publicly avowing were, nevertheless, covertly adopted and assiduously pursued. Mary was successfully diverted from a foreign alliance. She accepted the friendly offices of Elizabeth in the selection of a consort. She was kept for a long period in a state of anxiety and suspense; and at the end of three years her marriage, after having been the subject of most flattering overtures from some of the greatest princes in Europe, was so far from being consummated, that it was even more unsettled than it was on the day in which she landed from France. Such was the policy of Elizabeth, and such even at this time its unsatisfactory and pernicious results.

The opinion of the advisers of Mary as to this policy of "delay, mystery, and caprice," is very clearly given in the following communication from Lethington to Cecil: "If," said he, "a conjunction be really meant, and you will prosecute the means to draw it on which were opened up by the queen my mistress's last answer, I doubt not but you will find conformity enough on this part; but if time be always driven without farther effect than hath yet followed upon any message which hath passed between them these three years, I am of opinion he shall in the end think himself most happy, who hath least meddled in the matter. Gentle letters, good words, and pleasant messages, be good means to begin friendship amongst princes; but I take them to be too slender bands to hold it fast. In these great causes between our sovereigns, I have ever found that fault with you, that as in your letters you always wrote obscurely, so in

private communications you seldom uttered your own judgment: you might well more dispute *in utramque partem academico*, leaving me in suspense to collect what I could. So, I fear, in giving advice you will walk so warily, rather being intent to speak nothing that may at any time thereafter hurt yourself, than to speak all things that might further the matter; and I will confess I have of late enforced my natural disposition to learn this same lesson of you, for the reverence I bear you, that your manner of doing serves me for instruction to direct my proceedings. Marry, I fear the common affairs do not fare a whit the better for our too great wariness."*

The inconsistency of Elizabeth in all matters connected with her policy towards Scotland, is strikingly shown in her conduct on the occasion of the return to his own country of the outlawed Lennox. This nobleman, having been kindly received at the English court, had long importuned the queen to interpose on his behalf, and procure for him a permission to present himself before his sovereign. To this she graciously acceded; and, in compliance with her earnest recommendation, the desired permission, given under the great seal, was dispatched to Lennox. When all the preparations for his return, under the most favourable auspices, were completed, Elizabeth, with a capriciousness which is wholly unaccountable, repented the part she had taken in promoting his restoration; and, exerting her influence for the detention of Lennox in England, took immediate steps for prejudicing Mary against him, and revoked the permission already given under the most solemn sanctions. To this effect, Moray and Lethington were both addressed by Secretary Cecil. But so far from complying with the extraordinary demands expressed in his communications, they replied in terms of such marked severity as to give serious offence to the English queen and her minister. The only conceivable explanation of Elizabeth's conduct is the circumstance that the return of Lennox, on account of his supposed Catholic tendencies, was viewed with much alarm by the Protestant party. Strong representations to this effect were made in a letter to Randolph by Knox; and these, being communicated to his mistress, formed the plausible ground of the sudden alteration in her conduct. In regard to this change, the answer of Lethington to Cecil is worthy of being quoted. He observes, that the steps which he had taken in the matter were adopted solely in compliance with the expressed wishes of the English queen. "It is therefore," he continues, "not a little marvellous, seeing how earnestly her majesty did recommend unto me my Lord of Lennox's cause and my lady's, at my last being in that court. Nay, suddenly, after I had taken my leave, you yourself, at her majesty's commandment, did send after me by post her letters to the queen's

Return of the Earl of Lennox from his exile of twenty years.

Capricious conduct of Elizabeth.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 6th June, 1564.

majesty, my mistress, very affectionate in their favour, willing mo to present the same with recommendation from the queen. And now," he continues, "having once, under the great seal, permitted him liberally to come, it will be a hard matter to persuade her majesty to revoke it; and I dare little presume to enter into any such communication with her majesty, knowing how much she doth respect her honour where promise is once passed, and how unwilling she is to change her deliberations being once resolved; which, as she will not do herself, so doth she altogether mistake in all others."

With respect to the danger to the Protestant cause, which some apprehended from the return of Lennox, Lethington gives a very decided opinion. "The religion here," he says, "doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take it to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the queen majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her majesty in honour, having once permitted his license so freely."* Moray also, in

Moray's letter a letter to Cecil, of the same date, to Cecil. and arising out of the same circumstances, observes:—"As to the faction that his coming might make for the matters of religion, thanks to God, our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our prince and liberty of conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It will neither be he nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion here away; and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose."†

Elizabeth having failed in making any effectual opposition to the return of Lennox, reluctantly desisted from her efforts; and, acting a strangely inconsistent part, actually furnished the earl with strong letters of recommendation to the Scottish queen. Mary was absent on a progress which she had undertaken into the northern parts of her dominions when Lennox † arrived in Edinburgh, on the 4th of September, 1564.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 13th July, 1564.

† Ibid. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 296.

‡ It may be well in this place to remind the reader of the circumstances which led to the long banishment of Lennox, who was forced to reside in exile for a period of twenty years. After having served in France in a military capacity, he returned to Scotland in the year 1543. This was subsequent to the death of James V. In 1544, he was obliged to abandon the kingdom, in consequence of his intrigues with the English, and his advocacy of the proposed marriage between the youthful Mary and Edward VI. In the month of June of the same year, he signed a secret agreement with Henry VIII., and soon afterwards was dispatched to Scotland with an armament of ships and men. During a residence at Carlisle in the following winter, he engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Glencairn and others of the nobility; for which treason sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him, in a parliament held at Linlithgow, in October, 1545. From that time to the period of his recall, he resided in England. He was connected with the royal family both of Scotland and England. He married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter

On hearing of the earl's arrival, she immediately returned to Holyrood. Before, however, he could be admitted to an audience with the queen, it was necessary that the sentences of excommunication which had been pronounced against him should be formally rescinded. This process is described in the 'Journal of Occurrences' as follows:—"On the 2nd day of September, Matthew, sometime Earl of Lennox, was by open proclamation, at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, relaxed from the process of our sovereign lady's horns, by Sir Robert Forrester, of Luthrie, Knight Lion-King of Arms, and all the officers, delivering the wand of peace to John, Earl of Atholl, who received the same in the said earl's name. The earl was then invited to court, and in obedience to this command, presented thither with a splendid retinue. Judging on knowledge to the abbey, he was accompanied by a number of twelve gentlemen, clothed in black livery as the velvet, "with chains about their waists, and necks and mounted upon four horses." Indeed him rode thirty of his retainers, clothed in a livery of grey. Arriving at Holyrood, he was conducted to the lodging which had been most liberally prepared for him, in the house of Mary's uncle, the Lord Robert, Commendator of the Palace. He was then admitted into the presence of the queen, who received him with great kindness, and even affection.

Lennox having delivered to Mary the letters of recommendation with which Elizabeth had favoured him, the queen dispatched a letter to her sister of England, in which she assured her that, in compliance with her request, she was willing to show the earl every kindness, "and that she had not only by her reception given him some part of her goodwill, but also intended to proceed further to his full restitution, whereby he should be able to enjoy the privileges of a subject, the liberty of his native country, and his old title." It appears from an interesting letter of Randolph's, that the earl's establishment was conducted on a scale of great magnificence, and that his hospitality was of an extensive and costly character. As it cannot be supposed that his means, when he arrived in Scotland, could support so lavish an expenditure, it is probable that Mary fulfilled her promise to Elizabeth, by bestowing upon him such an amount of money as enabled him to make those arrangements without inconvenience to himself. "I dined with my Lord Lennox," says Randolph, "being by his request in the morning. I found nothing less than the best furniture and furniture of his lodging. There you have hath heard by report: the house his apartments well hanged; two chambers, very well furnished; one special rich chamber, and a fair bed, where his lordship doth himself; and of the Princess Margaret, Queen of France, and sister of Henry VIII. by her second husband, the Earl of Angus; and by this marriage, she was the father of Lord Lennox, who was the second son of Henry VII. of England, the second son of Queen Elizabeth, and the cousin (by half-blood only) of Queen Mary of Scotland.

* Journal of Occurrences, p. 77.

a passage made through the wall, to come the next way into court when he will. I see him honourably used of all men, and that the queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour. There dined with him the Earl of Atholl, in whom he reposes a singular trust, and they are seldom asunder, saving when the Earl of Lennox is at the sermon. There was also his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, a Protestant, who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great, and his household many, though he hath dispatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse his money very fast; and of his £700 brought with him, I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may, perchance, be to him a dear purchase. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account; a cloek and a dial, curiously wrought and set with stones; and a looking-glass, very rich set with stones in the four metals; to my Lord of Lethington, a very fair diamond in a ring; to my Lord of Atholl another, as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what; to divers others somewhat; but to my Lord Moray nothing. He presented also each of the Marys with such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect. The bruit is here, that my lady herself, and my Lord of Darroley, are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young lord, and many that desire to have him here."

In the month of October, Mary carried out her intentions, expressed in the letter to Elizabeth, with regard to the restoration of Lennox to his titles and estates. Proclamation was made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, that the earl was restored to his "lands, heritage, and good fame;" and that the doom of forfeiture pronounced upon him was revoked and rescinded. Full effect, however, was not given to this proclamation till the 6th of December, on which day a parliament was convened for the passing of the necessary measures. The proposed restoration of the honours and estates of the house of Lennox was vehemently opposed by its ancient enemy, the Duke of Chatelherault. That nobleman declared that the loss of his estates was a smaller punishment than the treason of Lennox merited, and that his return to his native land would be followed by consequences fatal to the happiness of the queen and the prosperity of the realm. On the arrival of Lennox, the duke had refused to see him; but on the 27th of October, we are told they were brought together "in our sovereign lady's palace of Holyrood, and finally agreed by our sovereign lady and the lords of her council, and shook hands together, and drank every one to the other."† This reconciliation, however, was of brief duration. Before a week had elapsed, the duke and Lennox quarrelled in the presence of the queen, who severely

reprimanded them on account of their disrespectful and violent conduct, and assured them she would take part against the one who presumed to enter first into a fresh strife.

When parliament was convened, in the month of December, the duke refused to at- Restored to his titles and estates.

Tolbooth, for the purpose of opening the proceedings, the crown was carried by the Earl of Moray, the sceptre by the Earl of Atholl, and the sword of state by the Earl of Crawford. The queen, in her address, explained the object for which the three Estates were assembled, and desired that a measure should be passed in accordance with her wishes. Lethington, her Secretary of State, in a speech of great power, then set forth the claims of Lennox to the favourable consideration of parliament. He dwelt strongly on the fact of the noble ancestry of Lennox, his connection with the royal family, and his near relationship to the queen, by his marriage with her aunt. He expatiated on the policy of attending, in this matter, to the recommendation of Elizabeth, and giving effect to her wishes; and urged them also to respect the feelings of their own sovereign, who, he observed, "as we have heard from her own report, has a great deal more pleasure to be the instrument of the upholding, maintenance, and advancement of the ancient blood, than to have matter ministered of the decay and overthrow of any good race." No opposition appears to have been offered in this assembly to the proposed measure, and Lennox was accordingly reinstated in the honours and estates of his ancient house. In a speech made on this occasion by Maitland of Lethington, there occurs the following striking tribute to the character of the Scottish queen, which may be appropriately quoted in this connection:—"As, by her majesty's prudence, we enjoy this present peace with all foreign nations, and quietness among yourselves, in such sort as, I think, justly it may be affirmed, Scotland in no man's age that presently lives was in greater tranquillity, so it is the duty of all of us, her loving subjects, to acknowledge the same as a most high benefit, proceeding from the good government of her majesty, declaring ourselves thankful, and rendering to her majesty such due obedience as a just prince may look for at the hands of faithful and obedient subjects. A good proof have we all in general had of her majesty's benignity, these three years that she has lived in the government over you; and many of you have largely tasted of her large liberality and frank dealing—the many notable examples of her clemency, above others her good qualities, which ought to move them to the abhorrence of all bruits and rumours (which are the most pestilent evils that can be in any commonwealth), and the inventors and sowers thereof."*

It may not be improper to mention, that on the queen's proceeding a second time from the abbey to the Tolbooth, to give her sanction to the acts

* Handolph to Cecil, October 24. Tytler, vol. vi. p. 298.
† Journal of Occurrences, p. 78

* Robertson's History of Scotland. Appendix, No. IX.

which restored Lennox to his honours, the Duke of Chatelherault was persuaded to occupy the place to which he was entitled by his rank, and to carry the crown before her majesty.

The tortuous and contradictory policy of the perplexity queen of England, in regard to of Elizabeth. Mary's marriage and the return of Lennox, is very strikingly illustrated by a letter which she at this time wrote with her own hand to the Secretary of State. Considering, as she did, that her interests demanded the detention of Lennox in her own dominions, and having laboured, but without effect, to accomplish this end, she had virtually condemned her policy, and compromised herself, by furnishing the earl with a letter of recommendation to the Scottish queen. The reception which he met with, the favours lavished upon him, his restoration to rank and fortune, filled her with alarm, and rendered her perplexed and anxious. In this difficult position she had recourse to Cecil, and threw upon that able and adroit minister the responsibility of extricating her from the dilemma in which she had been placed by her own rash and inexplicable policy. Confined at this time to her chamber by temporary indisposition, she addressed the secretary in the following extraordinary terms:—"I am involved in such a labyrinth in regard of the reply to the letter of the Queen of Scots, that I know not how I can satisfy her, having delayed all this time sending her any answer, and now really being at a total loss what I must say. Find me out some good excuse, which I may plead in the dispatches to be given to Randolph, and let me know your opinion in this matter."*

The results of the secretary's deliberation on this important matter, are expressed at great length in a document entitled, "A Memorial for Thomas Randolph,† being sent to the Queen of Scots, in message from the queen's majesty, 4th October, 1564." These instructions are written in a confused and, at times, unintelligible manner, and, instead of supplying Randolph with any satisfactory excuses to account to Mary for the manner in which an answer to her letters had been delayed, they insinuate that this delay was wholly owing to the conduct of the Scottish queen and certain noblemen of her court. "But, behold," says this memorial, "upon a just occasion given us to write a letter somewhat before this time to our said sister, for a matter concerning the Earl of Lennox coming thither, we received in that unreasonable time an answer from our sister much different from our

* This missive was written with the queen's own hand, in the Latin language. The following is the original:—"In ejusmodi laberintho posita sum de responso meo reddendo R. [reginæ] Scotiæ, ut nescio quomodo illi satisfaciam, quum neque toto isto tempore illi ullum responsum dederim, nec quid mihi dicendum nunc sciam. Invenias igitur aliquid boni quod in mandatis scriptis Raudell dare possent, et in hac causam tuam opinionem mihi indica."—*M.S. Letter, State Paper Office, 23rd Sept., 1564.* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 299.

† Randolph, who had been called to London during Queen Mary's northern progress, brought this memorial with him when he returned to Edinburgh.

desert and expectation; and therewithal we did see some letters from the Laird of Lethington to some of ours in the same matter, of a stranger nature than had ever come to our knowledge before, using some sharper words in disallowing of our request than was reasonable in such an argument, whereas our dealing was such, as, although we had not thanks for our care, had to the request of our said sister and her country, yet we did not look to have our friendly considerations repurposed or reprehended." She then goes on to say, that this manner of writing was the occasion of much perplexity and doubt as to what new designs might be cherished on the part of Mary; and that, sometimes being of one opinion and sometimes of another, she had at last concluded that it was safer and more expedient to delay her answer till such time as further intelligence reached her from the Scottish court.

About this time, Mary dispatched to England, on a mission of importance, the Sir James Melville, accomplished Sir James Melvil, a vfr. gentleman educated in the house of the Constable Montmorency, and long resident at the court of France. Melvil was a Protestant, and this was probably one of the grounds of his selection for the office to which he was now appointed. His instructions were clear and explicit. The arrival and reception of Lennox had occasioned a slight interruption in the friendly intercourse and correspondence of the two queens, and had given rise in the mind of Elizabeth to feelings of uneasiness and irritation. She felt, in fact, that her conduct was ridiculous as well as inexplicable; and, keenly sensible of her anomalous position, and of the just cause to which she had exposed herself, she took refuge in an affected displeasure and an assumed sense of injury. Melvil was instructed to affect by every means a reconciliation, to offer any explanations that might be necessary or expedient, and to re-establish the good understanding between the two queens on its old and satisfactory basis. He was advised to be as much as possible in company with the queen, to hold with her confidential discourses, "to mingle merry discourses with business, and to gain her familiar ear; to discover, if possible, her real intentions on the subject of the marriage, and to keep a strict and jealous eye upon any measures which might be contemplated regarding Mary's right of succession to the English crown."

On arriving in London, Melvil was crowded with many marks of attention from Lord Robert Dudley, who sent him a magnificent present, in the shape of a horse and a mantle, richly ornamented with gold. His introduction to Elizabeth took place in the garden of her palace. The first inquiry of the queen was concerning the letter which had been sent by Mary, "with," she said, "sent in English language, that she believed all friendship and familiarity had been given up; and that she was minded never to write again, unless it was another

* Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edition, pp. 112-114.

letter just as spiteful." This letter, it seems, she had already prepared, "which," adds Melvil, "she took out of her pouch to let me see, adding, that the only reason why she had not sent it was, that it was too gentle; so that she delayed till she could write one more vehement in answer to the Queen of Scot's angry bill—viz. *billet*." Melvil had confessedly a difficult part to play in this somewhat trying interview, but he acted with surprising tact and consummate adroitness. Pretending to be unable to understand how his sovereign could have written to so mighty a princess

His ingenious defence of Mary. in a style so strongly reprehended by her majesty, Elizabeth, in order to satisfy him that she had not exaggerated, placed in his hands the letter she had termed spiteful. On receiving and examining it, the subtle courtier observed, that, considering the terms of familiarity in which they stood towards each other, he was unable to discover anything offensive in its language; and that whatever she had judged to the contrary was a misapprehension on her part, to be accounted for by her comparative ignorance of the French idioms! "Fox," says he, "although her majesty could speak as good French as any that had never been out of this country, yet that she lacked the use of the French court language, which was frank and short, and had oftentimes two significations, which discreet and familiar friends always took in the best part. He prayed her, therefore, to destroy the angry letter which she had thought to send to the queen by way of revenge, and he would never let her know that her true, plain meaning had been so misconstrued." The queen, he adds, having been convinced by this plausible explanation, destroyed, in his presence, both the letter of Mary and her own angry epistle, and promised that henceforth she would put the best and most liberal construction on the sayings and doings of her good sister.*

At a subsequent stage of this interview, we find Elizabeth giving expression to her sentiments on the subject of the disputed question of the succession, and the marriage of Mary with Lord Robert Dudley. She inquired of Melvil "if the Queen of Scots had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage made to her by Randolph?" To this he replied, that his sovereign had not, as yet, given much consideration to the subject; but that she contemplated with satisfaction the approaching meeting of the commissioners on the Borders; to which meeting she proposed to send, on her part, Secretary Lethington and the Earl of Moray, and trusted that her majesty would fulfil her promise of sending the Earl of Bedford and

Elizabeth's sentiments as to her own and Mary's marriage. Lord Dudley. Elizabeth on this observed, that Melvil appeared to make small account of my Lord Robert, by naming the Earl of Bedford before him; but ere long she would make him a greater earl, and that Melvil should see it done before returning home; for she esteemed the

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 117.

Lord Robert as her brother and best friend, whom she would have married herself, if she had been minded to take a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the queen, her sister, should marry him, as meetest of all other, and with whom she might find it in her heart to declare her next in the succession to her realm than with any other person; for, being matched with him, she would not then fear any attempts at usurpation during her own life, "being assured that he was so trusty and loving, that he would never give his consent, nor suffer such a thing to be enterprised in her time."* These sentiments and professions, whether sincere or not—and this is a question to be decided by comparing them with her past and subsequent conduct—were at least in consistency with those formerly expressed to different parties.

Melvil had every reason to be satisfied with his reception at the English court, and with the facilities afforded him for holding confidential and prolonged intercourse with the queen. He assures us that he was favourably and familiarly used, and that, during the nine days he remained at court, her majesty was pleased to confer with him every day, and sometimes thrice a day—"before noon, after noon, and after supper." On one occasion, taking him into her bed-chamber, she showed him some small miniatures, wrapped up in paper, on which was written, in her own hand, the name of the originals. On the first that she had taken up was written "My Lord's picture." Melvil, having his attention attracted towards it, importuned her to allow him to inspect it. This she was at first unwilling to do, as it had been a present from her favourite, Leicester. At length she yielded, and, having greatly admired the portrait, he begged to be allowed to carry it to his royal mistress. "Nay," said the queen, "I have but that one." "True," replied the courtier; "but," looking significantly towards the earl, who stood conversing with Cecil at the further end of the chamber, "your majesty possesses the principal." She then took out from her eseritoire another picture, which, having kissed with every appearance of affection, she put it into the hands of Melvil. It was the likeness of his sovereign, and the ambassador kissed her hand, "for the great love I saw she bore to the queen." He asked her to send this, or the picture of my lord, as a token to his queen. She answered, "that if his queen would follow her counsel, she would get both in time, and all that she had; but that she would send her a diamond by him."

It has been well remarked, that the lively account which Sir James Melvil has left us in his memoirs of his residence at the English court, presents us with the best portrait of Elizabeth, "as a woman," which has been ever given to the world. The extreme vanity and jealous disposition of this princess, who could not brook the idea that her own charms were surpassed, or even equalled, by those

Melvil's graphic description of the Queen of England.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 119.

of her sister of Scotland, are amusingly exhibited in one of the many conversations which Melvil was privileged to hold with this renowned queen. Elizabeth inquired of him what kind of colour of hair was reputed to be best—whether the queen's hair or her own were best, and which of the two was the fairest. To this he answered, "that the fairness of both was not their worst fault." She desired, however, to know which of them was the fairest? "I said she was the fairest queen in England, and ours the fairest queen in Scotland." A gallant and most courtier-like reply. She still pressed her inquiry; and, to free himself from this importunity, Melvil at last admitted "that they were the fairest ladies in their courts—that the Queen of England was whiter, but our queen was very *lusome*." She further inquired, which of them was of the highest stature? "Our queen," said Melvil. "Then," said Elizabeth, "she is over high, for that she was herself neither over high nor over low!" She asked next, whether Mary played well? "Reasonably well," said he, "for a queen." The next day, Elizabeth gave him an opportunity of judging of her skill in performing on the virginals, without, however, appearing to make a studied exhibition of her powers. After dinner, he says, Lord Hunsdon drew him aside into a quiet gallery, where he might hear some music, the instrument being the virginals, and the performer the queen herself. After listening in this stealthy manner for some time, Melvil drew aside the tapestry which separated the gallery in which he stood from the royal chamber, and, perceiving that the queen's back was towards him, he stole gently in, and heard her play excellently well. In a few moments, her majesty, turning suddenly round, and discovering the intruder, ran forwards, threatening to strike him with her left hand. She was not used, she said, to play before men, and inquired how he came there? "I was walking," replied Melvil, at no loss for a plausible and flattering explanation, "in the gallery, with my Lord Hunsdon, when I heard such melody as ravished me, and drew me within the chamber, I wist not how." Elizabeth was greatly delighted. She invited him to remain; and, sitting down upon a cushion, she inquired whether she or Mary was the most skilful performer? "In that," says he, "I gave her the praise."* Not content with this exhibition, she detained him at court during two days, on purpose to allow him to witness her movements in the dance. Having enjoyed this edifying spectacle, he was again required to institute comparisons between her own style of dancing and that of his royal mistress. He admitted that "his queen danced not so high or disposedly as she did."

Previous to the return of Melvil to Scotland, the Dudley created proposed husband of Mary, Lord Earl of Leicester. Robert Dudley, was created Earl of Leicester, with great solemnity, at Westminster; "the queen herself," says the ambassador, "helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125.

before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour; but she could not refrain from putting her hand on his neck, to kittle (tickle) him, smilingly—the French ambassador and I standing beside her. Then," continues Melvil, "she asked me how I liked him? I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy in having encountered a princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet," she said, pointing to Lord Darnley, "ye like better yonder long lad." "My answer again was, that no woman of spirit would make shame of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced." Melvil himself explains the object of this sarcastic remark. He was instructed by his sovereign to communicate with Lady Lennox, Darnley's mother, and procure her permission for the visit of her son to Scotland; and on this account, in order to conceal from Elizabeth his special mission, he was anxious to appear unprepossessed with the character and personal appearance of the youthful Darnley.

On the subject of her own marriage, Elizabeth on one occasion declared, "that it was her resolution at this moment to remain till her death a virgin queen; and that nothing would except her to change her mind but the undetected behaviour of the queen her sister." "Madam," replied Melvil, with a profound insight into her true character, "you need not tell me that: I know your steady stomach; you think that if you were married you would be but queen of England, and now, you are king and queen both; you may not really be a commander." She said, that she earnestly desired a meeting with Mary. Melvil proposed to her a romantic project, with which she appeared much pleased. He offered to convey her secretly into Scotland, disguised like a page, as King James the Fifth had visited France under like circumstances; and that, during his absence, it might be given out that she was laid up, and kept in her chamber. "Alas!" said the queen, "would that it might be done."*

Before his departure from England, Melvil had an interview with Leicester, who Melvil inquired how his proposed marriage was regarded by Mary herself. Melvil, according to his instructions, answered in a cold, unobtrusive manner. Leicester then began to praise as to himself "of so proud a profession as to marry so great a queen—esteeming himself not worthy to dight her *echoons*" (wipe her shoes), and adding that this proposition had originated with Cecil, his secret enemy; "for if," said he, "I should have seemed to desire that marriage, I should have had the favour of both queens." He then counselled Melvil to excuse him to the queen, that she might not impute that fault to him, but to the nature of his enemies.†

Melvil now returned to Scotland, having fulfilled his mission with singular dexterity and success, and

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 124. † Ibid.

carrying with him many valuable presents to his royal mistress. After delivering to her the friendly messages with which he had been charged from the English queen, he dwelt upon the kindness, and even cordiality of his reception, and repeated the expressions of esteem and attachment which had fallen from the lips of Elizabeth. With this general account, however, Mary was by no means satisfied. In order to be guided in her subsequent conduct in the important negotiations which were still pending between the two courts, she insisted upon Melvil's giving his own opinion as to the sincerity of the strong protestations of Elizabeth. She in-

Gives Mary an account of his mission.

quired whether he conceived the queen of England meant truly towards her, as well inwardly in her heart, as she appeared to do outwardly by her speech? To this he replied in words that must have filled Mary with distrust and alarm: "In my judgment," said he, "there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear that your princely qualities should overshine, chase her out, and displace her from her kingdom, as having already hindered the marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria, and now offering my Lord of Leicester, whom she herself would be loth to want." On this, adds Melvil, the queen gave him her hand that she would never marry the new-made earl.*

Melvil, as we have seen, had succeeded in re-establishing a good understanding between the two queens; but this was in constant danger of being again interrupted through the suspicious temper of Elizabeth. A rumour about this time reached her from France, that the proposed marriage with Leicester had, since the return of her envoy, been lightly and contemptuously spoken of by Mary. This was a new ground of offence, and she did not fail to manifest her displeasure. This circumstance is alluded to in a letter from Queen Mary to Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and then her minister at the court of France. In this epistle she says:—"I sent to the queen, my good sister, with an apology for some letters of mine, which she thought somewhat rude, but has taken the interpretation he put upon them in good part. She has since sent to me by Randolph, who is now here, some very polite letters, written with her own hand, containing fair words, and some complaints that the queen (regent of France) and her ambassador had assured her that I had published in mockery the overtures she had made for my marriage with the Lord Robert. I cannot imagine that any one there would wish to embroil me so much with her, since I have neither spoken of it to any one, nor written of it even to the queen (of France), who, I am sure, would not have borne such testimony against me." †

In the meantime, the long-appointed meeting between the commissioners who were to arrange the conditions of a union between Mary and Lei-

cester took place at Berwick, on the 19th of November. Moray and Lethington were sent on the part of Mary; Bedford and Randolph on the part of Elizabeth. The meeting ended in nothing; indeed, it was a solemn farce. This result was nothing more than what might have been expected in the circumstances of the case. It is certain that Elizabeth, not knowing her own mind, still hesitated between the prospective advantages of an alliance between Leicester and Mary, and the pain which the giving up of this favourite involved; or, being secretly resolved upon retaining him near her person, she was playing on the credulity of Mary, and following out a line of policy the most crooked and dishonest. In either case, from the want of definite instructions, which wholly precluded them from concluding negotiations, which indeed they were hardly warranted to commence; without having powers to determine either way to complete or break off the arrangements, the commissioners were reduced to the necessity of doing nothing, and thus confirming in the mind of Mary the suspicions of Elizabeth's sincerity, which had been awakened by the report of Melvil. Other circumstances, however, appear at this time to have favoured the views of Leicester, if that nobleman had ever seriously aspired to the hand of Mary. Melvil says, that he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Scottish queen, and, as it seems, with partial success:—"He had written such wise and discreet letters unto my Lord Moray for his excuses, that the queen appeared to have such good liking of him as that the Queen of England began to fear and suspect that the said marriage might perchance take effect; and, therefore, my Lord Darnley obtained the rather license to come to Scotland, who was a lusty youth, in hopes that he should prevail, being present, before Leicester, being absent; which license was obtained by means of Secretary Cecil, not that he was minded that either of the marriages should take effect, but with such shifts and practices to keep the queen as long unmarried as he could. For he persuaded himself that my Lord Darnley durst not pass forward without the consent of the Queen of England to the said marriage, his land lying in England, and his mother remaining there. Therefore he thought it lay in the queen his own mistress's hand to let the marriage go forward, or stay the same at her pleasure; and in case my Lord Darnley should disobey the queen of England's charge to come back at her call, intended to forfeit him, whereby he should lose all his lands, rights, and titles that he had in England." *

Meeting of the English and Scotch commissioners at Berwick.

Whatever might have been Mary's opinion of the temporising and ungenerous Willingness of conduct of Elizabeth, it appears Mary to conclude by no means doubtful that, having a marriage with Leicester. so long contemplated the marriage with Leicester—desirous of perpetuating, if pos-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 129.

† Labanoff, Letters of Mary, vol. i. p. 243

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 130.

sible, the friendly intercourse which then subsisted between the two countries, and steadily refusing her sanction to the foreign alliances which continued to be pressed upon her, through the assiduity of her uncle, the Cardinal de Lorraine—she was not indisposed to conclude the union with the favourite of Elizabeth, provided the conditions were complied with, which had all along been regarded by her as the basis of the proposed contract. Such was the opinion at least of her ministers and most confidential advisers; for we find them in the month of December assuring Cecil, that there were no serious obstacles in the way of her marriage with Leicester; and that if he procured, by an act of the legislature, the recognition of Mary's claims to the succession, they would undertake for its speedy consummation. The same conviction is expressed by Randolph in a letter to the English Secretary of State, of date 14th December, 1564. These, and other documents, extracts from which we shall now present to the reader, are important, in order to the justification of Mary's conduct throughout the whole of these tedious and protracted negotiations, and to show that she had always been sincere in her sentiments, honest and straightforward in her purpose. In the letter to Cecil, alluded to above, Randolph observes:—"The stay now standeth either in the queen's majesty (Elizabeth) to have all this performed, or in his lordship's self (Leicester), that hath the matter so well framed to his hand that much more, I believe, there need not be than his own consent with that which may be for the queen's majesty's honour to do for him. It abideth now no longer deliberation; you have the offer—you have the choice." In these words it is certainly intimated, with sufficient explicitness, that the whole responsibility of concluding or of not concluding the proposed marriage rested not with Mary, but on the one hand with Leicester, and on the other with Elizabeth and her ministers. Nothing can be more clear and satisfactory than Randolph's avowal, that, so far as Mary was concerned, she was willing to carry out the arrangement; and that the matter was, so to speak, out of her hands, and committed to the charge of the other parties included in the negotiation.

Randolph next proceeds to justify his statement, that 'it abideth now no longer deliberation,' by enumerating the causes which necessitated the arriving at a speedy decision either for or against the union. "Age," says he, "time, necessity of her state, compel her to marry: her people, her friends, press her thereunto. The offers made are such as not without good cause they can be refused, though some inconveniences may arise sooner in matching with one than with another; practices there are divers in hand. That which in this case is not a little to be considered is, that I have inquired of themselves, and find it true by others, that there is no man for whom, hitherto, any suit hath been made to match

with this queen, that shall be more grateful or more acceptable to the people, than shall be my Lord Robert. There hath been more thought of my Lord Darnley before his father's coming than at this present. The father is now here well known; the mother more feared, a good deal than beloved of any that knoweth her."

Strong as were these representations, and urgent the reasons why the policy of the English queen should assume a determined form, they were unproductive of any good effect. Cecil, indeed, must have been strangely perplexed in what way to account to his correspondents for the surprise and irresolution of his royal mistress; and, that he was so, appears from the extraordinary character of his despatches, which Randolph describes as consisting of passages of such interminable length and obscure meaning, that "Lethington and Moray were worked up to great agonies and passions."

We have seen the sentiments of Elizabeth's envoy as to the delay which occurred in the settlement of this question. To complete the story, we must look at the opinions of Mary's confidential ministers. Moray and Lethington had to a considerable extent compromised themselves in the conduct of these negotiations. Entrusted by their sovereign with a general commission in this matter, they had gone beyond their instructions, and, in their anxiety to meet the wishes of the English queen, had acted in a manner which, had it become known to their sovereign or their countrymen, would have rendered them the objects of a not unnatural suspicion. In the following letter to Cecil, they complain of the unwholesome state in which matters were now placed, and exhibit in a very forcible manner the questionable position which they occupied, without having the power of extricating themselves from it, or of avoiding against the consequences of their own rashness. It was one thing, they remarked, for the Secretary of State in England to issue despatches, the contents of which he was not responsible as they were known to, and in fact dictated by, his own sovereign; it was a different thing for them to write such papers as they sent to the English court, having for their subject matters of the highest import, and the treatment of which they had used in their own discretion, and with all communication with their queen. In such circumstances, they contended they had a right to require that the negotiations should either be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, or altogether broken off. "We humbly," they said, "resolved to answer you without any delay of time, being more easy for us, for our respect, so to do, than it was for you to answer our former letter; forasmuch as we have some with whom we would dare or will communicate anything passed between us, and you were compelled to make your answers privy to our letter before you could answer it. Truth it is, that in another point you have some advantage, in that you have a sufficient warrant

• MS. State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th Dec. vi. p. 306.

for what you write, and so work surely, writing nothing but that your mistress both knoweth and doth allow; and we, without any commandment or warrant, write such things as, being brought to light, were sufficient matters to overthrow our credit at our sovereign's hand, and put all we have in danger. Although our conscience doth not accuse us that we intend any prejudice to her majesty, yet, in princes' affairs, matters be as they list to take them; and it will not be allowed for a good reason, when they call their ministers to account, to say that we meant well."

In another paragraph, they allude to those long and obscure despatches which Cecil had transmitted to Randolph, and out of whose interminable complications they had been unable to extract a meaning. "In your letter," they observe, "you have well provided that we shall find no lack for shortness thereof; yet, to speak squarely our opinion, we think you could in fewer lines have comprehended matter more to our contentation, and better for furtherance of the purpose intended, if you had a sufficient warrant, and therewithal a mind to fall roundly to work with us. * * * When we came to those words—that seeing us mean to fall roundly to work, you will also go roundly to work with us, and proceed plainly—we looked for a plain resolution; but having read over that which followed, you must bear with us if we find ourselves nothing satisfied; for in that same plain speech there be many obscure words and dark sentences, and (pardon us that we say so), in a manner, as many words as there be, as many ambiguities do result thereof." How must this old and wily diplomatist, who had no other end in view than the mystification of the Scottish ministers, have rejoiced over this doleful complaint of his puzzled correspondents, which proved how completely he had succeeded in "darkening counsel by words without knowledge."

About this time—viz. the commencement of the year 1565—Mary retired from the metropolis to the city of St. Andrew's, which was with her a favourite retreat, where she exchanged for a few days the cares of office, for the enjoyments and repose of domestic life. Here she resided, without any ostentation, and with only a small retinue of attendants, in the house of a merchant burgh. Thither, however, she was followed by Randolph, who carried with him a special message from his queen. Mary was at first extremely unwilling to be intruded upon in her delightful privacy. "It was," she said, "her holiday time; she had come to St. Andrew's to be relieved from the pressure of state affairs, and she objected to have grave and weighty matters submitted to her consideration." Randolph was therefore obliged to wait for a more favourable opportunity for bringing before her the business which he was anxious to discuss. In the meantime he continued in the city, according to his usual account, dining and supping with her every

day. "Your majesty," says he, writing to Elizabeth, "was often drunken unto by her at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her Grace, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter to her that which last I received in command from your majesty by Mr. Secretary's letter, which was to know her resolution touching those matters propounded at Berwick by my Lord of Bedford and me to my Lords Moray and Lethington. I had no sooner spoken these words," continues he, "than she saith—'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the queen cometh thither; for, I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you should think I am she at St. Andrew's that I was at Edinburgh.' I said," continues Randolph, "that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh she said that she did love the queen, my mistress, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was changed. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me at my christendom. At these merry conceits much good sport was made. 'Well, sir,' said she, at length, 'that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing. Before you go out of this town, you shall have a letter unto her; and for yourself, go where you will, I care no more for you.' The next day, however, I was willed to be at my ordinary table, and placed the next person (saving worthy Beaton) to the queen's self." In many respects, the interviews of Randolph with the queen in this old city of St. Andrew's are important, as, from the open manner in which she delivered her sentiments, we have reason to believe that she expressed frankly and unreservedly her real feelings. We shall therefore record at some length her conversations with Randolph, as reported by himself in her conversations his correspondence with Elizabeth. with Randolph. "She had occasion," says he, "to speak much of France, for the honour she received there to be the wife of a great king, and for the friendship showed unto her by many in particular, for which occasions she was bound to love the nation, to show them pleasure, and do them good. Her acquaintance, indeed, was not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it was divers ways sought to be continued. There were those among her subjects, too, who had had their nurture in France, who were also well affected that way for the commodity of the service, as those of the men-at-arms and the archer-guard; besides her merchants, for the privileges they had enjoyed, greater than had been granted to any other nation."

From these remarks we learn the great attach-

women as by our predecessors have been before. Let us seek this honour against some other, rather than fall at debate among ourselves." "I asked her grace," says Randolph, "whether she would be content one day, whenever it were, to give her assistance for the recovery of Calais?" At this question Mary laughed, and said, "Many things must pass between my good sister and me before I can give you answer; but I believe to see the day that all our quarrels shall be one, and assure you, if we be not, the fault shall not be in me." Randolph then inquired "how she liked the suit of my Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, that he might write her opinion of him to Elizabeth." "My mind towards him," replied Mary, "is such as it ought to be of a very noble gentleman, as I hear say by many; and such a one as the queen, your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to dislike me to be mine. Marry! what I shall do, lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."*

Thus ended this important conference with Randolph; interesting not only for the revelation of her feelings towards Elizabeth, but also as affording us many and pleasing glimpses of Mary's real character, as they shone out unobscured by the frigid formalities of her ordinary courtly life. Mary's residence at St. Andrew's was limited to ten days; and the same day witnessed her departure from that city, and the arrival at Berwick of Henry, Lord Darnley. The alleged object of his journey to Scotland was to pay a visit to his father, the Earl of Lennox. There is little doubt, however, that his real views involved projects of deeper significance. Whatever may have been his plans, whether original to himself or suggested by others, the ambitious character of the house of Lennox was well known, and his mother was regarded as peculiarly skilful in craft and intrigue. We have seen that Melvil was commissioned by Mary to request the Countess of Lennox to procure permission for Darnley to visit Scotland. Elizabeth was not indisposed to grant her this favour, as she thereby afforded herself a chance of escaping from the difficulties in which she was involved, through her disingenuous conduct with regard to Leicester. He was, therefore, furnished by her commands, not only with a license to visit the neighbouring kingdom, but also with credentials to the Scottish court, and a flattering letter of recommendation to Randolph from the Earl of Leicester. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 12th of February, 1565, and was received with that distinction to which he was entitled as a prince of the blood-royal. "There came unto him," says Randolph, "my Lord of Morton, the Earl of Glencairn, and divers other gentlemen that were then in town. He dined one day with my Lord Robert, the queen's brother, at Holyrood-house. His courteous bearing and dealing with all men deserveth great praise, and is well spoken of."

* Randolph to Elizabeth, 6th Feb., 1564-5.

Many surmises were made to account for the presence in Scotland of this young nobleman. Conscious of this, and feeling that his position demanded the greatest circumspection, Darnley acted in such a way as to conciliate all parties. Speaking of the numerous conjectures which were formed concerning him, Randolph writes—"They like well of his personage; what to judge of his other qualities, the time hath not yet served to have any great trial. There are here a great number that do wish him well. Others doubt what he will prove, and *deeplier* consider what is fit for the state of the country than us: they call him a fair young man. Some suspect more than I do myself that his presence may hinder other purposes intended, as that in special whereabout I go. Others, suspecting his religion, can allow of nothing that they can see in him. With all these diversities, I have had some discourses."*

Darnley's first interview with Mary was at the castle of Wemyss, in Fifeshire. His first interview with Mary. This, however, was not the first view with Mary. introduction of the royal relatives to each other. Four years previously, in the early days of the queen's widowhood, she had been visited by her cousin, then a youth of fifteen, who delivered from his mother, the Countess of Lennox, a letter of condolence on the death of her consort, Francis. Her reception of him on the present occasion was frank and cordial. If we may believe the account of Sir James Melvil, she was favourably impressed by his personal appearance. "Her majesty," says he, "took well with him; she remarked, 'he was the handsomest and best proportioned *lang* man she had seen;' for he was of a tall stature, lang and small, even and brent up (straight), and well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises."†

The long series of tedious and unmeaning negotiations, which, originating in the proposed marriage of Mary with the Earl of Leicester, had been protracted to no purpose, were now about to be concluded, and that in an unexpected and summary manner. What object Elizabeth had proposed to herself to gain by the adoption of the policy which she had now perseveringly pursued for upwards of two years, it is utterly impossible to conjecture. Certainly it does appear as if that policy was intended to retard, rather than to hasten—to prevent altogether, rather than provide for—the marriage of the Scottish queen; and had for its origin the capriciousness of a jealous woman, rather than the wisdom of a sovereign and the generosity of a sister. To the last Mary was willing to oblige Elizabeth. In an interview with Randolph, shortly before the announcement of the Queen of England's final decision, an allusion having been made to Leicester, she observed—"Of that matter I will say no more, till I see the greater likelihood; but no creature living shall make me break more of my will than my good

* State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil.

† Melvil's Memoirs.

sister, if she will use me as a sister; if not, I must do as I may."*

Every effort was at the same time made by her ministers to bring the matter to a conclusion, and persuade Elizabeth to comply with the conditions on which the marriage with Leicester depended for its consummation. Moray, in particular, who, as already mentioned, had compromised himself in the affair, urgently represented to Randolph the necessity imposed upon him of adopting such measures as would, in the eyes of the queen, justify him in the conduct he had so long pursued. He was responsible, he said, for the policy which Mary had followed in consonance with his advice. He had held out to her hopes, that, if she deferred to the wishes of Elizabeth, her rights in the matter of the succession would be acknowledged; and it would prove his ruin if these hopes should, after all, be found to be fallacious. If he had the satisfaction of feeling that he had been true to his sovereign, and had performed his duty, he could submit to lose much of his authority and power. He expressed himself as much alarmed at the prospect of a foreign alliance. "If," said he, "she marry any other than Leicester, what mind will the new king bear me, that knoweth I have so strongly opposed his advancement? If he be a Papist, either we must obey, or fall into new misery and difficulty, whilst I shall be regarded as the ringleader of the discontented. But what need to say more of this, you have often heard me say as much before; and yet we see nothing but drift of time, delays from day to day: to do all for nothing, and to get nothing for all!"†

The final resolution of Elizabeth with regard to the proposition of the Scottish ministers was now declared. It amounted to this—that she could not bind herself to recognise Mary's title, till she had made up her own mind whether she would marry or not; that if the queen would accept Leicester as a simple earl, she would be well pleased; and in that case she intended that this nobleman should be advanced to still higher honours. This declaration at once put an end to all further negotiations, and annihilated the hopes of Mary. It was a cruel disappointment. The fair representations of the English ambassador, the repeated and solemn protestations of friendship on the part of Elizabeth, and the assurances of her own ministers, Moray and Lethington, had all flattered her into the belief that her claims had been favourably regarded, and after some delay would be formally acknowledged. For years the recognition of her right of succession had been the grand object of her ambition—the moving principle of her policy. In conjunction with her husband, Francis, she had assumed the arms of England, and quartered them with her own. And when, conformable to a treaty with England, she had abandoned the use of these arms, it was only that her

claims might be brought before the legislature, divested of any appearance of arrogant assumption, and represented as put forward on the sole ground of equity and justice. On assuming the reins of government, she had cultivated the most intimate relations with the English court, expressed in warm terms, her desire that a lasting friendship might be established between herself and Elizabeth; anxiously endeavoured to make arrangements for an interview with that sovereign; and in spite of the coldness with which her proposals were received, continued to exert herself for the continuance of the amicable understanding that then subsisted between the two monarchs. Her own inclination, the desire of her people, the exigencies of her position, imposing on her the necessity of marriage, she consulted Elizabeth on the choice of a consort, and expressed her willingness to be guided by her wishes, or, rather, to be satisfied with her decision. Several brilliant offers for her hand were made and rejected by foreign princes, some of which would have formed an unsuitable alliance even for the Queen of Scotland. These she rejected—some of them, perhaps, with hesitation—and thereby excited the displeasure of influential relatives in France. In all this she had, no doubt, an object in view—the recognition of her claims as heiress-apparent to the English throne. The professions of Elizabeth afforded her good grounds for anticipating a favourable issue to the policy she had thus perseveringly pursued. Leicester was proposed as her consort, and that nobleman she professed herself willing to accept, on the conditions already specified. Her wishes must be sacrificed at the shrine of her ambition, but that sacrifice she was ready to make. We may condemn her resolution—we cannot but admit her consistency. The ministers of both countries entered on a series of negotiations which ended at a brief and satisfactory settlement of this question. Commissioners met at Berwick, but ^{nothing} was adjusted. The court of England was visited by Sir James Melvil, who, tired, persuaded of the dissimulation of the English queen, and disgusted with her infidelity. Gradually, Elizabeth retreated from her engagements, and retracted her promises. To the last Mary was sincere in her professions of attachment; and even by the prejudiced Randolph, her affection was pronounced genuine and unfeigned. How true unshaken confidence in the honesty of the Queen of England's intentions—maintained, even in the face of numerous delays and disappointments—was proved by the final resolution of Elizabeth, we have already seen. It was not surprising, then, that, on the intelligence being communicated to her, which we have just recorded, Mary was strongly agitated, and, after her interview with Randolph, indulged in a passionate fit of weeping. Not that we would say that, under the first impulse of indignation, she addressed a bitter letter of remonstrance to her

* State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 4th March, 1564-5.

† Ibid.

* State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil.

so-called good sister, using, as Cecil observes, "evil speech of her Majesty, and alleging that she had abused her, and made her waste her time."

Much of the subsequent conduct of Mary may be traced to the revolution occasioned in her mind by this discovery of the falsehood and treachery of Elizabeth. If, for example, she had exercised

Results of the policy and duplicity of Elizabeth.

great toleration towards her Protestant subjects, contrary, perhaps, to her own inclinations, certainly in the face of repeated and urgent

remonstrances from the nobility and clergy of the Catholic persuasion. she had only, in so doing, acted a part in consistency with her general policy. To exhibit hostility towards the religion established in the country, to promulgate oppressive measures for the persecution of its adherents—if it did not endanger her own security, would certainly have roused in England a storm of indignation which would effectually have terminated for ever any hopes she entertained of having her rights acknowledged. But now that this motive for the forbearance she had displayed in dealing with the Reformers was removed, we have no reason to be surprised if we find her resolutely opposing the religion she had fostered, and regarding with coldness and distrust the very men to whom she had formerly extended her greatest confidence. Another unfortunate result of the treachery of Elizabeth was the alienation of the Scottish queen from her confidential advisers, Moray and Lethington. In them, too, she found herself deceived; not one of their fair promises had been realised; and it was not unnatural she should identify them with the duplicity and falsehood so shamefully discovered in the conduct of the English queen. This was a consequence which, as already noticed, was anticipated by the sagacious Moray. "The queen," he observed to Randolph, "would dislike and suspect him, because he had deceived her with promises he could not realise." From these circumstances it will readily be perceived that the position of the queen was one of extreme difficulty and great peril. She was still young and inexperienced; she was hasty in her confidences, and given to rashness in her measures. She was no match for the sovereign of England, backed by the intriguing Randolph and the wily Cecil. She was not initiated into the mysteries of state-craft; and her experiences, so far as they went, were unfortunate and discouraging. Elizabeth had deceived and injured her; she was the victim "of fraud, selfishness, and falsehood." Randolph was a mere spy upon her actions; Moray and her trusted Lethington had aided in her defeat, and ministered to her mortification. She had no security that, having had her confidence once abused, she would not be again betrayed. From the Protestants she could look for no assistance, and little sympathy. The Catholics she had treated with coldness, almost with contempt, and now, in her hour of need, she might find their loyalty questionable and their attachment lukewarm. If she turned from Scot-

land to France, desirous of renewing the ancient understanding between the two countries, she found her relatives alienated, and her uncles disgusted with her repeated refusals to contract an alliance with some of the illustrious branches of the royal family. Her position, therefore, was one of extreme difficulty; she had been taught to mistrust every one about her—the lesson, unhappily, was not thrown away; and if we subsequently find her betrayed into imprudences which she had afterwards reason to deplore, we are bound to make allowances for her natural weakness of character, and remember the combination of circumstances against which, isolated and unbefriended, she had to contend.

Her first thoughts were naturally given to the subject of her marriage. This was a necessary step, both on account of her present situation, and the well-known wishes of her subjects. It is not wonderful that, everything considered, she looked towards Darnley; an alliance with Mary proposes to whom, she conceived, would be marry Darnley. beneficial to her own interests, and tend to conciliate a large body of her people. As a prince of the blood-royal, he was her equal in birth—his grandmother being the sister of Henry the Eighth, and his mother cousin-german to Queen Elizabeth. The mother of Darnley, the Countess of Lennox, was Mary's most dangerous rival in her claim upon the English succession. Though born of a second marriage, she was one degree nearer the blood-royal of England than Mary, having been the daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry, while Mary, Queen of Scotland, was only her granddaughter. But this was not the only advantage over Mary which was possessed by the Countess of Lennox. The latter was born in England, and by a maxim of law in that country with regard to private inheritances, "whoever is not born in England, or at least of parents who, at the time of his birth, were in the obedience of the King of England, cannot enjoy any inheritance in this kingdom." This maxim, an English lawyer of the name of Hales produced in a treatise which he published at this time, with the intention of applying it to the regulation of the right of succession to the crown.*

The claims of the house of Lennox had long been regarded by Mary with uneasiness and alarm, and laid the foundation of that friendly intercourse which she had formerly established with them, and now laboured to perpetuate. To unite herself with this house, through her union with Her motives. Darnley, appeared to offer an easy and legitimate solution of the difficulties which might arise out of their rival claims upon the same prize; and by the marriage of the parties principally concerned, their interests would become identified. It was probably the idea of some not very well-defined compromise, suggesting itself to the mind of Mary, which induced her with such earnestness to solicit the return to Scotland of the

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 310.

Earl of Lennox; and now that the marriage with Leicester was broken off, and Elizabeth had voluntarily freed her from the obligations under which she had come, she resolved to act without reference to this capricious sovereign, and to contract an alliance agreeable to her own wishes, whether those wishes were regarded with approbation or resentment by the English court. She had, however, just grounds for anticipating that her projected union with Darnley would not be displeasing to Elizabeth. That princess, while repeatedly avowing her determination to oppose with all her influence any alliance with a foreign prince, had expressly affirmed that a marriage with any of the nobility of England would meet with her sanction and approval. In her choice of Darnley, the conditions specified were adhered to. He was a subject of England; he had extensive estates in that country; he was not only a member of the nobility, but a near relative of the sovereign. And when, therefore, as we shall afterwards see, this marriage was opposed by the queen, and that, too, upon the most frivolous pretexes, we can only conclude that this refusal to grant the concurrence which was asked, proceeded from the same jealous disposition, and the same ungenerous spirit, as that which had given birth to her former dark and unprincipled policy.

The conduct of Darnley, on his arrival in Scotland, was prudent and wary. He appears to have made an agreeable impression equally on the mind of Mary and of her subjects. Suspected of being a Papist, he ingratiated himself with the Reformers, and attended on the preaching of Knox. "Yesterday," writes Randolph to Cecil, "both his lordship (Darnley) and I dined with my lord of Moray. His lordship's behaviour is very well liked, and hitherto he so governeth himself that there is great praise of him. Yesterday he heard Mr. Knox preach, and came in the company of my lord of Moray. After supper, after that he had seen the queen and divers other ladies dance, he, being required by my lord of Moray, danced a galliard with the queen, who, after this travel of her's, is come home stronger than she went forth."

But this moderation of conduct did not long continue. Intoxicated with the extraordinary favour shown to him by the queen, his treatment of the nobles became imperious and intolerable. Aspiring to the hand of his sovereign, and finding his pretensions allowed, and his advances permitted, he imagined his ambitious projects already realised, and acted with all the haughtiness of a king-consort. Young, ardent, and impetuous, of weak understanding and passionate temper, elated with his present position, and dazzled with the magnificent prospects dawning on his imagination, he soon ceased to impose any restraints on his conduct, and discovered an overbearing insolence of deportment and extravagance of behaviour, which mortally offended the nobility, and alienated the respect of those who had formerly regarded him

* This alludes to her residence in St. Andrew's.

with some degree of favour, and even of adulation. Randolph declares that he indulged in insupportable boastings as to the strong party he had formed in England; inveighed in bitter terms against the Earl of Moray as possessed of power exorbitant and dangerous, and contrived in a short time to make himself so many enemies, that it was whispered he must soon either change his conduct or lose his life.*

One feature in the conduct of Darnley was extremely offensive to the nobility, and weakened at once their contempt and disgust. This was his

His intimate intimacy with the notorious David with David Riccio,† an Italian of mean extraction and indolent condition,

who, having been at first introduced to the notice of Mary through his accomplishments as a musician, gradually advanced himself to her favour, till, in consequence of the disgrace of Rastell, her former secretary, he was promoted to this post,

* MS. State Paper Office. Randolph to Cecil, 29th March, 1564-5.

† The following is Sir James Melvil's account of this personage:—"Now there came here in company with the ambassador of Savoy, one David Riccio, of the country of Piedmont, that was a merry fellow, and a good musician, and her majesty had three variants of his playing and sang three parts, and wanted a boon to sing the fourth part. Therefore they told her majesty of the time to be the fourth morning—in short, that he was drawn into the king sometimes with the rest, and afterwards, when the ambassador, his master, returned, he moved to this country, and was received into her majesty's service as a valet de chambre. And afterwards, when the French secretary retired himself to France, this David obtained the said office, and thereby entered into greater favour, and obtained her majesty's ear at times in presence of the nobles, and when there was greatest conversation of the court, which made him be so envied and hated, that he presented all occasions to be advanced to her majesty, that some of the nobles would give up their place, and some of them would quarrel with and threaten him, when they entered into the chamber, and found him always speaking with her majesty, and that some of them had hard terms to be spoken to him, whereby in a short time he became very rich. He without more said, therefore," Melvil continues, "he happened to come with her, and asked my counsel how to behave himself. I told him that strangers were commonly hated, when they were so overmuch in the affairs of her majesty, and that he should be being secretary to her majesty in the year 1564, and on that occasion thereby to occupy her majesty's ear, and that the secretary used to do. I said also that the nobles would be through his hands; and advised him to be very careful, when he were present, to give them some play, or some other recreation, to be content therewith; and showed him, for example how I had been in so great favour with her, and how I had board being drawn, and that he should be in the whole court: what sort of recreation he should give them against me, which seem as I had said, that he should let me sit from his own table, and that he should let gentlemen, and come to make with me, and that he should be hated, nor myself to be envied. This is what he professed, was sound policy; and Melvil, who had the part of a friend in giving such advice to the king, was not to be blamed. According to Riccio's own account, he would not follow the counsel, but the queen, as he alleged, would not let him do to act upon it. This is probably the reason why she was so unhappy fortune of Mary to be so much in the favour of a man who she was justly justified to have in the great of intention, but which, nevertheless, gave occasion to many injurious constructions and evil sayings."

and employed in conducting her French correspondence.

"The sudden promotion of this man," says Buchanan, "from a state of beggary to wealth, without any intermediate gradation—his fortune so far above his merit, his arrogance so far beyond his fortune, his contempt for his equals, and his rivalry with his superiors—already gave rise to many remarks." Riceio probably courted Darnley, whose fortunes he perceived were in the ascendant, with the view of securing his countenance and protection against the attacks of the nobility, whose attitude towards him was daily assuming a more threatening aspect. On the other hand, Darnley appears to have encouraged his advances, and to have lived on familiar terms with the fortunate secretary, whose influence with the queen he doubtless expected would be used for the furtherance of his ambitious projects. As it was, this intimacy occasioned the alienation of many noblemen, the loss of whose friendship he had afterwards good reason to lament.

The extraordinary favour which had been shown by Mary towards the house of Lennox, was viewed with suspicion and alarm by various parties in the state. Most of the nobility were of opinion that to Lennox and his son would be entrusted the whole authority of the government, and that their influence at court would shortly become paramount. The Duke of Chatelherault in particular, under whose regency the Earl of Lennox had been banished, anticipated nothing less than the entire ruin of his fortunes and the destruction of his house. Moray, also, could not fail to perceive that his power was on the wane, and his influence supplanted by the rising favourite. So great was his dissatisfaction that, pretending to be Moray withdrawn offended with the popish ceremony practised at the abbey, he withdrew from court, for the purpose of mustering his party and collecting his resources. According to the statements of Randolph—to which, however, implicit evidence must not at all times be given—the people were universally discontented; threatening murmurs were heard among all classes; and if Elizabeth, he remarked, felt disposed to raise factions in Scotland, and embroil the country, there never was a time in which she could do so with greater probabilities of success.*

But that princess was herself the object of grave suspicions on the part of the Scottish people. It was openly affirmed by many, that the events which had given rise to such deep dissatisfaction had been brought about by her own connivance and the intrigues of her ministers. It was affirmed that Darnley had been sent into Scotland for the very purpose of creating internal disturbances; that the policy of the Queen of England aimed at interposing obstacles in the way of an alliance being contracted between Mary and any powerful foreign potentate; that the object of Elizabeth was to force

upon the Scottish queen some contemptible marriage, which would humble her in the eyes of her own subjects and in those of Europe; and that, finally, she was anxious to bring about a rupture in the friendly intercourse of the two kingdoms.* These were accusations which her ministers could not well meet with a satisfactory answer. Her conduct during the late negotiations, even so much of it as was generally known, had given rise to the most injurious reflections on her character and intentions. It was notorious that the queen had been injured by Elizabeth; that she had failed to carry out her engagements; and every subsequent step taken by that princess would be watched with anxious and jealous scrutiny.

Whatever opinions may have been formed by others as to the growing intimacy of the queen with Darnley, Randolph seems to have been blind to its probable results. In a letter to Cecil, he observes, speaking of the measure which had been taken of his character and abilities:—"Of my Lord Darnley they have this opinion, that in wisdom he doth not much differ from his father. The honour, countenance, and entertainment that he hath had here, maketh him think no little of himself. Some persuade him that there is no less good-will born unto him by many of his nation, than that they think him a fit party for such a queen. How easily a young man so born in hand, daily in presence, well used, continually in company either of the best or next about her, may be induced, either by himself to attempt, or by persuasions of others to imagine, I leave it to the judgment of others. Of this queen's mind hitherto towards him, I am void of suspicion; but what affection may be stirred up in her, or whether she will be moved at any time that way, seeing she is a woman, and in all things desirous of having her will, I cannot say." †

We have spoken of the dissatisfaction which the countenance shown to the house of Lennox had given to many of the nobility, and especially to the Duke of Chatelherault. This is alluded to in strong terms in the letter from which we have just quoted. "I find him (the duke)," he says, "more pitied and better beloved than ever he was. He keepeth continually at home; few of his name repair to the court; they seek all quietly to live, and, through innocency, or not offence of late, to avoid all dangers that are intended, or what mischief shall be practised against them, whereof they do most assure themselves, if this queen do marry any other than Leicester, but especially if she should take my Lord Darnley. This putteth no small fear also among the Douglasses, for what cause your honour knoweth. ‡ With divers of them of late I have had some talk; I maintain them in good hope the best I can, that there is no danger that way. From the duke I received this message—that he cannot be

* State Paper Office. Randolph to Cecil, 18th April, 1565.

† Ibid., March, 1565.

‡ Randolph alludes to the claim which the Countess of Lennox had to the earldom of Angus.

* MS. State Paper Office. Randolph to Cecil, 15th April, 1565. Tyler, vol. vi. p. 324.

without fear of the overthrow of his house, if the Lord Darnley marry the queen."

About this time, Bothwell, who it will be remembered had been obliged to quit the kingdom, on account of the part he had taken in the conspiracy of the Earl of Arran, returned suddenly, and without the queen's permission, to Scotland. This nobleman was known to be a person of profligate character, and he was in consequence treated by Mary with considerable severity. At the instigation of the Earl of Moray, whose life he had frequently threatened, it was resolved to bring him to a public trial. The charges made against him were of a serious description. He was arraigned for high-treason, in having conspired, three years previously, with the Earl of Arran, to seize the person of her majesty. The circumstances of this trial are alluded to by Randolph, in a despatch to the English secretary. "Upon Tuesday night," he says, "the 1st of May, there came up to this town my Lords of Moray and Argyle, to keep the day of law against the Earl of Bothwell, who appeared not, nor is it yet for certain known what is become of him, though the common report is, that he embarked at North Berwick. The company that came

to this town in favour of my Lord high-treason. of Moray are esteemed five or six thousand; and, for my part, I assure your honour I never saw a greater assembly. More also had come, saving that they were stayed by the queen, who hath showed herself now of late to dislike that my Lord of Moray so earnestly persueth him, and will not give his advice to take the like advantage upon some others whom she beareth small affection unto. In this matter, thus far they have proceeded:—Upon the Wednesday he was called, and, for lack of appearance, was condemned in the same; farther the queen would not that the justice-clerk should proceed, which hath brought so much misliking, and given occasion of such kind of talk against her grace, for bearing with such men in her own cause, that that which is already spoken passeth all measure."

It is not easy to understand what Randolph means by these assertions. The very fact that Mary allowed Bothwell to be brought to trial contradicts the statement that he was treated with undue favour. Randolph himself reports that Bothwell had of late behaved towards the queen in such a scandalous and insulting manner, as to force her to declare that he had forfeited all claims to her respect and forbearance.*

Randolph then proceeds to describe to Cecil the state of parties, and adds some interesting details in connection with the Scottish court. "With my Lord of Argyle there came to this town the Lord David and the duke's son, with most part of the duke's friends. Assured bands and promises are made between the duke and the Lord of Moray, that nothing shall be attempted against each other; but

it shall be defended to the uttermost of their powers. The Earl of Glencairn, having been required by the Earl of Lennox to enter into the like band, hath refused it, and joined with the Duke. My Lord of Morton this time was absent, but so confident that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that my lady's grace (the Countess of Lennox) will give over her rights of Angus, and so he will become friend to that side. In this Lethington laboureth not much to his own praise. The Lord Ruthven, Lethington's chief friend, is wholly theirs, and chief considerer amongst them. Suspicions do rise on every side, to which I have my part, as of late, because I was at the West Border, and am thought to practice with the Marquis of Maxwell—I know not what myself. My Lord of Moray was willed not to have to do with me; and when he said 'he could not choose but speak well of me.' 'Well,' said the queen, 'if you will, let not Argyle have to do with him.'"

Randolph then alludes to Mary's rumored marriage with Darnley, and the probable conduct of Elizabeth in this matter. "It is feared that her majesty [Elizabeth] will over soon allow herself, and over hastily accord unto this queen's desires; at least, it is wished that there may be some open show of her majesty's discontentment. Lethington is supposed to favour more that way (I mean to my Lord Darnley) than he would seem; and yet, I assure you, he is scarcely treated amongst them—viz. Lennox's party—and, of late, despiteful words have been spoken against him upon certain words which he wrote to my Lord Moray, that he should persuade the queen to make no haste in the matter, but keep it in the stay it was when he left it. Thus your honour seeth our present state, and how things do frame amongst us. So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. My Lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my Lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse-meat. If he have no more from you, we shall see him presently put to his shifts. His men are bolder and sadder, both with the queen's self and many noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne; divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their change. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them. My young lord, lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the duke to knock his pate when he is whole."

Mary was now resolved upon the same so much dreaded by many of her nobility. It was her chosen policy to secure, if possible, the approbation and consent of Elizabeth. From various circumstances before alluded to, she had good reasons for anticipating that these would not be refused. About this time, therefore, she dispatched Lethington to the English court, with orders to communicate her intentions with regard to Darnley. This story

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Randolph to Cecil.

• MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Randolph to Cecil.

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arrived at Westminster on the 18th of April. Elizabeth affected the greatest surprise at the tidings of which he was the bearer. She refused at once, and in a peremptory manner, to countenance this marriage; and at the same time indulged in many bitter expressions, reflecting on the conduct of the Scottish queen. We have here another example of the ungracious character of Elizabeth in her treatment of Mary. On no grounds, but those of the most frivolous nature, could she oppose the contemplated alliance. Mary's resolution to marry had been often declared—the wishes of her subjects were well known—Elizabeth herself had urged her to the adoption of this step. In many respects, the union with Darnley was unexceptionable. The danger of introducing a foreign interest into Scotland, so justly dreaded, was thereby avoided. There was nothing in the condition or position of Mary's intended consort which could render him formidable to the English sovereign. Allied to both crowns, and possessed of lands in both kingdoms, he could not be dangerous to either. The apprehensions, therefore, which Elizabeth pretended to entertain with regard to this marriage were, even if really felt, totally without foundation. Whatever were the motives which weighed with the queen, she affected the greatest displeasure, and, without delay, summoning together her Privy Council, she laid before them the propositions for this projected union. As might be anticipated, they, after long-protracted deliberations, declared themselves unanimously opposed to it. "After sundry conferences, and many arguments among themselves, they all with one judgment thought this marriage with my Lord Darnley, being attended with such circumstances as therein do appear to be unusual, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the sincere amity between both the queens, and consequently perilous to the continuance of the mutual good concord and tranquillity that at present is known to be, and is desired to be made perpetual, betwixt both the realms."* The ostensible ground of their opposition was, that the measure was "plainly prejudicial to them both, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both their countries." It is worthy of notice, however, that the council carefully avoided specifying any particular dangers or prejudices which might, through this marriage, be entailed upon the two queens and their respective realms. The whole policy of Elizabeth, in fact, resolved itself into this, that Mary should either refrain from marriage altogether, or accept the husband whom, in her wisdom, she desired to impose upon her. "The sharpest thorn," says a French historian, "that ever the Queen of England dreaded, was a potent alliance to be made by the Queen of Scots." †

* A determination of the Privy Council of England upon the marriage of the Queen of Scots, 1st May, 1565.

† Both Buchanan and Knox acknowledge that this marriage was very generally believed not to be contrary to the Queen of England's liking, whatever dissatisfaction she might affect. And I have thought fit here to set down the French agent's (Mons. Castelmann de Mauvessière) sentiments of this

Before consummating her marriage with Darnley, Mary anxiously endeavoured to obtain the consent of Moray to this union. Every effort was employed for this purpose, but without effect. That nobleman had for some time absented himself from court,

matter. This gentleman, speaking of our queen's marriage with foreign princes, saith—"But all these great alliances were equally disagreeable to the Queen of England, who never dreaded a sharper thorn in her foot than some potent foreign alliance to be made by the Queen of Scotland, whose kingdom lies so close upon hers, that they are only separated by a fordable river; and so she might be easily annoyed by a bad neighbour. This the Queen of England foreseeing, cast her eyes on the young Lord Darnley, to make a present of him to the Scottish queen; and found means to persuade the queen, by several powerful considerations, that there was not a marriage in Christendom which could bring her more certain advantages, together with the eventual succession to the kingdom of England, which she (the Queen of Scots) pretended to be lodged in her person, than this with the Lord Darnley; because they two, being joined in matrimony, with the consent of the Queen of England, and the wisest in both the kingdoms, would fortify each other's title, and so take out of the way many scruples which, in the event of time, might come to disturb these two neighbouring states. Now, this purpose was the more speedily executed, that it was approved by those in whom the Queen of Scots reposed most confidence—namely, the Earl of Moray, bastard brother to that queen, who had the management of all her affairs; the Laird of Lethington, her Secretary of State; and their confederates, who were all gained over to persuade their mistress not only to receive the said Lord Darnley kindly, and to give him a new title to his father's estate, but likewise to yield a favourable ear to the marrying of him, as being more useful to her for obtaining the crown of England than any other; and, moreover, to represent to her, that, if she should think of marrying either in France or Spain, the expenses and difficulties of accomplishing the same would be greater than Scotland could well bear. Besides, that such a marriage would not fail to create a jealousy in the Queen of England, who could take none at all against the Lord Darnley, her own subject and her own blood, as the Queen of Scots herself was.' Then, after he has told how fond our queen became of this marriage, and that she sent him into France to obtain that king and the queen-mother's consent to the marriage, he adds—"On my road, I met the Queen of England, who had been travelling into some parts of her kingdom; but her majesty did not outwardly show the joy and pleasure which was in her heart, when I told her that this marriage was advancing apace; on the contrary, she affected not to approve it; which thing, however, did rather hasten than retard it.' After he had been in France, and obtained their majesties' consent to the marriage, he returns through England, and then says—"I found the Queen of England much colder towards the Queen of Scots than formerly, complaining that she had subtracted her relation and subject, and that she was intending to marry him against her consent and approbation. And I am assured that these words were very far from her heart, for she used all her efforts, and spared nothing to set this marriage a-going.' Now, if these observations be well-founded, what shall we say of some princes and princesses? It will manifestly appear, by subsequent and authentic papers, that the Lord Darnley had a license from Queen Elizabeth to come into Scotland, and here to remain a certain space; yet, in her instructions to Sir Henry Norris, her ambassador in France, she expresseth herself thus—"It chanced that a young nobleman, our near kinsman, brought up in our court, named the Lord Darnley, was secretly enticed to pass into Scotland, upon other pretences, for private suits for lands, and such like—(the Lord Darnley had not, nor could have any suit for land)—and there without our knowledge, according to the same former practices whereof we were not altogether ignorant, though we would not seem so jealous of that same, he was suddenly accepted by that queen to be allied in contract of marriage with her, as one thought to be a meet person to work troubles in our realm for her advantage; yea, contrary to the advice of the wiser part of her council—(this is said without sufficient foundation)—and, consequently, contrary to our will and liking, was married to her in all haste."—See Sir Dudley Digges's Ambassador.

having felt that his influence had been undermined, and rendered almost nominal, ever since the arrival of Darnley in the kingdom. This was a result which his proud spirit was unable to brook. It may readily be supposed that he regarded Darnley, and indeed the whole house of Lennox, with feelings of aversion and resentment.

Conscious, however, of the importance of conciliating the earl, and remembering the important services which he had formerly rendered her, and the good offices she might yet require at his hands, she invited him back to court, and received him with many demonstrations of respect and confidence.

Her interview with Moray. The object she had in view soon declared. When alone with him in the chamber of Lord Darnley, the queen put into his hands a paper containing an unqualified approval of her projected marriage, and requested him to attach to it his signature. Probably the earl was not surprised at the demand; but several and weighty reasons induced him to withhold his assent. Entertaining a strong aversion for Darnley, whom, not unnaturally, he regarded as his rival and enemy, it was unreasonable to expect that he would voluntarily bestow upon him such an accession of power and dignity as was implied in his elevation to the throne. Alive to the importance of maintaining on its present footing the good understanding between the two countries, which depended on the friendly dispositions of the English sovereign, he necessarily hesitated to afford his sanction to an arrangement which he was perfectly aware would be obnoxious to Elizabeth. He had always openly preferred a confederacy with England, rather than the ancient alliance with France. Through the policy which he had recommended and carried out, this principle had been adopted. By consenting to her marriage with Darnley it was virtually surrendered, or at least endangered. "A league with England had been established, and he could not think of sacrificing to a rash and youthful passion an alliance of so much advantage to the kingdom, and which he and the other nobles were bound by every obligation to maintain."* Further, Darnley was obnoxious to Moray on account of his religion. On their first arrival in Scotland, Lennox and his son had successfully concealed from the nation their real sentiments. They carried their dissimulation to such a height as to attend, apparently with satisfaction, the ministrations of Protestant divines. No sooner, however,

He refuses his consent. did they find themselves secure in their position at court—their influence extending—their power consolidating—than they threw off the mask, and without hesitation discovered opinions very different from their previous professions. Foremost in the ranks of the Reformers—having played a conspicuous part in the enterprise which ended in the triumph of his

faith, and its establishment in the kingdom—regarded, therefore, with truth as the champion of Protestantism, he could never consent that a *Prophet* should be chosen as the summit of his sovereignty, whose first act might, in all probability, attempt the overthrow of that religion which he was pledged to support, and resolved to defend. These considerations were the motives which weighed with Moray in firmly refusing to comply with her demand. "Her resolution," he said, "was ever hasty, and her demand upon him too sudden and peremptory. What would foreign princes think of such precipitation? What must be the opinion of the Queen of England, with whom her ambassador was even then in treaty, and whom almost daily expected? But, most of all," he continued, "he would be loath to consent to the marriage of any one of whom there was so little hope that he would be a favourer of which was the thing most to be desired—of one who hitherto had shown himself rather an enemy than a preserver of the same."* This answer, and the refusal it conveyed, intensely mortified Mary, and excited her extreme displeasure. She remonstrated with him in harsh and severe terms, reminding him of his many obligations to her kindness, and upbraiding him with base ingratitude; and then, unable to shake his resolution, dismissing him from her presence with expressions of her high resentment.

Mary had now entered on a course from which it was impossible to withdraw with credit or with honour. Her intentions with regard to Darnley were matters of public notoriety—they were the topic of conversation at court, and formed the subject of the special communication with which Lethington was charged to the English sovereign. In these circumstances, and in spite of the opposition of Moray, she had no alternative but to proceed to carry out her engagements. Informed by several of her confidential advisers, she acted in accordance with her own judgment, and resolved on the adoption of vigorous and decided measures. With this view, a few days subsequent to her interview with Moray, she summoned a convention of the nobility to meet her at Stirling, on the 15th of May. In the meantime, intelligence having reached her of the nature of Elizabeth's reply—exasperated at this treatment, the last of a series of unexampled *insults*—she dispatched *ambassadors* with instructions to Lethington, *Mary with orders to Lethington* which contrasted very strikingly with those which had formerly been *to England* delivered to him. The ambassador was recommended to return instantly to England, and to inform the queen, that, since she had been so long treated with fair speeches, and beguiled of her just expectation, she had now resolved, with the advice of the Estates of her realm, to use her own choice in her marriage, and to select such a husband as in her opinion should be most worthy of the crown

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. *Embassy to Cecil, 8th May, 1565.*

* Robertson. Keith. 'Christ's true religion.'

to which he would be raised. These instructions were penned with her own hand. "They wanted," says the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who had seen them, "neither eloquence, despite, anger, love, nor passion." They were written by a woman, and that woman smarting under the sense of a long series of premeditated injuries at the hands of one from whom she had a right to expect very different treatment.

Lethington was directed, after fulfilling his instructions in England, to proceed immediately to France, for the purpose of explaining her intentions to the king, and endeavouring to procure his approbation of her marriage. With the view of inducing the secretary to act in this delicate matter with the greater promptitude and zeal, she wrote him, with her own hand, "the most favourable and gentle letter that ever queen addressed to her servant." Besides entrusting him with full powers, she gave him the command of a considerable sum of money, which, at this time, was due as part of the dowry which she received from France. Finally, in the event of his mission being successful, she promised him the highest advancement in the state which it was in her power to confer.* Beaton, who was the bearer of these instructions, encountered Lethington near Newark, as he was returning from his unfortunate embassy. Instead, however, of acting according to their direction, and retracing his steps to England, the secretary posted forward with the intention of overtaking Throckmorton, who, in the meantime, had been dispatched by Elizabeth on a mission to Scotland. The latter was commanded to communicate to Mary the resolution of the English Privy Council, to intimate her own entire disapproval of the proposed marriage with Darnley, and to take measures for preventing its consummation. The two ambassadors, having met at Alnwick, proceeded together into Scotland.

Lethington has been charged with baseness and treachery in neglecting to carry out the instructions communicated by Beaton. Doubtless, he was chargeable with disobedience; and, in venturing to incur the displeasure of his sovereign, he acted a bold and hazardous part. But this very fact supplies us with the key to his otherwise inexplicable conduct. It was his interest, as we have seen, to give effect to the commands to Mary; and, in failing to do this, he must have been influenced by considerations more praiseworthy than those of a personal character. These, therefore, could have been no other than a regard for the interests of the queen and the safety of her realm. It was not difficult to anticipate the consequences of the delivery of such a message as that with which Mary had entrusted him. To Elizabeth it would certainly have been deemed a sufficient provocation to justify the suspension of all friendly relations between the two countries, and giving rise to some hasty expression of her unbounded indignation would have created an irreparable breach, and

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Throckmorton to Cecil.

have violently rent asunder the few remaining ties which still linked together the two queens.

Shortly after the departure of Beaton, the convention of nobles, summoned by command of Mary to deliberate on her marriage, assembled at Stirling, on the 15th of May. With the exception of Lord Ochiltree and one or two others, this meeting was attended by the whole of the most influential of the Scottish nobility. There were present—the Duke of Chatelherault; the Earls of Argyle, Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Atholl, Crawford, Eglington, Cassillis, Rothes, and Caithness; the Lords Hume, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Semple, Ross, Lindsay, Lovat, Boyd, and Somerville. In addition to these noblemen and barons, there were present—the officers of state, the secretary, the treasurer, the justice-clerk, and the advocate; together with the commendators of Holyrood, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, St. Colm's Inch, and Balmerinock.* In the midst of this illustrious assemblage of the Estates of her realm, the queen announced her resolution of contracting an alliance by marriage with the son of the Earl of Lennox, Henry Lord Darnley. No opposition was offered to the proposed measure. Many of the nobles openly expressed their approbation, and the few who, like Moray, were averse to the marriage, did not venture to avow their sentiments. Probably their silent acquiescence was owing to the overwhelming majority of the barons by whom Mary was supported in the proposition she had made. Not satisfied, however, with this result, the queen gave orders that another convention should be summoned to meet at Perth, for the purpose of procuring the final consent of the nobility to her union with Darnley, and the period fixed for the consummation of the marriage. This meeting was appointed for the 22nd of June.

In the meantime, while the Convention at Stirling was still sitting, Mary conferred upon Darnley the honour of knighthood, and immediately afterwards created him Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross. After having taken the oaths, and the ceremonial being completed by his being girt with the sword, Darnley, rising from his knees, himself conferred the dignity of knighthood upon fourteen gentlemen of ancient and loyal families who knelt before the throne.† In the

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Throckmorton to Cecil.

† "At Stirling, the 15th day of May, 1565, by our sovereign the queen's majesty, Marie, heretrix of Scotland, and dowager of France, Henry Stuart, eldest son to Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was created lord, and made knight, and gave his oath thereupon. 2dly, Was made baron, baronet, and named Lord Ardmanach, and lord of our sovereign lady's parliament. 3dly, The said Henry, before the queen's majesty, made the oath of an earl, and was belted Earl of Ross. And after were created, by the said Henry, before the queen's majesty, fourteen knights, whose names follow, and gave their oath thereupon.—Sir Robert Stuart, of Straighton; Sir Robert Stuart, of Largis; Sir Ales Stuart, of Dalswinton; Sir James Stuart, of Dou; Sir William Murray, of Tillibarden; Sir William Stuart, of Hawick; Sir Patrick Houston, of that ilk; Sir John Max-

The Convention of nobles assemble at Stirling, 15th May.

Sanction the priority of the barons by whom Mary posed marriage.

Darnley knighted, and created Earl of Ross.

midst of this imposing ceremonial, the queen was informed of the arrival of the English ambassador,

Arrival of an English ambassador. Throckmorton, who had hastened to Stirling, and now urgently demanded an audience. Orders having

been given for his admittance to her presence, he immediately delivered the message with which he was entrusted from his royal mistress. The language he employed was harsh and vehement. He expressed the strong determination of his mistress to oppose with all her influence the proposed marriage—remonstrated with Mary on account of what he termed her strange and unadvised proceedings—animadverted in bitter terms on the presumption of Lennox and Darnley, her own subjects, who, without giving any previous notice of their intentions, had dared to engage in such an enterprise. To this communication Mary replied with firmness and spirit: "That as soon as she had formed her resolution on the subject of her marriage with Darnley, she had at once made known her intentions to Elizabeth, which was all that she had ever promised to do. As to her good sister's

Mary's spirited answer to his communication. great dislike to the match, that," she observed, "was a marvellous circumstance, since the selection

was made in conformity to the queen's wishes, as communicated by Mr. Randolph. She had rejected all foreign suitors, and had chosen an Englishman, descended from the blood-royal of both kingdoms, and the first prince of the blood in England; and one whom she believed would, for these reasons, be acceptable to the subjects of both realms."*

It must have been a difficult matter for the ambassador to answer this spirited address; the more so as it had truth for its foundation. This, however, he attempted, as he tells us: "That he took occasion to impugn her sayings by the very words of Mr. Randolph's commission, containing these three articles. *First.* For her own contentation. *Next.* The allowance of her people. *Thirdly.* That her choice be such as the amity which is now betwixt us, not only for our own persons, but also for our nation, may be continued, and not dissolved nor diminished; proving to her by many and probable arguments, that Lord Darnley did not satisfy the contents of that liberal permission, whereupon she did chiefly ground herself to have your majesty's allowance."† Mary had proposed further honours for the acceptance of Darnley, and intended to create him Duke of Albany; but in deference to the wishes of Throckmorton, she consented to postpone this ceremony.‡

woll, of Nether Pollock; Sir William Livingston, of Kilsyth; Sir John Murray, of Caldwell; Sir Robert Drummond, of Carnoch; Sir James Hume, of Fynlavis; Sir James Stirling, of Kier; Sir William Ruthven, of Baldenie."

—Keith, vol. ii. p. 289.

* Throckmorton to Elizabeth. Keith, vol. ii. p. 280.

† Ibid. Keith, vol. ii. p. 283.

‡ "The Lord Darnley received the honours specified—viz. knighthood, the lordship of Ardmanach, and the earldom of Ross—the creation of the Duke of Albany only excepted, the conferring of which honour this queen, at my leaving taking (which was the 19th of May), did promise to defer till she might hear how your majesty would accept

Exasperated at the conduct of the Scottish queen, and by no means mollified by the answer communicated to her by Throckmorton, Elizabeth proceeded to the adoption of more severe measures. On pretence of having detected the Countess of Lennox in some dangerous intrigues with the Catholics, and particularly with the Earl of Northumberland, she ordered her to be arrested and imprisoned. Immediately afterwards she summoned her Privy Council (12th June, 1565), for the purpose of solemn deliberation on the vexed question of the marriage of the Queen of Scots.

The meetings of this council—the character of their proceedings, and the conclusions arrived at—are of some importance, and an authentic account of them has been preserved by Cecil. From this it appears, that two questions were proposed for the serious consideration of the council. *First.* What perils would probably ensue to the queen's majesty and her realm, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Lord Darnley. *Second.* What was necessary to be done in order to counteract the same. To these questions very full answers were returned by the council.

"The perils," says Cecil, "being many, were reduced by some councillors to only two—*First,* that by this marriage, the queen's majesty being unmarried, a great number in this realm, not of the worst subjects, might be alienated in their minds from their natural duties to her majesty, to depend upon the success of this marriage of Scotland as a means to establish the succession of both the crowns in the issue of the same marriage, and to favour all devices and practices that should tend to the advancement of the Queen of Scots. Under the second peril, it was observed that, considering the chief foundation of that party which favoured the marriage of the Lord Darnley was laid upon the trust of such as were Papists, as the only mean left to restore the religion of Rome, it was plainly to be seen that, both in this realm and in Scotland, the Papists would most favour, maintain, and fortify, the marriage of the Lord Darnley; and would, for the furtherance of their faction in religion, devise all means and positions that could be within this realm to disturb the estate of the queen's majesty and the peace of the realm, and consequently to achieve their purpose by force rather than fail."*

This document, which may be regarded as a minute of the Privy Council, then proceeds to remind Elizabeth of the conduct of Mary from the time when, in conjunction with her husband Francis, she assumed the arms and style of England, down to the present

the proceedings, and answer to my legation. Elizabeth was extremely indignant at this delay, and Lord Darnley happening to be the first person who informed her of this postponement, he, giving way to his resentment and passionate temper, drew his dagger, and threatened to strike that nobleman.

* State Paper Office. Draft by Cecil, June 4, 1565.

in which her policy was assuming an aspect even more alarming.

"It is also to be remembered," remarks Cecil in continuation, "that seeing now, before this attempt of marriage, it was found and manifestly seen, that in every corner of the realm the faction that most favoured the Scottish title is grown stout and bold—yea, seen manifestly in this court, both in hall and chamber, it could not be but (except good heed were speedily given to it) the same faction would speedily increase by this marriage, and by the practice of the author thereof, and grow so great and dangerous, as the redress thereof would be almost desperate. And to this purpose it was to be remembered how, of late, in perusing of the substance of the justices of peace in all the countries of the realm, scantily a third part was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion, upon which only string the Queen of Scots title doth hang; and some doubts might be that the friends of the Earl of Lennox had more knowledge of this than was meet, and thereby made their vaunt now in Scotland, that their party was now so great in England that the queen's majesty dared not attempt to oppose the marriage."

It will be seen from this document, and its remarkable admissions, in the first place, that the Catholic party had, from whatever cause, received of late considerable accessions of strength, and had become, on this account, a source of uneasiness and even alarm to the English Privy Council. This circumstance, as is justly observed by Cecil, could not be unknown at the Scottish court; and while it raised the expectations of the adherents of the ancient faith, must have tended at the same time to confirm Mary in her determination at once to carry out her intentions with regard to her marriage with Darnley, and to assert her claims as heiress-apparent to the English crown.*

Another fact brought out in this minute of the Privy Council is, that there were two parties at the English court who held opposite opinions on the subject of Mary's marriage with Darnley; and that those who approved of her intentions in that matter were no mean or contemptible faction. Cecil, indeed, expressed himself in terms of the strongest aversion to this union, and that statesman may be regarded as the head and representative of the party who honestly and consistently opposed them-

* At this time, indeed, it was currently reported in Scotland, that Elizabeth herself was every day manifesting a greater tendency towards, if not the doctrines, at least the practices and ceremonies of the Roman Church. It is a matter of fact that she had determined to impose a particular habit upon the English clergy, copied from that worn by the clergy of the Church of Rome. It was said also, that she had publicly reprov'd a preacher, who was probably animadverting on some of the Popish practices, commanding him to keep to his text or else to hold his peace. She had been farther seen to wear a rosary and a crucifix; and Bonner had been allowed with impunity to make the audacious statement, that there was not one real bishop in England.—*M.S. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 30th March, 1565*

selves to this measure. Apparently, Elizabeth allowed herself to be guided in her sentiments and policy by the opinions of her minister, and to regard the marriage with unqualified disapprobation. Grounds, however, are not wanting for entertaining the supposition, that the displeasure manifested by her on this occasion was, to use the quaint language of a French historian, mere *grimace*. Confessedly this union secured several points which had been to Elizabeth a subject of some anxiety. It delivered her at once from the dangers apprehended should Mary resolve upon contracting an alliance with any of the continental princes, as had been proposed by Austria and Spain. It extricated her from the difficulties in which she had involved herself through the treacherous policy pursued with regard to Leicester, and it enabled her to retain that nobleman at court. These reasons were not without their due weight in Scotland, and served to convince the people that probably the anger of Elizabeth was mere dissimulation. This, in fact, as we learn from Throckmorton, was the observation made whenever Randolph affected to anticipate with dread the results of Elizabeth's resentment.

We have said that Cecil was honest and consistent in his determination to oppose this marriage with Darnley. His efforts to prevent its consummation were strenuous and unceasing, and were seconded with zeal and energy by Bedford and others in England, and by Randolph in Scotland. This opposition was founded on the apprehension, that not only would the Protestant religion be endangered by the elevation of Darnley to the throne, but what, perhaps, in their estimation was equally to be deplored, the influence of Elizabeth in the Scottish kingdom would be materially weakened, if not totally subverted. These were evils which the ministers of Elizabeth felt themselves called upon, if possible, to avert at all hazards.

In the paper from which we have already quoted, we find that answers were returned by the Privy Council to the second question proposed to its consideration, viz., what was most expedient to be done in order to avoid the dangers anticipated from this marriage. First, they observed, that the time was come for the queen majesty's own marriage, and that she should hold them with no long delay; secondly, that measures of a decided character should be at once taken to advance and fortify the profession of religion, both in Scotland and in England; thirdly, that proceedings should be immediately commenced to secure the breaking off of this contemplated marriage; or, if that was impossible, to provide against the perils apprehended from its consummation; lastly, "That some intelligence should be used in Scotland with the party opposed to the union, and comfort given them from time to time."*

We may here allude to the shameful system of misrepresentation adopted about this time by Ran-

* State Paper Office. Draft by Cecil, 4th June, 1565.

dolph. That envoy had, so long as Mary was sub-
 Randolph's mis- vident to the wishes of the English
 representations. sovereign, uniformly praised her
 conduct in the administration of public affairs.
 Repeatedly he had assured Elizabeth that the Pro-
 testants of Scotland had every reason to be satisfied
 with the toleration they enjoyed. The foundations
 of the reformed religion, he said, were perfectly
 secure, and its adherents were blessed with the
 favour of their queen, and unfettered liberty of
 conscience, as abundantly as heart could wish.
 To speak of Mary in such terms was no more than
 justice to that queen. In her exertions for the
 Protestant party she had incurred the displeasure
 of the Catholics, and the latter had been treated
 with remarkable severity. "No sooner, however,"
 it has been well remarked, "did Mary fix her
 choice on Darnley—no sooner did it appear to
 Randolph that the English faction in Scotland was
 likely to lose ground, and to be superseded in their
 authority, than the letters of this pliant envoy
 abounded with complaints and misrepresentations."
 The reformed religion was described as not only in
 danger, but already ruined, and the godly undone.
 The queen was said to be fallen into universal con-
 tempt. "We are told that her whole character had
 altered in a few days; that even her countenance
 and beauty were decayed, so that many thought
 she was bewitched; and lastly, that an irresistible
 party had resolved to oppose the marriage, and
 avert the ruin of the country."* Such statements
 were wholly without foundation, and discover to
 us very forcibly the unscrupulous character of the
 man, who, in his eagerness to forward the views
 and flatter the prejudices of the mistress to whose
 service, it must be confessed, he was sincerely
 devoted, did not hesitate to pronounce, as already
 experienced, the evils and disasters which, even in
 the gloomiest minds, were only matters of antici-
 pation.

Anxious to the last to keep on good terms with
 her sister of England, Mary now dispatched to the
 court of that country, on a friendly
 mission, Hay, her master of re-
 quests, a man of great ability and
 unquestionable prudence. He was
 instructed to employ every argu-
 ment to gain Elizabeth's consent to the proposed
 marriage; to intimate that, "though in her heart
 she had determined to have my Lord of Ross as her
 husband—her whole nobility agreeing in this pur-
 pose—yet, having consideration of their amity, she
 was content to delay and suspend the final accom-
 plishment and solemnization of her marriage for a
 convenient season;" and to express her willing-
 ness, if Elizabeth were so inclined, to appoint
 commissioners to meet with those from England,
 who should labour to adjust the differences between
 the kingdoms.† In addition, Hay was directed to
 address a spirited remonstrance to the queen on
 account of the severe and unjust proceedings which

Hay, the master
 of requests,
 dispatched on a
 mission to
 England.

had been taken against the Countess of Lennox.
 "We cannot but think," she says in her instruc-
 tions to the envoy, "very strange the sharp treat-
 ing and handling of our dear cousin, the Lady
 Margaret Douglas, and can judge no other but
 this evil and hard entreating is for our name."

Before this ambassador arrived in England,
 Elizabeth adopted more decided and violent mea-
 sures. The Countess of Lennox, who had for
 some time continued under restraint, was now com-
 mitted to the Tower. A summons was dispatched
 to Lennox, commanding in the most solemn
 most peremptory manner, on their part of
 allegiance as English subjects, the attendance of
 himself and Darnley at the court of their sovereign.
 About this time, also, and previous to the visit of Hay,
 Elizabeth addressed a letter to the Scottish queen,
 similar in terms to former communications, and with
 an intimation that her views as to the marriage
 remained unchanged. Randolph also received in-
 structions to continue his intimate relations with
 Moray and others of the disaffected nobility, and
 to assure them that, so long as they intended
 nothing but the maintenance of religion to the
 honour of God, the upholding of their sovereign's
 estate, and the nourishing of the amity between the
 two realms, she would favourably regard their
 state, and lend to them her protection against the
 malice of their enemies. This message is an in-
 dent demonstration that Elizabeth supported and
 fomented the incipient rebellion which she saw
 was manifestly arising in the unhappy kingdom
 of Scotland. And so long as the designs of the
 nobility were masked under the Heretick
 hypocritical pretext of maintaining
 the interests of religion—although she was quite
 aware that their object was very different—long
 she professed herself willing and determined to
 afford them countenance and assistance. In plain
 terms, Randolph was directed to declare that should
 they, for the furtherance of their projects, consider
 it expedient "to keep great forces for their defence,"
 they were to be careful that their expenses should
 be as moderate as possible; and if there were be-
 yond their means, she would not be wanting to her
 aid. In short, "you will," says she, "give them
 this advice—neither to make greater expense than
 their security makes necessary; nor less which
 may bring danger."*

Apart from this perfidious policy of Elizabeth,
 and their knowledge of it, it may be questioned
 whether, in their opposition to the marriage, the
 nobility would have proceeded to extremities. No
 doubt Moray entertained a strong opinion in
 Darnley, and, as we have seen, freely refused to
 sanction his union with the queen. Yet, without
 the countenance and active support of the English
 sovereign, he would certainly have desisted from
 making any effectual opposition to this match and
 alliance. As it was, the influence and projects
 held out to them by Randolph, in the name of the
 mistress, urged them to the adoption of measures

* Tytler.

† Instructions to Hay. Keith, ii. p. 294.

• Elizabeth to Randolph. Keith, vol. iv. p. 228.

which they would not otherwise have dared to propose. Now that they considered this union as inevitable, and all their remonstrances had been unavailing, they debated among themselves whether it would not be possible to apprehend Lennox and his son by violence, and convey them both as prisoners into England.

To this desperate step they were the more inclined, on account of the conduct of Darnley, whose haughtiness and insolence had become insupportable.

The pride and insolence of Darnley. Of this a description is given by Randolph, in the following terms, which, from other sources, we know to be authentic. "Riccio," says he, "is he that now worketh all—chief secretary to the queen, and only governor to her good man. The bruits here are wonderful—men talk very strange—the hazard towards him [Darnley] and his house marvellous great; his pride intolerable; his words not to be borne, but where no man dare to speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fall where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies as I hear say that he will sometimes be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all," continues Randolph with bitterness, "and thought what they can, they can find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life, to live under such an estate and government as this is like to be."

The same letter makes a very significant allusion to the feeling prevalent in the country, that the marriage with Darnley, and all the misfortunes to the realm which might possibly result from that connection, were traceable to the ruinous policy of the English queen. "What comfort," he goes on to say, "can they look for at the queen's majesty's hands, or what support, if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end he was sent into this country? I spare here to speak so much as I have heard; and knowing so little of the queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give."

Nevertheless, this able and wily man was perfectly aware of the secret inclinations of his mistress, and that nothing would have pleased her better than the existence of disturbances in the country, which would in some way excuse her interference with its internal affairs. Scotland, she appears to have determined, should enjoy no peace and no security, unless in that kingdom her influence was paramount. Knowing then the mind of Elizabeth, he takes occasion to bring before her the hazardous position of Moray, who was exposed to great danger in consequence of his opposition to the marriage, and therefore, as he sagaciously insinuated, in consequence of the support he had given to her majesty's views. He then throws out a hint that, as it was probable she would in the end assist the discontented nobles, it would be better to do so at once, as the object in view would be

gained with greater ease and at less cost. "To see so many in hazard," he remarks, "as now stand in danger of life, land, and goods, it is great pity to think; only to remedy this mischief he [Darnley] must be taken away, or such as he hateth find such support, that whatsoever he intendeth to another may light upon himself. A little now spent in the beginning yieldeth double fruit. What were it for the queen's majesty, if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of three or four thousand pounds to do with this country as she would?"*

It may now not improperly be inquired, what were the views of the Protestants, as a party, in relation to Queen Mary's marriage with Lord Darnley. We have seen the opposition of their leaders, Moray and Lethington; but in the case of these men it cannot be maintained that they acted solely on the principle that the security of the Reformed faith was endangered. That such was not their opinion may be gathered from their own statement to Cecil, in a letter from Moray to that statesman, written in the previous year. Their sentiments, thus expressed, were to this effect—that the presence of Lennox in Scotland, even did that nobleman succeed in forming an alliance with the most illustrious and powerful personage of the state, would not be influential enough to disturb the foundation on which the national religion now rested. Nothing had since occurred to justify their present or pretended fears that this state of things would be totally changed by Mary's marriage. But the Reformer himself, and along with him a great body of Protestants, were resolutely bent on opposing this union. The conduct of Knox in this matter is susceptible of an easy explanation. From the first accession of Mary to the throne he had been apprehensive of the evils which seemed almost inevitable, in the case of a Protestant country governed by a popish sovereign. With these views, he had always acted a consistent and uncompromising part. Romanism was an elaborated system of idolatry, and as such, he would have destroyed it root and branch. So long as it was even tolerated—so long as the mass was said even in the privacy of the queen's chamber, so long he believed the religion of the country endangered, and, therefore, against that toleration he was firm and unwavering in his habitual protest. The prospect of Mary's union with a papist must have excited in his mind the most anxious concern, and the most melancholy forebodings: miserable results to the cause of freedom and of truth could not fail to follow in the train of such an alliance. In opposing it with all his influence—in bringing to bear upon the minds of men all the resources of his powerful intellect and indomitable spirit, to induce men to regard it with the same condemnation and abhorrence as himself, he acted from the purest motives, in consistency with the whole course of his useful and

Views of the Protestants on the subject of Mary's marriage with Darnley.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Randolph to Leicester.

laborious life, and from a firm conviction of the incalculable evils about to be entailed upon the nation.

We now come to speak of circumstances which, from the obscurity in which their real character is involved, have given rise to much supposition and counterplots of Moray and Darnley.

Argyle, on the one hand, and Darnley and his associates, on the other. There can be little doubt of the reality of both of these opposite conspiracies, but the statements which have been made by various authors regarding their details, as they are extremely conflicting, so they must be received with caution. Some historians positively deny that there are any grounds for believing in the accusations made against Darnley, as cherishing designs against the life of Moray. This, however, is plainly asserted by Buchanan, who states that a plan was formed to murder him at Perth, and even describes the manner in which this plot was to have been executed.*

The situation of Moray at this time in relation to the court, his determined opposition to the queen's marriage, the dangers to be anticipated from his enmity, the strong resentment and violent passions of Darnley, all serve to lend the colour of probability to the existence of some such scheme as that now described. Moray himself alleged that his life was threatened, and on this account he refused to attend the convention of the nobility which had been summoned to meet at St. Johnston, near Perth, on the 22nd of June. On the other hand, the imputation of this crime was indignantly repelled by the parties accused. Lennox and his son, we are informed by Randolph, sent Mr. John Hay with a message to Moray, expressing his good-will towards him, disclaiming the treacherous design which had been laid to his charge, and offering to do battle with any one who should prefer the accusation.† Anxious that this

Moray summoned to attend at court. matter should be investigated, the queen summoned Moray to attend her at court, and sent him for his

assurance letters of safe-conduct, signed not only by herself, but by the members of her privy council. This safe-conduct permitted his appearance with a guard of no less than eighty attendants; but he did not feel himself justified in obeying this call, and his refusal served in a measure to exculpate Darnley.

While it is certain that a plot of some kind had been formed by Moray against the Earl of Ross, its character and extent cannot be accurately defined. Some historians have given an elaborate account of this conspiracy, as if they were in-

* "The plan was this: Moray being called to Perth, where the queen then was with a few attendants, was there to enter into conversation with Darnley, and as nobody doubted but Moray would express himself with plainness and freedom, a quarrel was to ensue, when David Riccio was to strike the first blow, and the others present were to consummate the deed."—*Buchanan*, vol. ii. p. 463.

† Randolph to Cecil. Keith, vol. ii. p. 333.

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timately conversant with all its details, while it is notorious that these are involved in much uncertainty. It must be acknowledged, that whatever were the intentions of Moray with regard to his treatment of Darnley, he had at least resolved to seize upon his person. A message had been dispatched to Randolph to ascertain whether, in the event of Lennox and his son being taken, Elizabeth would receive them as prisoners. To this it was answered, that the queen would receive her own subjects "in what sort ever they come." Thus encouraged in their proceedings, Moray, Argyle, Lord Boyd, and others of the dissatisfied nobility, determined to attack the party of the queen, as she rode from Perth to Callander.*

The plan of the conspirators was to seize Darnley, either in the narrow dale called the Pass of Hume, a few miles from Perth, or in a deep ravine to the west of the hill of Benarty, near Kinross. According to the account of Randolph, in which, however, full confidence cannot be placed, Moray had intended "to have carried the queen's grace to St. Andrew's, and the Lord Darnley to Castle Campbell, a house of the Earl of Argyle."† By the same authority we are informed how, by her vigilance and presence, the queen was enabled to defeat these intentions. Having returned from Inverkeithing to Perth on the 30th of June, she obtained some information of the plot, and immediately directed the Earl of Atholl and Lord Ruthven to convey her to Callander House, near Faldut, on the following morning. Mary, in carrying out her intentions, left the city at five in the morning, accompanied by the noblemen now mentioned, and an escort of three hundred horse. Before Moray had the least suspicion of her movements, she had passed through Kinross, reached North Queensferry, crossed the Firth of Forth, and arrived in safety at Callander House. Two hours after she had passed, Argyle appeared at Kinross, but found that his journey had been to no purpose. Mary remained at Callander till the 4th of July, on which day she returned to Edinburgh, by way of Linlithgow.‡ The measures she now adopted were

• Melvil says, "The Duke of Cumberland, by letter of Argyle, Moray, Glencairn, Gordon, and others, obtained the said marriage, who after they had seized the Lord Darnley, in the queen's company, and to have sent her into England as they thought fit, but she was taken from their mind, but it was an extraordinary circumstance, that until the queen was in danger of being seized, she was as they had failed in their wicked intention, they did plainly to their arms of rebellion."—*Keith*, vol. ii. p. 333.

† Randolph to Cecil. Keith, vol. ii. p. 333.
‡ Both Randolph and Knox declare that they also attended a visit to this place was to be made by the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Livingston, Knox says that he was also present, and that he attended a Protestant service. The queen was then at this time before indicated that she intended to return to Perth, the satisfaction of some of her attendants, and she was not persuaded in any respect but God, in which she was brought up, yet she would have remained in the city of Perth, in the Scriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr. Erskine of Dun, the superior minister of Perth, and Mearns, for he was a wild and very passionate man, with true honesty and uprightness.

§ The circumstances of the conspiracy, as related as to the circumstances of the conspiracy, are given of which has now been given, are very clearly explained by

decisive and vigorous. Having received intelligence that Argyle was preparing to attack Atholl, and that Moray was collecting his adherents for the purpose of making a demonstration at Glasgow, she dispatched messengers to both noblemen, enjoining the one instantly to disband his forces, and prohibiting the other from gathering together his followers on pain of treason. Further, she issued a summons to her subjects to assemble in arms at Edinburgh, with fifteen days' provision, to assist her in proceeding against her enemies.

In the meantime, while the convention of nobility was holding its meetings at Perth, the General

Meeting of the
General Assem-
bly, June 25,
1565.

Assembly was convened at Edinburgh. At this meeting several important resolutions were drawn up, bearing on the state of the

country and the circumstances of the church,* urging the entire suppression of popish idolatry, and the establishment of the true religion throughout the realm. It was also declared that some fixed and regulated provision should be made for the support of the ministers of the church; that no two benefices should be held at once by the same man (in other words, that pluralities should be abolished); that a strict examination should be instituted into the appointment of all teachers of youth in schools and colleges; and that a fund should be set apart for the maintenance of the poor, out of those lands which had formerly been allotted for this purpose, whereby some relief might be afforded to the labourers of the soil, who were much oppressed in the payment of their tithes, by unreasonable and illegal exactions.†

Petition presented to the queen. Five commissioners were appointed to wait upon the queen with this petition.‡ At the head of these was the Earl of Glencairn, who immediately re-

Robertson in the following note:—"Buchanan and Randolph, in their accounts of the conspiracy against Moray, differ widely in almost every circumstance. The accounts of the attempts upon Darnley are not more consistent. Melville alleges that the design of the conspirators was to carry Darnley a prisoner into England. The proposal made to Randolph agrees with this. The latter authority says, that they intended to carry the queen to St. Andrew's, and Darnley to Castle Campbell. The lords, in their declaration, affirm the design of the conspirators to have been to murder Darnley and his father, to confine the queen in Leithen during life, and to usurp the government. To believe implicitly whatever they find in an ancient paper, is a folly to which antiquaries are extremely prone. Ancient papers, however, often contain nothing more than the slanders of a party and the lie of the day. The declaration of the nobles, too, is of this kind—it is plainly rancorous, and written in the very heat of faction. Many things asserted in it are evidently false or exaggerated. Let Moray and his confederates be as ambitious as we can suppose, they must have had some pretences, and plausible ones too, before they could venture to imprison their sovereign for life, and to seize the reins of government; but, at that time, the queen's conduct had afforded no colourable excuse for proceeding to such extremities."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 333.

* These resolutions were framed by Erskine of Dun, John Willock, Christopher Goodman, and John Row. Knox, vol. ii. p. 484.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 486.
‡ These were—Lundie of Lundie, in Fife; Cunningham of Cunningham Head, in Ayrshire; Durham of Grange; Hume of Spot; James Barron, Burgess of Edinburgh.

paired to Perth, where her majesty was then residing. Until the twentieth of August no answer was returned to these demands; on that day, however, a letter was received by the commissioners, expressing the queen's sentiments in temperate language, but holding out no prospect of her compliance with their requests. She was not convinced, she said, that there was any impiety in the mass; and therefore her loving subjects should not press her to receive a religion which was not approved of by her conscience; nor, indeed, had she any intention of forsaking the religion in which she had been nourished and brought up. As for the establishment of religion in the body of the realm, she declared that this could not be done without the consent of the three Estates; that she was ready to abide by the decision of her parliament on this important subject; and that until the matter could be deliberated upon with due solemnity, she would take care that no man should be oppressed or troubled on account of his religion.* This answer proved very unsatisfactory to the Reformers, and a further remonstrance was directed to be made to her majesty.

Moray and the confederate lords now determined to appeal to Elizabeth to afford Moray appeals them the countenance and support to Elizabeth which they had reason to believe for support.

she would not be unwilling to grant. Accordingly, they represented that the queen was resolved to overthrow the Protestant religion, and to bring to an end the friendly intercourse that now subsisted between the two kingdoms. This application for assistance, and the reasons alleged in its justification, are formally brought before the English Secretary of State, in a letter from Randolph to Cecil. After alluding to the notorious fact, that Elizabeth had encouraged Moray and his party to enter on the course of opposition which they were now pursuing, and that they relied upon the promises she had made of assistance in their enterprise, he proceeds to remark, that "the said earls [Moray and Argyle] do see their sovereign determined to overthrow the received religion, and sore bent against those who desire that the amity between the realms should be continued. Which two points they are bound in conscience to maintain and defend, and are resolved to provide for their sovereign's estate better than at this time she can consider thereof herself.† Wherefore their lordships became most humble suitors to the queen's majesty, that it will please her highness to give unto them some such support as will enable them to bear out to that end—some such sums of money as will provide for their keeping together. They think that if her majesty would bestow only three thousand pounds for this year, they shall be able

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 488.

† Camden remarks that these questions were now mooted among the faction: viz. Whether a papist might lawfully be made their king? Whether the queen was at liberty to make choice of a husband for herself? And whether the States ought not to appoint a husband to her?—*Note to Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 317.

very well (except some foreign force be brought against them) to bring this realm to peace and quietness."*

To these communications Elizabeth replied by Elizabeth's many assurances of sympathy, and crooked policy. vague promises of support. The time was not yet come for openly declaring herself. In reality, she was not displeased with the existence of disturbances in Scotland; but desirous of still maintaining the appearance, at least, of a friendly disposition towards Mary, she refused to compromise herself by extending to the discontented nobles her active support.†

Meanwhile, Mary proceeded to adopt the most vigorous measures against Moray and his adherents. She sent a herald to Glasgow to forbid, under the pain of treason, a meeting which they intended to hold in that city. The meeting of the three Estates was prorogued from July to September. A proclamation was issued to the lieges to meet their sovereign immediately in arms in the capital, with fifteen days' provision, to provide against any sudden disturbance on the part of the discontented barons; and private letters were at the same time addressed to the principal nobles and gentry of the kingdom, requiring their instant attendance.‡

Matters were rapidly approaching a crisis; Moray, as we have seen, had absented himself from the convention of the Estates at Perth, on the plea that Lennox and Darnley had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him there; § and Mary now called upon him to appear and make good his charge, which these noblemen indignantly denied.¶ In a letter, subsequently written by her to Paul de Foix, she thus narrates the steps which she took in connection with this affair:—"Moray," she says, "disappointed in his first attempt to break the marriage, bethought himself of another way of doing it, by spreading a report among my subjects that the Earl of Lennox and the king his son would have him murdered, because he had not consented to my marriage without the advice of all the nobles; and, perceiving that they would carefully consider the matter before they permitted me to marry, the said Earl of Moray endeavoured all he could to persuade my subjects that the king had the evil nature of a homicide, in order to render them more reluctant to my marriage. Not wishing his false accusations to be believed among mine own, I assembled all the lords of my council in the town of Edinburgh, and explained to them that the Earl of Moray had complained that they had desired to have him murdered; and, as I allowed justice to have free course

* Randolph to Cecil, 4th July, 1565. Keith, vol. ii. p. 318.

† "The Earl of Moray is succoured by the Earl of Bedford, as it were without the queen's privity, to avoid suspicion and blame of the Scots queen; and the factious lords of Scotland desire no succour of men, but money this year from the Queen of England."—*Strips's Annals of the Reformation*. Keith vol. ii. p. 318.

‡ Keith, vol. ii. p. 326.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

with every one, I prayed them to make the Earl of Moray prove what he had said of the king [Darnley] and the Earl of Lennox; and in case it should be proved to be as he said, I would not permit such injury to be done to the person of him whom I regarded as a brother. In order to do this, I, by their advice, sent for the Earl of Moray, who was in his house, to come and explain the grounds of his complaint before me, assuring him at the same time that I would not proceed any further to the marriage, if the Earl of Lennox and the king should be found guilty of conspiring his death. I sent him at the same time such guarantees for his safety, as every one knows he could have no reason to refuse to come; nevertheless, he refused to do so. I then sent a second time two of the lords of council to him, assuring him he should have a fair hearing, if he would enter into the town of which he had complained. To this he replied—"That he could not prove what had been said; but it might suffice me that he believed it, for it was true." Now, seeing that he would not prove his accusations, and I could not believe that the Earl of Lennox and the king had wished to commit such wickedness, I sent to him for the third time a message, giving him to understand, that if he did not come to maintain and prove his word, I would declare him a rebel, and proceed against him as such. Perceiving me determined by all means to search out the truth, with intent to punish whoever should be found guilty, whether it were the accused or the accused, and fearing he should be convicted as a liar, he took himself off into Argyle, where he began to make assemblies and innovations, to seduce all the nobles to take up arms against me, strengthening himself with the duke [of Cumberland]."

* Letter from Mary Stewart to Paul de Foix, Dec. 6, 1565. Labanoff, vol. i. p. 308. *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 133. The reality of this conspiracy, as well as that which Moray is alleged to have formed against Mary during the journey from Perth, has given occasion to many disputes and much conjecture. Some have held the design was formed against the life of Moray; others that question the truth of the conspiracy against Mary. There seems, however, to be good reason to believe both; though the seal and evidence of each would have added to each man's exaggerated accusations. The following arguments favour a private conspiracy against Moray which was intended against Moray.—1. The first party mentioned by Buchanan, book xv. ch. 40. 2. The English ambassador writes to Cecil that Moray was certainly intended to be design was held to murder him at Perth, and that the manner in which this plot was to have been executed, Keith, vol. ii. p. 333. 3. Moray himself mentioned and publicly affirmed that such a design was formed against him (Keith, Appendix), and though he was called upon by the queen to bring legal evidence of the conspiracy, and to conduct against her while he came to prove his purpose (ibid.), yet whenever accused, Mary's accusations, and the spirit of those who relied on her evidence, would have done it any proof of his guilt that he had the means to risk his person on such a venture. 4. The false accusations of Darnley, the husband of his enemy, and the manners of the king, make the English ambassador's conduct less improbable.—11. That Moray and his party were resolved to seize Darnley's person, while he was on his way, is certain. 1. From the express invitation of the king, although Buchanan and Keith affirm against all probability to represent this as an idle rumour. 2. The queen was put to Randolph, whether the Government of Scotland would

Randolph, the crafty agent of Cecil, continued zealously to advocate the cause of Moray and his friends, and to urge upon his royal mistress the policy of rendering them prompt and effective aid. His letters show that he was not at all scrupulous as to the means which he employed to forward his designs, and that the accounts which he transmitted to the English court respecting the state of affairs in Scotland were in many points entirely at variance with truth. The Scottish queen, he said, had "credit none at all, friendship with few." "She is so much altered," he adds, "from that majesty that I have seen in her, from that modesty that I have wondered at to be in her, that she is not now counted by her own subjects to be the woman she was." On the other hand, he represented the discontented barons as so powerful, that they required only the aid of some money from England to enable them to compel the queen to alter her policy, and to submit to their wishes. "My Lord of Moray," he says, "is grieved to see these extreme follies in his sovereign; he lamenteth the state of this country, that tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth that the nobility shall be forced to assemble together to do her honour and reverence, as they are in duty bound, but so provide for the state that it do not utterly perish, the whole country being now broken, and every man living in such discontentment as they do."*

Elizabeth was probably aware that these state-ments were at variance with the truth, and they certainly failed to induce her to assist the discontented barons with the money which they so earnestly solicited. It appears, however, that she had directed her ambassador to intercede for Moray and his associates; for, in a letter from Randolph to Cecil, of date 21st July, he says: "Yesterday I had audience of the queen, to whom I delivered my message, word by word as I had it in writing. To which she said:

That she took in very good part the queen my mistress's advice; but for these,' saith she, 'whom your mistress calls my best subjects, I can't esteem them so, nor do they deserve to be accounted of, that will not do my commands; and therefore my good sister must not be offended though I do that against them which they deserve.'" Randolph then addressed himself to Lennox and Darnley, reminding them of

Lennox and his son if they were carried prisoners to this place. This plainly shows that some such design was in hand, and Randolph did not discourage it by the answer which he gave (Keith, vol. ii. p. 307). 3. The precipitation with which the queen retired, and the reason she gave for this sudden flight, are mentioned by Randolph (*ibid.*). 4. A great part of the Scottish nobles, and among these the Earls of Argyll and Rothes, who were themselves privy to the design, assert the reality of the conspiracy (Goodall, vol. ii. p. 358). All these circumstances leave little room to doubt of the truth of both conspiracies."—*Robertson*, vol. i. p. 295, Note. Some of the enemies of Knox have affirmed that he was implicated in the conspiracy to seize Darnley; but the evidence adduced is utterly insufficient to bear out this accusation. See Goodall, vol. i. p. 297; *Miss Strickland*, vol. iv. p. 151.

* Keith, vol. ii. pp. 306, 332.

the peremptory order which Elizabeth had given them to return to England, and requiring from them a plain and direct answer; but from both he received a decided refusal. Iennox declared that he thought it dangerous to place himself within the power of one who, without any just reason, had treated his wife with such harshness; while Darnley informed him that he acknowledged no other duty or obedience but to the Scottish queen, whom he served and honoured; "and seeing," he added, "the other, your mistress, is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may have need of me, as you shall know within a few days. Wherefore, to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so purpose to keep me; and this shall be your answer." The English ambassador was so provoked at this reply, that, according to his own account, he turned his back upon the haughty and ambitious youth, and "departed without reverence or farewell." Darnley, whose head appears to have been Behaviour turned by the elevated position of Darnley.

which he was about to attain, with his characteristic presumption and imprudence, had boasted that "he and the Queen of Scots had so strong a party in England, that Queen Elizabeth had more cause to be in fear of them than they of her, and that he would like nothing better than an opportunity of leading an invasion into the northern counties;" adding, with still greater folly, "that he cared more for the Papists in England than for the Protestants in Scotland."* No wonder that Randolph should say of one so rash and headstrong, "his behaviour is such, that he is seen in open contempt of all men, even of those that were his chief friends. What shall become of him I know not, but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among this people. The queen herself, being of better understanding, seeketh to frame and fashion the nature of her subject: no persuasion can alter that which custom hath made old in him. He is counted proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil of any other can none bear."†

It was now the end of July, and Mary, undeterred by the menaces of Elizabeth, or the opposition of Moray and his associates, gave public notice of her intention to take Darnley for her husband. The researches of Prince Labanoff, however, have brought to light a contemporary record, which proves that, nearly four months before the public solemnization of their nuptials, Queen Mary and her cousin were privately married at Stirling Castle, in the apartment of David Riccio, which had been fitted up for that purpose as a Romish chapel.‡ The proclamation of the banns of marriage took place in the Canon-gate Church, on the 22nd of July, 1565, the day on which Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, arrived from

* *Miss Strickland*, vol. iv. p. 165.

† Randolph to Cecil, 2nd July, 1565. Keith, vol. ii. p. 299.

‡ Prince Labanoff, vol. vii. p. 67.

Rome with the Papal dispensation for the marriage.* On the 23rd, Darnley was created Duke of Albany; and on the 28th, Mary issued a public proclamation, enjoining her subjects henceforth to give him the title of king, and directing all letters and writs from that time to be made in their joint names, as King and Queen of Scotland conjointly—a step equally illegal and unwise. Next day, being Sunday, the 29th of July, at six in the morning, the nuptial ceremony was performed according to the Roman Catholic ritual, by Sir John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig and Bishop of Brechin.† “She was led into the chapel,” says Randolph, “by the Earls of Lennox and Atholl, and there she was left until her husband came, who also was conveyed by the same lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receive them. The banns were asked a third time, and an instrument taken by a notary that no man objected to them, or alleged any cause why the marriage might not proceed. The words were spoken; the rings, which were three—the middle one a rich diamond—were put upon her finger. They then knelt together, and many prayers were said over them.” At their conclusion, Darnley kissed his bride, and retiring from the chapel with the Protestant lords, left her to hear mass alone, attended by those nobles who adhered to the ancient faith. It was regarded by some as an inauspicious omen, that Mary was habited in sable garments, resembling those which she wore for her first husband. “She had upon her back,” says Randolph, “the great wide mourning gown, not unlike unto that which she wore on the doleful day of the burial of her husband.” This, it was alleged, was the dress of a widowed Queen of France, and the royal etiquette of the period rendered it imperative for Mary to appear in it on all state occasions, till she was actually the wife of her second husband.‡

* This was rendered necessary by the fact that Mary and Darnley were first cousins. Mary was now in her twenty-third, and Darnley in his nineteenth year.

† The bishop was a skilful lawyer, and succeeded his brother Henry, Bishop of Ross, in the Presidentship of the Court of Session.

‡ Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 169. It is affirmed, however, by the Editor of Keith, that Mary mourned for her first husband, Francis II., in *white*; that she always wore

It was not even then to be resigned without a decent semblance of reluctance. After the mass was concluded, she was led back to her own chamber, where her youthful bridegroom awaited her; “and there, being required, according to the solemnity, to cast off her care, lay aside those sorrowful garments, and give herself to a pleasant life. After some pretty refusal, more for the fashion’s sake than grief of heart, she yielded them that stood by, every man that would approach, to take out a pin, and so, being committed to her ladies, changed her garments,”* and put on a costume more suited to the joyous occasion. She was then brought to the ball-room, where there was great cheer and dancing till dawn-time. The newly-married pair were conducted to their dinner with great state, and a loud flourish of trumpets, largess was cried, and money in abundance was scattered among the guests and the multitude who surrounded the palace. The queen was served by the Earl of Atholl as sewer, Morton as carver, and Crawford as cup-bearer; and the Earls of Eglington, Cassillis, and Glencairn performed the like offices for Darnley. The evening was spent in dancing and joyous revelry, and soon after supper the company retired for the night. Next day, at twelve o’clock, Mary caused her husband to be again proclaimed King of Scotland, in the presence of all the nobles who had attended the marriage; but the proclamation elicited no approving response. “No man,” observes Randolph, “said so much as Amen, saving his father, who with a loud voice cried out, ‘God save his Grace!’” †

that dress while she remained in France, which proved for her the appellation of *la Reine Blanche*; and that she continued to wear her white dress during her widowhood, after her return to Scotland. Hence, he concludes that the queen considered white as her mourning habit, and by adopting the very opposite she indicated that her youthful widowhood had terminated. It ought to be mentioned, moreover, that a *distinction* and *general mourning* then was unknown in Scotland till 1567, only twenty-eight years before Mary’s marriage, when Magdalene of France, the first queen of her father, James V., first introduced it. It is highly probable, therefore, that Mary’s dress at her marriage was merely a matter of her own taste and choice.—*Keith*, vol. ii. p. 344, Note.

* Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 23rd July, 1565. Robertson’s Appendix, No. XI.

† *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXX.

MARY.

A.D. 1565—1567.

THE marriage of the Scottish queen took place amid troubles and dissensions; and it soon became evident that the conduct of her youthful consort was likely to aggravate, rather than to diminish her anxieties. She lavished upon him the tokens of her affection of a most devoted affection, and for her husband. a time submitted to his most unreasonable wishes and demands. According to the testimony of Sir James Melvil, "after that the queen's majesty had married my Lord Darnley, she did him great honour herself, and willed every one that would deserve her favour to do the like, and to wait upon him, so that he was well accompanied; and such as suited him only for a while came best speed of their errands."* And Randolph, who was by no means disposed to regard her conduct with a favourable eye, gives evidence to the same effect. "All honour," he says, "that may be attributed unto any man by a wife he hath it wholly and fully; all praise that may be spoken of him he lacketh not from herself; all dignities that she can indue him with are already given and granted; no man pleaseth her that contenteth not him; and what may I say more? She hath given even unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh." † From the first, however, Darnley's

His headstrong rash, headstrong, and presumptuous behaviour. behaviour showed that he was wholly unworthy of the high honour conferred upon him, and unfit for the position to which he had been raised. He resented every opposition to his will, and gave way to furious bursts of passion on the most trifling occasions. Only two days after his marriage, his conduct is thus described by Randolph:—"His words to all men against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it is, be so proud and spiteful, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world, than he that not long since we have seen and known as the Lord Darnley. He looketh now for reverence to be given him, and some there be that think him little worthy of it. She [the queen] can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will, as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself. This last dignity out of hand, to have him proclaimed king, she would have had it deferred until it were agreed by parliament, or had been himself of twenty-one years of age, that things done in his name might have better authority. He would in no case have it deferred." ‡

The festivities which followed the royal nuptials were speedily interrupted by tidings of insurrection, and Mary soon perceived the necessity of adopting prompt and decisive steps against the

* Melvil's Memoirs.

† Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July, 1565.

‡ *Ibid.*

discontented nobles, who sought to avail themselves of the queen's illegal stretch of prerogative, in conferring upon her husband the title and dignity of king, to stir up opposition against her authority. Three days after the marriage, Moray was again summoned to appear at court, Proceedings under the severest penalties; and, against Moray. having failed, he was denounced as a rebel, and "put to the *horne*;" on which he retired into Argyleshire, and secretly dispatched a messenger to Elizabeth, to implore her immediate assistance. His request was, as usual, strenuously supported by Randolph, who endeavoured to work on the fears of his royal mistress, by drawing an alarming picture of the dangers which menaced the Protestant religion, and the amity between the two kingdoms; and wrote also to the Earl of Bedford, entreating him to make a diversion in Moray's favour, by letting loose the English borderers, so as to keep the Scottish government employed in repressing the disturbances which they might excite. Elizabeth, however, was niggardly of her money, and, though willing to feed the malcontents with secret hopes of assistance, she was careful not to commit herself openly to their cause. She, therefore, declined in the meantime to send the supplies of money and soldiers which Moray and his associates so earnestly requested, and contented herself with dispatching Mr. Tamworth, one of the gentlemen of her bedchamber, to the Scottish court, to intercede with Mary in behalf of the insurgent nobles. This envoy, who, according to Camden, was "a forward, insolent man," was instructed not to acknowledge Darnley as king, and to give him no title but that which he had borne in England; but Mary, "having smelt," as Camden adds, "the nature both of the message and of the animal who brought it," refused to admit him into her presence. His message Elizabeth to was, therefore, communicated in Mary, and the answer. writing, and the answer was given

in a similar form. These documents will be read with interest, as they place in a very clear point of view the insincerity of Elizabeth, and the worthlessness of the grounds of offence which she pretended at this time to have against the Scottish queen.

On the part of Elizabeth, it was alleged that her majesty had found Mary's late proceedings, both towards herself and towards her subjects, very strange, upon divers grounds. *First.* Elizabeth took God to witness that her offer to Mary of any of her own subjects in marriage was made sincerely and lovingly, and that she was grieved to hear that Mary, listening to false counsel, had been made to think otherwise. To this it was answered—That the Queen of Scots did not doubt Elizabeth's sincerity and uprightness in her offer of a husband from England, and that no counsel had been given to induce her to change her opinion. *Second.* Elizabeth was much surprised that, notwithstanding the offer made by Mary to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton to delay her marriage till the middle of August, that she might have longer time to prevail

upon Elizabeth to consent to it, she had consummated that marriage, without giving her majesty any intimation, on the 29th of July, and had thereby disappointed both Elizabeth and some foreign princes, who thought as strangely of the alliance as she did. To this it was answered—That it was true that though Mary's resolution was fixed before Sir Nicolas Throckmorton came into Scotland, she had, nevertheless, promised to delay her marriage, in the hope that the doubts entertained by Elizabeth as to the propriety of the said marriage might in the meantime be removed; but that this promise was made expressly on the condition that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to discuss the matter; and that as Elizabeth refused to nominate any such commissioners, Mary was relieved from her promise; that, farther, she had good reasons, known to herself and her own people, with which no other prince needed to interfere, for consummating her marriage at the time she did; and that with regard to foreign princes thinking the marriage strange, she had a perfect knowledge of the opinions, and had obtained the express consent, of the principal and greatest princes in Christendom. *Third.* Elizabeth was astonished how Mary, in direct opposition to the conditions of the treaty of peace existing between England and Scotland, could detain her majesty's subjects, Lennox and Darnley, in Scotland; having allured them thither under a pretence of suits for lands, but in reality to form an alliance without her majesty's consent and license—an offence so unnatural, that the world spoke of it, and her majesty could not forget it. To this it was answered—That Mary marvelled not a little at the queen, her good sister, insisting any further upon this head; for she did not understand how it could be found strange that she detained within her realm the person with whom she had joined herself in marriage, or a Scottish earl, whom Elizabeth herself named by his Scottish title—the more especially as they both came to her with Elizabeth's consent and letters of recommendation; and that she had no doubt that the world spoke as sound sense would dictate, judging that her detaining of them was in no ways prejudicial to any treaty of peace existing between the two realms, since no annoyance was intended towards Elizabeth, her kingdom, or estate. *Fourth.* Elizabeth wondered that Mary's ambassador, Mr. John Hay, came to ask to be informed of her majesty's objections to the marriage, and of what she wished to be done, but had no authority either to agree to, or refuse her requests; and she, therefore, supposed that he had been sent more as a piece of empty form than for any useful purpose. To this it was answered—That Mary, though willing to hear Elizabeth's objections, if any such existed, and to endeavour to remove them, had yet expressly declared that she would make such endeavour only through the medium of commissioners mutually agreed on; and that she was still so convinced of the expediency of the match, that, though now married, she was still willing, if Eli-

zabeth wished it, to have its propriety discussed by such commissioners. *Fifth.* Elizabeth begged that an explanation might be given of a sentence in one of Mary's French letters, which she found somewhat obscure, and which ran thus—"Je voudrois jamais que cela venist de vous, et que on chercher entre vengeance, j'accuse vous & tous les princes, mes allies, pour, avec eux, vous punir de ce que je vous en ai par vengeance. Vous savez assez ce que vous avez promis sur cela." To this it was answered—That Mary, by the words of her letter, as well as the passage in question, meant no other thing but to express her desire to continue in perfect friendship and good intelligence with the queen, her sister, from whom she expected such treatment as reason and nature required from one princess to another who was her cousin; and that if, as God forbid, other treatment were pursued, which Mary would not anticipate, she would do no less than lay her case before other princes, her friends and allies. *Sixth.* Elizabeth was grieved to see that Mary encouraged fugitives and absconders from England, and practised other devices within her majesty's realm; and that in her own kingdom, seduced by false accusations and malicious information, she raised up factions among the nobility. To this it was answered—That if the British queen really wished to assist Elizabeth, she would not be contented with such petty practices as those she was accused of towards English subjects; and that, with regard to her proceedings in her own realm, as she had never intimated with Elizabeth's order of government, not thinking it right that one state should have a finger in the internal policy of another, so she requested that Elizabeth would not meddle with hers, but trust to her discretion, as the person best interested to preserve peace and quietness. *Seventh.* Elizabeth warned Mary to take good heed that she did not proceed in her intentions to suppress and extirpate the religion already established in Scotland, or to effect the suppression of the Reformed in England; for that all such designs, uncharitable intentions, and devices, should be converted to the good and damage of those that imposed on them. To this it was answered—That Mary could not avoid as Elizabeth's fears for a religion upon which no innovation had ever been attempted, but for the establishment of which every arrangement had been made most agreeable to her British subjects; that as an intention to interfere with the spiritual faith of England, she never had of a hobby; but that if any practices in such effect would be condescended on, they should presently be expressed and altered; and that with regard to her designs, consultations, intelligence, and devices, such as she really engaged in would be found no nearer to more deceitful than those of her neighbours. *Eighth and lastly.* Elizabeth wished that Mary would not show herself so given to change as to conceive evil of the Earl of Murray, whose just deserts she had so long acknowledged, for those were plenty examples to govern, by indifference and

severity, that many noblemen had been constrained to take such measures for their own security as they would otherwise never have resorted to; and that these were *part* of the reasons why Elizabeth was offended with Mary. To this it was answered—That Mary wished her good sister would not meddle with the affairs of her Scottish subjects any more than Mary meddled with the affairs of Elizabeth's English subjects; but that if Elizabeth desired any explanation of her conduct towards Moray, it would be willingly given, as soon as Elizabeth explained her motives for committing to the Tower Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, mother-in-law and aunt of Mary; and that as soon as Elizabeth stated any *other* grounds of offence, they should be answered as satisfactorily as the above had been.*

Having thus triumphantly replied to the English queen's irritating message, Mary, in the true spirit of conciliation, had the magnanimity to propose that the following articles should be mutually agreed upon. On the part of the King and Queen of Scotland:—*First*. That their majesties, being satisfied of the queen their sister's friendship, are content to assure the queen, that during the term of her life, or that of her lawful issue, they will not, directly or indirectly, attempt anything prejudicial to their sister's title to the crown of England, or in any way disturb the quietness of that kingdom. *Second*. They will enter into no communication with any subject or subjects of the realm of England in prejudice of their said sister and her lawful issue, or receive into their protection any subjects of the realm of England, with whom their sister may have occasion to be offended. *Third*. They will not enter into any league or confederation with any foreign prince, to the hurt, damage, and displeasure of the Queen and the realm of England. *Fourth*. They will enter into any such league and confederation with the Queen and realm of England, as shall be for the weal of the princes and subjects on both sides. And, *Fifth*, they will not go about to procure, in any way, alteration, innovation, or change in the religion, laws, or liberties of the realm of England, though it should please God, at any time hereafter, to call them to the succession of that kingdom. In consideration of these offers, the three following equally reasonable articles were to be agreed to on the part of England. *First*. That by Act of Parliament the accession to the crown, failing Elizabeth and her lawful issue, shall be established, first in the person of Mary and her lawful issue, and failing them, in the person of the Countess of Lennox and her lawful issue, by the law of God and nature entitled to the inheritance of the said crown. *Second*. That the second offer made by the King and Queen of Scotland be also made on the part of England. And *Third*, that the third offer shall be likewise mutual.† In other words, that

Elizabeth should cease to give countenance or assistance to the Scottish malcontents—a stipulation on which Mary had good reason peremptorily to insist, for she could not but suspect what was undoubtedly the truth, that Elizabeth had throughout fomented the disturbances which had taken place in Scotland. The English ambassador was at the same time informed, that “unless he would promise on his honour not to meddle with the rebels, the queen should be under the necessity of placing a guard round his house.” To this reasonable demand, Randolph replied in the most insolent terms, declaring that he would promise nothing either on honour, honesty, word, or writing; and as for guards to attend him, he threatened that they should fare full ill, unless stronger and better armed than his own servants. Lethington then requested him to withdraw to Berwick, but to this request, also, he returned a peremptory refusal.* With equal insolence, Tamworth not only refused to give Darnley the royal title, but declined to accept a passport because it bore the regal signature of Henry as well as Mary. A hint of this had probably been given to the borderers, for on his way home the arrogant envoy was waylaid, maltreated, and carried a prisoner to Hume Castle, where he was detained for some time. Randolph complained of this outrage to the Scottish queen, but was drily told that it was Tamworth's own fault in refusing the safe-conduct which was offered him.†

At this juncture, the queen manifested the hostile feelings which she now entertained towards the Earl of Moray, by restoring to favour those nobles who had long been his avowed enemies. Lord Gordon, son of the late Earl of Huntley, who had been detained a prisoner ever since his father's insurrection in the year 1562, was set at liberty, and was shortly after restored to his estates and honours; the Earl of Sutherland, an accomplice of Huntley, was recalled from banishment; and the profligate Earl of Bothwell, the “enemy of all honest men,” as he was justly termed, was invited to return into Scotland. The favour thus shown to his implacable adversaries was regarded by Moray and his associates as a proof of the inexorable resentment which Mary cherished against them, and matters were speedily brought to an extremity. On the 15th of August, Moray, the Duke, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, and others of the insurgent barons, having received a small supply of money ^{up arms.} from Elizabeth, appeared in arms at Ayr, and endeavoured to raise their friends and followers in the western counties. Mary declared to the English ambassador, that “she would rather lose her crown than not chastise them for their misconduct;” and, with the utmost promptitude and energy, adopted measures for the immediate suppression of the insurrection. She issued a summons to the barons and gentry of her kingdom to come to her assistance with “their whole kin,

* Appendix to Keith, No. VII.; Bell's Life of Queen Mary, pp. 66—67.

† Ibid.

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 355; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 5.

† Letter of Tamworth to Cecil, 21st August, 1565.

friends, and household," as she was preparing to go in person against the rebels; and so cordially was the appeal responded to, that, on the 26th of August, she was able to take the field at the head of five thousand men. In order to encourage her troops, and to show that she was determined to share with them all the dangers and fatigues of the war, she rode with pistols at her saddlebow, and is reported even to have worn a light suit of defensive armour under her embroidered riding-dress. She reached Glasgow on the 29th, expecting to meet the insurgents there, but conscious of their inferiority in numbers, and probably daunted by the unexpected celerity and vigour of the queen's movement, they did not venture to face her in the field, but turning aside towards Hamilton, they evaded the royal army and marched to Edinburgh, which they entered on the last day of August.* But all their efforts to rouse the inhabitants of that city to arms entirely failed. "They got no good of their coming," says Knox, "though they dispatched messengers northward and southward praying for succour, but all in vain. They caused to beat their drums, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God to resort the following day to the church, where they should receive good pay. But they profited little that way, neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto them." Finding that the citizens regarded their cause with disapprobation or indifference, they addressed a letter to the queen, offering to submit their cause to be tried by the laws of their country; and declaring that they desired only that the Protestant faith should be secured against the dangers to which it was exposed, and that the administration of public affairs should be entrusted to those in whom the nation could have confidence; † but adding, that if their enemies continued to seek their lives, their blood should be dearly bought. On learning, however, that the queen was advancing against them, without waiting for a reply, they abandoned the capital with precipitation, and retired to Dumfries. From this place they dispatched Robert Melvil to the English court, to entreat that a body of troops and some ships of war should immediately be sent to their assistance. ‡

Elizabeth was willing to assist the insurgents

as far as she could do so with crooked policy. safety to herself, but, at the same time, she was careful to preserve appearances, and to avoid an open rupture with Mary. She, therefore, with her characteristic duplicity, wrote to the Earl of Bedford, remitting him three thousand pounds, one thousand of which was to be paid immediately to Moray in the most private way possible, and as if the money came from Bedford himself, and further advances might be made if

* Keith, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

† Knox says they had written twice already to the same effect.

‡ State Paper Office. Instructions given to Robert Melvil, 10th September, 1565.

required. "And when we perceive," she continued, "by your sundry letters, the earnest request of the said Earl of Moray and his associates that they might, at least, have three hundred of our soldiers to aid them, and that you also write that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing therein, and seem to blame you for attempting such things as you with the help of others should bring about, you doubt not but things would do well. We are content, and do authorize you, if you shall see it necessary for their defence, to let them (as of your own adventure, and without justification that you have any direction therein from us) have the number of three hundred soldiers, when you shall expressly advertise that you send them that aid only for their defence, and not therewith to make war against the queen, wherein you shall so precisely deal with them that they may perceive your cause to be such, as if it should otherwise appear, your danger should be so great as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us. And so, we assure you, our conscience moveth us to charge you so to proceed with them, for otherwise than to preserve them from ruin we do not yield to give them aid of money or men; and yet we would not that either of these were known to be our act, but rather to be covered with your own desire and attempt." Elizabeth, however, soon discovered that her ambassador had as greatly overrated the strength of the insurgents, as he had underrated the power and popularity of the queen, and the orders to Bedford were therefore countermanded, and the promised succours, for which Moray and his associates so eagerly looked, never arrived. †

Finding themselves disappointed in their expectations of being joined by the great body of the Protestant party in Scotland, as well as of assistance from the English court, the insurgent nobles wrote once more to Queen Mary, offering "to return to their allegiance provided she would restore to them their forfeited estates, replace them in the places and preferments they formerly enjoyed, and that she should remove all foreigners from her service, and refrain from the use of the mass." As Mary treated their offer with contempt, they published a proclamation declaring that "their motives in taking up arms were for the security of their religion, the glory of God, and to prevent infractions on the laws and liberties of the realm by two or three tyrants who had the sole guidance of the queen." They also made another and more urgent, but still fruitless, appeal to Elizabeth for assistance, and instructed their agent, Robert Melvil, to assure the English queen that Mary and her counsellors were pressing the other

The insurgents make offers of submission, which are rejected.

* Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i. No. XLIII.

† State Paper Office. Lords of Scotland to Mr. Melvil, 15th September, 1565; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 6.

subversion of the Church of Christ within the realm, and the re-establishment of Popery and superstition. They described the grievous dilapidation of the patrimony of the crown, which, they affirmed, had led to the persecution of honourable men, and complained of the promotion of Riccio and other foreigners to the place in council, which properly belonged to the ancient nobility. Darnley, a stranger and the subject of another realm, had intruded himself, they alleged, into the state, and claimed the name and authority of a king, against all order that ever was used in the realm; while they, because they desired the redress of these abuses, were persecuted as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. "The cause," said they, "why our destruction is sought is, first, the zeal we bear to the maintenance of the true religion; and, secondly, the care that we have to redress the past enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth."*

These apprehensions were certainly not without foundation. The appointment of Riccio to the important and confidential office of secretary to the queen was matter of public notoriety, and had given great offence

Mary's application for aid to the King of Spain and to the Pope.

to the haughty nobility of Scotland. Mary had at this juncture entered into a correspondence with Philip II. of Spain, expressing her desire to commit herself, her husband, and her realm to his protection. In an autograph letter to this monarch, she declares her own and her husband's devoted attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, and expresses her conviction that it is the intention of her Protestant subjects to deprive them of their crown, unless they obtained the support of France or Spain. "The struggle," she says, "is not merely for the crown, but for the liberty of the Church, which otherwise will be crushed for ever."† Philip not only expressed his determination to assist the Scottish queen to subdue the Protestant rebels, to maintain the ancient faith, and to vindicate her rights to the English throne; but, as an earnest of the aid which he was prepared to afford, he placed twenty thousand crowns in the hands of his ambassador at the court of England, with orders to employ it "with the utmost secrecy and address in support of the Scottish queen and her husband."‡ Mary had also solicited pecuniary assistance from the Pope, who sent her a remittance of eight thousand crowns in a vessel which was wrecked on the English coast, near Bamborough; and the Earl of Northumberland, though a Roman Catholic and a friend of Mary, seized the money, which he positively refused to give up.§

Before proceeding to the Borders in pursuit of the insurgents, Mary deemed it prudent to pro-

* MS. State Paper Office, Informations given to the Queen's Majesty of England and the Council in favour of religion in Scotland, September 22, 1565; Tytler, vol. vi. p. 8.

† Labanoff, vol. i.

‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 9.

§ Keith, vol. ii. p. 309; Melvil's Memoirs.

vide for the security of the central districts of the kingdom. She therefore, accompanied by Darnley, led her army from Stirling through Fife to St.

Mary's visit to Fife, Sept., 1565.

Andrew's, and took possession on the way of Castle Campbell, a stronghold of the Earl of Argyle. At St. Andrew's she obliged some of the barons, whose fidelity she suspected, to subscribe a bond for her defence; and issued a proclamation against the rebels, declaring that they used religion only as a cloak to cover their wicked designs, and that the Earl of Moray was actuated by an insatiable ambition, which was not to be satisfied with riches and honours however great, unless he should also continue to have, as he had too long had, the queen and the whole realm in his own

Her proclamation against the insurgents.

hands, to be used and governed at his pleasure. "By letter sent from themselves to us," she continued, "they make plain profession that the establishment of religion will not content them, but we must perforce be governed by such council as it shall please them to appoint unto us." "The like," she adds, "was never demanded of any of our most noble progenitors heretofore, yea, not even of governors or regents, but the prince, or such as occupied his place, ever chose his council of such as he thought most fit for the purpose. When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first arrival in our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure; and now, when we are at our full majority, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils and minors, or be put under tutelage? So long as some of them bore the whole swing with us themselves, this matter was never called in question, but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all things of their appetite, they will put a bridle in our mouths, and give us a council chosen after their phantasy! To speak it in plain language, they would be king themselves; or, at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, take to themselves the whole use and administration of the kingdom."*

From St. Andrew's Mary proceeded to Dundee, on which she imposed a fine of two thousand marks, on the plea that the magistrates of that town

Her visit to Dundee and Perth.

had secretly favoured the insurgents, and allowed some men to be levied there for their service. After a brief visit to Perth and Dunfermline, she returned to Edinburgh on the 19th of September, having everywhere received a cordial welcome from her subjects. Elizabeth, meanwhile, with many fair professions of regard and friendship for Mary, had professed her good offices to effect a

Elizabeth intercedes for the malcontents.

reconciliation between the insurgent nobles and their sovereign. But Mary replied with great spirit, that "if it should please the Queen of England to send any person properly accredited to effect a reconciliation between themselves, by explaining and comparing the various causes of

* Appendix to Keith.

displeasure that had unfortunately arisen, he should be heartily welcome, as it was her greatest wish to establish and preserve relations of perfect amity with the Queen of England; but if it were only for a pretence of interfering in the affairs of her realm, with regard to the matters between

Mary rejects her and her subjects, she wished her offers. to have it plainly understood that she would not endure such interference either from the Queen of England or any other monarch," adding, "that she was perfectly able herself to chastise her rebels and bring them to reason."*

De Foix, the French ambassador, to whom Elizabeth expressed herself in very angry terms at this rejection of her friendly offices, having endeavoured to mediate between the two queens, was requested by Elizabeth to hear from Cecil a statement of the causes of complaint which the insurgents had against their sovereign. That crafty

Cecil's statement of the case of the insurgents.

statesman professed his inability to say who was most to blame in the quarrel, but stated that "he had been told that it all proceeded from

the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the son of the Earl of Lennox, previously to which she and her subjects had lived in the greatest harmony, owing to the good administration and faithful services of those whom she at present pursued. All that Moray and his friends required," he added, was, "that the queen should replace them in the same state of peace and repose they had enjoyed previous to her marriage, and that she should remove all causes of complaint which had been given by innovations against their laws, liberties, and the privileges of the nobles." De Foix inquired what innovations had been made by the Scottish queen; Cecil replied, that "according to the laws of the realm, the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Argyle were hereditary councillors of the crown of Scotland, and that they had been driven away. Moreover, that the husband of the Queen of Scotland, against the laws of the realm, and to the prejudice of the nearest in blood, had been proclaimed king. Yet her first husband, King Francis, being Dauphin of France, never assumed the title of King of Scotland till it had been conferred upon him by the general consent of the Estates of that realm—a prince very great in comparison of the son of the Earl of Lennox, who was of no account." Cecil also alleged that Darnley was accused of having wished "to slay the Earl of Moray, and having treated him at all times with threats and various kinds of insults," and that the malcontents complained of the great consideration with which Mary treated her two Italian servants, David Riccio and Francisco.†

Mary's indignation at the proceedings of the insurgents was now so great, that she would listen to no intercession on their behalf. "She is now so offended," says Randolph, "that she cannot abide

any man that wisheth concord between her and them." At this moment, Monsieur de Mauvisière, the Sieur de Castelnau, arrived in Scotland, having been appointed by the French king to carry his congratulations to Mary and Darnley on their marriage, with instructions to attempt a reconciliation between Mary and Elizabeth. On passing through England, however, Mauvisière was induced by Elizabeth and the

French ambassador there to include the insurgent nobles in his specific mission, and with that view obtained letters from his master addressed to them. Mary, however, expressed great dissatisfaction when this was made known to her. She declared to the French envoy that nothing had been done on her part to provoke the revolt; that she had made no alteration in the established religion; and, in regard to the marriage, the insurgent lords had agreed to it in the first instance, and then endeavoured to prevent it, wishing to be kings themselves instead of subjects. They were devoid of faith, she alleged, to their native sovereign, having applied for aid to the Queen of England, and offered to become tributaries to her, instead of performing their real duty to their queen and country. She would not allow subjects like those to give laws to her, and convert her realm, which from ancient time had been a monarchy, into a republic. She would prefer death to seeing it come to that. With tears in her eyes, she declared that her whole reliance was on France, which would lose something if she were crushed, seeing that the kings of France had often had good service from the Scots. But if she were abandoned by her royal brother and mother-in-law, she would be compelled to seek aid from another prince. She then entreated Mauvisière to keep back the letters which he carried to the insurgent lords, and not to tell a living creature that he had been instructed to negotiate between them and her. "I would rather lose an arm," she passionately exclaimed, "than they should receive those letters which the King of France has written to them."* Mauvisière informed her, that the King of France and the Queen-mother earnestly advised her to make some concessions to induce her nobles to live in peace with her; but he at length yielded to her importunity, and agreed not to deliver the letters which his master had written to the insurgents.

Mary was at this time reduced to great pecuniary straits in maintaining the Mary's primary forces which she had collected to take the field against the malcontents. She had already been compelled to pledge part of her jewels for two thousand marks—a sum totally inadequate to her necessities—and now sought to revivify her exhausted finances by borrowing some of money from the merchants of Edinburgh. Having discovered that several of them who had excused themselves from contributing to this loan, under the

* Conversation between Elizabeth and De Foix; Toulet, vol. ii. p. 70; Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 195. †Ibid. p. 197.

* Toulet's "Pièces et Documents," *Miss Strickland's Lives*, vol. iv. p. 306.

pretext of poverty, had been recently affording pecuniary aid to the insurgents, she summoned seventeen of the offenders to appear before the Privy Council, and amerced them in a thousand marks; and those who had met the rebel lords at Dumfries had to pay an equal sum. A loan of ten thousand marks was granted by the Corporation of Edinburgh, on condition of their receiving from the queen the mortgage of the superiority of Leith. Having thus raised the necessary funds for the expedition, Mary quitted the capital on the 8th

of October, to march southwards against the insurgents, who still lay with a small force at Dumfries.

On her approach, at the head of an army amounting to no less than eighteen thousand men, Moray and his associates, unable to make head against this greatly superior force, retreated across the Border, and took refuge in Carlisle. Maxwell of Terregles, a powerful Border baron who had recently joined the insurgents, and raised a troop of horse for their service with a thousand pounds of English money which he had received for that purpose, hastened to make his submission; and Mary, after granting him a pardon, and visiting his castle of Loehmaben, where he entertained her and her consort for three days, returned to Edinburgh on the 18th October, and disbanded her army, leaving Bothwell with some troops to watch the Borders.*

Meanwhile, the fugitive nobles, being hospitably entertained by the Earl of Bedford, fixed their residence at Newcastle, whence Moray and the Abbot of Kilwinning were deputed to proceed to the English court, and lay their claims before the queen. The failure of their enterprise, however, had satisfied Elizabeth that she had been misled by her agents in Scotland, and that the influence of the malcontents had been greatly overrated. She

had, moreover, lately received a spirited remonstrance from Mary, on account of the policy she had

followed in sowing discord and jealousies among her subjects. "Your ministers," she said, "on the Borders, are threatening to put to fire and sack those subjects who met, according to their duty, to assist us against our rebels, instead of according the aid I had hoped from you, and which I protest before God I would have given to you had you been in like circumstances. Nevertheless, I cannot persuade myself that you, being so nearly related to me, would show so little regard to my cause as to place on an equality with me men in whom I am assured you will find, in the end, no more faith than I have done. If I be deceived in my opinion of your natural affection, I would at the least appeal, as behoves a good sister, to the duty which all Christian princes owe each other, lest you should find others take example from your conduct to do the like. And if you are pleased, which I cannot believe, to make common cause with my traitors, I shall regret to be compelled not to conceal from all the princes our allies this great

* Keith, vol. ii. pp. 370, 371.

wrong, which we are willing to impute to the fault of your officers, unless we have plain declaration that it is so."*

The English queen was alarmed at the threats conveyed in this letter, and anxious to save appearances and to justify herself to the French and Spanish ambassadors, who accused her in

Falsehood and dissimulation of the English queen.

no measured terms of fomenting, by her intrigues, the commotions in Scotland, she abandoned to their fate without hesitation the men who had hazarded their lives and fortunes, in dependence on her promises, and treated them with open and studied insult and scorn. As soon as she heard that Moray was on his way to her court, she sent a messenger to stop him, and to inform him that it was not meet for him to have any "open dealing" with her. The earl remained at Ware, till, at the earnest entreaty of Bedford, a secret messenger was sent to him, permitting him to continue his journey. A considerable time elapsed, however, before he could obtain an audience of the queen, and this favour was only granted him at length through the intercession of the French ambassador. When he was admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, with her characteristic dissimulation, and more than her usual effrontery, she demanded "how he, a rebel to her sister of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come into her realm?" "These

Her base treatment of Moray. and the like words got he," says Knox, "instead of the good and courteous entertainment he expected." Moray, in reply, referred to the promises of support they had all along received from her in their enterprise. "Madam," said he, "whatsoever thing your majesty meant in your heart we are thereof ignorant, but thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately promises of aid and support by your ambassador and familiar servants in your name; and, further, we have your own handwriting confirming the said promises."† This defence so exasperated Elizabeth, that she declared the earl and his friend should receive nothing from her but neglect and scorn, until he publicly retracted the assertion which he had made. With this demand Moray and his companion, the Abbot of Kilwinning, had the meanness and dishonesty to comply. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors they affirmed, upon their knees, according to preconcerted arrangement, that the Queen of England had never moved them to any opposition or resistance against their own sovereign. "Now," exclaimed Elizabeth, "ye have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any in my name, stir ye up against your queen; for your abominable treason might serve for example to move my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore, get ye out of my presence—ye are but unworthy traitors."‡

Elizabeth took great credit to herself, in a letter which she wrote to the Scottish queen, for the re-

* Labanoff, vol. i.; Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 211.

† Knox, vol. ii. p. 513.

‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 135.

buke which she thus administered to her rebellious subjects. "I could have wished," she wrote, "that your ears had been judges, to hear both the honour and affection which I manifested towards you, to the complete disproof of what is stated, that I defended your rebel subjects against you, which will be always very far removed from my heart, it being too great an ignominy for a princess, I will not say to do, but even to suffer."* The history of these transactions is thus briefly and quaintly summed up by Sir James Melvil:—"Mary chasit the rebel lords here and there, till at length they were compelled to flee into England for refuge to her that had promised by her ambassadors to wair (expend) her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait for their opposition to the said marriage." "But Elizabeth," he adds, "handlit the matter sae subtilly, and the other twa sae blaitly (timidly), that she triumphed both over them and the ambassadors." The earl and his friend returned in deep dejection to their associates at Newcastle, where they lived for some time in great distress.

Mary had waited with anxiety to see what reception her malcontent nobles would meet with at the English court; and, whatever credit she might attach to the deceitful professions of her royal cousin,

she heard with great satisfaction the welcome news of the severe treatment which Moray had received. The intelligence was communicated to her by the French ambassador, and was immediately published to her court. An express was forwarded to Darnley, who at the time was absent on a hawking expedition; and letters announcing the gratifying fact were ordered to be written, and dispatched to all parts of Scotland. The party of Mary and her husband were greatly elated by the news, while "all the contrary faction," says Randolph, "are discouraged, and think themselves utterly undone."

At this juncture the Duke of Chatelherault, The Hamiltons greatly to the dissatisfaction of Lennox and Darnley, succeeded in making his peace with Mary; and, on his humble submission, was pardoned, on condition of his surrendering his castles of Hamilton and Draphane into the hands of the queen, and living abroad for five years. But measures were taken to put the

Elizabeth to Queen Mary, 29th Oct., 1565. Labanoff's Appendix, vol. vii. Randolph, who was a fitting agent for his unscrupulous sovereign, stoutly supported her false averment; but "Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, who was a man of integrity, stood neither in awe of queen nor council, but freely owned that he had made promises to the Scottish lords in name of his mistress; for which plainness it was thought he might have suffered largely, had he not wisely obtained an Act of Secret Council for his warrant when he came into Scotland and made these promises, and which Act he boldly, at that time, offered to produce."—*Kelch*, vol. ii. p. 378. "The said Sir Nicolas," says Sir James Melvil, "was so angry that he had been made an instrument to deceive the Scots banished lords, that he advised them to sue humbly for pardon at their own queen's hand, and to engage never again to offend her for satisfaction of any prince alive; and because, as they then stated, they had no interest, he penned a persuasive letter, and sent unto her majesty."—*Melvil's Memoirs*, p. 141.

law into execution against the rest of the insurgent nobles, and to strip them of their titles and estates. The parliament was summoned to meet in February, and it was publicly announced that Moray and his associates would then be brought to trial, and sentence of forfeiture passed against them. To avert the utter ruin thus impending, Moray earnestly solicited the services of all who had any influence at the English court; he interceded with Elizabeth—wrote to Cecil, imploring him to save him from being "wrecked for ever"—addressed a letter to Queen Elizabeth—and even condemned to send a letter to Ricciò, accompanied by the present of a rich diamond, soliciting his assistance.* The friends of the exiled nobles also interceded, and exerted themselves to the utmost behalf of Moray, to procure their pardon. Sir James Melvil represented to Mary, that "since the Queen of England had dealt so uncourteously with that gentleman before the ambassadors, and broken all her fine promises to him and the other associate lords, that she should take that opportunity of humiliating him, and proving how much better her service was than that of the English sovereign." † He also strongly urged the impolicy of driving the insurgents to despair, and warned both the queen and her favourite counsellor, Ricciò, of the danger of proceeding to extremities against men who had been among the most powerful subjects in the kingdom, and who had still many influential adherents. The remonstrances of this prudent and trusty servant of the crown were warmly supported by Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, who recommended the pardoning of the exiled nobles as a measure to be less prudent than popular. An action of this nature, he said, the pure effect of her majesty's generosity, would spread the fame of her lenity and moderation, and engage the English, and especially the Protestant portion of them, to look forward to Mary's accession to the throne of England not only without prejudice, but with desire. By the same means, a perfect harmony would be restored among her subjects, who, if any rupture should happen with England, would serve her with that grateful zeal which the clemency of their sovereign could not fail to inspire. ‡

This moderate and judicious advice made a deep impression on Mary, "as well," observes Melvil, "for the good opinion of him that sent it, as being of her own nature more inclined to easy than to rigour, together that she was wise and possessed a zeal thereby unto the advancement of her affairs in England. She took a resolution to follow the advice, and to postpone the parliament that was set to forfealt the lords that were fled." §

Unfortunately for the welfare of Mary and the prosperity of the country, at this critical moment two envoys, De Rambouillet and Couran, arrived in Scotland on a special mission from the French court.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 147.

† Ibid.

‡ Robertson, vol. i. p. 299; Kelch, vol. ii. pp. 383-388.

§ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 146.

and threw the whole weight of their influence into the opposite scale. The former was instructed to congratulate the queen on her marriage, and to invest her consort with the order of St. Michael; but the latter, who was specially accredited by the Cardinal Lorraine to confer with Mary on matters of religion, along with Thornton, a messenger from Beaton, the Scottish ambassador in France, who came to court about the same time, informed the queen of the confederacy which, at the instigation of the infamous Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Alva, had recently been formed between France, Spain, and the emperor, for the extirpation of the Protestant faith throughout Europe.* A copy of the "band" or league, for this purpose, which had been drawn up at Bayonne in the summer of the preceding year, was brought by Thornton from the Cardinal Lorraine, and Mary was strongly urged to join the coalition, and to avail herself of the present favourable opportunity to crush the leaders of the Protestant party in Scotland. It was represented to her that the measures which she contemplated for the advancement of the Romish faith would never be sanctioned by the Estates of the realm, if Moray and his friends were allowed to return, and resume their places in parliament; and that if she neglected the present opportunity of destroying the heretical faction which had so long troubled the kingdom and thwarted her authority, her misfortunes were only in their commencement. Riccio, who, according to Sir James Melvil, seemed at first inclined to recommend a more lenient policy, now supported with all his influence the views of the French ambassadors, which were also enforced with the utmost earnestness by the king and the whole of the Romish party. Mary unfortunately yielded to

Mary joins the Roman Catholic League.

their advice, and signed the league for the extirpation of the Protestants;† and, in pursuance of the policy to which she thus became pledged, she resolved to take immediate steps for the forfeiture of the banished lords. At the time when she was inclined to yield to the intercession made in their behalf, she adjourned the parliament to the 7th of April, but, by a new proclamation, the 7th of March was now fixed for its meeting, and Moray and his associates were summoned to appear on the 12th, to answer for their treason.

As soon as Mary's adhesion to the Roman Catholic League, and her resolution to hasten the

Unfortunate result of this step.

meeting of parliament for the forfeiture of the exiled lords, became known, they saw at once that their only hope of escape from ruin lay in the adoption of prompt and desperate measures; and a coalition was formed between them and the various parties

who were dissatisfied with the queen's policy, for the purpose of preventing the meeting of parliament, and overturning the government. Strange to say, the queen's youthful consort was among the most prominent of these malcontents. Darnley's personal graces and accomplishments were unhappily not accompanied by those Darnley's vicious moral and intellectual qualifications indispensable for the position to which he had been elevated. He was weak, inexperienced, and headstrong; ambitious of power, yet totally unfit to wield it. The grievous defects of his character became every day more painfully apparent, and his behaviour more discreditable. He broke out into a thousand excesses, indulged in gross licentiousness and intemperance, and not only neglected the queen and forsook her company, but even publicly treated her with disrespect and brutal insult. The following account of the manner in which this foolish and profligate youth resented an attempt on the part of the queen, to restrain him from disgracing himself by a public exposure of his dissolute habits, is communicated to Cecil by Sir William Drury, in a letter from Berwick:—"Monsieur de la Roe Paussey and his brother arrived here yesterday (from Scotland). He is sick, my Lord Darnley having made him drunk of *aqua composita*.* All people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. It is certainly reported there was some jar betwixt the queen and him at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh—she only dissuading him from drinking too much himself, and entreating others—in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words, that she left the place with tears; which they who know their proceedings say are not strange to be seen. * * * His government is very much blamed, for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and some say vicious; whereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith, with the Lord Robert, Fleming, and such like *grave* personages.† I will not rehearse to your honour what of certainty is said of him at his being there."‡

At the time of their marriage, Mary had lavished on her unworthy consort all the tokens of the most devoted affection.§ She had illegally, as well as unwisely, caused him to be proclaimed king on her own authority, and without the consent of the Estates—a step taken in opposition to her own judgment, and which gave great offence to her nobles—his name in all public writs was signed, in some before, in others after her own,|| and the

§ "Darnley is of an insolent, imperious temper, and thinks that he is never sufficiently honoured. The queen does everything to oblige him, though he cannot be prevailed upon to yield the smallest thing to please her."—*Randolph to Cecil*, 5th July, 1565.

|| Keith, vol. ii. p. 399. It is alleged that, in consequence

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 391; Randolph to Cecil, February 7, 1565—6; Robertson's Appendix, No. XIV.

† Some of Mary's partisans have recently attempted to invalidate this statement, but the evidence is quite conclusive. See Keith, and Robertson's Appendix, quoted above; and Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 63, 64. An able resumé of the arguments on the other side will be found in Bell's *Life of Queen Mary*, chap. xv.

* Apparently the distilled ardent spirit known as whiskey. At that time, the Incorporation of Surgeons in Edinburgh possessed the exclusive right of selling whiskey in the city.

† This was evidently a scandalous drinking carousal, on the island of Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth.

‡ Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 16th Feb., 1565—6. As Keith remarks—"These must have been black and odious doings, which Sir William was ashamed to rehearse."

§ "Darnley is of an insolent, imperious temper, and thinks that he is never sufficiently honoured. The queen does everything to oblige him, though he cannot be prevailed upon to yield the smallest thing to please her."—*Randolph to Cecil*, 5th July, 1565.

|| Keith, vol. ii. p. 399. It is alleged that, in consequence

public coin of the realm issued subsequent to the marriage also contained his name. All this, however, did not content the ambitious, yet incapable, youth whom Mary had so unfortunately associated with herself in the sovereignty of Scotland, and he imperiously demanded the *crown matrimonial*—"a term," says Mr. Bell, "used only by Scottish historians, by many of whom its exact import does not appear to have been understood. In its more limited acceptation, it seems to have conferred upon the husband who married a wife of superior rank, the whole of her power and dignity so long as their union continued. Thus, if a countess married an esquire, he might become by the marriage contract a *matrimonial earl*, and during the life of the countess her authority was vested in her husband as entirely as if he had been an earl by birth. But it was in a more extended sense that Darnley was anxious for this matrimonial dignity. Knowing it to be consistent with the laws of Scotland that a person who married an heiress should keep possession of her estate, not only during his wife's life, but till his own death, he was desirous of having a sovereign sway secured in his own person, even though Mary died without issue."*

In the first ardour of her affection for Darnley, Mary appears to have promised him this share in the government; but, after his real character became known to her, she naturally hesitated to place supreme authority in the hands of one who had shown himself so unfit to exercise it.† The more reluctant the queen showed herself to gratify his ambition, the more vehement he became in his demands that the promised dignity should be conferred upon him; and though she urged that this gift was beyond her power, and could be conferred only by the authority of parliament, his headstrong temper led him to persist in his request. Riccio had hitherto been the friend of Darnley, and, by the cordial support which he had given to his marriage with the queen, had incurred the hatred of Moray and the Protestant nobles. It would appear, however, that the weakness and vacillation of the king had lost him the confidence of the astute foreigner, and that he now refused to support his pretensions to the crown matrimonial. Darnley, therefore, not only became estranged from the queen, and treated her with the utmost coldness and harshness, but contracted a bitter dislike to her favourite secre-

tary, whom he regarded as the author of those measures which withheld from him what he considered his due share of the government, for which it was too obvious, he was utterly incompetent, both by his disposition and habits. To witness the breach between Mary and her husband, he had even the folly to believe and affirm that Riccio had supplanted him in the affections of the queen, and that the confidence with which she treated her foreign secretary betokened the existence between them of a criminal familiarity.* In-
 furiated by jealousy and disappointment, Darnley communicated his suspicions to his uncle, George Douglas, commonly called the Postulate, an illegitimate son of the late Earl of Angus, and sent him to entreat Lord Ruthven, who was married to the king's aunt, to assist him against "the villain Riccio." Ruthven had for some months been confined to bed by a dangerous illness, and was at this time, as he himself states, "scarcely able to walk twice the length of his chamber."† Yet he at once consented to engage in the villainous scheme for the assassination of Riccio. From an early period, the conspirators seem to have concerted the intended murder of the secretary with a project to seize the person of the queen, and to usurp the government; for, on the 13th of February, Randolph wrote to Leicester, informing him that Darnley and his father were determined to put Riccio to death, and to deprive the queen of her crown; and that designs still more atrocious were meditated against her, which he could not venture to commit to writing. "I know now for certain," said he, "that the queen regretteth her marriage; that she hateth him [Darnley] and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him; I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between father and son, to come by the crown against her will; I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievous, and more than these, are brought to my ears—yea, of things intended

* Letter from the Earl of Bedford and Randolph to the Lords of Council, 27th March, 1566. Robertson's Appendix, No. XV. The vile and profligate example, which is countenanced by no other prince of the world, and is utterly unworthy of credit. We are commonly informed by all the contemporary writers who speak of Riccio, that he was advanced in years, and decrepit, that he was on account of any beauty he possessed, being an old man, and ugly, warthy, and ill-favoured; but many other great qualities, fidelity, wisdom, prudence, and many other excellent qualities." Connoisseur declares that he was "of a most pure blood, but of spotted faith, and possessed of rare talents." Lamb, Gurvey, Counsellor and Treasurer to the King of France, says—"I was well acquainted with David Riccio, and whom I received many favours in that court. He was of years, of dark hue, and very ill-favoured, but of a most pure blood, and very skilled in business." and further says, "of the deformity of his body." See also Strickland, vol. iv. p. 264; Robertson, vol. i. p. 264. Strickland, vol. iv. p. 264; Robertson, vol. i. p. 264. Strickland, vol. iv. p. 264; Robertson, vol. i. p. 264. Strickland, vol. iv. p. 264; Robertson, vol. i. p. 264.

† Ruthven's Narrative in Robertson's Appendix, Robertson's Appendix, No. XV.; Letter of the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph to the Lords in Council.

of the king's frequent absence at his diversions, the queen found it necessary to make an iron stamp for affixing his name to public deeds and acts, which she delivered to Riccio; and that this excited great anger in Darnley. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

* Life of Queen Mary, 2nd edit., p. 62.
 † "I cannot tell what misliking of late there hath been between her grace and her husband; he presseth earnestly for the matrimonial crown, which she is loath hastily to grant, but willing to keep somewhat in store, until she know how well he is worthy to enjoy such a sovereignty."—*Randolph to Cecil*, Jan. 16th., 1565—6. "Darnley demands the crown matrimonial with such impatience, that the queen regrets she has done so much for him."—*Ibid.*, Jan. 24.

against her own person—which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary, I speak not of them, but now to your lordship.”*

This statement of Randolph respecting the plot of Darnley and Lennox against the queen, is corroborated by an interesting document in the collection of Prince Labanoff, copied from the archives of the house of Medici, in which it is distinctly stated that Darnley had given his consent to the death of the queen, as well as to the murder of Riccio. It is even affirmed by Blackwood in his “Martyre de Marie,” that it was not the original intention of the conspirators to assassinate Riccio, but merely to secure the person of Mary, and that it was in consequence of Riccio’s fidelity to the queen, and his refusal to sanction such a proceeding, that they afterwards changed their plan. The king, he says, “hated Riccio greatly, both because he had laboured to effect the re-establishment of the house of Hamilton, and because he had not only refused to become a party to, but had even revealed to the queen, a certain conspiracy that had been concluded on between his highness and the rebels, by which it was resolved to shut up her majesty in a castle under good and secure guard, that Darnley might gain for himself all authority, and the entire government of the kingdom. My Lord Ruthven, the head of this conspiracy, entertained the greatest ill-will against the poor secretary, because he had neither dared nor been able to conceal from her majesty that he had found Ruthven and all the conspirators assembled together in council in a small closet, and had heard her husband express himself with especial violence and chagrin. Besides, Morton, fearing greatly the foresight and penetration of this man, whom he knew to be entirely opposed to his designs, resolved to accomplish his death, and in so doing comply with the advice which had been given him by the English court.”† The assertion, however, that the existence and object of this conspiracy were known both to Riccio and the queen, is not supported by any trustworthy evidence, and is at variance with the whole of their conduct towards the conspirators.

Ruthven communicated to the Earl of Morton, then chancellor of the kingdom, Darnley’s desire to be revenged upon Riccio, and this able but unscrupulous nobleman perceived at once the facilities which this plot would afford him to promote his own selfish schemes, as well as to labour for the restoration of the banished lords. He had reason to apprehend that in the approaching parliament he would be compelled to restore certain crownlands which had been illegally appropriated, and would also be deprived of his office as chancellor, and therefore, with the view of averting these personal calamities, as well as the forfeiture of his friends, he entered heartily into the conspiracy. In order to secure more certainly the success of

their nefarious project, Morton proceeded to widen the basis of the plot, and to procure the co-operation of Moray and his associates, and the countenance of the English queen and her ministers, Cecil and Leicester. The concurrence of some of the leading Protestant barons appears to have been obtained without difficulty. They entertained at this moment great apprehensions respecting the dangers which threatened the cause of the Reformation, and it cannot be denied that their fears were well founded. It was known that the queen had joined the Roman Catholic confederacy for the extermination of the Protestants, and her letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, and her uncles, the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, show that she fondly cherished the hope of restoring the Papal hierarchy, not only in Scotland, but in England also. Every effort had been made for some time past to induce the leading nobles to accompany the queen and Darnley to mass.* It was suspected that a parliamentary investigation was about to be made into the right of the lay abbots, priors, commendators, and bishops, to retain the ecclesiastical domains which they had unjustly appropriated. The popish ecclesiastics were restored to their seats in parliament—an important step in the queen’s estimation towards the restoration of the ancient religion.† Her consort had been heard to declare that, “he would have a mass again in St. Giles’s Church ere long;” and it is said that the altars which were to be erected in that church for the celebration of the Roman Catholic worship were already prepared. The whole procedure, in short, of the queen and her councillors made it evident that a strenuous effort was about to be made for the re-establishment of the “auld religion” in Scotland, and that measures for that purpose were in preparation, and only waited for the meeting of parliament to be carried into execution. In these circumstances, Lords Lindsay, Ochiltree, and other reforming nobles, were induced, for the purpose of averting these impending dangers, to join in a plot to prevent the meeting of parliament, by putting Riccio to death, restoring the banished lords, imprisoning the queen, and conferring the supreme power upon Darnley.‡ Riccio was pecu-

* Randolph states that the king “sent for the Lords Fleming, Livingston, and Lindsay, and asked them whether they would be content to go to mass with him, which they refusing, he gave them all very evil words. The queen useth speech to some others she used to take by the hand and offered to lead them with her to mass, which thing the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley both refused to do. The Lord Darnley sometime would shut up the noblemen in chambers, thereby to bring them to hear mass.”—*Randolph to Throckmorton*, Feb. 7th, and to *Cecil*, Feb. 8th, 1565-6.

† In a letter addressed to Beaton, her ambassador at the French court, Mary says, “The spiritual estate being placed therein [in parliament], in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion.”—*Keith*, vol. ii. p. 412.

‡ A charge has recently been brought by Mr. Tytler against John Knox of being privy to this conspiracy, founded entirely on a scrap of paper which that writer found pinned (by some person unknown) to a document in the State Paper Office, in which paper is a list (written by some person unknown) containing the names of Knox and

* Tytler, vol. vii. : Proofs and Illustrations, No. II.

† Bell’s Life of Queen Mary, p. 64.

liarily obnoxious to all the parties engaged in this atrocious conspiracy. He was detested by Darnley

General dislike as the person who had advised the queen to withhold from him the crown matrimonial, and who had, as he imagined, even dishonoured his bed. He was regarded by the Reformers as the pensioned agent of the Pope, the tool of the unscrupulous Cardinal of Lorraine, the enemy of the Protestant faith, and the bigoted supporter of the Romish Church; while the banished lords believed that he was the principal adviser of the queen in the measures which she was about to propose to parliament for their forfeiture. The unfortunate secretary had indeed incurred the envy and hatred of almost every one about the court. The Scots have always manifested great aversion to allow strangers to interfere with their affairs; and Riccio, in consequence both of his foreign extraction and of his low birth, was doubly obnoxious to the ignorant and haughty Scottish barons. In the homely, but expressive language of Melvil, "some of the nobility would gloom upon him, and some of them would shoulder him and shoot him by, when they entered in the chamber and found him always speaking with her majesty." His religion too added to his general unpopularity; and he is moreover accused, both by Melvil and Knox, of interfering with the administration of justice in the Court of Session, and of receiving bribes from the nobles to further their suits with the queen. Riccio, as we have seen, was aware of the dislike with which he was regarded by the courtiers, and received in good part the judicious advice which Sir James Melvil gave him, to be cautious how he intermeddled openly with public affairs, to give place to the nobility, and to avoid any open manifestation of familiarity with the queen. But he alleged, that though anxious to adopt this prudent course, he was prevented by the queen, who "would not suffer him, but would needs have him to use himself in the old manner." Melvil advised the queen herself, but without effect, to be cautious as to the favour she evinced to one who was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, and to "alter her carriage" to him, reminding her of the unfortunate affair of Chatelard, her affability with whom had done her serious injury. Mary, however, entertained opinions very different from those

his colleague, Craig, among the conspirators who had fled. The incorrectness of this unsubscribed and suspicious paper has been shown from its containing the name of Craig, who was never suspected of the plot, and never left the city. It is disproved by an authenticated list of the conspirators, in which no mention is made either of Knox or Craig, and by the official lists of the proscribed individuals, published after the whole plot had been revealed by the king to Mary, who would gladly have availed herself of the slightest pretext to have involved John Knox in the odium and guilt of the conspiracy. And it is distinctly contradicted by the conspirators themselves, who declare that the ministers had no share whatever in aiding or abetting the transaction. Great stress has been laid upon the fact that a fast happened to be held in Edinburgh at the time of Riccio's death, but the truth is that this fast was appointed in December of the preceding year, when no such event was contemplated. For a further consideration of this question, see Appendix, Note XXI.

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of her nobles respecting the privileges of hereditary rank and the claims of real merit. In a fragment on the duties of a sovereign, which has been preserved among her private papers, she inquires, "what ought a monarch to do if his ancestors have ennobled a man of worth whose offspring has become degenerate? Must it be that the monarch is compelled to hold in like esteem with the wise and valiant father, the son who is unscrupulous, selfish, and a violator of the laws? If, on the other hand, the monarch find a man of low degree, poor in this world's goods, but of a generous spirit and faithful heart, and fitted for the service he requires, may not he venture to put such a one in authority, because the nobles, having formerly monopolised all offices, desire to do so still?" Acting on these enlightened opinions, which were far in advance of her age and country, Mary did not regard the "low birth and indigent condition" of the Italian as sufficient barriers to exclude him from honourable office; and, disgusted at the treachery of her nobles, among whom it would be difficult, at this time, to find one honest and trustworthy person, she now, in all affairs of secrecy and importance, chiefly consulted her foreign secretary, who was recommended to her by his polite and obsequious manners, and his talent for business, as well as by his fidelity. The step was every way an imprudent one, and was followed by the most disastrous consequences. The favour which she showed towards Riccio excited the jealousy of her husband, and the envy of her court; while it appears to have turned the head of the hapless foreigner himself, who foolishly began to imitate, and even outvie the nobility in the splendour of his dress and equipage. Melvil said, at an early period, warned both his royal mistress and her unpopular secretary of the danger which they incurred by proceeding to extremities against the exiled barons, and hinted that he had heard "wide speeches of strange things that might befall ere the parliament she was about to convene ended," but without effect. The queen exclaimed with a burst of indignation, "I defy them! What should they do, and what dare they do?" "While David," says Melvil, "disdained all danger and despised counsel, so that I was compelled to say, 'I feared late repentance.'"† At a later period, after the plot against him was manifested, Riccio received a significant warning from one Damiot, a professed astrologer, whom Calderwood designates a "French priest and a sorcerer." This young man warned Riccio to beware of the bastard, alluding to George Douglas, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Angus; but the foolishly credulous secretary, supposing that Moray was the person referred to, denied the warning, and replied, "I will take good care he never sets foot again in Scotland." Another of his friends told him of his unpopularity, and ad-

* Labanoff Collection of the Letters of Mary Stuart, Appendix; Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 258.
† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 140.

vised him speedily to settle his affairs and to return to his own country with the property he had amassed—about eleven thousand pounds Scots, rather more than two thousand pounds sterling; but so little did Riccio know the character of the people he was assisting the queen to govern, that he replied he was not afraid of them—they were mere ducks—strike one of them and all the rest would cower down. “You will find them geese,” was the answer; “if you handle one of them, the rest will fly upon you and pluck you so that they will leave neither feather nor down upon you.”*

Morton having so far matured the plot for the overthrow of the government and the destruction of Riccio, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the execution of his atrocious scheme. According to the usual practice of this age, a formal

“band” or “covenant” was drawn up, and signed by the conspirators, setting forth the objects which they had in view, and providing for their mutual co-operation and security. This agreement was expressed in the king’s name, though it was signed also by Morton and Ruthven, and probably by some others, and its contents were communicated to Maitland of Lethington, as well as to Moray and the other banished lords. It contained denunciations of certain wicked and ungodly persons—especially an Italian called David—by whom the queen’s “good and gentle nature” was abused; and declared the resolution of the king, with the assistance of his friends, to seize these enemies, and, if resistance was offered, “to cut them off immediately, and slay them, wherever it happened;” while Darnley solemnly promised, on the word of a prince, that he would maintain and defend his associates in this deed, even though it should be perpetrated within the precincts of the palace, and in the presence of the queen.† It was now judged expedient to inform Moray and his associates of the plot, and for this purpose the king’s father, the Earl of Lennox, was dispatched to England. The exiled barons appear to have readily embarked on an enterprise which promised to avert their impending ruin, and to restore them to their former position at the head of affairs. A second “covenant” was therefore drawn up, supplementary to the first, between Henry King of Scotland, and James Earl of Moray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and certain others “remaining in England,” in which it was stipulated, on the part of the lords, that, at the first parliament which should be held after their return, they would procure for Darnley the crown matrimonial of Scotland; and that, in the event of the queen’s death, he should be declared her rightful successor, and his father the next heir after himself; and that they would “seek, pursue, and extirpate out of the realm of Scotland, or take and slay,” all who opposed this resolution;

* Keith, vol. ii. p. 409. Note.

† Goodall, vol. i. p. 266.

while Darnley, on his part, engaged that he should not allow, in as much as in him lay, any forfeiture to be laid against them; and that, as soon as he obtained the crown matrimonial, he should give them a free remission for all crimes, taking every means to remove and punish any one who opposed such remission.*

It could scarcely be expected that a plot so widely ramified could escape the knowledge of the English queen and her agents in Scotland, and there is the clearest evidence that

The plot made known to Elizabeth and her ministers.

she was fully informed of the object of the conspiracy, and tacitly, at least, gave it her approval. Randolph was now at Berwick, having been expelled from Scotland in consequence of the discovery by the queen that he had encouraged and assisted Moray in his rebellion; † but he was evidently in close communication with the conspirators, and was fully informed respecting their proceedings. On the 6th of March he wrote to Elizabeth, to apprise her that “a matter of no small consequence was intended in Scotland,” referring her for particulars to a letter addressed by himself, in conjunction with the Earl of Bedford, to Secretary Cecil; adding, that the exiled barons would thus be restored, that Tuesday was the last day, and that they looked daily to hear of the execution of the plot.‡

The other letter from Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, entered much more minutely into a detail of the villanous project which was on foot, and enjoined the strictest secrecy, as they had promised that “no one except the queen, Leicester, and Cecil himself, should be informed of the great attempt now on the eve of being put in execution. “The matter,” they say, “is this:—Somewhat we are sure you have heard of divers discords and jarrers§ between this queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not over well known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person; you have heard of the man whom we mean of.

“To come by the other thing which he desireth,

* Ibid., p. 227. The original of this infamous “bond” is preserved in the charter-chest of the Earl of Leven, and is printed in the Maitland Miscellany.

† Randolph denied the charge, but Mary confronted him before the Privy Council with Johnston, the agent whom he had employed to convey to Moray the money which Elizabeth had granted to the insurgents. Johnston confessed the whole transaction, and Randolph was immediately conducted, under a guard, beyond the boundary of the kingdom. See Maitland Club Miscellany, vol. iii. part 1.

‡ MS. Letter, State Paper Office; Bedford and Randolph to the queen, Berwick, March 6, 1565–6; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 24; see also Stevenson’s Illustrations, p. 151.

§ Jars.

which is the crown matrimonial, what is devised and concluded upon by him and the noblemen you shall see by the copies of the conditions between them and him, of which Mr. Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals, and taken the copies written with his own hand.

"The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the parliament, as near as it is. To this determination of theirs, there are privy in Scotland these:—Argyle, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Liddington; in England these:—Moray, Rothes, Grange, myself, and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the queen's majesty our sovereign shall be sought and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment. These are the things which we thought, and think to be, of no small importance; and knowing them certainly intended and concluded upon, thought it our duties to utter the same to you, Mr. Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom; and of this matter thought to write conjunctly, though we came severally by knowledge, agreeing both in one in the substance of that which is determined."*

A sovereign actuated by a proper sense of honour, and possessed of ordinary integrity, or even of common humanity, would undoubtedly have warned the Scottish queen of her danger, and have thus enabled her to defeat the machinations of the conspirators against her government and her liberty. But, true to her cold-blooded and selfish policy, Elizabeth, in spite of her professions of warm attachment to Mary, carefully concealed from her the information which she had received, and not only allowed Moray to leave England, for the purpose of taking part in the plot which his friends had devised for his restoration, but, on his departure, loaded him with tokens of the highest confidence and distinction, and must, therefore, bear the infamy of an accomplice in those nefarious transactions which soon after followed.†

The plot, which had for some time been maturing, was now ripe for execution. There has been a great deal of controversy respecting the precise

objects of the conspiracy which the conspirators had in view, and the lengths to which they were prepared to go for the accomplishment of their schemes. On the day preceding that appointed for the execution of the plot, Darnley challenged Riccio to play at tennis with him, probably for the purpose of lulling any suspicions which may have been entertained by his unhappy victim. While engaged in this game, which lasted for several hours, it was suggested to Darnley, aside, by some

of his confederates, that it would be a convenient opportunity to set upon the secretary as he left the tennis-court, and dispatch him with their daggers; Darnley however refused, declaring that "he would have Riccio taken with the queen at supper, that he might be taunted in her presence." These have, therefore, insisted that the conspirators meant to take advantage of the situation in which Mary then was, and terrify her into a miscarriage, which might have ended in her death. And a recent biographer of the queen has even gone so far as to assert, that "the blow which was aimed at Mary was intended for her destruction and that of her unborn infant, and for the destruction of Darnley also, who, in the event of his consort's death, would have been torn limb from limb by the terrible justice of popular vengeance," or that Mary herself would "have assumed the character of the avenger of his royal sister, and trod his way over the mangled corpses of her guilty but deluded husband and his unprincipled father to the throne of Scotland." It is further affirmed by the same writer, that "the work of death was not to be confined to the foreign secretary; a wholesale scene of slaughter was contemplated, including the whole of Mary's ministers, who had shown themselves opposed to her virtual deposition by refusing to grant the crown matrimonial to her scornful husband. The intended victims were—the Earls of Bothwell, Huntley, and Atholl, the Lords Fleming and Livingstone, and Sir James Balfour; the last was, for some unexplained reason, to be hanged at the queen's chamber-door, and several of her most attached ladies were to be drowned. Mary herself, if she survived the horrors of the tragedy purposed to be acted in her presence, was either to be slain, or imprisoned in Stirling Castle, till she consented to legalise her husband's usurpation."‡ These foolish and absurd charges rest on no better foundation than the exaggerated surmises speculated at the time by unscrupulous partisans. The real object of the conspiracy was to secure the establishment of the Protestant religion against the plot which had been formed for its extirpation, and to prevent the forfeiture of the hereditary lords, and the resumption of the crown-lords and ecclesiastical benefices, which had been usurped by Morton and other nobles; and these ends they sought to gain by breaking off the meeting of parliament, recalling Moray and his associates, expelling the queen's Romish advisers, bestowing the crown matrimonial on Darnley, and putting Francis to death. With regard to the murder of the unfortunate secretary, there is good reason to believe that a portion at least of the conspirators intended only to bring him to public execution, and that their purpose was frustrated by the cool and blood-headed king, whose jealousy and hatred of Riccio hurried the matter to a premature issue. Even Ruthven, his principal confidant, announced him

* Ruthven's Narrative.

† Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 269, 273.

* MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, March 6, 1565; Tytler, vol. vii. p. 26.

† *Ibid.*, p. 27.

to the contrary, and thought it not decent that he should put hand on such a mean person ;” but the king persisting in his design, “Ruthven affixed a day on which David should be slain, though he would have him rather to be judged by the nobility.” That the great majority of the conspirators neither wished nor projected the tragical result, is evident from the language of Douglas of Lochleven, one of their number, who declares that it was their purpose “to have given him [Riceio] his trial, and punished him by order of justice. But men proposit and God disposit otherwise, by some extraordinary means, which truly my own heart abhorrit when I saw him; for I never consentit that he should be used by [beside or against] justice, neither was it in any nobleman his mind.”* And Hume of Godseroft, who may be almost termed a contemporary historian, and who possessed the best means of information, states that the noblemen had determined that Riceio should be carried to the city, and have his trial by assize, and so legally and formally (for they had matter enough against him) condemned and executed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. On apprehending him, however, at the palace, which they were obliged to do by the king’s orders, their attendants, hearing the noise made by Huntley and Bothwell in the court below, and “not knowing what it might import, but fearing that he might be rescued from them, fell upon him, and stabbed him with their daggers, sore against the will and beside the intention of Morton and the rest of the noblemen, who thought to have caused execute him upon the scaffold, so to have gratified the common people, to whom it would have been a most acceptable and pleasant sight.”† From these statements, it appears plain that Darnley alone was bent upon the murder of Riceio; that some of the conspirators were willing to accede to his wishes, though they would have preferred a different course; while the others, either owing to circumstances or their known character, were not entrusted with the secret of the king’s bloody design, but were led to believe that the favourite was merely to be arrested and brought to trial.”‡

Mary had received some vague intimation that a conspiracy was in agitation against her,§ but she does not appear to have taken the alarm, or to have

considered that she had any grounds for serious apprehension. She therefore proceeded to carry out her measures for the forfeiture of the banished lords, and the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion. The parliament assembled on Thursday, the 7th of March. The queen had arranged that her husband should ride in state with her to the opening ceremonial, after which she proposed to introduce him to the Estates of the realm as her consort, and to obtain from them his recognition as king and joint sovereign of the realm. But Darnley, haughty and headstrong as usual, protested that he would not occupy an inferior position, and that “unless he were allowed to act as the sovereign of Scotland, by opening the parliament himself, he would in no wise condescend to give his presence to that ceremonial.”* As the queen very properly refused to accede to these demands, Darnley rode down to Leith, “with seven or acht horse,” to amuse himself during the ceremony. Mary, therefore, opened the parliament in person, proceeding from the palace of Holyrood to the Tolbooth, the Parliament near St. Giles’s Church, the usual place of meeting, in “wondrous gorgeous apparel,” says Knox, “albeit the number of lords and train was not very great.” The Lords of the Articles were chosen—three of the lords spiritual being selected from the Romish prelates—a step which, as the queen herself admits, was intended to prepare the way for the restoration of the “auld religion.” The forfeiture against Moray and his associates was discussed on Friday and Saturday, with great diversity of opinion—some contending that the summons was not “well libelled or dressed,” while others thought that “the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved.” The influence of the queen and the Romish party eventually prevailed, and it was agreed that the forfeiture of the banished lords should be passed on the following Tuesday, the 12th of March.

It was on the evening of Saturday, the 9th of March, that the conspirators determined to strike the long meditated blow. In the dusk of that evening, about five hundred men, the retainers of Morton and the other lords, his accomplices, assembled secretly in the neighbourhood of Holyrood. They were all armed, and about seven o’clock, when it was dark, Morton, who took the command, admitted a hundred and fifty of them into the inner court of the palace; he then ordered the gates to be locked, and took possession of the keys. Meanwhile Darnley, along with George Douglas the Postulate,† and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, were waiting the signal to proceed to the queen’s chamber, where they expected to find their victim. It had been originally proposed to seize Riceio in his own apartment, but this plan was abandoned for two reasons:—*First*,

* *Lochleven Papers, in the possession of the Earl of Morton; Appendix to McCrie’s Sketches of Church History, vol. i. p. 318.*

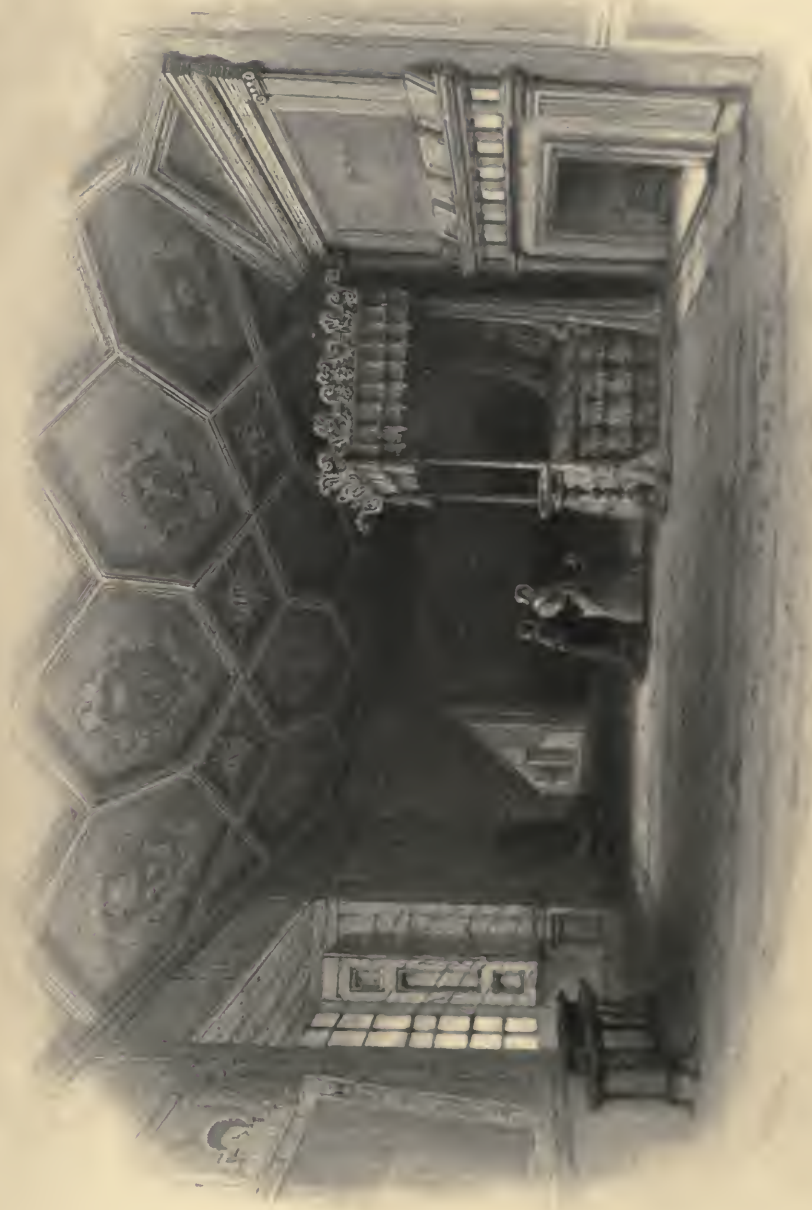
† *History of the House of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. pp. 169–181; Ibid.*

‡ “No other way could be found than that David should be taken out of the way. Wherein he [Darnley] was so earnest, and daily pressed the same, that no rest could be had until it was put in execution. . . . He daily pressed the said Lord Ruthven that there might be no longer delay, and to the intent that he might manifest unto the world that he approved the act, was content to be at the doing of that himself.”—*Letter from Bedford and Randolph to the Lords of Council, 27th March, 1566; Robertson’s Appendix to vol. I. No. XV.*

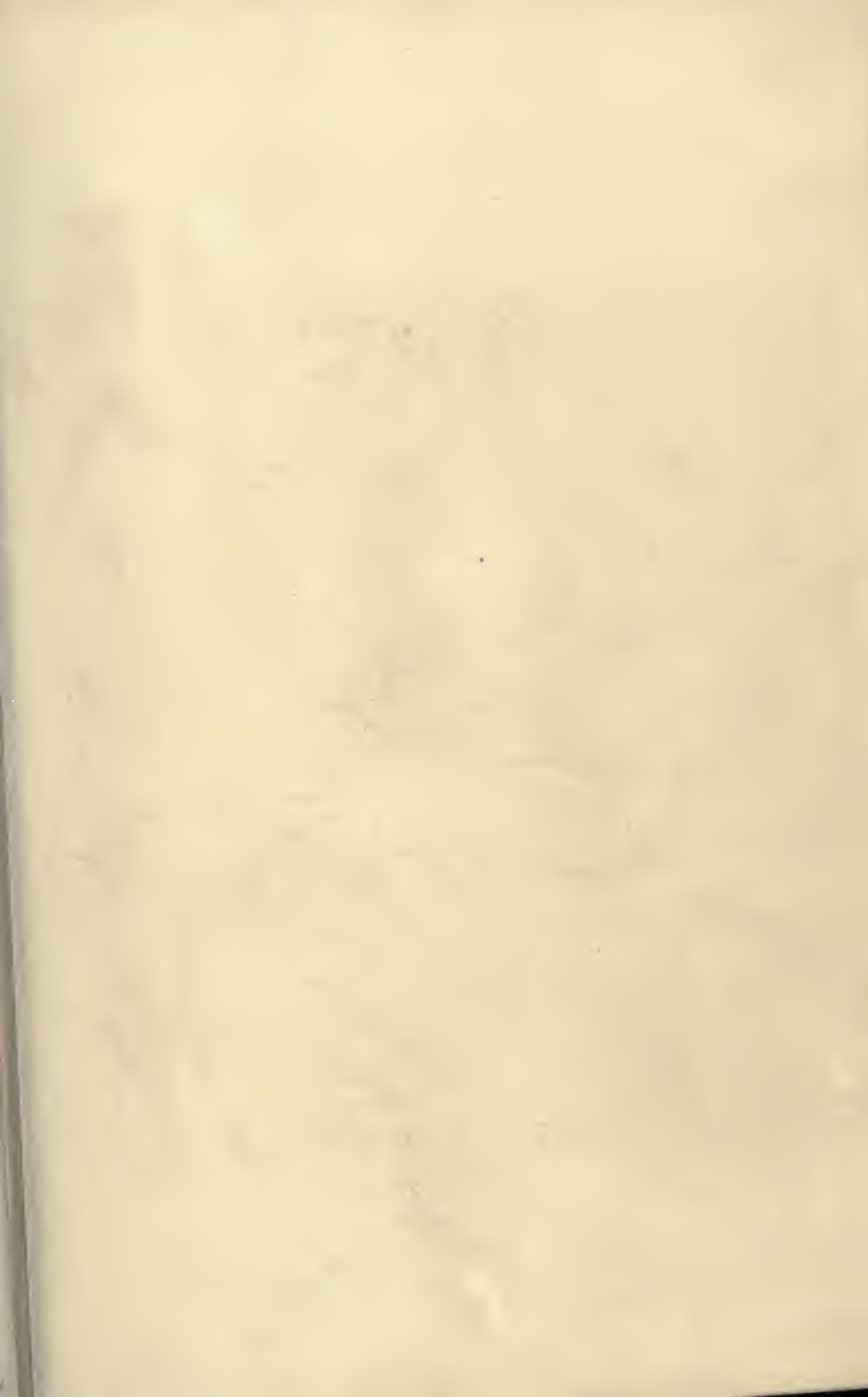
§ Buchanan says, the queen, on one occasion, unexpectedly surprised Darnley in his bedchamber with some of his associates, and bitterly upbraided him, declaring that she was acquainted with all their machinations, and would apply a remedy in due time.—*History, Book xvii. ch. 67.*

* Report on Scotch Affairs, addressed to Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany, printed in Prince Labanoff’s Appendix, vol. vii; Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 271; Queen Mary’s Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Keith, vol. ii. p. 411.

† A Postulate was a candidate for some benefice which he had not yet obtained.



INTERIOR OF A HOUSE





Die Mutter

Die Tochter

Mom



Because it was less certain, as it was often late before Riccio retired for the night; since he sometimes did not sleep in his own room at all, but in that of his brother; and since there were back-doors and windows, through which he might have effected his escape; and *second*, because it would not have so much intimidated Mary, and would have made it necessary to employ another party to secure her person.* At this moment Mary, altogether unsuspecting of danger, was at supper in a small closet which entered from her bedroom, in company with her illegitimate sister, the Countess of Argyle, her brother, the Lord Robert Stuart, Commendator of Holyrood, Beaton of Creich, the master of the household, Arthur Erskine, captain of the guard, and David Riccio.† One or two other servants of the Privy Chamber were in waiting at a side-table. Queen Mary's apartments in Holyrood, which still exist in nearly the same state in which they were on this eventful evening, consist of a presence-chamber, a bedroom opening from it, where her bed yet stands, although the furniture is now grievously dilapidated, and the small closet already referred to, containing one window, and only about twelve feet square. Darnley's rooms were on the ground-floor, immediately below those of the queen, with which they communicated by means of a secret turnpike stair. The approach to this stair, from the queen's room, is concealed by a piece of wainscot little more than a yard square, which hangs upon hinges in the wall. The conspirators had already been admitted to the king's apartment, and Darnley, ascending the private stair, entered the closet where Mary sat, and, seating himself beside her at table, placed his arm around her waist, and embraced her with every demonstration of affection.‡ A minute had scarcely elapsed, when Ruthven, clad in complete armour, pushed aside the tapestry which concealed the opening in the wall, abruptly entered the room, and threw himself unceremoniously into a chair. He had for some months been confined to a sick bed by an incurable disease, and his haggard appearance, his features pale and wasted by long illness, together with the naked sword which he brandished in his hand, and the coat of mail visible under the folds of his loose gown, were calculated to inspire the queen, who was now far advanced in pregnancy, with the utmost terror. But repressing all exclamations of surprise and fear, she said, "My lord, I was coming to visit you in your chamber, having been told you were very ill, and now you enter our presence in your armour. What does this mean?" The savage baron replied

fiercely, "I have indeed been very ill, but I find myself well enough to come here for your good." Observing his threatening look and manner, the queen said, "And what good can you do me? You come not in the fashion of one who means well." "There is no harm intended to your person," replied Ruthven, "nor to any one, but yonder poltroon, David; it is he with whom I first to speak." "What hath he done?" inquired Mary. "Ask the king, your husband's cousin." Turning in surprise to Darnley, who had now risen and was leaning on the back of his chair, she demanded an explanation, but he hypocritically pretended ignorance, and declared he knew nothing of the matter. Mary on this, receiving a look of authority, commanded Ruthven immediately to be gone, and as he refused to comply, the master of the household and some of the servants attempted to expel him by force. "Lay no hands on me!" exclaimed the ruffian, brandishing his rapier, "for I will not be handled." At this moment one of the conspirators made his appearance with a horse-girdle in his hand, and was immediately followed by others who crowded up the private stair. "What is the meaning of this?" exclaimed Mary. "Do you seek my life?" "No, madam," replied Ruthven, "but we will have our yonder cousin, Darnley, at the same time attempting to seize the unhappy foreigner, who, scarcely knowing what he did, retreated into the recess of the window, with his dagger drawn in one hand, and clinging to the queen's gown with the other. "If my memory have been guilty of any misdeeds," said Mary to the assassins, "I promise to submit my name to the lords of the parliament, that he may be dealt with according to the usual course of justice." "Here is the man of justice's order," cried one of the murderers, producing a scroll. "Madam," said Riccio, "I am a dead man!" "Fie, not," she replied aloud, "the king will never suffer you to be slain in my presence, neither can he forget your faithful services."

In the midst of these alterations the outcry, "A Douglas—A Douglas!" was heard resounding throughout the gallery and Mary, with a band of his followers, consisting of the king which had assembled, rushed up the great staircase, and forced open the doors of the presence-chamber, the light of their torches gleaming on the tables, and the sound of their voices, and the crash of their weapons striking to the ground the trembling group at the upper end of the little room. The household servants fled in dismay, leaving the responsibility of allowing any offensive movement to the overwhelming superiority of the rebel band. The supper table, which had hitherto been placed between the trembling secretary and his assassins, was now overturned upon the queen; and had not the Countess of Argy's swift run to the rescue,

* Appendix to Keith; Bell's Life of Queen Mary, p. 65.

† Archbishop Spottiswood states that Riccio sat at table with the queen; Crawford, on the other hand, asserts that he was sitting at a side-table, as he always did when waiting; and Camden affirms that the secretary "was standing at the sideboard, eating something that had been sent to him from the queen's table;" but as Mr. Lawson remarks, the closet is so small that the distinction could be scarcely perceptible. Keith, vol. ii. p. 415.

‡ Mary bitterly complained that her husband came to "betray her with a Judas' kiss."

* This last circumstance the witnesses of the scene, but the conspirators at first intended to keep Darnley, and to employ him for the purpose, but they were prevented by the progress of the circumstances which occurred. See also Appendix to Lawson, vol. iii.

in her hand as it was falling, the room would have been involved in darkness. Mary still strove to protect her unhappy servant, and with tears, entreaties, and threatenings, adjured the murderers to proceed according to the forms of justice against their miserable victim, who, catching in his despair at the word, clung to her robe, calling out "Giustizia! Giustizia! suave ma vie, Madama, suave ma vie!" The first man who struck Riccio was the Postulate, George Douglas, who stabbed him over the queen's shoulder with the dagger which the king wore at his side. Others followed the example; and Darnley, having forcibly unloosed the tenacious grasp with which the poor bleeding secretary clung to the queen's gown, he was torn from her knees, and dragged, amidst shouts and hideous oaths, through the bedroom to the door of the presence-chamber, where the conspirators, gathering about him, speedily completed the bloody deed. So eager were they to take part in the murder, that they wounded one another in the struggle, and the body of their wretched victim, mangled by no fewer than fifty-six wounds, was left in a pool of blood, with the king's dagger sticking in it, to show, as was alleged, that he had sanctioned the murder.† The body was afterwards thrown down the stairs, dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked,‡ and treated with every mark of indignity. It was obscurely buried, next day, in the Canongate churchyard; but at a subsequent period it was removed to the cemetery of Holyrood Chapel.

During the perpetration of this horrid deed, Darnley, who at first "stood amazed, and wist not what to do," in compliance with the injunction of Ruthven, took the queen in his arms, and forcing her into a chair, stood behind it, and held her so tightly embraced, that she could not rise. Ker of Faldonside, one of the most ferocious of the conspirators, held a pistol to her breast, and with a furious imprecation told her he would shoot her dead if she offered any resistance.§ The weapon

* Justice! justice! save my life, madam, save my life!

† "David had fifty-six wounds, whereof thirty-four were in his back. Such desire was to have him surely and speedily slain, that in jabbing at him so many at once, as some bestowed their daggers where neither they meant it, nor the receivers willing to have it; as one can, for his own good, now in this town, (a follower to my Lord Ruthven) be too true a testimony who carries the bag on his hand."—*Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 27th March, 1566.*

‡ He was dressed on that fatal night in a rich evening dress of black figured damask, faced with fur (called, in the nomenclature of the period, a "night-gown"), with a satin doublet and russet-coloured velvet hose; and he wore a rich jewel round his neck, which was never heard of after his death. "Of the great substance he had there is much spoken. Some say, in gold, to the value of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparel was very good; as it is said, fourteen pair of velvet hose. His chamber well furnished; armour, daggs (horse-pistols), pistols, harquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothing spoiled nor lacking saving two or three daggs. He had the custody of all the queen's letters which were delivered unlooked upon."—*Hedford and Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 27th March, 1566.*

§ "There comes the fierce fanatic Ruthven—party-hatred enabling him to bear the armour which would otherwise weigh down a form enfeebled by wasting disease. See how his writhen features show under the hollow helmet, like those of a corpse tenanted by a demon, whose vindictive purpose looks out at the flashing eyes, while the visage

was hastily turned aside by Darnley, but Mary afterwards declared that "she felt the coldness of the iron through her dress, and that Faldonside had actually pulled the trigger, but that the pistol hung fire." It is also asserted that Patrick Bellen-den, the brother of the Justice-clerk, aimed a stroke at the queen with a sword or dagger; but Anthony Standen, her page, parried the blow, by striking the weapon aside with the torch he had been holding to light the music score which the queen and Riccio, with others of the company, had been singing in parts that evening.* This statement, however, was vehemently denied by Ruthven and Morton, who "take God to record that there was not one stroke in her presence, nor was David stricken till he was at the farther door of her majesty's antechamber, and that there was no evil meant to the queen's body."†

Mary's own account of these shocking events is worthy of recital:—"Upon the 9th day of March instant, we being at even about seven hours (seven o'clock) in our cabinet at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argyle, our brother the Commendator of Holyrood-house, the Laird of Creich, Arthur Erskine, and certain others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of an evil disposition being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh [it was Lent], having almost passed to the end of seven months in our birth [that is, she was seven months gone with child], the king our husband came to us in our cabinet, and placed him beside us at our supper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assisters, boden in warlike manner [arrayed in armour] to the number of eight score persons, or thereby, kept and occupied the whole entry of our palace of

has the stillness of death.—Yonder appears the tall form of the boy Darnley, as goodly in person as vacillating in resolution; yonder he advances with hesitating step, and yet more hesitating purpose, his childish fear having already overcome his childish passion. He is in the plight of a mischievous lad who has fired a mine, and who now, expecting the explosion in remorse and terror, would give his life to quench the train which his own hand lighted.—Yonder—yonder. But I forget the rest of the worthy cut-throats. Help me if you can.

"Summon up," said I, "the Postulate, George Douglas, the most active of the gang. Let him arise at your call—the claimant of wealth which he does not possess—the partaker of the illustrious blood of Douglas, but which in his veins is sullied with illegitimacy. Paint him the ruthless, the daring, the ambitious—so near greatness, yet debarred from it—so near to wealth, yet excluded from possessing it. A political Tantalus, ready to do or dare anything to terminate his necessities, and assert his imperfect claims.

"Who comes next? Yon tall, thin-made, savage-looking man, with the petronel in his hand, must be Andrew Ker of Faldonside, a brother's son, I believe, of the celebrated Sir David Ker of Cessford; his look and bearing those of a Border freebooter; his disposition so savage, that, during the fray in the cabinet, he presented his loaded piece at the bosom of the young and beautiful queen, that queen also being within a few weeks of becoming a mother."—*Introduction to Sir Walter Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth."*

* Blackwood's Life of Queen Mary; Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, in the Memoirs of the Pontificate of Sextus V., quoted in Miss Strickland's Lives, vol. iv. p. 285.

† Narrative of the Slaughter of David Riccio by Ruthven and Morton.



QUEEN MARY'S CHAMBER, WINDSOR

(From the Art Treasures of England)

Holyrood House, so that, as they believed, it was not possible to any person to escape forth of the same. In the meantime, the Lord Ruthven, boden in like manner, with his accomplices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there, seeing our secretary, David Riccio, among our other servants, declared he had to speak to him. In this instant, we required the king our husband, if he knew anything of that enterprise, who denied the same. Also, we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence, declaring we should exhibit the said David before the lords of parliament, to be punished, if any sort he had offended. Notwithstanding, the said Lord Ruthven perforce invaded him in our presence; he [David] then for refuge took safeguard, and retired him behind our back, and Ruthven, with his accomplices, cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands upon him, struck him over our shoulder with whingers, one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs [cocked pistols], most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whingers and swords. In doing thereof, we were not only struck with great dreadour, but also by sundry considerations was most justly induced to take extreme fear of our life.*

Mary and Darnley were left alone together in Mary's danger the cabinet while the assassins and terror. completed their bloody work, she continuing to intercede, with tears, for the life of her unhappy favourite, and her husband assuring her that "no harm was intended." One of Darnley's equerries now entered the room, and Mary eagerly inquired "whether David had been put in ward, and where." "Madam," replied the equerry, "it is useless to speak of David, for the man is dead." This was corroborated by one of the ladies, who rushed into the room, and exclaimed, that "she had seen the mangled remains of the murdered man," and "that it was said all had been done by the king's order." "Is it so?" said the queen; "I will then dry my tears, and study revenge!" But, overcome by the horrors of the scene which she had witnessed, she soon after fell into a swoon, from which, however, she was speedily roused by the entrance of Ruthven, who, reeking from the scene of blood, staggered into the cabinet, and throwing himself upon a seat, called for a cup of wine, complaining that "he was sore felled by his sickness." "Is this your malady?" said the queen, as the ferocious ruffian eagerly drained the goblet, which one of her French pages filled and brought to him. "God forbid your majesty had such," he rejoined. A most undignified scene of mutual reerimination now took place between the queen and her wretched husband, in which he accused her, in gross terms, of too great familiarity with Riccio, while she indignantly declared that she would live with him as his wife no longer. Ruthven here interposed with a remark on conjugal

duties, which drew down upon him the sarcastic rejoinder from Mary—"Others have done the like; why may I not leave him as well as your wife did her husband?" "If her secretary were really slain," she said, "it should be done blind to some of them." "God forbid," replied Ruthven, "for the more your grace showeth yourself offended, the world will judge the worse." Mary told him that "if she and her infant perished, she would leave the revenge thereof to her royal kindred in France and Spain." Ruthven rejoined, that "these noble princes were overgreat persons to meddle with such a poor man as he was; and that if she or her child perished, or any other evil befel the queen in consequence of what was done that night, she must blame her husband, and not any of them." "I trust," was Mary's spirited reply, "that God, who beholdeth this from the high heavens, will avenge my wrongs, and more that which shall be born of me to root out you and your treacherous posterity!"—a denunciation which was strikingly fulfilled in the total ruin of the house of Ruthven, in the reign of Mary's son.

A great clamour now arose below, from the court and lobbies of the palace, and Lord Gray, one of the conspirators, knocked at the door of the royal chamber, to announce that Huntley, Bothwell, and other lords, with their officers and servants, were attempting to rescue the queen, and were fighting in the close with the Earl of Moray and his retainers, who had been entrusted with the guarding the gates of the palace. Ruthven immediately left the room to quell the tumult, telling Darnley, who offered to go down, to "remain where he was, and entertain the queen in the meantime." Huntley and Bothwell, finding themselves greatly outnumbered, consented to a parley with Ruthven, who informed them that the plot was "all revealed by the king, and that the hardened heads were crushed, and would arrive before day;" and assured them "that all disputes should be made up between them and Moray and Argyll to their satisfaction," whereupon they shook hands and drank together. In spite of Ruthven's fair words, however, and their apparent confidence in his assurances, Bothwell and Huntley, knowing that they were probably obnoxious to the conspirators, had no time in obtaining their escape through a window towards the garden on the north side of the palace, where some lions and other wild animals were kept. The Earl of Atholl, the Lords Forrester and Galloway, and Sir James Ralston, were perceived quondam to retire, which they readily did, in fear of their lives. Ruthven, after the termination of the interference with Bothwell and Huntley, returned to the queen's chamber, and received his brutal attack on the unhappy princess; assuming her of tyranny and misgovernment, and asserting that she had for a long time been under the influence of "a cunning Italian, who had ruled and guided the country without the ability and counsel, especially against

* Queen Mary's Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Keith, vol. ii. pp. 411—415.

• Narrative of Bothwell and Mary.

those noblemen that were banished, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations, with whom she was confederate;" and informing her that the exiled lords "had been sent for by the king, and would return on the morrow, to take part with them against her."

Meanwhile, the friends of the queen, who had succeeded in effecting their escape, made known Abortive attempt her perilous situation to the provost at a rescue. of the city, Preston of Craigmillar, who caused the common bell to be rung, and at the head of five hundred burgesses, who hastily assembled in arms at the summons, hurried to the palace, and demanded to see and speak with their sovereign, that she might personally assure them of her welfare. But Mary was not permitted to approach the windows, or to hold any intercourse with her faithful subjects; and, as she afterwards wrote to her ambassador in France, she "was extremely threatened by the traitors, who in her face declared that, if she spoke to the townspeople, they would cut her in collops, and cast her over the walls."* In her stead, her despicable husband, being thrust forward, opened the window, and informed the crowd that the queen and he were well, and did not require their assistance. "Let us see our queen, and hear her speak for herself!" was the exclamation of the provost and his followers; to which Darnley imperiously rejoined—"Provost, know you not I am king? I command you and your company to pass home to your houses." The citizens, in a state of great irritation, threatened to devote the queen's enemies in the palace to fire and sword; but on being solemnly assured by the conspirators "that the Italian secretary was slain, because he had been detected in an intrigue with the Pope, the King of Spain, and other foreign potentates, for the purpose of destroying the true Evangile, and introducing Popery again into Scotland," they consented to return home.†

The poor queen was by this time in such a state of faintness and complete exhaustion as to be incapable of utterance; and Ruthven, perceiving at length that she was very ill, proposed to Darnley that they should retire and leave her to take some repose; which they accordingly did, taking care, however, to station a sufficient guard at the door of her chamber. "All that night," says Mary, "we were detained in a captivity within our chamber, and not permitted to have intercommunion scarcely with our servant women."‡

"The next morning being Sunday," says Sir James Melvil, "I was letten forth of the gates, for I lay therein. Passing through the outer close, the queen's majesty was looking forth of a window and cried unto me to help her. Then I drew near unto the window, and asked, 'What help lay in my power, for that I should give?' she said, 'Go to the provost of Edinburgh, and bid him convene the town with speed, and come and release me out

of these traitors' hands; but run fast,' she said, 'for they will stay you.' The words were scarcely spoken when Nisbet, master of the household to the Earl of Lennox, was sent with a company to stay me, to whom I gave good words, and said, 'I was only passing to the preaching at St. Giles's church,' for it was Sunday; but I went with speed to the provost, and told him my commission from the queen;" but the provost alleged that he did not know how to act, for he had received contrary commands from the king, and besides, the people, he said, were not disposed to take up arms to revenge Riccio's death. Sir James was, therefore, obliged to send word to the queen through one of her ladies, that he could not effect her release.*

Darnley, in the meantime, assuming the supreme power, issued his royal letters, dissolving the parliament, and enjoining all the members to leave the capital within three hours, "under pain of loss of life, lands, and goods, except only such as the king by his special command caused to remain." Proclamation was also made at the market cross, that none but Protestants should be suffered to leave their houses; and the magistrates were enjoined to arm a strong guard to enforce obedience to these arbitrary mandates.†

Mary was now fully alive to the horrors of her situation,—a prisoner in the hands of a band of brutal assassins, by whom all her motions were watched, she had too good reason to suspect that they would not scruple at any measures to accomplish their purposes. These apprehensions threw her into a state of delirious agony, in which she imagined that Ruthven was coming to murder her; and so great was her excitement and terror, that she was in danger of a miscarriage.‡ No person was allowed to enter her chamber without the express permission of the conspirators, and it was not without the greatest difficulty, and after several hours' delay, that Darnley, who had begun to relent at the sight of his consort's distress, obtained permission for her gentlwomen to go to her assistance. Morton and Ruthven strongly objected to this concession, alleging that "it would be extremely hazardous, as they feared the queen would be able through her ladies to communicate with her nobles."§ The suspicions of these crafty and cold-blooded plotters were well founded, for Mary speedily availed herself of the services of her faithful attendants to carry out a project for her deliverance. Through the agency of Mary Livingston, the black box containing the queen's secret foreign correspondence, and the keys of her various ciphers, was brought from David Riccio's chamber, where it had been deposited. Letters were then written and sent to the Earls of Atholl, Argyle, Bothwell, and other barons friendly to the queen, and intimation was also conveyed to Arthur Erskine, and several other trustworthy servants, of

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 150.

† Morton and Ruthven's Narrative; Appendix to Keith.

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 91.

§ Morton and Ruthven's Narrative.

* Queen Mary's Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

† Italian Memorial in Labanoff's Appendix, vol. vii.

‡ Queen Mary's Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

her intention to attempt her escape to Seton-house. The conspirators meanwhile kept a strict watch on the queen and her female attendants, and, so strong were their apprehensions that she might escape from their grasp, that they issued strict orders that no lady should be allowed to pass "muffled" from the queen's chamber;* and, knowing Darnley's weak and vacillating character, and observing some symptoms of returning affection for his beautiful consort, they expressed their dissatisfaction when he informed them that he had so effectually soothed the terrors of his royal wife that she had consented that he should pass the night with her. Morton having declared that "it was necessary that he, as chancellor, should confer with the queen on the subject of the crown-matrimonial, and also that of the return of the banished lords," Mary granted him the audience which, indeed, she had no power to refuse. On entering her chamber he said, that "he had not come to ask pardon in the case of David, seeing he was wholly innocent of his slaughter, but to inquire her pleasure about the Estates of parliament, and whether she meant to deny the crown-matrimonial to her husband." "My cousin," replied the queen, "I have never refused to honour my husband to the utmost of my power, and since I have espoused him, I have continually procured for him everything I could for his aggrandisement, but the persons to whom the king now gives his confidence are those who have always dissuaded me from it." To this implied reproach, Morton, who was one of the most prominent of the advisers referred to, answered only by urging her to do what was required of her; but Mary refused, observing that, "as she was a prisoner, all she might do would be invalid, and foreign princes would say that her subjects had given laws to their sovereign—an example very improper to establish."†

In the course of the evening the Earls of Moray and Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other banished lords, according to previous concert, arrived in the capital, escorted by a thousand horsemen under the command of Lord Home, and proceeded straight to the palace, where they were cordially welcomed by Darnley. As soon as Mary heard of their arrival she instantly sent for Moray, and, throwing herself into his arms, kissed and embraced him many times, exclaiming at the same time, "If my brother had been here, he never would have allowed me to be so cruelly handled!"‡ Tears fell from Moray's eyes at this pathetic appeal; and "seeing our state and entertainment," says Mary, "he was moved with natural affection towards us."§ She assured him that "it was no fault of hers that he had been so long away, for it was well known she would have restored him long ago, but for displeasing others;" and told him "he was welcome, and promised if he would return to his allegiance and be a good subject, she would

be to him all he could require."* Moray, in reply, "protested his innocence of ever having entertained evil intentions against her," declared that he had no power to restore her to liberty, as she urgently entreated him to do, but made many professions of his good will and compassion for her sufferings. His obligations, however, to the men who had benefited their estates and lives on his arduous campaign to labour for their safety, and he at once assumed the lead in their councils. Mary asserts that they meditated the darkest designs against her authority and person: "Upon the morn," she says, "Moray assembled the enterprisers of this late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him; in their council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved in parliament all their wished enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown-matrimonial, or else, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put us to death."†

Darnley, meanwhile, was seized with the irresolution and fear which it has been justly said, in minds like his, often follow acts of extravagant violence. The queen observed his vacillation, as well as the symptoms of his returning affection, and, exerting all her powers of fascination, she succeeded in disengaging him from his blood-stained associates. Appearing at once to his fears and his sympathy, she represented to him that he was a mere tool in the hands of men who were equally hostile to him as to her; that their barbarous proceedings had periled the life both of his consort and of his unborn infant; and that, to justify their guilty ambition, they would not hesitate to destroy him as soon as he had served their purpose. The weak and facile king was easily won by her persuasive arguments, and restrained her forgiveness, offering at the same time to do anything she desired. It was then agreed between them that Mary should appear resigned to her situation, and express her willingness to sign and publish every-

* Randolph and Bedford to Cecil.

† Such suspicions were natural in Mary's situation, and some of her partisans affirm that the conspirators had formally determined to proceed to the utmost extremities against their sovereign. If these assertions are to be believed, a select meeting was held on the Sabbath evening at Morton's house to determine the question of Mary's life or death. The matter was referred to the instance of Moray, who unhesitatingly gave his royal consent for the royal sister, declaring that the conspirators must go so far to proceed with safety, for they could expect no grace from the queen, therefore it behoved them to take such measures as the laws of self-preservation permitted. And even if it were possible for a portion of her high spirit to forgive such an outrage, there could be no security for their religion if she were restored to her throne, as it is "Some of the more sensible of her party, however, alleged, having proposed that she should be confined to some strict place of confinement, and not to be visited till after the birth of her child, in whose name she should govern under the title of a Council of Regency." "The queen replied that delays were dangerous, and it was not wise to themselves in a perilous situation, and it was not to be dally." These statements, however, rest only on the authority of violent partisans, whose evidence is wholly unworthy of credit. See Mackenzie's *Life of Queen Mary*, Maitland Club edition; Strickland's *Lives*, vol. iv. p. 267.

* Morton and Ruthven's Narrative; Appendix to Keith.

† Second Italian Memorial in Labanoff's Appendix; Strickland's *Lives*, vol. iv. p. 301.

‡ Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 150.

§ Mary to Beaton, Keith, vol. ii. p. 419.

thing the conspirators demanded; and Darnley informed Morton and his accomplices that he had prevailed upon the queen to grant them an audience, and "to forgive all their offences, which she would dismiss from her mind, as though they had never been." They strongly distrusted the queen's sincerity, however, and insisted that she meant only to betray them. "It is all words," said they, "and instead of your persuading her, we fear she will persuade you to her desire, for she has been trained up in the court of France. Fair speaking is but policy, and such promises will never be performed."* But Darnley insisted that Mary was a true princess, and declared that he would stake his life for her faith and honour.† On the afternoon of Monday, the 11th, he led the principal conspirators to her chamber, where she listened to their defence and their promises of obedience for the future, and assured them of her readiness to pardon their offence, bidding them "prepare their own securities, and she would subscribe them." But as they still manifested their distrust of her promises, and their reluctance to remove their guards from the palace, on the evening of the same day another conference took place, the particulars of which are thus recorded by a contemporary writer:—"And all the 11th of March our sovereign lady was holden in captivity within her chamber in Holyrood-house till even; and at even it was convened between our said sovereign lady and all the lords committers of the slaughter, except my Lord Ruthven (whom she would not allow to come in her presence, because he was the principal man that came in her cabinet to commit the said slaughter), and with all the remaining lords banished before, as said is, that her majesty would give them remission for all crimes bygone unto the said eleventh day; and albeit she would subscribe their remission instantly, she said, because she was holden in captivity, it would do them no good; and to satisfy them more pleasantly, she said she would pass the morn, God willing, to the Tolbooth, and there, by consent of parliament, make an act of remission to them for the crimes above written; and, this said, she drank to every one of them in special."‡ Having promised this formal remission of their crime, Mary requested the conspirators "to deliver the keys of her palace to her servants, and leave her chamber to her own officials the same as it was wont to be, because for the last two nights she had taken no rest." Darnley enforced her request, promising "to be her keeper himself for that night, and to take very good care of her, if so be they would rid the palace of strangers, and trust her in his hands;"§ and also representing that she was now so ill and exhausted, that she could scarcely stand, and was

therefore wholly unable to make any efforts to escape. Morton, Ruthven, and their associates, showed the greatest reluctance to consent to this arrangement; and Ruthven, in particular, protested that "whatever bloodshed or mischief should ensue thereupon, should fall upon the king's head and his posterity." Darnley answered that "he would warrant them all;" and the conspirators at length, with many misgivings, withdrew their retainers from the palace, permitted the household servants to resume their charge, and went to sup at the house of Morton, the chancellor.

To lull suspicion, the queen and her husband retired to rest; but two hours after midnight they arose, and attended only by one maid, stealthily descended a secret stair to a postern leading through the cemetery of the chapel royal, at the outer gate of which Lord Traquair, the captain of the guard, Arthur Erskine, the queen's equerry, Sir William Standen, Darnley's master of the horse, and Bastian, one of the household servants, were in waiting. Mary was placed on horseback behind Arthur Erskine. Lord Traquair took her maid behind him,* and, thus arranged, the little cavalcade, consisting of seven persons, left the precincts of the palace unperceived, and arrived in safety at Seton-house, where Lord Seton was in readiness, with two hundred armed men, to escort his sovereign and her consort to Dunbar, which they reached before sunrise.† Their intentions had been communicated to Huntley and Bothwell, and these powerful nobles hastened, with their retainers, to join the royal standard. Great numbers of the barons and gentry of the kingdom speedily followed their example, and the queen, in a few days, found herself at the head of an army of eight thousand men.

The conspirators were filled with consternation when they heard that the queen had escaped from their grasp, and that all their plans were completely frustrated by the defection of Darnley, and his reconciliation with his consort. It soon became evident that they would find no support in the country, and that all ranks were prepared to rally round the throne, and to defend their sovereign against the perpetrators of the brutal murder which had been committed in her presence. In this altered state of affairs, the conspirators dispatched Lord Sempill to Dunbar, with an humble supplication to her majesty to sign their securities, and perform the other articles of her engagement; but he was dismissed with an unfavourable answer. It soon became evident that Mary did not consider herself bound by any promises extorted from her while a prisoner in the hands of the murderers of Riccio. She directed a

* Morton and Ruthven's Narrative; Appendix to Keith.

† Ibid.

‡ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 92.

§ "To avoid them of our palace, with their guards and assistants, the king promised to keep us that night in sure guard, and that without compulsion he should cause us in parliament approve all their conspiracies. By this wayen he caused them to retire them out of our palace."—*Queen Mary's Letter to Beaton.*

* Miss Strickland, vol. iv. p. 317.

† "The first thing the queen did, was to order a fire to be made to warm her, and asked for some new laid eggs: when the said eggs were brought to the queen, she herself put them on the fire to cook."—*Memorial on Scotch Affairs, addressed to Cosmo de Medicis; Labanoff's Appendix, vol. vii.*

writ of treason to be issued against Morton, Lethington, and their accomplices, and summoned her faithful subjects to meet her in arms at Muselburgh, on the 17th of March. The rebel confederacy immediately broke up. The Earls of

Flight of the Rothcs and Glencairn hastened to conspirators. Dunbar, threw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign, and were pardoned; while Lethington retired to Dunkeld, and Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, Kerr, and George Douglas, fled with the utmost precipitation to Newcastle. After remaining five days at Dunbar, the queen proceeded to Haddington, where she held a council (March 17th), and made various important changes in her administration. Morton was deprived of the office of Lord Chancellor, which was bestowed on the Earl of Huntley; Sir James Balfour was made Clerk-register, in the room of McGill; Lethington was stripped of the rich abbacy of Haddington, which was transferred to the Earl of Bothwell. This highly-favoured noble was also reinstated in his hereditary office of Lord Admiral, confirmed in the appointment of Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and made Captain of Dunbar, so that the whole military force of the crown was confided to his charge.

In the critical situation in which the queen was now placed, she prudently resolved to make a distinction between the old and the new rebels, and to pardon the Earl of Moray and the other insurgent lords, on condition that they should detach themselves from the murderers of Riccio. To this they readily agreed. Moray sent Sir James Melvil to the queen at Haddington, with

Moray and his associates pardoned. letters protesting his own innocence, and his repudiation of those who had committed the late odious crime, solemnly pledging himself to have nothing more to do with them; on which Mary immediately signed the remission for her brother, and the other barons who had returned with him from England, merely stipulating that they should "nowise apply themselves to the last conspirators, and should retire themselves into Argyle during her will."

Next day (March 18) the queen and her husband returned to the capital, escorted by the nobles of her party and their followers, amounting to about nine thousand men, and took up her residence, not in the palace of Holyrood, but in Lord Home's house, in the High-street, called the old Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging. Mary's first care was to protect her consort from the consequences of his crime, by granting him full remission for every kind of treason that could be laid to his charge, "that if, in case of her death," she said, "proceedings should be instituted against him, he might be able to plead her forgiveness." Darnley himself, it is supposed by Mary's desire, appeared before the Council, on the 29th of March, and most solemnly protested that "he was innocent of the late treason and slaughter committed in the Abbey of

Holyrood, and the detention of the queen; that he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same; and that all he had to do with it was, his being so far overseen as to give consent, unknown to her majesty, for the return of the Earl of Moray and the other lords from England." On the next day, proclamation to the same effect was made at the Cross, and it was forbidden, under penalty of treason, for any one to say that the king was either art or part in the conspiracy. Proceedings were immediately instituted against Morton, Ruthven, and the rest of the fugitive conspirators, who were summoned to answer for their offences, and having failed to appear, they were outlawed, and their possessions forfeited to the crown. Seven of the murderers of Riccio were brought to trial, but only two of them were executed—"Henry Yair, formerly a priest, but now a retainer of Lord Ruthven, and Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth." Two others, Harlaw and Mowbray, burghesses of Edinburgh, were also condemned to death, but were executed at the place of execution, through the intervention of the Earl of Bothwell.

Darnley, not contented with having deserted his fellow-conspirators, and publicly denying all knowledge of the conspiracy, begged himself to bring his accomplices to justice, and strove to influence the queen's resentment against them: "As they have brewed, so let them drink," was his contemptuous remark, when he was informed that they had sought refuge in flight.* This behaviour naturally enraged them to the utmost, and they revenged themselves by accusing him as the contriver of the plot, and laying before the queen the evidence of his guilt. "The queen," writes Randolph to Cecil, "hath seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords, and now findeth that his declaration before her and the Council of his innocency of the death of David was false, and is grievously offended that by their means he should seek to come to the crown matrimonial." Mary was deeply wounded by this discovery. She had before this lamented to Melvil "the king's folly, unthankfulness, and misbehaviour," but he was now proved to be a traitor and a liar, alike to his consort and to his associates. "That very power which, with liberal and unmerciful fondness, she had conferred upon him, he had employed to insult her authority, to usurp her prerogative, and to endanger her person; such an outrage it was impossible any woman could bear or forgive. Cold civilities, sweet discourses, frequent quarrels, succeeded to their former transports of affection and confidence. The queen's favours were no longer conveyed through his hands. The crowd of expectants ceased to court his patronage, which they found to avail so little. Among the nobles, some dreaded his furious temper, others

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 153.

† State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, April 6.

complained of his perfidiousness, and all of them despised the weakness of his understanding and the inconstancy of his heart. * * * The aversion of the queen for him increased every day, and could no longer be concealed. He was often absent from court, appeared there with little splendour, and was trusted with no power. Avoided equally by those who endeavoured to please the queen, who favoured Morton and his associates, or who adhered to the house of Hamilton, he was left almost alone in a neglected and unpitied solitude.* Smarting under the distrust and contempt with which he was now regarded, he passionately exclaimed, "That since he was held in so little account, he repented him of having forsaken the lords."† It is said that he even attempted to form a new confederacy with Moray and Argyle, but they prudently refused to hold any communication with him.

The situation of the unhappy queen at this Her trying critical period was exceedingly situation. perplexing. Betrayed by her own husband, and surrounded by selfish, unprincipled, and treacherous counsellors, she knew not where to turn for assistance and trustworthy advice. In the extremity of her wretchedness, she at one time entertained the design of retiring to France, and entrusting the government of her realm to a provisional regency, composed of five of her principal lords—Moray, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, and Huntly.‡ It was even reported at the time that she meditated a divorce from her worthless husband, and that she had sent an envoy, named Thornton, to Rome for that purpose.§ In a letter written about this period to one of her female relatives in France, she says touchingly, "It will grieve you to hear how entirely, in a very short time, I have changed my character, from that of the most easily satisfied and care-chasing of mortals, to one embroiled in constant turmoils and perplexities." "She was sad and pensive," says Sir James Melvil, "for the late foul act committed in her presence so irreverently. So many great sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her, and over few were careful to comfort her."

In the midst of these anxieties and griefs, the time for the queen's delivery drew near, and, by the advice of her Privy Council, she went to reside in the castle of Edinburgh, as the place of greatest security, till the birth of the expected heir to the crown. Here she received a visit from Mauvissière de Castelnau, who was sent by the king and Queen-mother of France to congratulate the Scottish queen on her escape from her recent peril. In the train of the French ambassador came Joseph Riccio, David's brother, whom Mary appointed to the office of secretary, left vacant by the murder—an unpopular step—which, however, may be ex-

cused, if not justified, by the difficulty of finding among her courtiers a trustworthy person to whom she could confide the charge of her private correspondence. As the time of her confinement approached, her resentment towards Darnley appears to have somewhat abated, and she exerted herself, with considerable success, to com- Her exertions pose the differences between Moray, to reconcile her nobles. Huntley, Bothwell, Atholl, Argyle, and others of her nobles, who had long been at deadly feud with each other, and prevailed upon them to meet amicably at a banquet which she gave to celebrate their reconciliation.* Her mind seems to have been haunted with the apprehension of a fresh attack, at this critical moment, from the murderers of Riccio, and she sent an earnest request to the English queen that she would not continue to harbour those traitors who had sought her life. In answer to this re- Elizabeth's duplicity. monstrance, Elizabeth assured her sister sovereign that she had dismissed Morton and his associates from her dominions—a statement which was, however, not consistent with truth; for though they were ordered to depart from Newcastle, it was at the same time significantly hinted to them that "England was a wide field, and they would find as good accommodation elsewhere, and nearer Scotland;" and they accordingly shifted their quarters to Alnwick, a few miles from the Scottish border. Early in June, Mary wrote letters to her principal nobility, requiring their presence in the metropolis, as the time of her confinement was at hand. She then made her will, which she caused to be thrice transcribed; one copy was sent to France, a second committed to the charge of her Privy Council, and the third she kept herself.† The day preceding her delivery she wrote with her own hand a letter to Elizabeth, announcing the event, but leaving a blank "to be filled," says Melvil, "either with a son or a daughter, as it might please God to grant unto her."

On Wednesday, the 19th of June, the queen was safely delivered of a son, "whose Birth of birth was happy for the whole James VI. island, and unfortunate to her alone." The happy tidings of the safety of the queen, and birth of the heir to the throne, were announced by a discharge of the castle guns, which were within a few yards of the royal bed. About two o'clock the same afternoon Darnley came to visit the queen, and expressed a desire to see the child. "My lord," said Mary, "God has given you and me a son, whose paternity is of none but you." Darnley blushed as he stooped and kissed the child. Mary then taking the infant in her arms, and uncovering his face, said to her husband, "My lord, here I protest to God, and as I shall answer to them at the great day of judgment, this is your son, and no other man's son. He is indeed so much your son,

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 316; Melvil's Memoirs, p. 153.

† Ibid.

‡ Lethington to Randolph, April 27th.

§ Randolph to Cecil, April 25th, 1566.

* Randolph to Cecil, 2nd April, 1566; and Robert Melvil to Cecil, 3rd April, 1566.

† Randolph to Cecil, June 7th.

that I only fear it will be the worse for him hereafter." Then turning to Sir W. Standen, Darnley's principal English servant, Mary added, "This is the son whom I hope shall first unite the two kingdoms of Scotland and England."—"Why, madam," answered Sir William, "shall he succeed before your majesty and his father?"—"Alas!" replied Mary, "his father has broken to me." Hearing these words, Darnley, who still stood near, said, "Sweet madam, is this your promise that you made to forget and forgive all?"—"I have forgiven all," observed the queen, "but will never forget. What if Faudonside's pistol had shot—what would have become of him and me both, and what estate would you have been in? God only knows, but we may suspect."—"Madam," answered Darnley, "these things are all past."—"Then," said the queen, "let them go."*

The intelligence of the birth of the heir to the throne was received everywhere throughout Scotland with demonstrations of the greatest joy. "As the birth of a prince," says Keith, "was one of the greatest of blessings that God could bestow upon this poor, divided land, so was the same most thankfully acknowledged by all ranks of people, according as the welcome news thereof reached their ears." In Edinburgh, all the nobility in town, accompanied by a vast concourse of the citizens, went in solemn procession next day to the High Church, and offered up thanksgiving to God for the safety of the queen, and the national blessing which had been granted in the birth of an heir to the crown. The General Assembly of the Church at the same time met, and agreed to send Spottiswood, the Superintendent of Lothian, the father of Archbishop Spottiswood of St. Andrew's, to congratulate the queen upon her delivery, and to request her to permit her son to be baptised and brought up in the Protestant faith. Mary received the superintendent very graciously, but she smiled and was silent when he expressed the wishes of his brethren respecting the education of the prince. She commanded the child to be brought into the room, and shown to the venerable

divine. Taking the infant in his arms, he fell upon his knees, and uttered an earnest prayer in behalf of the new-born heir to the crown. At its conclusion, he playfully asked the babe to "say Amen for himself;" and some little cooing murmur having, it is said, escaped the unconscious lips of the child, Mary was much pleased, and "ever after called the superintendent her Amen. The young prince did the same, when he was old enough to understand the story, and whilst he lived did respect and reverence him as his spiritual father."†

Sir James Melvil was immediately dispatched to London with the tidings of the auspicious event of an heir to the Scottish throne. He took horse at noon, and rode to Berwick that night, and on the fourth day he reached London—a degree of despatch very unusual in those times. Melvil found Elizabeth at Greenwich, "where her majesty was in great merriness, and dancing after supper. But so soon as the secretary, Cecil, sounded in her ears the news of the prince's birth, all merriness was laid aside for that night, every one that was present marvelled what might mean so sudden a change; for the queen sat down with her hand on her haffet (cheek), and bursting out to some of her ladies how that the Queen of Scotland was the mother of a fine son, and that she was but a barren stock." On the following morning, however, when Melvil had his audience, she behaved with her usual duplicity. The joyful tidings, she said, had cured her of a fifteen days' sickness; "therefore she welcomed him with a merry countenance, and thanked him for the diligence he had used in hastening to give her that welcome intelligence." "Then I requested her majesty," says Melvil, "to be a gossip unto the queen, for our country are called gossips in England, which she granted gladly to be. Then I said her majesty would have a fair occasion to see the queen, which she had so oft desired. At this she smiled, and said that she would wish that her estate and affairs might permit her, and promised to send both honorable lords and ladies to supply her room."‡

* History of Mary Queen of Scots, by Lord Herries; Chambers's Life of James VI., p. 19.

† Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland.
‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 169.

APPENDIX.

*• It has been found necessary to add a number of additional Notes, but in all cases there is a reference to the page which the Note is intended to illustrate.

NOTE A, p. 83.

Letter from the Estates of Scotland to King Edward respecting the marriage of the Princess Margaret to Prince Edward.

“*LITERA Communitatis Scotiæ, per quam consunt Regi Angliæ quod matrimonium fiat inter Primogenitum suum et natam Regis Norwegiæ, Hæredem Scotiæ; et etiam per quam petunt quod Rex Angliæ, concedat eis Petitionem suam, quam petiituri sunt per Nuncios suos, in Parlamento ipsius Regis.*

“*A tres noble Prince Edward, par la grace de Deu, Roy de Engleterre, Seygnur de Yrland, et Duk de Aquitain.*

“*Guillame, e Robert, par mème, et cele grace, de Saint Andreu, de Glasgu Evesques.*

Johan Comyn, et	}	Gardeyns du Reaume de Escocce.
James Seneschal de Escose,		

Maheu, Evesque de Dunkeldin.
 Archebaud, Evesk de Moref.
 Henry, Eveske de Abirdene.
 Guillame, Evesque de Dunblain.
 Marc, Evesque de Man.
 Henry, Evesque de Gallway.
 Guillame, Evesque de Brechin.
 Alayn, Evesque de Catenes.
 Robert, Evesque de Ross, et
 Laurence, Evesque de Ergaythil.

CONTES.

Maliz, de Strathern.
 Patric, de Dunbar.
 Johan Comyn de Buchan.
 Dovenald de Mar.
 Gilbert de Humfranvil, de Anegos.
 Johan de Ascelis.
 Gaultier, de Meneteth.
 Robert de Brus de Carrik.
 Guillame, de Ros.
 Malcolme, de Lovenaus.

BARONS.

Robert de Brus, Seygnur de Val de Anaunt.
 Guillame de Moref.
 Guillame de Soulys.
 Alisaundre de Ergayl.
 Alisaundre de Bayliol, de Kaners.
 Geffray de Moubray
 Nicol de Graham.
 Nicol de Lugir.

Inkeram de Bailioli.
 Richard Siward.
 Herbert de Macswell.
 David le Mariscal.
 Ingeram de Gynes.
 Thomas Randolph.
 Guillame Comyn, Seygnur de Kirketolac.
 Simon Fraser.
 Renaud le Chen le Pere.
 Renaud le Chen le Fitz.
 Andreu de Moref.
 Johannes de Soules.
 Nicol de la Haye.
 Guillame de la Haye.
 Robert de Cambron.
 Guillame de Seincler.
 Patrick de Grame.
 Johannes de Estrivelin.
 Johannes de Kalentir.
 Johan de Malovile.
 Johan de Seneschal.
 Johan de Gleneak.

Alisaundre de Bonkyll.
 Bertram de Cardenes.
 Donenald le fit Can.
 Magnus de Fetherich.
 Robert de Fleyming.
 Guillame de Moref, de Drumsergard.
 David de Betume.
 Guillame de Duglas.
 Alisaundre de Lyndeseye.
 Alisaundre de Meneteth.
 Alisaundre de Meners.
 Guillame de Muhaut.
 Thomas de Somervil.
 Johan de Inchmartin.
 Johan de Vaus.
 Johan de Moref.
 Malcolom de Ferendrauc.
 Johan de Carniauth.
 Guillame de Sotherland.
 Johan de Catenes.

ABBES.

De Kelquou.
 De Meuros.
 De Dunfermlin.
 De Aberbrothok.
 De la Seinte Croys.
 De Cambuskinet.

De Kupre.
 De Driburgh.
 De Newbotil.
 De Passelay.
 De Jedeworth.
 De Londors.
 De Balmorinauc.
 De Glenluce.
 De Kilwynun.
 De Incheufuran.
 De Culros.
 De Dundraynan.
 De Darwongvil.
 De Kinlos.
 De Deer.
 De Yeclunkile et
 De Tungeland.

PRIORS.

De Saint Andreu.
 De Coldingham et
 De Leasmahagu.
 De Pluscardin.
 De Beaulou.
 De Hurward.
 De Wytherne.
 De Restinolk.
 De May.
 De Cononby.
 De Blantir.

“*Du Realme de Escose saluz, et totes honors.*

“*Pur la vostre bone fame, et pur la droytete ke vous fetes si communement a tut, et pur le bon voysinage et le grant profit, que le Reaume de Escocce a rescu de vous, et vouster Pere, et de vous Auncestres, du tens cea en arere.*

“*Sumes nus mut leez et joyus de ascones noveles, que mult de gent parlent, ke le Apostoyll deust aver otrete et fet dispensation, ke Mariage se puist fere entre mun Sire Eduard, vostre Fitz, et Dame Margaret Reyne de Escocce, nostres tres chere Dame, non ostant procheinete de Saunk; et prium vostre hautesse ke vous plesse certefier nous de ceste chose.*

“*Kar, si la dispensacion graunte, vous seite graute, nus des hore, ke le mariage de eus face, otreom e nostre acord, et nostre assent ydonom; et ke vous facez a nuz les choses, que nos messages, que nous enverrom a vostre Parlement, vous mustrunt de par nus, que resonables serrent,*

“*Et si ele seit a purchacer, nus, pur le grant biens e profit, que purrunt de cos avncir al'un e le autre Reaume, mettrom volenters conseyl, ensemblement ovesque vous, coment ele seite purchase.*

"E, pur ceste chose, e autres, ko tuchent l'estat du Reaume de Escoce, sur queux nous aurom mester de aver seurte de vous; nous avauntdit Gardeyns, Evesques, Countes, Abbez, Priurs, o Barons, en-voïoms a vous, a Londres, a vostre Parlement de Pasch prochain avenir, do bone gent du Reaume de Escoce, pur cus, et pur tote la Commune de Escoce.

"Et, en tesmoignance do avauntdites choses, nous, Gardeyns du Reaume, Prelats, Countes, e Barons avauntditz, en nom de nous, et de tote la Commune, la Seel Conun, que nus usom en Escoce, ou nun de nostre Dame avauntdyte, aurom fet mettre a ceste lettre,

"Done a Briggeham, lo vendredo procheyn apres la Feste Saint Gregorie, le an de nostre Seygnur. 1289."

NOTE B, p. 83.

Letter of the Estate of Scotland to Eric, King of Norway, respecting his daughter, the Princess Margaret.

"A tress noble prince, Sire Eyrik, par lo grace de Deu, Roy de Norway, Guillaume Robert, par meme cele grace, de Saint Andreu e de Glasgu Eveskes, Johan Comyn, & James Senescal de Escoce, Gardains de Reaume de Escoce, e tote la commune de meyme cel Reaume, salut & totes honours.

"Comme nus feumes certayns ke vous Scots desirous del' honur, & del' profist de nostre Dame, vostre fille, et a'e tut le Reaume de Escoce, par encheson de lye; le Apostoylle ad grante, & fete dispencacion, solom ceo ke comunement est parle en diverses partys de Mound, ke le Fitz & le Heyr le Roy de Engleterre pusse nostre dame, vostre fille, en femme prendre, nin ostant procheynette de Saunk.

"Nous, par commun assent de tut le Reaums de Escoce, e pur le grant profits de l'un & de l'autre Reaume, ke le mariage se face, si issint seit, avums uniement accorde, e comunement assentu.

"Pur la queu choso nus priums & requerums vostre hautessel, ke il vous pleyse issint ordiner, e ceste bosoyne adreeser endroit de vous: ko meymo cele vostre fille Dame puyse en Engleterre venir a plus toust ke estre purra.

"Issint ke, a plus tart, seit en meyme la terre avaunte la tut Seynt procheyn avenir, si com, de sa venue, est accorde, devaunt l'avaunt dyt Roys de Engleterre, entre nous & vos messages, ke il oehes vyndrunt de par vus.

"Et taunt en facet, Sire, si vous plect, ke nous vous saums le plus tenu a tou Jurs: ke, si il avenoyt ke vous ceste chose ne feisset, il nus convendroit, en ceste chose, prendre le meillour conseil ke Deus nus dorra pur lo estat du Reaume, & la bone gent de la terre.

"En tesmonage de les avauntdite choses nus, Gardeyns du Reaume, et la commune avandtyt, en nom de nous le Scal commun, que nous usom en

Escoce, en nom de nostre Dame avauntdyt, avum fet mettre a ceste lettre.

"Donne a Brigham, le Vendredo procheyn apres la Feste Seynt Gregorie, le An de nostre Hyygnur, 1289."

NOTE C, p. 86.

Letter from Andreas de Moravia and William Wallace to the Mayors and Commons of Lubeck and Hamburg, dated October 11, 1297.

"Andreas de Moravia et Wilhelmus Wallace, duces exercitus regni Scotie et Communitas eadem regni, providis viris et discretis ac amice dilectis, majoribus et communitibus de Lubeck et de Hamburg, salutem et sinceram dilectionis semper incrementum.

"Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotie est intimatum, quod vos vestri gratia, in omnibus causis et negotiis, nos et ipsos mercatoribus tangentibus, consulentes, auxiliantes et favorabiles estis, licet nostra non prececeriat merita, et idcirco magis vobis tenemur ad gratas cum digna remuneracione, ad quam vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatinus prececonisari facere velitis inter mercatores vestros, quod accerum mercatorum ad nos portus regni Scotie possint habere cum mercatoribus suis, quia regnum Scotie, Deo propitiante, ab Anglorum potestate bello est recuperatum. — Valeat.

"Datum apud Badingtonam (Haddington) in Scotia, undecimo de Octobris, anno Gratie, millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo septimo. Rogamus vos insuper ut negocia Johannis Burget, et Johannis Frere mercatorum nostrorum, promovendi dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum vestrorum promoveri velitis. — Valeat. Datum ut prius." — *Wallace Papers*, No. xv.

At the time when this letter was written, there was a great dearth, and famine raged in Scotland, and Wallace led his army into England for the purpose of living upon the enemy. The letter to the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg was evidently written on the march into Northumberland. We learn from Langstaff's *Chronicle*, that Wallace sent a mission to Flanders immediately after the battle of Stirling.

"After this batalle, the Scotie went over the se
A boy of their race, yung and digne
To Flanders had him fare, through lang and dre
Of Edward where he ware to tryng that wayne."

It is probable that this boy or page who was sent to spy out the motions of Edward, was the bearer of the letter to the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg.

NOTE D (I.), p. 101.

Battle of Falkirk.

Special mention is made by the English historians of the tall and stately person, as well as the unswerving faith, of the Scottish hero, and their overthrow has been thus described by an elegant, modern poetess, whose subject led her to

"The decisive victory of Stirling Bridge had been gained a month before this letter was written."
† Disguised. ; Langstaff, vol. ii. p. 226.

treat of the calamitous engagement in which they fell :—

“The glance of the morn had sparkled bright
On their plumage green and their accions light ;
The bugle was strung at each hunter's side,
As they had been bound to the chase to ride ;
But the bugle is mute, and the shafts are spent,
The arm unnerved, and the bow unbent,
And the tired forester is laid
Far, far from the clustering greenwood shade !
Sore have they toiled—they are fallen asleep,
And their slumber is heavy, and dull, and deep !
When over their bones the grass shall wave,
When the wild winds over their tombs shall rave,
Memory shall lean on their graves, and tell
How Selkirk's hunters bold around old Stewart fell !”

Wallace, or the Fight of Falkirk, by Miss Holford.

NOTE E (II.), p. 110.

Surrender of Stirling Castle.

“The form of the reddition of Stirling is a singular instrument, and well deserving the perusal of every one who wishes to read *manners* as well as *events* in the history of past ages. John Bouhs (l. Bushe), of the City of London, papal notary, has recorded it : ‘In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1304, in the second year of indiction, on the 24th July, and on the eve of the feast of St. James the Apostle, in presence of me, notary-public subscribing, and of the witnesses subscribing, specially called and also required to witness the premises in a certain valley, upon a certain road, which leads to a certain gate of the castle of Stirling, in the kingdom of Scotland and diocese of St. Andrew's, at the command of our sovereign lord the King aforesaid, appeared certain noble and discreet persons, viz., the Lords Ralph de Monthermer, of Gloucester, and Richard de Burgh, of Ulster, earls, &c. After a minute narrative of the treaty of capitulation, he adds, ‘Quibus per ipsum constabularium intellectis, viginti quinque personas de ipso castro secumduxit, quorum unus, ordinis sancti Dominici predicatorem, et alius de domo de Kelso fuere, quos usque ad tunicas denudatos, zonis projectis, dictis religiosis exceptis, quos unà cum aliis sparsis crinibus, flexis genibus, et eorum junctis manibus, et coram eodem Rege etiam electatis, unà secum suam, eidem Regi suo Domino ligio confitentes, culpam, offensam, injuriam, inobedientiam et reatum, tremulos et quasi cum lacrimis, presentavit ; reddens se eidem Regi ac voluntati ipsius, ac alios presentes, necnon omnes et singulos in castro morantes predicto, tanquam capitaneus eorundem ; necnon et ipsi presentes se ipsos sicut et alii cum gemitibus et suspiriis reddiderunt.’”
—*Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 951 ; *Hailes' Annals*, vol. i. pp. 341, 342.

The following are the names of the leaders in this gallant defence of Stirling :—

Domini Willielmus Olyfard.	} Milites.
Willelmus de Dupplyn.	
Fergus de Ardrossan.	
Robinus de Ardrossan, frater ejus.	
Willielmus de Ramseya.	

Domini Hugo de Ramseya.
Rudulfus de Haleburton.
Thomas de Knellhulle.
Thomas Lellay.
Patricius de Polleworche.
Hugo Olyfard.
Walterus Olyfard.
Willielmus Gyffard.
Alanus de Vipont.
Andreas Wychard.
Godefridus le Botiller.
Johannes le Naper.
Willielmus le Scherere.
Hugo le Botiller.
Joannes de Kulgas.
Willielmus de Anant.
Robertus de Ranfru.
Walterus Taylleu.
Simon Larmerer.

Frater Willielmus de Keith, ordinis Sancti Dominici, Predicatorum.

Frater Petrus Edereston, de domo de Kelsou, ordinis Sancti Benedicti. *Rymer, Fœdera*, p. 966.

The capitulation is dated July 24th, 1304.

NOTE F (III.), p. 110.

Capture of Wallace.

“A document recently discovered in the Chapter House, at Westminster, throws some light on this nefarious proceeding, and, by the high amount of the rewards given to the traitors, shows Edward's estimate of the prize which they had secured for him. Forty marks, equal to thirty pounds, were given to one person who had watched Wallace, probably the individual through whose aid he had been captured ; sixty marks (forty pounds) were given to others who had been employed in the same mission ; a like sum was divided among those who had been present at his capture ; and land to the value of one hundred pounds was assigned to Sir John Menteith. In estimating these sums with reference to the value of produce in our own day, we shall probably not overstate the amount thus distributed, if we consider it equivalent to £1,100 of ready money. This is exclusive of Sir John Menteith's share of the spoil, the amount of which it is not easy to reckon, since it was expended in land, at that time, of comparatively little value in the market.”—*Introductory Notice to the Wallace Papers*, p. 24.

This document corroborates the unvarying testimony of Scottish history and tradition, that Sir John Menteith was the person by whom Wallace was betrayed into the hands of the English. Lord Hailes, however, attempts to throw discredit on the statement that Menteith was the friend of Wallace, or “had ever any intercourse of friendship or familiarity with him.” But Bower expressly asserts that Menteith co-operated with Wallace, Graham, and Scrymgeour, in the suppression of the Galwegian insurgents. John Major, also, expressly affirms the treachery of Menteith as acting in concert with Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and says that Menteith was considered as the most intimate friend of Wallace.

Bower, who was born only about eighty years after the death of the Scottish patriot, asserts that Wallace, "suspecting no evil, was fraudulently and treacherously seized, at Glasgow, by Lord John de Menteith" (Scotichron, xii. p. 8); and he again refers to the treacherous conduct of Menteith towards Wallace, when afterwards relating a similar plot which he had laid for taking King Robert Bruce prisoner, under pretence of delivering up to him the Castle of Dunbarton (Book xxii. pp. 16, 17). Arnold Blair designates Menteith a monstrous traitor, and says, "Accursed be the day of his nativity, and may his name be struck out of the book of life." (See notes to Dr. Jamieson's edition of *Blind Harry's Wallace*.) It is generally said that Wallace was betrayed at a place called Rar-biston, or Robroyston, a few miles from Glasgow; and the tradition of the country bears, that the signal for rushing upon him and taking him at unawares was given by one of his pretended friends turning a *bannock*, or loaf, which was placed upon the table with its bottom or flat side uppermost. Hence, it was reckoned ill-breeding to turn a loaf in that manner if there was a person named Menteith in company, since it was virtually to remind him that his namesake had betrayed the great Scottish patriot. When the house in which Wallace was captured was taken down, about thirty years ago, the late Mr. Train purchased some butts of the oaken rafters, which were in a remarkable state of preservation, and caused to be made out of them an antique chair, curiously carved, which he presented to Sir Walter Scott, who attached a high value to the relic, and ultimately placed it in his own *sanctum sanctorum*. It is mentioned by Mr. Train "that reports of this chair spread over the adjacent country with a fiery-cross-like speed, and raised public curiosity to such a height, that persons in their own carriages came many miles to see it." The symbolic chair was borne in triumph from Mr. Train's lodgings to the bank of the Great Canal, there to be shipped for Abbotsford, in the midst of the town-band of Kirkintilloch playing "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," and surrounded by thousands who made the welkin resound with bursts of national enthusiasm, justifying the couplet of Pope:—

"All this may be, the people's voice is odd;
The Scots will fight for Wallace as for God."

NOTE G (IV.), p. 111.

Copy of the sentence pronounced upon Sir William Wallace, taken from a transcript of one of the Cottonian MSS., which was subsequently destroyed by the fire of 1731. (See Wallace Papers, No. xxviii.)

"Placida apud Westmonasterium coram Johanne de Segrave P. Maluree R. de Sandwyco, Johanne de Bacwelle et J. le Blound Majore civitatis regis London, die lune in vigilia Sancti Bartholomei (Aug. 23), anno regis Edwardi filii Henrici xxxiii.

"Willelmus Waleis Scotus et de Scotia ortus, captus pro seditione, homicidiis, depraedacionibus,

incendiis et aliis diversis felonie, venis, et maleficio per eodem justiciarios qualiter, postquam predictus dominus rex terram Scotie cepit Johanne Baillol, prelatos, comites, barones et alios quosdam terris inimicos suos, per barones ipsius Johannis, hostiliter conquassavit, et conquestis illis omnes Scotos dominio et regni potestati sue, et eorum regi, submisit et subjugavit, homages et fidelitates prelatorum, monasteriorum, baronum et aliorum plurimorum publice recepit, pariterque eadem per totam terram Scotie predicari fecit. Custodes terras illius, locum quem in vestra, vicomites, prepositos, ballivos et alios tales sine ad pacem suam manducandum et justitiam quibuscumque secundum leges et consuetudines terrarum illius faciendam ordinasset et voluisset, predictus Willelmus le Waleys, felicitatis et ipsius cum immemor, omnia que poterat felicia ac utiliter precogitata in ipsum dominum regem, adhibere sibi et confederato immenso numero felonum, auxerit, et custodes et ministros ipsius regis felonum invasit et impugnavit, et Willelmum de Humberg, vicecomitem de Lanarke, qui placita ipsius regis in pleno comitatu [. . .], felonice et maleficio jure ipsius domini regis insultavit, vulneravit et interfecit, et postea, in contemptum ipsius regis, quem vicecomitem sic interfecit, frustratim dimisit. Et ex tunc omnia que poterat multitudine armatorum sibi et felonis suis adhaerentium abbas, vicus, civitates, et castra terras suas invasit, et brevia sua per totam Scotiam, tanquam brevia superioris filie terre, emanare fecit et demandavit, pariterque et congregationes suas, omnes prelatos et monachos predicti domini regis de terra Scotie per ipsum Willelmum dejectis, tenet et possidet, sine tanta nequitia et seditione valere possunt, omnibus omnibus prelatos, comites et barones terre sue parti sue adherentibus, quod felicitas et dominio regis Francie se subjugavit, et ad destructionem regni Anglie in auxilium venissent. Quosdam etiam de conspectibus suis terras tenentis, regnum Anglie, ut in comitatibus Northumberland, Comberland, et Westmorland, ingreditur, et omnes que abbas de felicitate regis Anglie invenit, diversis mortis gravibus abbas interfecit, viros religiosos et sanctos in domos, et ecclesias ad honorem Dei et servam sanctorum constructas, una cum corporibus sanctorum et alios reliquias eorum in eis honorifice custodias, abbas et seditione mactavit, non solum et demandavit, omnia qui lingua Anglica ulcatur possunt, ad manus senes cum juvenibus, spemque sua vobis, infantibus cum lactantibus, gravare morte sunt extinguere sciverat afflicto. Hinc de quibus dicitur et hinc in machinationem mortis ipsius domini regis et in coronam et regis majestatem sua consuetudinem et enervationem manducavit, seditionem et feloniam perpetravit. Et licet post sua venisset et honorifice facta predictus dominus rex non minus sua captivitate terram Scotie levavit, et predictus Willelmum vexillum contra eum in hunc tenentem deferentem et alios felones cum dicitur, tanquam pacem suam omnibus de terra sua conser-

sisset, et prædictum Willelmum de Waleis ad pacem suam misericorditer revocari fecisset, idem Willelmus in sua prænotata nequitia seditiose et felonice concorditer et animose perseverans, paci prædicti domini regis se submittere et ad eam evenire contempsit, et sic in curia ipsius domini regis ut seductor, prædo et felo, secundum leges et consuetudines Angliæ et Scotiæ, publicè fuit utlagatus. Et injustum et legibus Anglicanis dissonum existat et creditur aliquem sic utlagatum et extra leges positum nec postea ad pacem ipsius restitutum, et defensionem status sui seu responsionem admitti. Consideratum est quod prædictus Willelmus pro manifesta seditione quam ipsi domino regi fecerat felonice machinando, in mortem ejus perpetrando, annulationem et enervationem coronæ et regiæ dignitatis suæ vexillum contra dominum suum ligium in bello mortali deferendo, detrahatur a palatio Westmonasterii usque Turrim Londoni, et a Turri usque Allegate, et sic per medium civitatis usque Elmes, et pro roberis et homicidiis et felonis, quas in regno Angliæ et terra Scotiæ fecit, ibidem suspendatur et postea devaleatur. Et quia utlagatus fuit, nec postea ad pacem domini regis restitutus, decolletur et decapitetur. Et postea pro immensa vilitate, quam Deo et sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ fecit comburendo ecclesias, vasa et feretra, in quibus corpus Christi et corpora sanctorum et reliquiæ eorundem collocabantur, cor, epar, et pulmo et omnia interiora ipsius Willelmi, a quibus tam perversæ cogitationes processerunt, in ignem mittantur et comburentur. Et etiam, quia non solum ipsi domino regi, sed toti plebi Angliæ et Scotiæ prædicta seditionem, deprædationes, incendia, et homicidia et felonias fecerat, corpus illius Willelmi in quatuor quarteria scindatur et dividatur, et caput sic abscissum assedatur super pontem Londoni, in conspectu tam per terram quam per aquam transeuntium, et unum quarterium suspendatur in gibetto apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, alium quarterium apud Berewyk, tertium quarterium apud Stryvelyn, et quartum quarterium apud Villam Sancti Johannis, in metum et castigationem omnium prætereuntium et ea conspicientium."

There exists, in the possession of H. P. Wallace, Esq., of Priory Lodge, near Cheltenham, a painting which has been considered by competent judges to be an original portrait of the Scottish hero. The following description of this valuable memorial, and sketch of its history, are given in a letter addressed by its present possessor to the secretary of the Maitland Club:—

"The portrait was procured in France by Margaret, Countess of Southesk, and by her presented to an ancestor of mine, Robert Wallace of Holmston, then Sheriff of Ayrshire."

"The above is the inscription on a brass plate. The picture is framed in the remains of the tree called Sir William Wallace's Oak, from the Torwood, Stirlingshire, cut from the stump in 1779, and given to my father by Sir James Dunbar of

Mochrum. The picture is in perfect preservation, and a fine representation of a Scotch warrior of the period. In letters at the top of the picture—

'GVL · WALLAS · SCOTVS · HOST · IVML · TERROR.

Mr. Wallace of Kelly saw the picture in my house some time ago, and knew of nothing to compete with it in originality. It answers to the description of the patriot given by Blind Harry, who alludes to a picture painted of him in France; but into whose hands such a picture fell, is stated to be unknown."

NOTE H (V.), p. 114.

Murder of Comyn.

It has been justly said by Sir Walter Scott, that "a homicide in such a place, and in such an age, could hardly escape embellishment from the fertile genius of the churchmen, whose interest was so closely connected with the inviolability of a divine sanctuary. Accordingly, Bowmaker informs us, that the body of the slaughtered baron was watched during the night by the Dominicans with the usual rites of the church. But, at midnight, the whole assistants fell into a dead sleep, with the exception of one aged father, who heard, with terror and surprise, a voice like that of a wailing infant exclaim, 'How long, O Lord, shall vengeance be deferred!' It was answered, in an awful tone, 'Endure with patience until the anniversary of this day shall return for the fifty-second time.' In the year 1357, fifty-two years after Comyn's death, James of Lindsay was hospitably feasted in the Castle of Caerlaveroc, in Dumfries-shire, belonging to Roger Kirkpatrick. They were the sons of the murderers of the Regent. In the dead of night, for some unknown cause, Lindsay arose, and poniarded in his bed his unsuspecting host. He then mounted his horse to fly; but guilt and fear had so bewildered his senses, that, after riding all night, he was taken at break of day not three miles from the castle, and was afterwards executed by order of King David II."

The story of the murder is thus told by the Prior of Lochleven:—

"That ilk yere in our kynryk
Hoge was slayne of Kilpatrick
By Sir Jakkis the Lyndessay
In-til Karlaveroc; and away
For til have been with all his mycht
This Lyndessay pressit all a nycht,
Forth on a horse rycht fast rydand,
Nevyrtheless yet they him faud
Nocht three mile fra that ilk place;
There tane and broucht agane he was
Til Karlaveroc, by thae men
That friendis were til Kirkpatrick then;
There was he keptit rycht straitly.
His wyf * passyd til the King Davy,
And prayed him of his realte,
Of Lauche † that scho mycht servyd be.

* That is, Kirkpatrick's wife.

† Law.

The King Davy then also fast,
Til Dumfres with his court he past,
As Lawchelwald. What was thare mair?
This Lyndessay to deth he gart* do thare."

Wintoun's "Croneykill," book viii. cap. 44.

This incident forms the subject of the following interesting ballad, by the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. :—

"Now, come to me, my little page,
Of wit sae wondrous sly;
Ne'er under flower o' youthfu' age
Did mair destruction lie.

"I'll dance and revel wi' the rest,
Within this castle rare;
Yet he shall rue the drearier feast,
Bot and his lady fair.

"For ye maun drug Kirkpatrick's wine
Wi' juice o' poppy flowers;
Nae mair he'll see the morning shine
Frae proud Caerlaveroc's towers.

"For he has twined my love and me,
The maid of mickle scorn—
She'll welcome, wi' a tearfu' ee,
Her widowhood the morn.

"And saddle weel my milk-white steed,
Prepare my harness bright;
Gif I can make my rival bleed,
I'll ride away this night."—

"Now, haste ye, master, to the ha'!
The guests are drinking there;
Kirkpatrick's pride sall be but sma',
For a' his lady fair."—

In came the merry minstrelsy;
Shrill harps wi' tinkling string,
And bagpipes, lilting melody,
Made proud Caerlaveroc ring.

There gallant knights, and ladies bright,
Did move to measures fine,
Like frolic fairies, jimp and light,
Wha dance in pale moonshine.

The ladies glided through the ha',
Wi' footing swift and sure—
Kirkpatrick's dame outdid them a',
When she stood on the floor.

And some had tyres of gold so rare,
And pendants† eight or nine;
And she, wi' but her gowden hair,
Did a' the rest outshine.

And some wi' costly diamonds sheen
Did warriors' hearts assail—
But she, wi' her twa sparkling een,
Pierced through the thickest mail.

Kirkpatrick led her by the hand,
With gay and courteous air;
No stately castle in the land
Could show so bright a pair.

O! he was young—and clear the day
Of life to youth appears!
Alas! how soon his setting ray
Was dimm'd wi' show'ring tears!

Fell Lindsay clink'd at the sight,
And sorrow grew his cheek;
He tried wi' smiles to hide his spite,
But word he cou'dna speak.

The gorgeous banquet was brought up,
On silver and on gold;
The page chose out a crystal cup,
The sleepy juice to hold.

And when Kirkpatrick call'd for wine,
This page the drink would bear;
Nor did the knight or dame divine
Sic black deceit was near.

Then every lady sang a sang—
Some gay—some sad and sweet—
Like tansie's birds the woods among,
Till a' began to greet.

E'en cruel Lindsay shed a tear,
Forgetting malice deep—
As mermaids, wi' their warbles clear,
Can sing the waves to sleep.

And now to bed they all are gait,
Now steek they lika deer;
There's naught but stillness o' the night,
Whare was sic din before.

Fell Lindsay puts his harness on,
His steed doth ready stand;
And up the staircase he is gone,
Wi' pointair in his hand.

The sweat did on his forehead break,
He shook wi' giddy fear;
In air he heard a joyfu' shriek,
Red Cumins a' ghaist was near.

Now to the chamber doth he creep—
A lamp, of glimmering ray,
Show'd young Kirkpatrick fast asleep,
In arms of lady gay.

He lay wi' bare, unguarded breast,
By sleepy juice beguiled,
And sometimes sigh'd, by dreams oppress'd,
And sometimes owensly smiled.

Unloos'd her mouth o' rowy hair,
Whence issued fragrant air,
That gently, in soft waves her
Stray ringlets o'er her hair.

"Sleep on, sleep on, ye lovers dear!
The dame may wae to sleep—
But that day's sun maun be some cheer,
That spills this warrior's sleep."

He leuted down—her lips he press'd—
O! kin, forbidding ray!
Then struck on young Kirkpatrick's breast
A deep and deadly blow.

Sair, sair, and wailin' did he bind;
His lady slept till day,
But dreamt the Fook* loved o'er her head,
In bride-bed as she lay.

The murderer hasted down the stair,
And back'd his summer day,
Then did the thimble gie to air,
Then shower'd the rain and day.

* Caerlaveroc stands near gateway Perth.

* Caused.

† Pendants—jewels on the forehead.

As fire-flaught darted through the rain,
Whare a' was mirk before,
And glinted o'er the raging main,
That shook the sandy shore.

But mirk and mirker grew the night,
And heavier beat the rain;
And quicker Lindsay urged his flight,
Some ha' or beild to gain.

Lang did he ride o'er hill and dale,
Nor mire nor flood he fear'd:
I trow his courage 'gan to fail
When morning light appear'd.

For having hid the live-lang night,
Through hail and heavy showers,
He found himself, at peep o' light,
Hard by Caerlaveroc's towers.

The castle bell was ringing out,
The ha' was all asteer;
And mony a screech and waefu' shout
Appall'd the murderer's ear.

Now they hae bound this traitor strang,
Wi' curses and wi' blows,
And high in air they did him hang,
To feed the carrion crows.

“To sweet Lincluden's* haly cells
Fou dowie I'll repair;
There Peace wi' gentle Patience dwells,
Na deadly feuds are there.

“In tears I'll wither ilka charm,
Like draps o' balefu' yew;
And wail the beauty that cou'd harm
A knight sae brave and true.”

Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iv. p. 317.

NOTE I (VI.), p. 119.

Capture and execution of Sir Simon Frazer, and other adherents of King Robert Bruce.

“The Friday next before the Assumption of our Lady, King Edward met Robert the Bruce at Saint Johnstoun, in Scotland, and with his company, of which company King Edward quelde seven thousand. When Robert the Bruce saw this mischief, and gan to flee, and hov'd him that men might not find him; but S. Simond Frisell (or Frazer) pursued so sore, so that he turned again and abode bataille, for he was a worthy knight and a bolde of bodey; and the Englishmen pursuede him sore on every side, and quelde the steed that Sir Simon Frisell rode upon, and then took him and led him to the host. And S. Simond began for to flatter and speke fair, and saide, Lordyes, I shall give you four thousand markes of silver, and myne horse and harness, and all my armour and income. Tho' answered Thobaude of Pevenes, that was the kinges archer, Now, God me so helpe, it is for nought that thou speakest, for all the gold of

* Lincluden Abbey is situated near Dumfries, on the banks of the river Cluden. It was founded and filled with Benedictine nuns, in the time of Malcolm IV., by Uthred, father to Roland, Lord of Galloway: those were expelled by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas.

England I would not let thee go, without commandment of King Edward. And tho' he was led to the king, and the king would not see him, but commanded to lead him away to his doom in London, on Our Lady's even Nativity. And he was hung and drawn, and his head smitten off, and hanged again, with chains of iron, upon the gallows; and his head was set at London-bridge upon a spear, and against Christmas the body was burnt, for encheson (reason) that the men that kepted the body saw many devils ramping with iron hooks, running upon the gallows, and horribly tormenting the body. And many that them saw, anon thereafter died for dread, or waxen mad, or sore sickness they had.”—*MS. Chronicle* in the British Museum quoted by Ritson.

The following stanzas of a rude ballad of the times commemorate the fate of the gallant Sir Simon, spoken of in the preceding singular narrative, and give a minute account of the trial and barbarous execution of state criminals of that age. It was written immediately at the period, for it mentions the Earl of Athol as not yet in custody.

“This was before St. Bartholemew's mass,
That Frizel was y-taken, were it more other less,
To Sir Thomas of Multon, gentil baron and free,
And to Sir Johan Jose be-take tho was he
To hand

He was y-fettered wele,
Both with iron and with steel,
To bringen of Scotland.

“Soon thereafter the tiding to the king come,
He sent him to London, with mony armed groom,
He came in at Newgate, I tell you it on a-plight,
A garland of leaves on his head y-dight

Of green,
For he should be y-know,
Both of high and of low,
For traitour I ween.

“Y-fettered were his legs under his horse's wombe,
Both with iron and with steel mancler were his bond,
A garland of pervynk* set upon his heved,†
Much was the power that him was bereved,
In land.

So God me amend,
Little he ween'd
So to be brought in hand.

“This was upon our lady's even, forsooth I understand,
The justices sate for the knights of Scotland,
Sir Thomas of Multon, an kinde knyght and wise,
And Sir Ralph of Sandwich, that mickle is told in price,
And Sir Johan Abel;

Moe I might tell by tale,
Both of great and of small,
Ye know sooth well.

“Then said the justice, that gentil is and free,
Sir Simond Frizel, the king's traier hast thou be,
In water and in land, that mony mighten see,
What sayst thou thereto, how will thou quite thee,
Do say.

So foul he him wist,
Nede war on trust,
For to say nay.

* Periwinkle.

† Head.

" With fetters and with gives y-hot he was to draw*
From the Tower of London, that many men might know,
In a kirtle of burel, a selcouth wise,
And a garland on his head of the new guise,
Through Cheape;
Many men of England,
For to see Symond,
Thitherward can leap.

" Though he cam to the gallows first he was on hung,
All quick beheaded that him thought long;
Then he was y-opened, his bowels y-brend,†
The heved to London-bridge was send
To shende.
So evermore mote I the,
Some while weened he
Thus little to stand.‡

" He rideth through the city, as I tell may,
With gamen and with solace that was their play,
To London-bridge he took the way,
Mony was the wives child that thereon lacketh a day,§
And said alas!
That he was y-born,
And so vilely forlorn,
So fair man he was.

" Now standeth the heved above the tu-brigge,
Fast by Wallace, sooth for to segge;
After succour of Scotland long may he pry,
And after help of France what halt it to lie,
I ween;
Better him were in Scotland,
With his axe in his hand,
To play on the green," &c.

Appendix to Sir Walter Scott's "Lord of the Isles,"
pp. 305—307.

NOTE J (VII.), p. 120.

We are told by Barbour, that when King Robert Bruce was about to pass over from Arran to the Scottish mainland, to make a final effort to regain his lost kingdom, he was met by a Highland prophetess, who not only predicted his good fortune, but sent her two sons along with him to ensure her own family a share in it.

" Then in time men might them see
Schute all their galleys to the sea,
And bear to sea baith ayr and ster,
And other things that mystir ¶ were;
And as the king upon the sand
Was ganging up and down, bidand ¶
Till that his men ready were,
His ost ** cam richt till him there.
And when that she him halyst had,
And priwé spek till him she made;
And said, 'Takis gud kep till my saw : ††
For or ye pass I sall you shaw,
Of your fortun a great party.
But o'ur all speccally
A wyttirng ‡‡ here I sall you ma,
What end that your purpose sall ta.

* He was condemned to be drawn. † Burned.
† Meaning, at one time he little thought to stand thus.
‡ Viz., saith—Lack-a-dav.
§ Needed. ¶ Abiding. •• Hostess.
†† Take good heed to my speech. ‡‡ Knowledge.

For in this land to none truly
Wate things to come as woul to I.
Ye pass now furth on your voyage,
To venge the harm and the outrage,
That Ingles men has to you done,
But ye wat naucht what kyne fortun
Ye men droo* in your vovrayng.
But wyt ye woul withoutyn leing,
That frae ye now have taken leind,
None as mycht, nor as abundance of hand,
Ball gar ye pass out of your pryncis,
Till all to you abundant be.
Within short time ye sall be king,
And have the land at your liking,
And curoun your face all.
Bot fele † anys thare ye sall,
Or that your purpos end have tene;
But ye sall them curdrive ilk one
And, that ye trow this clerkly.
My twa sons with you sall I
Send to tak part of your trewail;
For I wate woul they sall naucht fall
To be rewarded woul at richt,
When ye are hoyit to your mycht."

Barbour's "Bruce," book iii. 206—207.

The reader may compare with the above, the prediction which the Great Northern Marston pass into the mouth of the Abbot, in the *Lord of the Isles* :—

" Like man by poudry amazd,
Upon the King the Abbot gaud,
Then o'er his pallid features glauc
Convulsions of convulsive trances.
His breathing came more thick and fast,
And from his pale blue eyes were cast
Strange rays of wild and wandering light;
Uprize his locks of silver white,
Flush'd is his brow, through every vein
In azure tide the currents strain,
And undistinguish'd accents broke
The awful silence ere he spak.

" De Bruce! I rose with purpos dread,
To speak my curse upon thy head,
And give thee no an extract o'er
To him who burns to shed thy gore;
But, like the Midwives of old,
Who stood on Zephira, harr-ra-ur-rur'd,
I feel within mine aged breast
A power that will not be repress'd;
It prompts my voice, it swells my veins,
It burns, it maddens, it convulses—
De Bruce, thy marvellous view
Hath at God's altar slain the sin
O'ermeator'd yet by high behoud,
I bless thee, and thou shalt be bless'd!
He spak, and o'er the abbot's throng
Was silence awfal, deep, and long.

" Again that light has shed his ray,
Again his form exalts bold and bright,
The broken voice of age is gone,
The vigorous manhood's life is seen,
'Thrice vanquish'd on the battle-field,
Thy followers slaughter'd, dead, or slain,
A hunted wanderer on the west,
On foreign shores a man still'd.

• Suffer.

† King.

Disown'd, deserted, and distress'd,
 I bless thee, and thou shalt be bless'd!
 Bless'd in the hall and in the field,
 Under the mantle as the shield.
 Avenger of thy country's shame,
 Restorer of her injured fame,
 Bless'd in thy sceptre and thy sword,
 De Bruce, fair Scotland's rightful lord,
 Bless'd in thy deeds and in thy fame,
 What lengthen'd honours wait thy name!
 In distant ages, sire to son
 Shall tell thy tale of freedom won.
 And teach his infants, in the use
 Of earliest speech, to falter Bruce.
 Go, then, triumphant! sweep along
 Thy course, the theme of many a song!
 The Power, whose dictates swell my breast,
 Hath bless'd thee, and thou shalt be bless'd!"

Lord of the Isles, canto ii., st. 30, 31, 32.

NOTE K (VIII.), p. 120.

The signal fire near Turnberry Castle.

The following is the account given by Barbour of the manner in which this fire was kindled:—

"They rowed fast, with all their mycht,
 Till that upon them fell the night,
 That woux mirk* upon great manner,
 Sa that they wist nocht where they were,
 For they nae needill had, nae stane;
 But rowed always in till ane,
 Steering all tyme upon the fire,
 That they saw brynnand† lycht and schyr.‡
 It was but aventure§ them led,
 And they in short time sae them sped
 That at the fire arriv'd they,
 And went to land but|| mair delay.
 And Cuthbert, that has seen the fire,
 Was full of anger, and of ire:
 For he durst nocht do it away;
 And was also dowaund aye
 That his lord suld pass to see,
 Therefore their coming waitit he,
 And met them at their arriving.
 He was weel soon brought to the king,
 That speerit at him how he had done,
 And he with sair heart tauld him soon,
 How that he fand nane weel luffand,¶
 But all were faes, that he fand:
 And that the lord the Percy,
 With near three hunder in company,
 Was in the castle there beside,
 Fullfilled of dispite and pride,
 But mair than twa pairs of his rout
 Were herbored in the toune without;
 'And dispitit you mair, Sir King,
 Than men may dispit ony thing.'
 Then said the king, in full great ire,
 'Traitor, why made thou then the fire?'
 'Ah, Sire,' said he, 'sa GOD me see!
 The fire was never made for me;
 Na, or the nicht, I wist it nocht;
 But frae I wist it, weel I thoct,
 That ye, and haly your menyne,**
 In hy†† suld put you to the sea;

* Dark. † Burning.
 § Adventure. || Without.
 ** The whole of your men. †† Haste.

For this I come to meet you here,
 To tell perils that may appear.
 The king was of his speik angry,
 And askit his pryve men, in hy,
 What at them thoct was best to do.
 Sir Edward first answered thercto,
 His brother that was sae hardy,
 And said, 'I say you sickerly
 There sall nae peril, that may be,
 Drive me eftsonys* to the sea,
 Mine aventure here take will I,
 Whether it be esfull or angry.'
 'Brother,' he said, 'sen thou will sa,
 It is gude that we samyn ta,
 Dissese or ease, or pain or play
 Eftyr as GOD will us purway.†
 And sen men sayis that the Percy
 Mine heritage will occupy;
 And his men sae near us lyeis,
 That us dispytis mony wyss;
 Ga we and wenge‡ some of the dispyte,
 And that may we have done all so tite;§
 For they lye traistly,|| but dreading
 Of us or of our here cummyng.
 And tho we sleeping slew them all,
 Repruff thereof nae man sall.
 For werrayour nae force suld ma,
 Whether he micht ourcome his fa
 Through strength, or through subtilty,
 But that gude faith aye holdyn be.'"

Barbour's "Bruce," book iv. 50.

The same incident is described by Sir Walter Scott in the following spirited lines:—

"In night the fairy prospects sink,
 Where Cumray's isles with verdant link
 Close the fair entrance of the Clyde;
 The woods of Bute, no more desried,
 Are gone—and on the placid sea
 The rovers ply their task with glee,
 While hands that knightly lances bore
 Impatient aid the labouring oar.
 The half-faced moon shone dim and pale,
 And glanced against the whitened sail;
 But on that ruddy beacon-light
 Each steersman kept the helm aright,
 And oft, for such the king's command,
 That all at once might reach the strand,
 From boat to boat loud shout and hail
 Warned them to crowd or slacken sail.
 South and by west the armada bore,
 And near at length the Carrick shore,
 As less and less the distance grows,
 High and more high the beacon rose;
 The light, that seem'd a twinkling star,
 Now blazed portentous, fierce, and far.
 Dark-red the sea beneath it flow'd,
 Dark-red the heaven above it glow'd,
 Red rose the rocks on ocean's brim,
 In blood-red light her islets swim;
 Wild scream the dazzled sea-fowl gave,
 Dropp'd from their crags on plashing wave,
 The deer to distant covert drew,
 The blackcock deem'd it day, and crew;

* Soon after. † Prepare.
 ‡ Avenge. § Quickly.
 || Confidently.

Like some tall castle given to flame,
O'er half the land the lustre came.

With that the boats approach'd the land,
But Edward's grounded on the sand;
The eager knight leaped in the sea
Waist-deep, and first on shore was he,
Though every barge's hardy band
Contended which should gain the land,
When that strange light, which, seen afar,
Seem'd steady as the polar star,
Now, like a prophet's fiery chair,
Seem'd travelling the realms of air,
Wide o'er the sky the splendour glows,
As that portentous meteor rose;
Helm, axe, and falchion glitter'd bright,
And in the red and dusky light
His comrade's face each warrior saw,
Nor marvell'd it was pale with awe.
Then high in air the beams were lost,
And darkness sunk upon the coast."

Lord of the Isles, canto v. st. 13, 14.

The late Mr. Joseph Train says, "The only tradition now remembered of the landing of Robert Bruce in Carrick, relates to the fire seen by him from the Isle of Arran. It is still generally reputed, and religiously believed by many, that this fire was really the work of supernatural power, unassisted by the hand of any mortal being: and it is said that, for several centuries, the flame rose yearly on the same hour of the same night of the year on which the king first saw it from the turrets of Brodick Castle, and some go so far as to say, that if the exact time were known, it would be still seen. That this superstitious notion is very ancient, is evident from the place where the fire is said to have appeared being called the Bogles Brae beyond the remembrance of man."

"Now, ask you whence that wondrous light,
Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight?
It ne'er was known—yet grey-haired eld
A superstitious credence held,
That never did a mortal hand
Wake its broad glare on Carrick strand;
Nay, and that on the self-same night
When Bruce cross'd o'er, still gleams the light.
Yearly it gleams o'er mount and moor,
And glittering wave and crimson'd shore—
But whether beam celestial, lent
By heaven to aid the king's descent,
Or fire hell-kindled from beneath,
To lure him to defeat and death,
Or were it but some meteor strange,
Of such as oft through midnight range,
Startling the traveller late and lone,
I know not, and it ne'er was known."

Lord of the Isles, canto v. st. 17.

NOTE L (IX.), p. 133.

Position of the Scottish army at Bannockburn.

According to the account which Barbour gives of the arrangements made by King Robert Bruce, the Scottish line must have extended in a north-

eastly direction from the brook of Bannock to the village of St. Ninian's. (See plan of Bannockburn and the surrounding country.) Buchanan, however, affirms that the Scots were drawn up east and west, and facing the southward. This opinion has been adopted by Mr. Nimmo, the author of the *History of Stirlingshire*, and more recently by Mr. Tytler, who, in a plan of the battle given in his history, represents the Scottish army as drawn up on the small piece of level ground between Hallow Marsh and Milton Marsh, immediately to the south of the Bannock Burn. The objections to this view, however, appear to be unanswerable. 1. If the Scots had been placed in this position, there was nothing to have prevented the English approaching upon the cause or level ground from Falkirk, either from turning the Scottish left flank, or from passing their position if they preferred it without coming to an action, and moving on to the relief of Stirling. 2. On the evening before the battle eight hundred horsemen, commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the English army, for the purpose of throwing sarrows into the Castle of Stirling. This manoeuvre was directed by King Robert Bruce himself, who called the attention of Randolph to the movement; and he, at the head of five hundred spearmen, intercepted and defeated the English cavalry. But if the Scottish army had been drawn up in the line of the brook of Bannock, it was impossible, owing to the configuration of the ground, that Bruce could have seen Clifford's horsemen on their march, as Barbour expressly mentions that they avoided the New Park, where Bruce's army lay, and held "well south the kirk," viz., of St. Ninian's, and it was equally impossible that Randolph's infantry, which on the hypothesis in question was drawn up beside Milton Park, moving from that position with whatever velocity, could cut off from Stirling a body of cavalry who had already passed St. Ninian's, or in other words, were already between them and the town, whom, supposing Randolph's left to have approached St. Ninian's, the short movement to Newhouse would easily be executed, so as to intercept the English in the manner described. 3. Barbour assumes that the garrison of Stirling, upon the evening before the battle, rendered some secret assistance to their countrymen in placing temporary bridges of doors and spars over the pools of water in the cause, to enable them to advance to the charge, and this assistance could not have been rendered had not the English approached from the southwest, since had their march been due north the whole Scottish army must have been between them and the garrison. 4. Multitudes of the English fugitives were drowned in attempting to escape across the river Forth, and many of them took refuge in the recesses on which Stirling Castle is built, and King Edward himself fed in this direction, and demanded admission into the castle, which could not have taken place if the Scots had been drawn up facing the south, as in that case the fugitives must have penetrated through the victorious army to

reach the Forth or Stirling Castle. 5. The Gillies' Hill, if this hypothesis be adopted, would be situated not in the rear, as allowed by all the historians, but upon the left flank of Bruce's army. (See *Hailes' Annals*, vol. ii. p. 54; *Appendix to Sir Walter Scott's Lord of the Isles*, Note V.; *Barbour's Bruce*, Book viii. and ix.)

The following list of the slain at Bannockburn, extracted from the continuation of Trivet's *Annals*, will show the extent of the loss suffered by the English in this disastrous conflict:—

LIST OF THE SLAIN.

BARONS AND KNIGHTS BAN-		
NERETS.		
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.	Simon Ward.	
Robert de Clifford.	Robert de Felton.	
Payan Tybetot.	Michael Poyning.	
William Le Mareschal.	Edmund Maulley.	
John Comyn.	KNIGHTS.	
William de Vescey.	Henry de Boun.	
John de Montfort.	Thomas de Ufford.	
Nicolas de Hasteleigh.	John de Elsingfelde.	
William Dayncourt.	John de Harcourt.	
Egidius de Argenteyne.	Walter de Hakelut.	
Edmund Comyn.	Philip de Courtenay.	
John Lovel (the rich).	Hugo de Scales.	
Edmund de Hastynge.	Radulph de Beauchamp.	
Milo de Stapleton.	John de Penbrigge.	
	With thirty-three others of the same rank not named.	

PRISONERS.

BARONS AND BARONETS.	
Henry de Boun, Earl of Hereford.	Anselm de Mareschal.
Lord John Giffard.	Giles de Beauchamp.
William de Latimer.	John de Cyfrewast.
Maurice de Berkley.	John Bluwet.
Ingram de Umfraville.	Roger Corbet.
Marmaduke de Twenge.	Gilbert de Boun.
John de Wyletone.	Bartholomew de Enefeld
Robert de Maulce.	Thomas de Ferrers.
Henry Fitz-Hugh.	Radulph and Thomas Botetort.
Thomas de Gray.	John and Nicolas de Kingstone (brothers).
Walter de Beauchamp.	William Lovel.
Richard de Charon.	Henry de Wileton.
John de Wevelmton.	Baldwin de Frevill.
Robert de Nevil.	John de Clivedon.
John de Segrave.	Adomar la Zouche.
Gilbert Peeche.	John de Mrewode.
John de Clavering.	John Maufe.
Antony de Lucy.	Thomas and Ode Lele Erce-dekene.
Radulph de Camys.	Robert Beaupel (the son).
John de Evere.	John Mautravers (the son).
Andrew de Abromhyn.	William and William Giffard. And thirty-four other knights not named by the historian.
KNIGHTS.	
Thomas de Berkeley.	
The son of Roger Tyrrel.	

Appendix to the "Lord of the Isles, note U. 2.

NOTE M (X.), p. 163.

Bruce's Testament.

The leonine verses called Bruce's Testament are as follows:—

"Scotica sit guerre pedites, mons, mossica terra,
Silva pro muris sint, arcus et hasta, securis,
Per loca stricta greges munierunt. Plana per ignes
Sic inflammantur, ut ab hostibus evacuantur.
Insidia vigiles sint, noctu vociferantur.
Sic male turbati redient velut ense fugati
Hostes pro certo, Sic Rege docente Roberto."

These verses are thus rendered in Hearne:—

"On foot should be all Scottish weire,
By hill and moss themselves to bear:
Let wood for walls be—bow and spear,
And battle-axe their fighting gear:
That enemies do them no dear,*
In strait place cause keep all store,
And burn the plain land them before;
Then shall they pass away in haste,
When that they nothing find but waste;
With wiles and wakening of the night,
And mickle noises made on height;
Then shall they turn with great array,
As they were chased with sword away,
This is the council and intent
Of good King Robert's testament."

NOTE N, p. 185.

Death of Randolph.

Barbour, the metrical historian of Bruce, whose work is of the highest authority, informs us that Randolph was poisoned, without adding any particulars:—

"The lave sa weill mantenynt he,
And held in pess swa the cowntre,
That it was nevir or his day
Sa weill, as I herd auld men say.
But syne, allace! pusionyt wes he;
To see his dede was gret pite."—*Barbour*, p. 423.

Barbour is generally believed to have been born about 1316, and, according to Lord Hailes' conjecture, was fifteen years old at the period of the death of Randolph. On what grounds are we entitled to set aside such an authority?

Winton is supposed, by his able editor, Macpherson, to have been born about the year 1350 (Preface to *Winton's Chronicle*, p. 19), only eighteen years after the death of Randolph. He composed his chronicle in his old age, having commenced it in 1420, and finished it in 1424. (*Ibid.* p. 22.) His account is as follows:—

"Therefore with slycht thai thoct to gere
Him wyth wenenous fell poysonw
Be destroyid, and fel tresown,
And that thai browcht swin til endyng
Be swin tresownabil wundertakyng;
For at the Wemyss, by the se,
Poysonynd at a feast wes he."—Vol. ii. p. 146.

This is clear and direct testimony also. Let us next turn, not to Fordun, for he omits all mention of the circumstance of the poisoning, and simply states the death of the Regent, but to his continuator, Bower, who, as we learn from himself, was born fifty-three years after the death of Randolph,

* Harm.

in the year 1385. "Et ideo," says he, speaking of the designs of the disinherited barons against Randolph, "novam artem confixerunt, et ut Italici ferunt, bello tradimento verius vili effecerunt, ut quidam Anglicus religione corruptus dicto custodi familiaris capellanus, sibi venenum in vino propinaret. Quod et factum est ut supra."—*Tytler, Appendix to vol. ii., Letter B.*

NOTE O, p. 188.

Battle of Halidon Hill.

Extract from a MS. chronicle of England, down to the time of Henry V., by Douglas, a monk of Glastonbury. Harleian, 4690, fol. 79.

"Ande the Scottes come in this arraye in iiiii bateilles ageste the II kingges of Englonde & Skottelond, as it is schewed hereafter plenely by the names of the Lordes, as ye mough se in this nexte wrytinge.

"In the forewarde of Skottelonde, weren thes Lordes whas names folowenne :—

The Earl Moreffe (or Moray).*	Patrick Parkers.
James Friselle (or Frazer).†	Robert Caldecotes.
Simonde Friselle.	Philip Meldrum.
Walter Stewarde.	Thomas Kirkpatrick.
Reginald de Cheyne.	Gilbert Wiseman.
Patrick Graham.	Adam Gordon.
Jonne Grant.	James Gramat?‡
James Cardeille	Robert Boyde.‡
(probably Carlisle).	Hugh Parke.

With 40 knyghts new dubbede, vi^e (600) men of armes, and xiii^m (13000) comunes.

"In the first parte of the halfe hendeward of the bataille, weren these Lordes folwing :—

Stewarde of Scottelonde.	David Lindsay.‡
Earl Moneteth.	Malcom Fleming.
James, hes Unkelle.	Wm. Keith.¶
William Douglas.‡	Duncan Campbell.

With thirty bachelers new dubbede.

"In the seconde parte of the halfe hendeward of the bateilles, wer thes Lordes :—

James Stewart of Colden.	Robert Walham.
Alan Stewart.**	John Fitz-William.
William Abbreilm	Adam Mose.
(probably Abernethy).	Walter Fitz-Gilbert.††
William Morrice.	John Kirketon.

"In the III warde of the bateilles of Skotelonde, weren these Lordes folowinge :—

* John Earl of Moray, son of the renowned Randolph.
 † Sons of Sir Alexander Fraser, slain at Dupplin, and the nephews of Robert I., by their mother, Mary Bruce. Simon was ancestor of the family of Lovat.

‡ Probably that Robert Boyd who adhered to Robert Bruce during his greatest calamities, and who was rewarded by that monarch with the estate of Kilmarnock, and other lands, which had belonged to the Baliol family.

§ Rather Archibald, the natural son of the renowned Sir James Douglas.

¶ Eldest son of David Lindsay of Crawford.

¶ He performed the functions of Marshal of the Army.

** Of Dreghorn, son of John Stewart of Bonkil, slain at Falkirk, 1296. He was the ancestor of the Darnley family.

†† Of Cadyow, by grant from Robert Bruce; the ancestor of the Duke of Hamilton.

The Erie of Mar.
 The Erie of Ross.
 The Erie of Strathewe.
 The Erie of Southberlands.
 William Kirkeley.
 John Cameron.
 Gilbert Hay.

William Bannay.
 William Fothergill.
 Kerne Hume.
 William Gordon.
 Arnold Goud.
 Thomas Duthie.

With 40 knyghtes new dubbede, 12 men of armes, & 1000 (16,000) comunes.

"In the IIII warde of the bateilles of Skottelonde, weren these Lordes whose names folowen :—

Archibald Douglas.*
 The Erie of Levenax.
 Alexander Bruce †
 Erie of Wiffe (Fife). ‡
 John Campbell Erie of Atholl
 Robert Lauder.
 Willm. Vypost.
 Willm. Launston.
 John Lavel.
 Gilbert Schirlows.

John Lindsay.
 Alexander Gray.
 James Fothergill.
 Patrick Fothergill.
 David Wemyss.
 Michael Scott.
 William Lonsdale.
 Thomas Bux.
 Roger Mortimer.

With xxx bachelers, IX^e (900) men of armes, XVIII^m (18,000) and IIIII^e (400) comunes.

"The Erie of Dunbar, keeper of the Castle of Berwick, halpe the Scottes with 20 men of armes, Sir Alesander Seton, keeper of the tower of Berwick, halpe the Scottes with an hundred men of armes; and the comens of the town, with IIII men of armes, X^m & VIII^e bachelers. The sum of Erlis and Lordes amounteth lxxv. The sum of bachelers new dubbede, c. & xl. The sum of men of armes, III^m VI^e & I. The sum of comunes, IIII score m. & II^e. The sum total of alle the pepelle amounteth IIII lxx^m XV^e & V^e & V.

"And these forsaide fifty-five grete Lordeis, with IIII bateilles, as it is before sheweth, were also a fote. And Kinge Edwards of Englonde, and Kinge Edwards of Skottelonde, had well provided ther folke in IIII bateilles on horse, able to fighte agens to ther enemyes. And then the Englyshe mynystrelles beten ther tabers, and blewen thre trompes, and pipers pipen loud, and made a grete schoute upon the Skottes; and then hadde the Englyshe bachelers, some of them II wings of archers, whiche at that meetinge sightlye drewen their bowes, and made arrowes flye as thide as comen on the soonebeme; and so they smote the Skottes, that they fell to grounde by many thousande. And anon, the Skottes beganne to flee to the Englyshe menne to save ther own lives; but when the knaves and the Skottes sawe, that weren behinde the Skottes to kepe ther horses, seyen the discomfure, that prikeden the Skottes horses away to kepe thairselve from perille, and at thei towke no heed of ther masters. And then the Englyshe men towken many of the Skottes horses, and prikeden after the Skottes, and drewen them

* Lord of Galloway, Regent of Scotland, nephew of Robert Tineman; brother of the renowned Sir James Douglas.

† Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick, a natural son of Edward Bruce.

‡ At that time Duncan, Earl of Fife, was a prisoner, but his banner was in the field.

down righte. And ther men might see the nowbell
Kinge Edwarde of Englonde and his folke, hough
manfully they chaseden the Skottes, whereof
this romance was made:—

“ There men mighte well se
Many a Skotte lightly flee;
And the Engliche after priking,
With sharp swerdes them stiking.
And then ther baners weren founde
All displaye on the grounde,
And layne starkly on blode
As thei hadde fought on the fode.
But the Skottes ill mote thei
Thought the Engliche adrentit schulde be,
For bicause thei might not flee.
But if thei adrenite schulde be,
But thei kepte them manly on londe,
So that the Skottes might not stonde,
And felde them down to grounde
Many thousands in that stounde,
And the Engliche men poundeyd them so
Tille the fode was alle a-goo.
And thus the Skottes discomfite were,
In litell tyme with grite fecere,
For no notherwise did thei stryve,
But as XX schepe among wolves fyve,
For V of them then were
Agenste ane Englicheman there;
So there itte was welle semyng
Thatte with multitude is no scoumting.
But with God fulle of mighte
Wham he will helpe in trewe fighte.
So was this bi Goddes grace
Discomfiture of Skottes in that place,
That men cleped Halidoun Hille;
For ther this bateill befelle,
Atte Derwicke beside the towne
This was do with mery soune,
With pipes, trompes, and nakers thereto,
And loude clarionnes thei blew also;
And there the Skottes leyen dede
XXX^m beyonde Tweed,
And V^m told thereto,
With VII^m XII & mo;
And of Englichemen but sevenne,
Worschipped be God in hevonne!
And that were men on fote goyng
By fely of ther oune doyng.
On Seinte Margete-ys eve, as I yow telle,
Befille the victory of Halidoune Hille.
In the yere of Gode Almyghte,
A m. lllc. & II & thritty.
Atte this discomfure
The Engliche knyghes towke ther hure
Of the Skottes that weren dede,
Clothes and habergionnes for ther mede,
And watever thei might finde,
On the Skottes thei lefte not behinde,
And the knaves by ther purchas
Hadde ther a mery solas,
For alle ther lyffe the better to be.
Alle thus the bateille towke ending,
But I cannot telle of the ymgoing
Of the two kinges, where thei becomee,
And whether thei wenten oute or home
But Godde that is in heven king
Sende us pes and gode ending!”

Tytler, *Appendix to Vol. II., Letter D, pp. 382—385.*

NOTE P, p. 198.

*List of the persons of distinction in the Scottish
army killed or made prisoners at the Battle of
Durham, 17th October, 1346.*

KILLED.

John Randolph, Earl of Moray.*	Edward de Keith.
Maurice Moray, Earl of Strathern.	Edmunde de Keith.
David de la Haye, Constable.	Reginald Kirkpatrick.
Robert Keith, Marshall.	David de Lindesay. §
Robert de Peebles, Chamberlain.	John de Lindesay.
Thomas Charters, Chancellor.	Robert Maitland.
Humphry de Bois.	— Maitland. ||
John de Bonneville.	Philip de Meldrum.
Thomas Boyd.	John de la More.
Andrew Buttergask. †	Adam Moygrave.
Roger Cameron.	William Moubray.
John de Crawford.	William de Ramsay, the father.
William Fraser. ‡	Michael Scot. ¶
David Fitz-Robert.	John St. Clair.
William de Haliburton.	Alexander Strachan.
William de la Haye.	— Strachan.
Gilbert de Inchmartin.	John Stewart.
	John Stewart.**
	Alan Stewart.
	Adam de Whitsom.

PRISONERS.

David II., King of Scots.	Thomas Boyd.***
Duncan, Earl of Fife. ††	Andrew Campbell. †††
John Graham, Earl of Menteith. ††	Gilbert de Carrick. †††
Malcolm Fleming, Earl of Wigton. §§	Robert Chisholm.
George Abernethy. ||||	Nicholas Knockdolian.
David de Annand.	Fergus de Crawford.
William Baillie. ¶¶	Roger de Crawford.
	Bartholomew de Dermond.
	John Douglas. §§§

* The younger son of Randolph the Regent. With him the male line of that heroic family ended. He was succeeded in his honours and estate by his sister, the Countess of March, vulgarly termed Black Agnes.

† This family subsisted until about the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the heiress, Margaret Buttergask of that ilk, made over her estate to the family of Gray.

‡ Of Cowie, ancestor of Lord Saltoun.

§ Said by Fordun to have been “the son and heir of Lord David de Lindesay,” ancestor of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarras.

|| The brother of Robert Maitland of Thirlestane.

¶ Of Murthockstone, now Murdiestone, ancestor of the Duke of Buccleugh.

** Probably Sir John Stewart of Dreghorn is meant, whose father, Alan, was killed at Halidon.

†† He had sworn fealty to Balliol. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, but obtained mercy.

‡‡ In right of his wife, Mary, according to the mode of those times; he was executed as a traitor. He had formerly sworn fealty to Edward III.

§§ He is called Malcolm Fleming, without any addition; *Fodera*, t. v. p. 537. He had a grant of the Earldom of Wigton in 1342.

||| Of Salton, ancestor of Lord Salton.

¶¶ Supposed to be Baillie of Lambistoun or Lambintoun, vulgarly, Lamington.

*** Probably of Kilmarnock. The son of that Boyd who was the faithful and fortunate companion of Robert Bruce.

††† Of Loudoun. In right of his mother, Susanna Crawford, heritable Sheriff of Ayrshire, ancestor of the Earl of Loudoun.

‡‡‡ Ancestor of the Earl of Cassilis. His son assumed the name of Kennedy.

§§§ Probably the younger brother of William Douglas of Lidcdsdale, ancestor of the Earl of Morton.

PRISONERS.

William Douglas, the elder.*	David Moray.
Patrick de Dunbar.	William de Moray.
Adam de Fullarton.	William More.
John Giffard.	William Moubray.
Laurence Gilibrand.	Patrick de Polwarth.†
David Graham.†	John de Preston.**
Alexander Haliburton.	Alexander de Ramsay.
John de Haliburton.	Henry de Ramsay
Walter de Haliburton.‡	Ness de Ramsay.
Patrick Heron.	William de Ramsey.††
William de Jardin.	William de Salton.
Roger de Kirkpatrick.§	John St. Clair.
Thomas de Lippes.	Alexander Steel.
William de Livingston.	Alexander Stewart.
— Lorein.	John Stewart.‡‡
Duncan M'Donnel.	John Stewart.
Duncan M'Donnel.	John de Vallenge.
— de Makepath.	William de Vaux.
John de Maxwell.‖	Robert Wallace.
Walter Moigne.	

NOTE Q (XI.), p. 234.

Death of the Earl of Douglas at Otterburn.

According to one version of the ballad on the Battle of Otterburn, Douglas was assassinated by his page, a story which Godscroft states was not without some foundation in tradition. "There are that say, that he (Douglas) was not slain by the enemy, but by one of his own men, a groom of his chamber, whom he had struck the day before with a truncheon, in ordering of the battle, because he saw him make somewhat slowly to. And they name this man John Bickerton of Luffness, who left a part of his armour behind unfastened, and when he was in the greatest conflict, this servant of his came behind his back, and slew him thereat." "But this narration," adds the historian, "is not so probable." §§ "Indeed," says Sir Walter Scott,

* Lord Hailes is of opinion that this is William Douglas, the bastard brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale.

† Of Montrose; ancestor of the Duke of Montrose.

‡ Predecessor of the Lords Haliburton of Dirleton.

§ Made prisoner by Ralph de Hastings. Hastings died of his wounds. He bequeathed the body of Roger de Kirkpatrick to his joint legatees, Edmund Hastings of Kynthorpe, and John de Kirkeby.

|| Of Caerlaverock, ancestor of the Earl of Nithsdale.

‖ Ancestor of the Earl of Marchmont.

** Supposed to have been the ancestor of Preston Lord Dingwall.

†† Probably Sir William Ramsay of Colluthy. He was at the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, and was made prisoner there.

‡‡ Of Dalswinton, as the record bears. Ancestor of the Earl of Galloway.

§§ Wintoun assigns another cause for Douglas being carelessly armed:—

"The Erle Jamys was sa besy,
For til ordane his company,
And on his fays for to pas,
That reckles he of his armyng was;
The Erle of Murrays bassenet,
Thai sayd, at thot tyme was ferry hete"
Book viii. e. vii.

The circumstance of Douglas omitting to put on his helmet occurs in the ballad of the *Battle of Otterburn*:—

"He belted on his guid braid sword,
And to the field he ran;
But he forgot the helmet good,
That should have kept his brain."

"it seems to have no foundation, but the genuine desire of assigning some remote and extraordinary cause for the death of a great man."

NOTE R (XIII.), p. 244.

Death of David Duke of Rothesay.

Remission granted to Robert, Duke of Albany, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, for the part they took in the apprehension of the prince:—

"Robertus, Dei gratia, Rex Scottorum, universis, ad quorum notitiam presentes littere pervenerint, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum super carissimis nobis, Robertus Albanus Rex, Comes de Fife et de Menteth, frater noster germanus, et Archibaldus, Comes de Douglas, et Iacobus Oldwidie, filius noster secundum legem, contra Regem nostrum quam duxit in nostram, presentiumque filium nostrum primogenitum David, quondam Ducem Rothesaye, ac Comitem de Carrick et Athollim, capi fecerunt, et personaliter arreperunt, et in Castro Sancto Andrew, primo castro, deinde apud Faucland in custodia detinuit, ubi ab hac luce, divina providentia, et non aliter, magnum dignoscitur. Quibus comparantibus vobis nobis, in concilio nostro generali apud Edinburg, decimo sexto die mensis Martii, anno Incarnationis dominice quadringentesimo secundo, habito, et successu diebus continuato, et super hoc interrogatis ex officio nostro regali, sive secretis, legitime captionem, arrestationem, mortem, et captivitatem expressum, confitentem, vobis ipsa ad hoc venientes, pro publica, et honoraria, utilitate tantas, in presentia nostra significavit, que nos duximus presentibus litteris, et ex parte. Habita deinde super hoc diligenti investigatione, consideratis omnibus et singulis in hac parte considerandis, hujusmodi causam transmissis, et actis deliberatione concilii nostri prehabita, etiam prenotatos Robertum fratrem nostrum germanum, Archibaldumque filium nostrum secundum legem, et eorum in hac parte participes quosdamque, et arrestatores, detentores, custodes, venditores, et omnes alios consilios, videlicet, scilicet, vel in vorem eisdem prestantes, sive servos, Janus, et mandatum qualitercumque ex quoque commissa habemus; necnon et ipsos, et eorum quoslibet, a crimine laese majestatis nostrae, vel alio quocumque crimine, culpa, injuria, rancore, et offensa, que eis occasione presentium litterarum commissa qualitercumque, in hac remissa, vobis publici et publice declaravimus, remissionem, et absolvimus, tenoreque presentium declaramus, remissionem, et per hanc definitivam remissionem, remissionem, innocentem, honoris, integritatis, quietos, liberos, et immunes, penitus et omnino. Et si quam contra ipsos, sive vros aliquos, vel aliquam vel aliquos, in hac parte qualitercumque participes, vel eis committatur, offensionem, injuriam, iram, rancorem, vel offensionem, remissionem, qualitercumque, illos proprio iure, et vris, absolvimus, et etiam ex deliberatione concilii nostri jam dicti,

annullamus, removemus, et adnullatos volumus haberi, in perpetuum. Quare omnibus et singulis subditis nostris, cujuscunque status aut conditionis exstiterint, districtè præcipimus et mandamus, quatenus sæpe dictis Roberto et Archibaldo, eorumque in hoc facto participibus, consentientibus, seu adhærentibus, ut præmittitur, verbo non detraherent, neque facto, nec contra eosdem murmurent qualitercunque, unde possit eorum bona fama lædi, vel aliquod præjudicium generari, sub omni pœna quæ exinde competere poterit, quomodolibet ipso jure. Datum, sub testimonio magni sigilli nostri, in monasterio Sanctæ Crucis de Edinburgh, vicesimo die mensis Maii prædicti, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo secundo, et regni nostri anno tertio decimo."

"From this instrument, the following circumstances may be collected:—

"1. The death of David, Prince of Scotland, occasioned a parliamentary inquiry.

"2. His uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, and his brother-in-law, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, were, at least, suspected of having confined him and put him to death.

"3. The result of the inquiry was, that the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas avowed that they had confined him, and justified their conduct from motives of public utility.

"4. The king did not hold it as expedient or necessary to publish their motives to the world.

"5. It appeared that the Prince of Scotland 'departed this life, through Divine Providence, and not otherwise.' The reader will determine as to the import of this phrase. If by it a natural death was intended, the circumlocution seems strange and affected.

"6. The Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas obtained a remission in terms as ample as if they had actually murdered the heir-apparent."—*Hailes' Annals*, vol. iii. p. 57.

NOTE S, p. 253.

The Battle of Harlaw.

Frae Dunidier as I came through,
Doun by the hill of Bannochie,
Alangst the lands of Garioch,
Grit pitie was to heir and see
The noise and dulesome harmonic,
(That evir that dulefu' day did daw!)
Cryand the coranach on bie,
Alas, alas for the Harlaw!

I marvelit what the matter meint;
All folks were in a ferie fairrie;
I wist not wha was fae or friend;
Yet quietly I did me carrie.
But, sin the days of auld King Harrie,
Sic slauchter was not heard nor seen;
And there I had not time to tarrie,
For business in Abirdene.

Thus as I walkit on the way,
To Inverury as I went,
I met a man and bade him stay,
Requisting him to mak me 'quaint

Of the beginning and the event,
That happenit there at the Harlaw:
Then he entreit me tak tent,
And he the truth sould to me shaw.

"Grit Donald of the Isles did claim
Unto the lands of Ross some richt,
And to the governor he came
Them for to have, gif that he might;
Wha saw his interest was but slicht,
And therefore answerit with disdain.
He haisit hame baith day and nicht,
And sent nae bodward* back again.

"But Donald, richt impatient
Of that answer Duke Robert gave,
He vowed to God omnipotent
All the hale lands of Ross to have,
Or else be graithit † in his grave.
He wald nocht quat his richt for nocht,
Nor be abaisit like a slave.
That bargain sould be deirly boucht.

"Then hastilie he did command
That all his weir-men ‡ sould convene,
Ilk ane weil-harnessit frae hand, §
To meit and heir what he did mein.
He waxit wroth and vowit tein, ||
Sweirand he wald surprise the North,
Subdue the bruch of Abirdene,
Mearns, Angus, and all Fife to Forth.

"Thus, with the weir-men of the Isles,
Wha war aye at his biddin boun';
With monie mae, with fors and wyles,
Richt far and neir, baith up and douu,
Through mount and muir, frae toun to toun,
Alangs the lands of Ross, he roars;
And all obeyed at his bandoun, ¶
Evin frae the north to suthren shores.

"Then all the countrie-men did yield,
For nae resistance durst they mak,
Nor offer battle in the field,
Be fors of arms to beir him back.
But they resolvit all, and spak,
That best it was for their behuve,
They sould him for their chieftain tak,
Believing weel he did them luve.

"Then he a proclamation made,
All men to meit at Inverness
Through Murray land to make a raid,**
Frae Arthursye unto Speyness.
And, furthermair, he sent expresse,
To shaw his colours and ensenyie,
To all and sundrie, mair or less,
Throughout the bounds of Boyne and Enyie.

"And then through fair Strabogie land
His purpose was for to pursue,
And whasoev' durst gainstaind,
That race they should full sairly rue.
Then he bade all his men be true,
And him defend by fors and slicht,
And promist them rewards enew,
To mak them men of mickle might.

* Message, reply.

† Men of war.

‡ Revenge.

§ Dressed.

¶ Immediately.

** Inroad.

- " Without resistans, as he said,
Through all these bounds he stoutly past,
Where some war wac, and some war glad;
But Garioch was all aghast!
Through all these fields he sped him fast,
For sic a sicht was never sene;
And then, forsooth, he launged at last
To see the bruch of Abirdene.
- " To hinder this proud enterpyse,
The stout and michtie Earl of Mar,
With all his men in arms, did ryse,
Even frae Crugarf to Craigievar,
And down the syde of Dou richt far.
Angus and Mearns did a' convene,
To fecht, orr Donald cam sas nar
The royal bruch of Abirdene.
- " And thus the martial Earl of Mar
Marcht with his men in richt array;
Befoir the enemy was nar,
His banner bauldly did display.
For weel enouch they kened the way,
And all their semblance weil they saw,
Without all danger or delay,
Come hastilie to the Harlaw.
- " With him the braif Lord Ogilvie,
Of Angus sherif-principal,
The constable of gude Dundie,
The vanguard led befor them all.
Suppose in number they war small,
They first richt baulddie did pursue,
And made their foes befor them fall,
Wha then that race did sairly rue.
- " And then the worthy Lord Saltone,
The strong, undoubted Laird of Drum,
The stalwart Laird of Lauristone,
With ilk their forces all and some;
Panmure, with all his men, did come;
The provost of braif Abirdene,
With trumpetis and with tuik of drum.
Came shortlie in their armour sheen.
- " These with the Earl of Mar came on,
In the reirward richt orderlie,
Their enemies to set upon,
In awful manner, hardlie;
Together vowit to live and die,
Since they had marchit monie myles,
For to suppress the tyrannie
Of doubted Donald of the Isles.
- " But he in number ten to ane
Richt subtilie along did ryde,
With Malcolmsh and fell Maclean,
With all their power at their syde.
Presumand on their strength and pryde,
Without all feir or ony awe,
Richt baulddie battle did abyde,
Hard by the toun of fair Harlaw.
- " The armies met, the trumpet sounds,
The dandering* drums aloud did tuik,
Baith armyes bydand on the bounds,
Till ane of them the field sould bruiκ.†
Nae help was therefor; nane would jouκ;‡
Ferec was the fecht on ilka syde,
And on the ground lay mony a bouκ §
Of tham that there did battle byde.

* A word formed from the sound; rattling.
† Posses. ‡ To escape by suddenly stooping.
§ Body.

- " With doubtlesse valour they docht,
The bluddy battle bauld lang;
Ilk man his neebor's force than docht;
The weakest aft thame got the wrong;
There was nae movie* there thame coming;
Nothing was heard but heavy thumκ;
The echo made a dubly† canκ,
Thereto resounding frae the rocks.
- " But Donald's men at last gaid back,
For they were all out of array;
The Earl of Mar's men through them past,
Pursuing sherples in their way,
Their enemies to tak or slay.
By dint of force to gar them yield,
Wha war richt bythe to win cover,
And nae for fright they tint the field.
- " Then Donald fled, and that full fast
To mountains high, for all his might;
For he and his men ever all aghast,
And ran till they were out of sight,
And one of Ross he lost his sight.
Though mony men he with him brackt,
Towards the Yles fled day and night,
And all he won was deltry brackt.
- " This is," quod he, " the richt report
Of all that I did heir and see,
Though my discourse be somewhat short,
Tak this to be a richt gude aw; †
Contrair to God and the King's law,
There was spilt muckle Christian blood
Intill the battle of Harlaw;
This is the sum; nae I conclude.
- " But yet a beanie while abyde,
And I will mak thee clearly see,
What slaughter was on this syde,
Of Lowland and of Highland men,
Wha for their awn half ever bene,
These lark larks might well be quene,
Cherit the dale ous their stein,
And gat their wages for reward.
- " Malcolmsh, of the cleve best dabit,
Maclean, with his greit brawny back,
With all their gunnes and relief
War dulefully hangy in the field;
And now we are freed of their field;
They will not lang to come again;
Thousands with thame, without count,
On Donald's syde, that day was slain.
- " And on the other syde war best,
Into the field thane dand the,
Chief men of worth, of worthie sort,
To be lamentit our for ay,
The Lord Wallace of Rosneath,
A man of might and noble name;
Grit debour was for his name,
That one unappoynt was slain.
- " Of the best men among thame was
The grettest, gude Lord Ogilvie,
The sherif-principal of Angus,
Renowit for truth and justice,
For faith and magnanimity,
He had few fellows in the field;
Yet fell by fatal destiny,
For he narwys was grant to yield

* Jest, in opposition to earnest.
† Story, or rather true saying.
‡ Feud, quarrel.

" Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudhope, knight,
Grit Constable of fair Dundie,
Unto the dulefu' death was dight;
The king's chief bannerman was he;
A valiant man of chivalrie,
Whase predecessors wan that place
At Spey, with gude King William frie,
'Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race.

" Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit Laird of Drum,
Name in his days was bettir sene,
When they war semblit all and some;
To praise him we sould nocht be dumbe,
For valour, witte, and worthines;
To end his dayis he there did come,
Whaise ransom is remediydes.

" And there the Knight of Lauriston
Was slain into his armour sheen;
And gude Sir Robert Davidson,
Wha Provost was of Abirdene;
The Knight of Panmure, as was sene,
A mortal man,* in armour bricht;
Sir Thomas Murray, stout and kene,
Left to the world their last gude-nicht.

" There was not, sin' King Kenneth's dayis,
Sic strange intestine cruel stryfe
In Scotlande sene, as ilk man sayis,
Where monie lyklike † lost their lyfe;
Whilk made divorce twene man and wyfe,
And monie children fatherles,
Whilk in this realm has bene full ryfe;
Lord help these lands! our wrangs redress!

" In July, on St. James his euin,
That four-and-twenty dismal day,
Twelve hundred, twelve score, and eleven,
Of yeirs sin' Christ, the suthie to say;
Men will remember, as they may,
When thus the veritie they knaw;
And monie a ane will mournie for ay,
The brim ‡ battle of the Harlaw."

"The exact age of the above historical song or poem has not been ascertained, and has given rise to some discussion. Lord Hailes suspected, 'that it will be found to be as recent as the days of Queen Mary or James VI.' Mr. Sibbald concurs in this opinion; but, on the other hand, Mr. Ritson, Mr. Pinkerton, and Mr. Finlay, maintain that, 'from its manner, it might have been written soon after the event.' That this poem is of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted, the 'battle of Haylaw' being named amongst the popular songs of the time by the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1549; and it may be considered as the original of rather a numerous class of our historical ballads. No copy of an earlier date than that in Ramsay's *Evergreen*, 1724, is known; but it certainly had been printed long before his time. An edition, printed in the year 1668, was in the curious library of old Robert Myln."—*Laing's Early Metrical Tales, Preface VII.*

In the manuscript geographical description of Scotland, collected by Macfarlane, and preserved

in the Advocates' Library, vol. i. p. 7, there is the following minute description of the site of this battle:—"Through this parish (the chapel of Garioch, called formerly Capella Beate Mariæ Virginie de Garryoch, Chart. Aberdon, p. 31) runs the king's highway from Aberdeen to Inverness, and from Aberdeen to the high country. A large milc to the east of the church lies the field of an ancient battle, called the Battle of Harlaw, from a country town of that name hard by. This town and the field of battle, which lies along the king's highway upon a moor extending a short mile from SE. NW., stands on the north-east side of the water of Urie, and a small distance therefrom. To the west of the field of battle, about half a mile, is a farmer's house, called Legget's Den, hard by in which is a tomb, built in the form of a malt-steep, of four large stones, covered with a broad stone above, where, as the country-people generally report, Donald of the Isles lies buried, being slain in the battle, and therefore they call it commonly Donald's tomb." So far the MS. It is certain, however, that the Lord of the Isles was not slain. This may probably be the tomb of the chief of Maclean, or of Macintosh, both of whom fell in the battle. In the genealogical collections of the same industrious antiquary (MS. Advocates' Library, Jac. V. 4, 16, vol. i. p. 180), we find a manuscript account of the family of Maclean, which informs us that Lauchlan Lubanich had by McDonald's daughter a son, called Eachin Rusidh ni Cath, or Hector Rufus Bellicosus. He commanded as lieutenant-general under the Earl of Ross at the Battle of Harlaw, in 1411, where he and Irving of Drum, seeking out one another by their armorial bearings on their shields, met and killed each other. He was married to a daughter of the Earl of Douglas.

"Sir Walter Ogilvy, on the 28th of January, 1426, founded a chaplainry in the parish church of St. Mary of Uchterhouse, in which perpetual prayers were to be offered up for the salvation of King James and his Queen Johanna; and for the souls of all who died in the Battle of Harlaw."—*Diplom. Regior. Indices*, vol. i. p. 97; *Tytler, Appendix* to vol. iii., letter B, p. 156.

NOTE T (XIII.), p. 257.

Annual Revenues of the Hostages for James I.

The following list of the names of the hostages of James I. is not a little curious, as there is added to the name of each baron a statement of his yearly income, presenting us with an interesting picture of the comparative wealth of the members of the Scottish aristocracy in 1423:—

David, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Atholl, returned at twelve hundred marks.

Thomas, Earl of Moray, at 1000 marks.

Alexander, Earl of Crawford, at 1000 marks.

Duncan, Lord of Argyll, at 1500 marks.

William, eldest son and heir of Lord Dalkeith, at 1500 marks.

* Deadly.

† Handsome men.

‡ Fierce.

Gilbert, eldest son and heir of William, High Constable of Scotland, at 800 marks.
 Robert, Marechal of Scotland, at 800 marks.
 Robert, Lord of Erskin, at 1000 marks.
 Walter, Lord of Dirleton, at 800 marks.
 Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock, at 500 marks.
 Lord Patrick Dunbar, Lord of Cumnok, at 500 marks.
 Alexander, Lord de Gordon, at 400 marks.

The following were to take the place of any of the hostages who might obtain leave of absence:—

James William of Abernethy, at 500 marks.
 Lord Dunbar, Lord of Frendrath, at 500 marks.
 Andrew Gray de Foulis, at 600 marks.
 Lord Robert Levinston, at 400 marks.
 John Lindsay, at 500 marks.
 Lord Robert de Lisle, at 300 marks.
 James, Lord of Calder, at 400 marks.
 James, Lord of Cadyo, at 500 marks.
 Lord William de Ruthven, at 400 marks.
 William Oliphant, Lord of Abirdalgy.
 George, eldest son and heir of Hugh Campbell, at 300 marks.
 Robert, eldest son and heir of Lord Robert de Mautalent, at 400 marks.
 David Meinzes, at 200 marks.
 David Oglivy, at 200 marks.
 Patrick, eldest son and heir of Lord John Lyon, at 300 marks.
Rymer, vol. x. p. 307.

NOTE U, p. 258.

Coronation Oath, and Oaths of Fidelity and Homage.

FORMA JURAMENTI REGIS SUIS TRIBUS STATIBUS, &c.

"I sall be lele and trew to God and Haly Kirk, and to the Thre Estatis of my realm. And ilk estate kepe, defende, and governe, in thair awn fredome and privilege, at my gudly power, eftir the lawis and custumis of the realm. The law, custume, and statutis of the realm, neyther to eik, nor to mynis (add to nor diminish), without the consent of the Thre Estatis. And nothing to wirk, na use, tuiching the commoun profit of the realm, but (without) consent of the Thre Estatis. The law and statuts, maid be my forbearis (ancessors), keip and use in all puncts, at all my power, till all my leigis in all things, sa that thair repung nocht agane the faith. Sa help me God, and this halydome, &c.

FORMA FIDELITATIS PRELATORUM.

"I sall be lele and trew to you, my Liege Lord, Schir James King of Scottis. And sall nocht heir your scaith, nor se it, but I sall lat (hinder) it, at all my power, and warn you thereof. Your consell heil that ye schaw me: The best consale I can to gif to yow, quhen ye charge me *in verbo Dei*. And als help me God, and haly ewangelis, &c.

JURAMENTUM BARONUM, ET IPSORUM HOMAGII JURAMENTUM.

"I B. becumis your man as my King, in laud, lif, licht, and lym, and warldlis honour, fewtie, and lawtie, aganis all that leif and dee may; your consale celand that ye schaw to me. The best consale

govand, geif ye charge me. Your wealth me dishonour to heir, nor se, but I sall lat it, at all my gudlie power, and warn yow thereof. Sa help me God, &c.

FORMA FIDELITATIS JURAMENTI REGIS.

"I call be lele and trew to you, my Liege Lord, Schir James King of Scotland. I will nocht heir your scaith, nor se it, but I sall lat it at all my power, and warn you thereof. Your consell schewin to me I call consall. The best consall I can I sall gif you, quhen ye charge me therewith. Sa help me God, &c.

"Thir foirmaid aithis was maid in the parliament begunnyng at Perth, the xij day of Jany, the yer &c. xlv. and continewit to Edinburgh, on the xxij followis. Thair was gevin domes agens the King's rebelloris. Schir James Stewart laycht was lauchfully summond to answer befor our honour lord the King, and his parliament, for cryme committit till his Majestie, and for rebellous quhills summonds lauchfully previt, and he dreyne thair callit, and nocht comperit. The parliament has decretit and determynit that all and vniuersall gude, lands, and possessionis, pertaining to him, as the King's eschet, less than he be seen within year and day, and underga the law, and that was gevin for dome, &c.

"After this follow the oaths of the baronis and burgesses of fidelity to the King, and to the interests of the town, &c. The oath of the baronis' oath is, 'Sa help me God, and myn awn land, and this hallidome, and all halydom, and all that God maid on vi days, and vii syghts, under and abone.'—*Appendix to Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 176.*

NOTE V, p. 258.

State of Scotland in the fourteenth century.

Account given by *Thomas Eyvins*, afterwards Pope Pius II. —

"Concerning Scotland he found those things worthy of repetition. It is an island joined to England, stretching two hundred miles to the north, and about fifty broad; a cold country, fertile of few sorts of grain, and generally void of trees, but there is a wilderness of stone slag up which is used for firing. The towns are walled, the houses commonly built without lines, and the villages roofed with turf, while a cow's tail supplies the place of a door. The country is poor and uneducated, have abundance of beef, and fish, but eat bread as a delicacy. The men are small in stature, but bold; the women shy and scanty, and prone to the phrensies of love, being there esteemed of less consequence than young the hand in Italy. The wine is all imported, the horses are mostly small working nags, only a few being preserved entire for propagation, and wooden curry-combs nor reins are used. The oxen are larger than in England. From Flanders are imported into Flanders tables, made with fish, and pearls. Nothing gives the Scots more pleasure

than to hear the English dispraised. The country is divided into two parts, the cultivated lowlands, and the region where agriculture is not used. The wild Scots have a different language, and sometimes eat the bark of trees. There are no wolves. Crows are new inhabitants, and therefore the tree in which they build becomes royal property.' At the winter solstice, when the author was there, the day did not exceed four hours. In another place, Silvio observes, 'That the fabulous tale of the bar-nacles, the invention of dreaming monks, had passed from Scotland to the Orkneys: and that coals were given to the poor at the church doors, by way of alms, the country being denuded of wood.'

The author adds a naïf account of his adventures in the north of England on his return. He went disguised as a merchant, and on passing the Tweed, could get neither wine nor bread. An alarm was spread in the night that the Scottish borderers were approaching, and the men fled, but the women refused: "nihil enim his mali facturos hostes credunt, qui stuprum inter mala non ducunt."—*Pinkerton*, vol. i. p. 150.

NOTE W (XIV.), p. 294.

Romance of Feranbrace, or Fierabras.

The romance, which the venerable biographer of Bruce represents that "gude King" as reading or reciting to his followers on the shores of Loch Lomond, is evidently the French romance of *Fierabras*. The late Dr. Farmer had in his possession a copy of this romance in MS., from which Mr. Ellis has given some extracts in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. p. 356. The English work is professedly translated from the French; but the copy used by Bruce must have been different, and an earlier translation than that quoted by Mr. Ellis in his abstract of the story. "The original," Mr. Ellis says, "may possibly be the *Fierabras* of which there is a copy in *Bibl. Reg.* 15, E. vi."

"*Fer-à-bras*," say the authors of the *Dict. de Trevoux*, "ou *Bras-de-fer*, est un surnom pris par quelques grands seigneurs qui avoient signalé leur courage, et fait sentir la force de leur bras dans les batailles. *Badouin, Bras-de-fer*, est regardé comme le premier Comte de Flandres. Quelques auteurs l'appellent *Fer-à-bras*. Hues Chapel n'étoit pas seulement fort-à-tête, mais grand *Fer-à-bras*. Guillaume, frere de Robert, Guiscard, porta le surnom de *Fer-à-bras* à cause de sa valeur."—*Notes to Jamieson's Edition of Barbour's "Bruce,"* pp. 433, 436.

NOTE X (XV.), p. 322.

Execution of the Douglases.

"The Douglases, along with their unfortunate friend and adherent Malcolm Fleming, were beheaded, according to Gray's MS., "in vigilio Sancte Katerine Virginis, viz. xxiii. die mensis Novem-

bris, anno Domini 1^{mo} III^o XL." The date in the *Extracta ex Veteribus Chronicis Scotiæ* agrees with this; but it appears, from the following curious instrument, that Malcolm Fleming was executed, not at the same time as the Douglases, but on the fourth day thereafter:—In Dei nomine, Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter quod anno ab incarnatione Domini, secundum computationem Regni Socie M^{mo} CCCC^{mo} XL^{mo} mensis Januarii die vii. Indictione quarta Pontificatus Sanctissime in Xpo patris et Domini nostri, Domini Eugenii divina providentia Popæ Quarti, Anno X^{mo}. In mei Notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitut Nobiles viri Walterus de Buchwhanane et Thomas de Murhede scutiferi, ac procuratores nobilis viri Roberti Flemyng scutiferi, filii et heredis Malcolmi Flemyng quondam Domini de Bigar, habentes ad infrascripta potestaten et sufficiens mandatum, ut incipso notario constabat per legitima documenta, accedentes ad Crucem fori Burgi de Lithgow, coram Willmo de Howstoun deputato Vicecomitis ejusdem, procuratorio nomine dieti Roberti, falsaverunt quoddam judicium datum seu prelatum super Malcolmum Flemyng, patrem dieti Roberti, super montem Castri de Edynburch, Secundum modum et formam, et propter rationem inferius scriptum, quarum tenor sequitur in vulgar.

"We, Walter of Buchquanane and Thomas of Murhede, speciale procurators and actournais, conjunctly and severally, to Robert Flemyng, son and ayr to Malcolm Flemyng, sumtyme Lord of Bigar, sayis to thee, John of Blayr Dempstar, that the doyme gyffin out of thy mouth on Malcolm Flemyng, in a said Courte haldyn befor our soverane lord 7^e king, on the Castle-hill of Edynburch, on Mononday, the acht and twenty day of the moneth of November, the yere of our Lord M^{mo} CCCC^{mo} and fourty yeris. Sayande, 'that he had forfat land, lyff, and gude as chete to the king, and that you gave for doyme;' that doyme forsaid giffyn out of thy mouth is evyl, fals, and rotten in itself; and here we, the forsaid Walter and Thomas, procurators to the said Robert for hym, and in his name, fals it, adnull it, and again cancel it in thy hand, William of Howstoun, deput to the sherray of Lithgow, and tharto a borch in thy hand; and for this cause the courte was unlachfull, the doyme unlachfull, unorderly gyffin, and agane our statut; for had he been a common thef takyn redhand haldyn twa sons, he sulde haff had his law dayis he askande them, as he did before our soverane lord the king; and be this resoune the doyme is evyll giffyn and weill again said, and her we, the foresaid Walter and Thomas, procurators to the foresaid Robert, protests for ma resounys to be giffyn up be the said Robert, or be his procurators qwhar he acht, in lawfull tyme.

"Dictum judicium sic ut premittitur falsatum et adnullatum dicti procuratoris, nomine dicti Roberti, invenerunt plegium ad prosequendum dictas adnullaciones et falsaciones predicti judicii, in manu

Roberti Nicholson, serjandi domini nostri regis, qui dictum plegium recepit. Postmodo vero dicti procuratores offerebant falsacionem adnullacionem diete judicii sub sigillo prefati Roberti Flemyng dicto Willelmo de Howstoun deputato dieti vicomitis, qui recipere recusavit, dicendo quod recepo ejusdem pertinebat ad justiciarium et non ad vicecomitum, et tunc ipsi procuratores continuo publice protestati sunt, quod dieta recusacio nullum prejudicium dicto Roberto Flemyng generaret in futurum. Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefati Walterus et Thomas procuratorio nomine ut supra a me notario publico infrascript sibi fieri peecerunt publicum instrumentum, seu publica instrumenta.

“Acta fuerunt hæc apud cruceem ville de Lithgw, hora qui decima ante meridiem anno, die, mense, Indiceione et Pontificatu quibus supra, presentibus ibidem providis viris, Willelmo de Houston, deputato ut supra, Domino Willmollane, Domino Johanne person presbyteris, Jacobo Fowlys, publico notario eum multis aliis testibus, ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.”

This instrument, which exhibits in a striking light the formal solemnity of feudal manners, is printed from a copy communicated to Mr. Tytler by Thomas Thomson, Esq., Depute-clerk Register, and taken from the original, in the archives of the earldom of Wigtown, preserved in the charter-chest at Cumbernauld.—*Tytler, Appendix to vol. iv.*

NOTE Y, p. 365.

Rise of the Power of the Boyds.

The remarkable indenture referred to in the text is preserved among the archives of the earldom of Wigtown, in the charter-chest of the Flemings of Cumbernauld:—

“Yis indentour, mad at Striuelyn, the tend day of Februar, the zer of God a thousand four hundredre sixty and fyf zeris, betwix honourable and worshipful lordis, yat is to say, Robert, Lord Flemyng on ye ta pairt, and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boid of Duehol, knight, on the todir pairt, yat yai ar fullelic accordit and appointit in maner and form as eftir followis: Yat is to say, yat ye said lordis ar bundyn and oblist yaim selfis, yair kyn, friendis, and men, to stand in afald kendnes, supple, and defenes, ilk an til odir, in all yair causis and querrell leifull and honest, movit and to be movit, for all ye dais of yair liffis, in contrary and aganis al maner of persones yat leiff or dee may, yair allegiance til our soueran lord alanerly outan, excepan to the Lord Flemyng, his bandis mad of befor, to ye Lord Leyvynston, and to yhe Lord Hamilton, and, in lyk maner, excepan to the saidis Lordis Kennedy and Sir Alexander, yair bandis mad of befor, til a reverend fadir in Crist, Master Patrik the Graham, Bishop of Sanctander, ye Erle of Crawford, ye Lord Mungumer, the Lord Maxvel, the Lord Boid, the Lord Leyvynston, the Lord Hamilton, and the Lord Cathcart. Item, yat the said Lord Flemyng sal be of special

service, and of counsell to the kyng, so lang as the saidis Lordis Kennedy and Sir Alexander ar special scruandis and of counsell to ye kyng. The said Lord Flemyng kepan his hand and handis to the foirnaidis Lord Kennedy and Alexander, be al the foirnaid tym: And alsme, the said Lord Flemyng is oblat yat he sal nocht wek, movit, nor assent, til (avas) nor tak away the kyngis power fra the saidis Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander, nor fra na adyr yat yai leit, and ordanis to be done to yaim, and keparis in yair abillis, and gif the said Lord Flemyng quyt, or may get, any bit of sic thing to be don in any tym, be ad wair the saidis Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander, or yair doaris in do tym, or let it to be done at all his power; and tak sic part as yat dai, or on on of yair, for ye tymis, ye gairstandyng of yair maner, bot fraud and gil, and the said Lord Flemyng sal adwis the kyng at al his party power waird his gud counsil, to be hertly and kyndly to the saidis Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander, to yair bairnis and friendis, and yat at belang to yaim for ye tym. Item, gif yair happynis any saland to fall in the kyngis handis, at a reasonable and meit thyng for the said Lord Flemyngis service, yat he sal be furdrit yairto for his reward; and gif yair happynis a large thing to fall, as a ward, releiff, marriage, or othe, as is best for kyng, the said Lord Flemyng sal had it for a reasonable compocieion befor udir. Item, the saidis Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander sal had Thom of Bannock and Wat of Tweedy, in special maintenance, supply, and defenes, in all yair abillis, cause, and quarrell, leful, and honest, for the said Lord Flemyngis sak, and for yair scrule don and to be don, wair yai awyn mastiris, yat yai wev in of befor. And at all and sundry thyngs abovn writtis sal be lilly kept, bot fraud and gil; either of yhe parties his geffyn, till udiris, yair hertly stidis, the best counsellist tuchit, and enterchangable, set to yair wair, at day, yhair, and place abovn writtis.”—*Tytler, Appendix to vol. iv. Letter G.*

NOTE Z (XV), p. 374.

*An Account, Charge and Discharge of James Bishop of Glasgow, Treasurer to James III. for the Year 1474.**

CRUIK.

The comptroller's charge for compositions of marriages, wardis, marriages, ransoms, ransoms, &c., for this year, amounts to £3260 15s. 9d. Scots.

EXPENSES.

Expenses for the King's service.

s. d. c.

Deliverit to James Hamilton, the Clerk of the August, 4 elms of Fynde thair, for a gowne to the King, fra Wat Hamilton, price 100
the elms, the sum 100 0 0
Item, to James Hamilton, to buy 10 elms of thair,
to lyme the samy gowne, price 10 0 0

* From Bartholwick's Remarks on the History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1776, 8vo. the only curious article in the work.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Item, to James Homel, to buy graith for the King's vellum doublet	0 10 0	Item, Fra Thome Cant, 24 bestes of grece, to lyne a tippat to the King, price of the best, 13 <i>d</i> . sum	1 5 0
Item, to Andrew Balfour, an half elne of graith to lyne the King's short gowne	0 12 0	Item, Fra Thome Cant, be Androu Balfoure, 20 Decembris, a bonet to the King, price 15 <i>s</i>	0 15 0
Fra the same, twa elne of quhite, to lyne twa pair of hoses to the King, price elne twantie peannies, sum	0 3 4	Item, For 2 hattis to the King, coft fra Karnies, price 20 <i>s</i>	1 0 0
Item, Fra the samyn, an elne of black, to eke furth (to widen) the lynyng of the King's gown	0 6 0	Item, Given to Sandy Balfoure the schevar, for certane clath schorn be him to the King and Quene, and the King's sister, and the heusmen, fra Pasche to Yule, (that is, from Easter to Christmas)	2 0 0
Item, Coft (bought) fra Will. of Carkettel, be Androu Balfoure, and deliverit to Rob. Sheves, for three sarks (shirts) to the King, 3d Septembris, 10 elne and ane half of small (fine) holland cloth, price elne 13 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> . sum	7 0 0	Item, Given to a skynner, for the lynyng of lam-skininis, to the King's jakat of sating	0 6 0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, 3d Septembris, and deliverit to Rob. Sheves, 13 elne of small holland cloth, for three sarks, and a curch (cap), price elne 12 <i>s</i> . sum	7 16 0	Item, Given to James Homyll, 3 Januarius, to buy 3 elne of gray, for lang sokks to the King.	0 5 0
Item, Fra Thomas Brown, 4th Septembris, three quarters of blew, for harnessing to the King's sadellia, price 12 <i>s</i>	0 12 0	Item, Given to Will. Schevas, to pay for the sewing of the King's sarks, laid down by him befor 3 Septembris	0 12 0
Item, Fra the samyn, an elne of quhite, for the samyn twantie penies	0 1 8	Item, for silk to the samyne	0 3 0
Item, Fra Tom. Crown, for the samyne harnessing, an elne and a half of rede, price	0 9 0	Item, Fra Thome of Stanley, half an elne of black sating, to cover an orisone buke to the King	0 13 4
Item, Fra David Quiltitch's wife, 3 unce of silk, for the samyne, price of the unce, 5 <i>s</i>	0 15 0	Item, For a hat to the King, tane by Johne of Murray at Yule	0 12 0
Item, Given to James Saddilar, for a saddil to the King's trompis, coft be Androu Balfoure, fra the saide James, price 45 <i>s</i>	2 5 0	Item, Fra ane elne and ane half of vellous, for a chesabell to the King's closat, price 45 <i>s</i>	3 7 6
Item, Given to a skynner, 7th Septembris, for a lynyng of lam-skininis, coft be Androu Balfoure, to lyne a gowne of chamlot to the King, price 34 <i>s</i>	1 14 0	Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, primo Martii, halfe an elne of vellous, to the King's brigintynis, 25 <i>s</i>	1 5 0
Item, Fra Thom. Malcolm, an elne and ane half of quhite, for fute sokks to the King, price elne 2 <i>s</i> .	0 3 0	Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 4 pyrnis of gold, for the King's knappis to the harnessing, price of the pyrn, 12 <i>s</i> . sum	2 8 0
Item, Fra David Quiteheid, be Androu Balfoure, 5 elne of braide clath, to turse the King's doublatts and his hoses, price of the elne 18 <i>d</i>	0 7 6	Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 16 elne of Holland-clath, for sarks to the King, price elne 10 <i>s</i>	8 0 0
Item, Given to Archibald of Edmonstoune, 12th Septembris, to buy a pair of spurs to the King, 4 <i>s</i> .	0 4 0	Item, Given to Robyne Hunter, 20 Junii, to buy a chymna to the King's closat, 18 <i>s</i>	0 18 0
Item, To a child of the chalmr, 4 elne of braid clath for twa sarks, price elne 3 <i>s</i>	0 12 0	Item, Fra Thome Cant, to the King on Pasche evin, a bonat	0 16 0
Item, By the King's command, 5 quarters of bukacy, for a doublatt to littill Bell, 10 <i>s</i>	0 10 0	Item, For the King, 5 elne of ribbanis for his doublatt	0 3 4
Item, For braid clath to the samyne, 18 <i>d</i>	0 1 6	Item, Fra David Quhiteheid, for grene ginger, tane at divers tymes, be Kirkaldy and Will. Pringell, at the command of Will. Schevas, sen the comptar's last compt to the 26th day of Julii last	2 0 6
Item, For a quarter of blak, to make a jakat to Bell, 8 <i>s</i>	0 8 0	Item, Fra Will. of Rend, 6 elne of small braid clath, for covers to the King's codbers (pillows), price elne 4 <i>s</i> . sum	1 4 0
Item, For a quarter of satyne, to bind Bell's doublatt, 6 <i>s</i>	0 6 0	Item, Fra David Malwyne, three elne and ane half of gray, for a klok to the King, price elne 10 <i>s</i> . sum	1 15 0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, 20 Octobris, fra David Goldemith, 8 elne of small ribbons, for the King, 2 <i>s</i>	0 2 0	Item, The 27th day of Julii, to a Flemynge of Brugess, for certane potigaries, coft to the King be Maister William Shevas, Archdene of Sanct Androis	12 7 0
Item, Be the said Androu, 24 Octobris, fra Will of Kirkettill, 10 elne of canves, to mak Nikky and Bell a bed to lie on in the King's chalmr, price of the elne 16 <i>s</i> . sum	0 13 4	Item, Given Jame Broune, sadillar, at the King's command, the 26th Augusti, ane and ane half henry-noble of gold, to gilt a small harnessing to the King	2 0 0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, be the said Androu, ane elne and ane half of blak, for 2 pair of hoses to the King, price 38 <i>s</i>	2 17 0	Item, Given to a taylour that makes the King's hoses, for certane lynyng, making, and uther workmanship, wrocht be him, as his bill beirs, presentit to the comptar be Androu Balfoure, 28 Augusti	4 13 6
Item, Fra John Malcolm, 2 elne of quhite, to lyne the King's hoses, price elne 18 <i>d</i>	0 3 0	Item, Fra Isabell Williamsone, 6 Octobris, 6 quarters of vellous, for covering of a sword and two tippats, price of the elne 3 <i>s</i>	4 10 0
Item, Fra David Quhiteheid, 3 Decembris, 2 elne of vellous, for two tippats to the King, price 55 <i>s</i> .	5 10 0	Item, A pyrn of gold, for a skawburn to the samyn	0 10 0
Item, Fra Thome of Yare, and deliverit to Archibald of Edmonstoune, 17 Decembris, 2 elne and ane half of vellous, for a fute mantile to the King, price elne 45 <i>s</i> . sum	5 12 6	Item, Given to Androu Balfoure, a ferding of a noble, to gilt the chaip to the King's sword	0 7 6

	£ s. d.
Item, Fra Johne of Yare, 13 Octobria, ane elne of skarlett, for a petticoate to the King	2 10 0
Item, The samyn tyme, fra Isabell Williamsonsone, ane quarter of rede crammassay vellous, for the covering of the litil bering sword	1 0 0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, 16 elne of small ribbanis, for the King's doublat sleiffs, price the elne 3 <i>l</i> . sum	0 4 0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerketill, 26 Octobria, 4 elne and ane halfe of sating, to lyne a gowne of clath of gold to the King, the quihik was gevin to the herald of Inglande, at the passing of the ambasters, price elne 30 <i>s</i>	6 15 0
Item, Given to Rob. Raa, 4 Novembria, for certane gluffs coft to the King and Queen, as a bill beris, subscrivit with the King's hand	1 10 0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerketill, 8 Novembria, ane elne of holland-clath, for muchis (caps) to the King	0 10 0
Item, Given to Gely Brusour, 20 Novembria, for a bag, silk, gold, and werk thereof, to the King	1 0 0
Summa totalis, £118 18 6	

Things tane for the Quenis person.

Imprimis, To Caldwell in here chalmer, to pay for patynis and corks	0 12 0
Item, To Androu Balfoure, 20 Augusti, for livery gownes to sex ladies of the Quenis chalmer, at here passing to Quhiteherene, 21 elne of gray, fra David Gill, price elne 10 <i>s</i>	10 10 0
Item, Fra Henry Caunt, 22 Augusti, ane elne and ane halve of satyne, for turrats to the Quene, price of the elne 26 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i>	2 0 0
Item, Fra Thome Malcolme, 26 Augusti, 28 elne of gray, to lyne the sex gownes, price elne 14 <i>d</i> . sum	1 12 8
Item, Fra Will. of Kerketill, the samyn tyme, 6 elne of braid clath, to the samyn gownes, price elne 18 <i>d</i> . sum	0 9 0
Item, Fra samyn man, the samyn tyme, 3 elne and ane halve of blak, for a sliding gowne to the Quene, price 36 <i>s</i> . sum	6 6 0
Item, Fra the samyn, 3 elne of vellous, for the collars and sleiffs of the gentill womans gownes, price elne 55 <i>s</i> . sum	8 5 0
Item, The samyn tyme, fra the saide Williame, 3 elne and ane halve of vellous, for the Quenis gowne, price elne 55 <i>s</i> . sum	9 12 6
Item, Gevin to a skyenner of Strivelinge, for a dusane of gluffs to the Quene	0 6 0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra Will. of Kerketill, twa elne and ane halve of blak, for a clok and capite bern for the Quene, price elne 36 <i>s</i> . sum	4 10 0
Item, Twa elne and ane halve of Scotts black, to lyne the samyne clok, price elne 5 <i>s</i>	0 12 6
Item, Three quarteris of blak, to fulfil furth the lynnyng of the Quenis gowne	0 3 9
Item, Fra Androu Moubra, 8 elne of braid clath, 6 Octobris, to cover a baith seat to the Quene, price 2 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> . the elne	0 16 0
Item, Fra the samyn, 3 elne of braid clath, for a schete to put about the Quene in the baith fat, price elne 3 <i>s</i> . sum	0 9 0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsonsone, be Sandy Wardropare, in absence of Androu Balfoure, 5 Novembria, 5 quarters of black, for hose to the Quene, price elne 40 <i>s</i>	2 10 0

	£ s. d.
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra David Gubinsheid, 3 Decembria, 7 elne of creamy satyne, for a kirtle to the Quene, and to cover her hands of tyre, price 3 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> . sum	34 10 0
Item, Given to a cnyth of Leith, for a chimney to the Quenis cheser	0 15 0
Item, For hand-lodder to the Quenis serving of her gloves	0 3 0
Item, Fra Henry Caunt, be Androu Balfoure, 17 Aprilis, 6 elne of crisy gray, price of the elne 30 <i>s</i> . to lyne a gowne of blak damask to the Quene, sum	7 15 0
Item, Fra Thome of Stanly, 37 Aprilis, ane quarter of blew vellous, to cover the Quenis strop iron	0 15 0
Item, Fra Will. of Reid, 7 Mail, and delivroit to Caldwell, halve ane elne of doublet terten, to lyne riding collare to the Quene, price	0 0 0
Item, For 6 elne of small braid clath, for two had schete, price of the elne 4 <i>s</i>	1 0 0
Item, Gevin to Caldwell, 22 Junil, to buy 2 haussings for here chamber	0 12 0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsonsone, 3 elne of satyne, for tippate and collars, and delivroit to Caldwell, price elne 30 <i>s</i> . sum	3 0 0
Item, Fra Will. of Reid, ult. Julil, half ane elne and half quarter of satyne, for the Quenis bonnet of tyr, price elne 30 <i>s</i>	0 15 0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsonsone, 26 Augusti, half ane elne and halfe quarter of blak, for 3 pair of hose to the Quene, price elne 34 <i>s</i>	1 11 0
Item, Given to hoed enter, for the Quenis schenno, fra Saint Jelys day* was a yare, to the West day of September	7 0 0
Item, Fra Will. of Kerketill, and delivroit to Caldwell the samyn tyme, ane elne of satyne, for stomaks to the Quene	1 10 0
Item, Fra Roger of Murray, the halve of 8 quarters of vellous, for a tippat to the Quene, price elne 50 <i>s</i>	1 10 0
Item, For armyns, to lyne a stomak to the Quene	1 5 0
Item, To Thome Skynnare, for 26 brutes of groun, to lyne a tippat to the Quene, price	1 5 0
Item, For making the tippat, and the stomaks	0 3 0
Item, For a moss bucke to the Quenis elne, of her command, by Captain John Cut	10 18 4
Summa totalis, £118 18 6	

Things cost for my Lords the French.

Imprimis, To my Lords Prince, 28 Augusti, fra Robert Nut, 6 elne of Holland cloth, for cove and muchies, price elne 10 <i>s</i> . sum	2 10 0
Item, Fra Thome Malcolme, 26 Augusti, 7 quarters of quhite, to lyne a coat to my Lord	4 2 0
Item, Fra Donald of Kyle, 3 quarters of woad for a coat, price elne 30 <i>s</i>	1 0 0
Item, The samyn tyme, fra Thome Malcolme, 7 elne of quhite, for his cordis, and muchie petteyning thairis, price elne 2 <i>s</i>	0 0 0
Item, Gevin to Androu Balfoure, 12 Octobria, to buy 12 elne of lynnyng for a schete to my Lord's nurris	0 10 4
Item, Six elne of small braid clath, for his schete, price 4 <i>s</i> . sum	1 4 0
Item, tertio Februaril, for ane elne of quhite, to be hose to my Lords	0 3 0

* 1 Sept.

	£	s.	d.
Item, From Thome of Stanly, 2 elne of laune, for my Lorde muchiss, price elne 12s.	1	4	0
Item, Fra Thome of Yare, ane elne of Carsaye	0	13	4
Item, 30 Februarii, for ane elne of quhite, for my Lorde Prince's pettycote, price 4s.	0	4	0
Item, Fra Dick Forestare in Leith, 3 dusane of Estland burda, for my Lorde's chalmer, price of the dusane 15s.	2	5	0
Item, To my Lorde Prince, for his sarks, 3 elne of braid clath, tane fra Isabell Williamsons's sone, price elne 4s.	0	12	0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsons, quarto Aprilis, two elne and ane halve of Franche broune, to cover my Lorde's cradile, price elne 30s.	3	15	0
Item, For 4 elne and ane halve of tartane, for a sparwort about his credill, price elne 10s.	2	5	0
Item, Elevin elne of braide clath, for sarks and schets, tane fra Isabell Williamsons, to my Lorde Prince, price elne 4s. sum	2	4	0
Item, Fra Will. of Rend, to bind my Lord's courtings, ane and a halve quarter of bukrame	1	4	0
Item, For 8 elne of quhite, to my Lord, for blankets, price of the elne 4s.	1	4	0
Item, Be Androu Balfoure, fra Thome of Yare, 28 Junii, 3 elne and ane halve of Inglis russat, for a gowne to my Lord the Prince's nuriss, price elne 24s.	4	4	0
Item, Ten elne of quhite fustiane, for blankets to my Lorde, tane fra Will. of Rend, price elne 2s. 6d. sum	4	0	0
Item, 12 elne of braid clath, for a pair of schets, tane fra Will. of Rend, price elne 2s. 6d.	1	10	0
Item, To my Lorde Prince, fra Will. of Kerkettill, 5 elne of braid clath to his schets in his cradill, price 2s. 6d. sum	0	12	6
Item, Fra Will. of Kerkettill, 26 Julii, 8 elne of bolland clath, for sarks and muchiss, price elne 10s.	4	0	0
Item, Fra Isabell Williamsons, sexto Octobris, 2 elne of satyne, to his cot, price elne 36s.	3	12	0
Item, Fra the samyn, ane elne and ane half of blew tartan, to lyne his gowne of a clath of gold	1	10	0
Item, Twa elne and ane halve of quhite, for a night-cot to him	0	5	0
Summa totalis (Prince),	£41	1	8
(King),	118	18	6
(Queen),	113	1	6
Sum total of the three accounts,	£273	1	8
Due to balance,	2967	18	1

NOTE AA (XVI.), p. 378.
Inventory of the Jewels and Money of James the Third.

INVENTORY OF ANE PARTE OF THE GOLD AND SILVER, CUNYENT AND UNCUNYENT, JOWELLIS, AND UTHER STUFF, PERTENING TO UMQUHILE OURE SOVERANE LORDIS FADER, THAT HE HAD IN DEPOIS THE TYME OF HIS DECES, AND THAT COME TO THE HANDIS OF OUR SOVERANE LORD THAT NOW IS.

M.CCCC.LXXXVIII.

MEMORANDUM deliuerit be dene Robert hog channoune of halirud-hous to the thesaurar, tauld in presens of the chancellar, lord Lile, the prior of Sanctandros, in a pyne pig* of tynd.

* Pyne Pig; perhaps our Scots "penny pig."

In the fyrst of angellis twa hundreth four score & v angellia.
Item in ridaris nyne score and aucht ridaris.
Item in rialis of France fyfty and four.
Item in unicornis nyne hundreth & four score.
Item in demyis & Scottis cronis fur hundreth & tuenti.
Item in rose nobilis fyftti and four.
Item in Hari nobilis & salutis fourti & ane.
Item fyftene Flemis ridaris.
Item tuelf Lewis.
Item in Franche cronis thre score and thre.
Item in unkennynt* golde — thretti pundis.

Memorandum, be the command of the king, thar past to the castell to see the jowalis, silver money, and uther stuff, the xvii day of Junii, the yer of god one thousand four hundreth and eighty-eight yeris, thir persouns under writtin, that is to say

- The erle of Angus.
- The erle of Ergile.
- The bischope of Glasgw.
- The lord Halis.
- The lord Home.
- The knycht of Torfchane thesaurar.

Memorandum, fund be the said personis in the blak kist, thre cofferis, a box, a cageat.†

Item fund in the maist of the said cofferis, lous & put in na thing, but liand within the said coffyr, fyve hundreth, thre score ten rois nobilis, and ane angell noble.
Item in a poik of canves, beand within the said coffre, of angell nobilis, seven hundreth and fyfty angelis.
Item in a litill purs, within the said coffre, of quarteris of rois nobilis, sevin score nyne rois nobilis, a quarter of a nobill.
Item in a litill coffre, beand within the said coffre, of rois nobilis sevin hundreth fyfty & thre nobilis.
Item in a litill payntit coffre, beand within the said blak kist, of Henry nobilis a thousand thre hundreth, and sevintene nobillis.
Item in ane uther coffre, beand with the said blak kist, a poik of canves, with demyis contenanand aucht hundreth, ane less.
Item in a box, beand within the said blak kist, the grete bedis of gold, contenanand six score twa bedis, and a knop.
Item in the said box, a buke of gold like ane tabell, and on the gasp of it, four perlis, and a fare ruby.
Item in the said box the grete diamant, with the diamantis sett about it.
Item in the said box, a thing of gold with a top like a tunnele.
Item in the same box a stomok,‡ & on it set a hert, all of precious stains, & perle.
Item in a trouch§ of cypre tre within the said box, a point maid of perle, contenanand xxv perle with hornis of gold.
Item twa tuthpikis of gold with a chenye, a perle, & erepike, a moist ball of gold, ane hert of gold, with uther small japis. ||
Item in a round buste, within the said box, a cors of gold, with four stanis. Item a collar of gold, two glassis with balme.
Item in a litill paper, within the said box, ane uche, with a diamant, twa hornis, four butonis horse nalis blak.
Item ane uche¶ of gold, like a flour the lis, of diamantis & thre bedis of gold, a columbe of gold and twa rubeis.

* Gold of unknown denomination.
† Cageat—casket. Jamieson, who quotes this inventory.
‡ Stomok—stomacher. Jamieson.
§ Trough—a deep long box.
|| Japis—playthings, trifles.
¶ Uche—brooch. Not in Jamieson.

Item in a cageat, beand within the said blak kist, a braid chenye, a ball of cristal.
 Item a purs maid of perle, in it a moist ball,* a pyn † of gold, a litill chenye of gold, a raggit staff, a serpent toung sett.
 Item in the said cageat, a litill coffre of silver, ourc gilt, with a litil saltfat ‡ and a cover.
 Item a mannach § of silver.
 Item in a small coffre, a chenye of gold, a hert of gold, anamelit, a brassalet of gold, sett with precious stanis.
 Item a collar of gold maid with eliphantis and a grete hingar at it.
 Item sanct Michael of gold with a perle on his spere.
 Item a quhissill || of gold.
 Item a flour the lys of gold.
 Item a ryng, with a turcas. ¶
 Item a small cors with twa peeis of gold at it.
 Item a grete precious stane.
 Item a litil barrell maid of gold.
 Item twa berialis, and a grete bene.
 Item in a litill coffre, a grete serpent toung, set with gold, perle, & precious stanis, and twa small serpent toungis set in gold, and ane ymage of gold.
 Item in ane uther coffre, beand within the blak kyst, ane roll with ringis, ane with a grete saffer,** ane emmorant, †† a stane of pillar, and ane uther ring.
 Item in the same coffre, ane uther roll with ringis, ane with a grete ruby, & uther iiiii ringis.
 Item ane uther roll with ringis in it, of thame, thre grete emmorantis, a ruby, a diamant.
 Item a roll of ringis, ane emmorant, a topas, and a diamant.
 Item ane uther roll of ringis, ane with a grete turcas, and ane uther ring.
 Item a roll with sevin small ringis, diamentis, rubeis, & perle.
 Item a roll with ringis, a turcas, a stane of pillar, & a small ring.
 Item a roll with ringis, a ruby, a diamant, twa uther ringis, a berial. ‡‡
 Item in ane uther small coffre, within the said blak kyst, a chenye with ane uche, in it a ruby, a diamant, maid like a creill.
 Item a brasselat of gold, with hede, & pendes §§ of gold.
 Item sanct Antonis cors, and in it a diamant, a ruby, and a grete perle.
 Item a grete ring with a topas.
 Item a wodward ||| of gold with a diamant.
 Item ane uche of gold, maid like a rose of diamentis.
 Item a kist of silver, in it a grete cors, with stanis, a ryng, a berial hingar at it.
 Item in it the grete cors of the chapell, set with precious stanis.

Memorandum, fundin in a bandit kist like a gardevant, ¶¶ in the first the grete chenye of gold, contenannd sevin score sex linkis.

Item thre platis of silver.
 Item tuelf saltatis.
 Item fyftene discheis ouregilt.
 Item a grete gilt plate.
 Item twa grete bassingis ouregilt.

* A moist ball—a musk ball.

† Saltfat—saltcellar.

‡ Unknown; perhaps a little man.

§ Quhissill—whistle.

** Sapphire.

†† Beryl.

‡‡ Unknown.

¶¶ Cabinet Jamieson.

† Pyn—pin.

¶ Turquois.

†† Emerald.

§§ Pendants.

Item four mannis,* with king Robert the Bruce, with a cover.

Item a grete oak maid of silver.

Item the bodis, of silver, of one of the crowns of manne.

Item a fare dialle.

Item twa knais of knyffe.

Item a pare of suld knyffe.

Item takin be the smyth that oppineth the bodis, in gold fortye demyle.

Item in Inglys grotis — xiiii li. & the said suld suter price agan to the takaris of hym.

Item remavit in the cabinet of Demille tower? ane hely water fat of silver, twa knais, a cagnet stone, a glas with rois water, a dremme of lenthil; king Robert Bruce serk. §

Memorandum, gottin in the queene kist, quhich was be Striveling, in a litill coffre within the same, in the first a belt of crammamy § hornemait with gold & beand.
 Item a braid belt of blak dammas, hornemait with gold.
 Item a small belt of claieth of gold, hornemait with gold.
 Item a belt of gold, unhornemait.
 Item twa bedis of gold.
 Item a litill belt of gold, hornemait with gold.

Item in a box beand within the said kist, a collar of susedonis, with a grete hingar of moist, two corais, two perlis contenannd xxv small emmedonis set in gold.
 Item a chenye of gold maid in forme of four knotis, contenannd fourt four knotis.

Item a pare of bedis of gold contenannd fyft & six knais.

Item a grete chenye of gold, contenannd of bodis thre more and a lynk.

Item ane uther chenye of gold greter, contenannd xlv and such linkis.

Item a frete** of the queene cors set with grete perle, set in fouris & fouris.

Item viii ucheis of gold sett with stanis & perle.

Item tuenti hingaris of gold set with rubies.

Item a collar of gold fassait like rose stanis.

Item a serpent toung, & ane cuttoure hant, set in gold.

Item a grete hingar of gold with a rube.

Item a grete ruby set in gold.

Item a hingar with a diamant & a grete perle.

Item a diamant set in gold.

Item a small chenye wt ane hingar set with diamentis in manner of . M . and a grete perle.

Item a grete safer set in gold.

Item a hert of gold with a grete perle at it.

Item a small chenye with ane hingar of rose & diamant.

Item ane hingar of gold with twa perle without stanis.

Item in a clout nyne precious stane worth.

Item in a box in the said kist a collar of gold, with a stene diamentis.

Item a collar of rubeis, set with thre of pure emmedond, xxx perlis and xv rubeis with ane hingar, a diamant, and a grete perle.

Item ane eye of gold with four grete diamentis point and xxviii grete perlis about thame.

Item ane uther grete eye with xvi rubeis and xxviii perlis grete.

* Drinking cups. An interesting item—four drinking cups of Robert the Bruce's.

† David's Tower, in the castle.

‡ Unknown; perhaps turquoise.

§ Perhaps his mail shirt.

¶ Crimmon.

** A large hoop or ring.

§ Friar's beads.

Item in the said kist of the queinis ane string of grete perle
contenand fyfti & a perle, and stringis of small perle.

Item twa lingattis* of gold.

Item sex pecis of the said chenyfe of gold frere knottis.

Item twa grete ringis with saferis.

Item twa ringis with turcacis.

Item a ring with a paddokstane with a charnale.†

Item a ring with a face.

Item a signet & na thing in it.

Item thre small ringis with rubeis.

Item fyve ringis with diamantis.

Item a cassit collar of gold, maid like suannis, set in gold,
with xvi rubeis, and diamantis, and viii quhite suannis
& set with double perle.

Item a grete round ball, in maner of a chalfer, of silver
ouregilt.

Item a levare ‡ of silver ouregilt with a cover.

Item a cop with a cover onregilt & punchit.

Item thre brokin gilt pecis of silver.

Item thre quhite pecis, a fut & a cover of silver, ouregilt.

Item a grete vice nail maid of silver.

Item twa brokin platis of silver and a dische.

Item in a gardeviant in the fyrst a grete hosterage fedder.¶

Item a poik of lavender.

Item a buke with levis of golde with xiii levis of gold fulye.

Item a covering of variand purpir tarter, browdin with
thrimillis & a unicorne.

Item a ruff & pendicelis of the same.

Item a pare of metingis ¶ for hunting.

Item the surples of the robe riall.

In ane uther gardeviant, in the fyrst a lamp of silver, a
corperale with a cais. Item thre quhippis ¶ and twa
bukia.

Memorandum, gottin in a box quhilk was deliverit be
the countas of Athole, and told in presens of the chancellor,
lord Lile, the prior of Sanctandros & the thesaurar. In
the fyrst in a purs of ledder within the said box thre hun-
dredth rois nobilis of the quhilkis thare is vii Hari nobilis.

Item in the same purs of half rois nobillis fyve hundredth
hail rois nobilis, sextene rois nobillis.

Item gottin in ane uther box, fra the said countas, the xxi
day of Junii, in a canves poik, within the said box, tuelf
hundredth & sevin angel nobilis.**

Item in ane uther purs, of ledder, beand in the same box,
ane hundredth angelis.

Item in the same purs, thre hundredth fyfti & sevin demyis.

Memorandum, fund in a blak coffre quhilk was brocht be
the abbot of Arbroth. In the first the grete sarpe †† of gold
contenand xxv schaffis with the fedder betuix.

Item a water pot of silver.

Item a pare of curale bedis, and a grete muste ball.

Item a collar of cockkilschellis contenand xxiii schellis of
gold.

Item a bane coffre, & in it a grete cors of gold, with four
precious stanis and a chenyfe of gold.

Item a beid of a caesedonne.

Item twa braid pecis of brynt silver bullioune.

Item in a leddering purs, beand in the said blak coffre,
tuelf score & xvi salutis.

Item in the same purs thretti & sex Lewis and a half
nobilis.

* Ingot.

¶ Ostrich feather.

** Thir boxis put in the thesaurous in the grete kist
verrest the windo.

†† Belt.

† A hinge.

‡ Hunting gloves.

† Laver.

¶ Whips.

Item in the same purs four score and thre Franche crownis.
Item in the same purs fourtene score of ducatis, and of
thame gevin to the erle of Angus fyve score and six
ducatis.

Item in the said coffre, quhilk was brocht be the said
abbot, a litil cors with precious stanis.

Item in a blak box brocht be the said abbot to the toune of
Perth the xxvi day of Junii, in the first, lows in the said
box, four thousand thre hundredth and fourti demyis.

Item in a purs of ledder in the said box four hundredth
tuenti & viii Lewis of gold, and in the same purs of
ledder, of Franche crownis fyve hundredth thre score and
sex. And of thame twa salutis and four Lewis.

Item in a quhite coffre of irne deliverit be the said abbot,
thre thousand, nyne hundredth, four score & viii angelis.

Memorandum, ressaut in Scone, be the thesaurar, in
presens of the bischop of Glasgow, lord Lile, the prior of
Sanctandros, Patrik Home, & lord Drummond, the xxiii
day of Junii, in Avereis box, lous, without ony purs, a
thousand and thretti Hari nobilis.

Item in a purs of ledder, within the said box, a thousand
& twenti rois nobilis, and in the said purs fyfti & four
Hari nobilis in half Hari nobilis.

Item a grete gugeoune* of gold.

Item thare was a writ fund in the said box sayand, in hac
boxa xii c Hari nobilis, et in eadem boxa, xi c rois nobilis.

Thir ar the names of thame, that wist of the said box
quhen it was in the myre:—

James Averi.

William Patonsone.

William Wallace.

Item ressavit fra lang Patric Hnme, & George of Touris,
xvi skore of Hare nobelis, quhilkis tha had of a part of
the money takin be the Cuntas of Atholl and Johne
Steward.

Item of the same some & money gevin to the said Patric
for his reward - - - - - fourti Hare nobilis.

THE COMPT of schir William Knollis, lord saint Johnnis
of Jerusalem, &c. thesaurar till our sovereign lord maid at
Edinburgh the xxiii day of Februar, the yer of god &c.
nynte ane yeris

of all his ressait & expens fra the ferd day of the moneth
of Junii in the yer of god &c. auchty yeris unto the day of
this present compt.

In the first he chargis him with viim vc lxxxxvii li iii s in
gold of sex thousand thre hundredth thretty a pece of
angell nobillis ressavit be the comptar as is contenit in
the beginning of this buke writtin with Johnne Tyriis
hand, And with iic xvi li iii s in gold of ane hundredth
fourscore acht Scottis ridaris, as is contenit in this
sammyn buke.

And with liiii li be fifty four Fraunce riallis of gold.

And with viiic lxxxii li be nyne hundredth fourscore uni-
cornis.

And with vi c lxvi li xiiii s iii d in ane thousand Scottis
crownis.

And with iii c lxxxiii li vi s viii d in tua thousand demyis
ressavit and gevin for a merke the pece.

* Unknown.

And with ii^m lxxix li iiii s in tua thousand nyne hundreth fifty sex demys gevin the pece for fourtene schillingis.
 And with vi^m xix li ix s in thre thousand thre hundreth fifty five rose nobillis and ane quarter, the quhilk wer gevin for thretty sex schillingis the pece, except four hundreth that war gevin for thretty five schillingis the pece.
 And with iiii^m iiii^c lxxvi li viii s in tua thousand sevin hundreth twenty nyne Hary nobillis gevin for thretty tua schillingis the pece.
 And with xi li v s in fiftene Flemis ridaris fiftene schilling the pece.
 And with iiii^c xxxii li in four hundreth four score Lewis and halve rose nobillis gevin for aughtene schilling the pece.
 And with iiii^c lxxxiii li iiii s in sevin hundreth sex Fraunce crounis gevin for fourtene schillingis the pece.
 And with xxx li in Duch gold.
 And with ii^c vi li viii s in tua hundreth fifty aucht salutis gevin for sextene schillingis the pece.
 And with i^c xxxix li iiii s in ane hundreth sevinty four ducatis gevin for sextene schillingis the pece.

Summa of this charge xxiii^m v^c xvii li x s.

NOTE BB, p. 407.

"Gazette of the Battle of Flodden, Sept. 1513. MS. Herald's College, London, marked 2d. M 16.

"Articles envouez aux Maistres des Postes du Roy d'Angleterre, par son serviteur, de la fourme et maniere de bataille, d'entre le Roy d'Escosse et Monar le Conte de Surrey, lieutenant dud. s^r Roy d'Angleterre, a Brankston le ixt jour de Septembre, le quel serviteur estoit a la d^e bataille.

"Premierement, quant les deux armées estoient a lieue et demy, l'une de l'autre, le d^e Conte de Surrey envoya Rouge Croix Poursuivant devers le d^e Roy d'Escosse, luy desirant bataille; a quoy respondit qu'il l'attendroit la jusques au Venredi none. Le s^r de Haward, filz aîné dud. Conte de Surrey, envyron l'heure de onze heures, le ixt jour, passa le pont de Tuissell, avant l'avantgarde et artillerie; et le d^e Conte son pere le suivit, et passa apres, avec l'arrieregarde; et la d^e armée passée, mysdrent icelles en deux batailles, avec 11 Elles chüne bataille.

"Item—a la bataille dud. Roy d'Escosse estoit divisée en cinq batailles, et chüne bataille loing l'un de l'autre, environ unq trait d'arc; et toute cinq estoient avancées sur la bataille des Anglois, aussi loing l'une comme l'autre, en grant trouppéaulx; et partie deulx estoient en quadrans, et autres en maniere de pointe, et estoient sur le haulte d'une montagne, bien a ung quart de myle du pied de la d^e montagne.

"Le seigneur de Haward fist arrester subitement son avantgarde en une petite Vallée, jusques ad ce que l'arrieregarde feust jointe avec l'une des Elles de sa bataille; a dont les deux marcherent tout en ung front, et eulx avansans a l'encontre de l'armée des d. Escossois, lesquels Escossois descendirent la

d^e montagne en bonne ordre, en la maniere que marchent les Allemans, sans parler, ne faire aucun bruit.

"Les Contes de Huntley, Arryl, et Crawford, avec leur hoste de viii^m hommes, vindrent sur le v^e de Haward; et en brief de temps furent le d^e Conte, et furent la plus grant partie deulz tuez.

"Le Roy d'Escosse vint, avec un trouppéaulx paisance, sur le d^e Conte de Surrey; lequel Conte avoit a sa main gauche le filz du d^e Haward; et eulx deulx porterent tout les feus de ceste bataille. A laquelle bataille le d^e Roy d'Escosse fut tuz dedens le longueur d'une lance du d. Conte de Surrey; et plusieurs nobles gens y furent tuez, et entre autres prisonniers des Escossois dedens les deux batailles. Et a l'heure de la bataille les Contes de Lyons et de Argille, avec leur trouppéaulx se joignirent a l'un contre de messire Edward Haward, et les d^e Contes et leurs gens furent contrainctz deulz tuz en fuyte.

"Item—Edmond Haward, surnom filz du Conte de Surrey, avoit avec luy mill hommes du pays de Lanqchero et Cheshire, et plusieurs autres gentils hommes de la conté d'York. Et fainct le d^e Conte la droicte Elle du seigneur de Haward son frere, sur lesquels le seigneur Chambellan du Roy d'Escosse, avec plusieurs autres s^r deusent dedens. Maistre Gray, et Mes^r Huntley, deusent prisonniers, et Messire Richard Herbertus tuz, et le d^e Edmond Haward fut tuz fait prisonnier; et vint a son relief le seigneur Darnley avec xv^e hommes; et tellement exploicta quel mist en fuyte les d^e Escossois, et eut envyron * * des gentils hommes Dacres tuez, et en la d^e bataille fut tuz ung grant nombre des d^e Escossois.

"Item—la bataille et descendance commença envyron de quatre a cinq heures apres d'heure, et la chaise continua jusques a demy, on fut merveilleusement grant tuz; et en cest en dix mil tuz davantage, si les Anglois eurenteste a l'heure.

"Item—les Escossois retournent envyron dix mille, et envyron dix mille d'entre de tuz, et les Anglois au desoubz de quatorze.

"Les soldiers ne perdirent pas seulement de quatre a cinq mille chevaulx des d^e Escossois, mais les beulx qui tiroient leur artillerie; et apres vindrent a leur pavillions, et perdirent toutes les estouffes qui estoient dedens, et furent plusieurs des Escossois qui les perdirent.

"L'artillerie d'Escosse et d'Angleterre a esté envoyée, par l'ayde dud. s^r Dacres, en chascun de Etal en Angleterre.

"Le corps du Roy d'Escosse a esté porté a Berwycke. Il ny a guere de gens parvenus du royaume d'Escosse retournes a l'heure, des le Chambellan d'Escosse; et pense l'un que par d'heure tuz demoures en vye.

"Les hommes des nobles batilles d'Escosse qui estoient en la bataille avec le d^e Roy d'Escosse, desquellz on ne oit point parler, eulx furent tuz; fors le seigneur Chambellan dud. Roy d'Escosse.

* Howard the Admiral? See the end.

Premierement,

Le Roy d'Escoce.	Le conte de Athell.
L'archeveque de saint Andrew.	Le seigneur de Lowett.
L'evêque des Isles.	Le seigneur de Forbes.
L'evêque de Ketnes.	Mons. de la Mote-francois.
L'abbe D'Ynchaffraye.	Le Sr. de Elveston.
L'abbe de Kilwenny.	Le Sr. de Inderby.
Le conte de Huntley.	Le Sr. de Maxwell.
Le conte de Ketnes.	Le Sr. de Saincleer.
Le conte de Montros.	Illackeen.
Le conte de Crafford.	Illac Chene.
Le conte de Argyle.	Jehan de Setton.
Le conte de Lynnox.	Le Maistre de Angwys.
Le conte de Lancar.*	Le Sr. de Roos.
Le conte de Castells.	Le Sr. de Sempill.
Le conte de Morton.	Le Sr. de Borthwick.
Le conte de Bothwell.	Le Sr. de Askill.
Le conte de Arrell, conne- table.	Le secretaire du Roi d'Es- cosse.
	Le Sr. Dawiffy.
	Messire Alexandre Setton.
	Messire Guillè Scottie.
	Messire Jehan Home.
	Le Sr. de Colwyn.
	Le Doyen de Glasco.
	Messire Davy Home.
	Culbert Home de Fastcastell.

et aultre, et par dessus ceulx cy, par le rapport de plusieurs gentils hommes qui sont prisonniers, il y a des meilleurs gentils hommes tuez, et prins, en ung merveillement grant nombre.

"Le nombre de l'artillerie que le Roy d'Escoce perdit a la journee de Brankston, le ix^t jour de Septembre.

Item—cinq groux courtaulx.

Item—deux colorynes.

Item—quatre sacre de la mesme grandeur, qui estoient au devant du navyre appellé la Roze Gellee.

Item—six serpentynes plus grandes, et plus longues, que serpentyne que le Roy ñre Sr. a.

En tout la quantiti de xvii pieces.

"Lesquelles sont les plus cleres, et les plus neetes, et les myeux fassonees, et avec les moindres pertuys a la touche ou l'on met le feu, et les plus belles de leur grandeur et longueur que j'ai viz oncques; et les d'courtiaux sont de fort bonne taille, et neetes. Signées au dessous des choses dessus d' Thomas Sr. de Howard Admiral d'Angleterre, qui estoit a la d'bataille avec le conte de Surrey son pere, et menoit l'avantgarde."

NOTE CC (XVII.), p. 453.

Conspiracy of Lady Glammiss.

The following account of the charges against this noble lady is abridged from the *Appendix to Tytler*, vol. v., Letter B.

"Lady Glammiss married, probably about the year 1521, John, sixth Lord of Glammiss. He died on the 8th of August, 1528, in his thirty-seventh year; and, about four months after his death (Dec. 1, 1528), Lady Glammiss was summoned, with Patrick Hume of Blacater, Hugh Kennedy of Gir-

* Glencairn. Huntley is a mistake for Rothes.

vanmains, and Patrick Charteris, to answer before parliament for having given assistance to the Earl of Angus in convocating the king's lieges for the invasion of his majesty's person. These men were all bold and active partisans of the Douglasses. On September 20, 1529, we find that Lady Glammiss and Patrick Charteris, of Cuthelgurdy, a person who, in the interval, had been indicted to stand his trial for fire-raising and cow-lifting; obtained a letter of license to pass to parts beyond sea, on their pilgrimage, and other lawful business. Whether Patrick and the lady had gone upon their pilgrimage, does not appear, but she did not interrupt her political intrigues, and seems to have been again not only summoned, but found guilty of treason; for, on July 1, 1531, we find that Gavin Hamilton got a gift from the crown of the escheat of all the goods, heritable and moveable, of Janet Lady Glammiss, which had been forfeited on account of her intercommuning with our sovereign lord's rebels, or for any other crimes.

"At this time she appears to have fled from justice, and we lose sight of her for some time; but, on 31st January, 1532, a far darker crime than caballing with rebels, or associating with fire-raisers, was laid to her charge. She was summoned to stand her trial at the Justice Ayre of Forfar, for the poisoning her husband, Lord Glammiss. The crimes of poisoning and witchcraft were then very commonly associated, as may be seen from many interesting trials in Mr. Pitcairn's collections. The great dealers in poisons were witches, and the potency of their drugs was thought to be increased by the charms and incantations with which they were concocted: hence probably the *mala fama* against Lady Glammiss, as a witch or sorceress. But however this may be, it is certain that, on February 2, and February 26, 1532, Lord Ruthven, Lord Oliphant, with the Lairds of Ardoch, Moncrieff, Tullibardine, and a great many other barons, to the number of twenty-eight, were fined for not appearing to pass upon the Lady Glammiss' jury: and the imperfect and mutilated state of the criminal records of this period, unfortunately, leaves us in the dark as to the future proceedings upon this trial. The probability seems to be, that she was either acquitted, or the charge dropped from want of evidence. If innocent, she was certainly most unfortunate; for, on the 17th of July, 1537, she was, for the fourth time, brought to trial, found guilty of having been art and part in the conspiring the death of the king by poison, and also for her having treasonably assisted Archibald Earl of Angus and George Douglas his brother, who were traitors and rebels. For this crime she was condemned to be burned at the stake, the common mode of death, as Mr. Pitcairn informs us, for all females of rank in cases of treason and murder, and from which he plausibly conjectures that the vulgar opinion of her having been burnt for a witch may have partly arisen. Her son Lord Glammiss, then only sixteen years old, her husband Archibald Campbell, a priest, and a barber named

John Lyon, were tried along with her. The witnesses, as was usual in this cruel age, being examined under the rack, or pynebaukis, Lord Glamis, on his own confession, was found guilty of concealing the conspiracy, and imprisoned till the death of James the Fifth, when he was restored to his estates and honours, upon the ground, that, in the fear of his life, and having the rack before his eyes, he had made a false confession.

That there is any ground on which we may conclude that unprincipled witnesses were brought forward to give false testimony, upon which the jury were compelled to convict her, I cannot admit; still less do I perceive the proceedings to have been characterized by any savage traces of unmanly revenge upon the part of the King. On the other hand, it appears clear that at this time the Douglasses, whose last hope of restoration had been destroyed, began to embrace desperate designs. "The letters of Penman, their secret agent," says Pinkerton (vol. ii. p. 350), "to Sir George Douglas, his employer, betray a malice, and designs the most horrid." "The King is crazed and ill spoken of by his people." "He has begged all Scotland." "All are weary of him." "James shall do the commandment of the Douglasses, God willing." "All hate him and say he must go down." "His glass will soon run out." These diabolical expressions against a prince in the vigour of early life, what can they insinuate but poison or the dagger? Could they be addressed to a person who did not seal them with approbation? And could a more fit or secret agent than a sister be employed to promote the interests of her family at any risk?" If the reader will turn to Piteairn's *Criminal Trials*, p. 190, and read the names of the jurymen who gave the verdict against her, he will scarcely admit the idea of her being innocent; and it is worthy of notice, that instead of having the least appearance of its being a packed jury, some of the leading men amongst them were friends and near connexions of the Douglasses. John Earl of Athol, one of the jury, married Janet, a sister of that Master of Forbes who suffered for treason at the same time as Lady Glamis, and who was a supporter of the Douglasses.—(*Douglas Peerage*, p. 141, vol. i.) Robert lord Maxwell, another of the jury, it is well known was intimately connected with the Douglasses. He married a daughter of Douglas Drumlanrig (*Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 317), and his daughter, Margaret Maxwell, was afterwards married to Archibald Earl of Angus, brother to Lady Glamis. William, Master of Glencairn, a third jurymen, was also nearly related to the Douglasses, and constantly of their party. His mother was Marjory, a daughter of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, a sister of Gawin Douglas, the celebrated translator of Virgil, and a grand aunt of the Earl of Angus, and of Lady Glamis. Are we to believe that these men violated their oaths, and found guilty, upon false evidence, an innocent and noble lady, in whose favour they must have felt a strong bias.

NOTE DD (XVIII), p. 418.

Sentence pronounced upon Patrike Hamelin.

"Christi nomine invocato. We know, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Saint Andrew, Primate of Scotland, with the honorable, devout, and authoritative of the most reverent Bishops, Cardinals, and Lordes, Abbottes, Doctors of Theologie, professors of the holy Scriptures and students of the Uniuersitie, assembling us for the tyme, sitting in judgement within our metropolitan Church of S. Andrew, in the case of heretick practices, agaynst M. Patrike Hamelin, Abbot or priorarie of Ferme, being summoned to appear before vs, to answer to certayne Articles offered, taught, and preached by hym, and in opposing before vs, and accused, the merites of the cause being simply weyde, discussed, and understood by lawful inquisition made in Last last parlements we have founde the same M. Patrike, many wayes infected wyth heresie, disputing, holding, and maintayning diuers heresies of Martin Luther, and Iohannes repugnant to our fayth, and which is already condemned by generall Councils and most famous Uniuersities. And he being vnder the same sentence we decernyng before, hym to be examined and accused vpon the premises, he of will vnyde (he may be presumed) passed to other parts, parts of the Realme, suspected and vnyde of heresie. And being lately returned, hee being examined, but of his owne head, without licence or knowledge, hath presumed to preach wicked heresies. We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught diuers opinions of Luthers, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before vs and our counsaill. That our sentence be free wyll: That none is to stirre no long as he lyueth: That children baptizmed after their baptisme, are sinners: All Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do knowe that they are in grace: No man is justified by works, but by faith onely: Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes. That by faith, hope, and charitie, are we knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest. And with diuers other heresies and detestable opinions, and hath presumed so obstinate in the same, that by so muche his perswasion, he may be drawn, therefore, in the way of our right fayth. All these premises being considered, we haue God and the integrity of our fayth before our eyes, and following the counsaill and aduise of the professors of the holy Scriptures, men of law, and others, sitting vs for the tyme, do pronounce, determine, and decerne, the said M. Patrike Hamelin, for his aforesaid, wickedness, and maintayning of the forsayd heresies, and his pertinacitie (they being excommunicated, contrary by the Church, generall Councils, and most famous Uniuersities), to be an hereticke, and as such condemned and punished, like as we haue done and

define hym to be punished, by this our sentence definitiue, depriuyng and senteneyng hym, to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church: and therefore do iudge and pronounce him to be deliuered ouer to the secular power, to be punished, and his goodes to be confiscate.

"This our sentence definitiue, was geuen and read at our Metropolitan Church of S. Andrewes, the last day of the moneth of February, an. 1527, beyng present, the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lordes: Gawand, Byshop of Glasgow; George, Byshop of Dunkelden; Iohn, Byshop of Brecham; William, Byshop of Dunblane; Patrike, Prior of Saint Andrew; David, Abbott of Abirbrothok; George, Abbot of Dunfermlyng; Alexander, Abbot of Cumbuskyneth; Henry, Abbot of Lendors; Iohn, Prior of Pettynweme; the Deane and Sub-Deane of Glasgow; M. Hew Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and the people."

Copy of a Letter congratulatory sent from the Doctors of Louane to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the death of M. Patrick Hamilton.

"Your excellent vertue (most honourable Bishop) hath so deserved, that albeit we be farre distant, both by sea and land, without coniunction of familiaritie, yet we desire with all our hartes, to thanke you for your worthy deede, by whose workes, that true faith which, not long ago, was tainted with heresie, not onely remaineth vnhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our deare friend, M. Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdon, hath shewed vs, the presumption of the wicked hereticke Patrike Hamelton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you haue cut him of, when there was no hope of amendement, &c. The which thyng, as it is thought commendable to vs, so the maner of the procedyng was no lesse pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many estates, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgare people, not rashely, but most prudently, the order of law beyng in all poynts obserued. We haue sene the sentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approue the same, not doubtyng but that the Articles which be inserted, are erroneous, so that whosoever wil defend for a truth, any one of the same, with pertinacitie, should be esteemed an enemy to the fayth, and an aduersary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to be without errour, to them that will consider onely the bare wordes: as (for example) good workes make not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes, yet there is no doubt, but they containe a Lutheran sense, which, in a maner, they signifie: to witte, that workes done after fayth, and justification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Belcue not, that this example shall have place onely among you, for there shall be among externe nations, which shall imitate the same, &c. Certainly,

ye haue geuen vs great courage, so that now we acknowledge your Vniuersitie, which was founded accordyng to the example of our Vniuersitie of Louane, to be equal to ours, or else aboue, and would God occasion were offered of testifying our myndes towards you. In the mean tyme, let vs labour with one consent, that the rauenyng Wolues may be expelled from the shepefeld of Christ, while we haue tyme. Let vs study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let vs haue Inquisitours, and espyers of booke, containyng that doctrine, especially that is brought in from farre countreys, whether by apostatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the most suspected kynde of men in these dayes. It is sayd, that since Scotland first embraced the Christian fayth, it was neuer defiled with any heresie.

"Perseuer, therefore, beyng moued thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous tyme, is not chaunged, partly by the workyng of the Byshops, among the which Boffensis hath shewed hymselfe an Evangelicall Phoenix, and partly of the Kyng, declaryng hymselfe to be an other Mathias of the new law: pretermittyng nothyng that may defend the law of his realme. The which, if your most renowned Kyng of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to hymselfe eternal glory. Further, as touchyng the condigne commendation, due for your part (most Reuerend Byshop) in this Behalfe, it shal not be the least part of your prayse, that these heresies haue bene extinct sometymes in Scotland, you beyng Primate of Scotland and principal author thereof. Albeit that they also which haue assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved prayse, as the Reuerend Byshop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we haue here geuen vs partly to understand, and also the Reuerend Byshop of Aberden, a stoute defender of the fayth, together with the rest of the Prelates, Abbots, Priours, and professors of holy Scripture. Let your reuerend fatherhode take this lette testificate of our duty toward you, in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ. From Louane, an. 1528, April 21.

"By the Maisters and Professours of Theologie in the Vniuersitie of Louane. Yours to command."—*Fox's Martyrs.*

NOTE E E (XIX), p. 612.

Perfidy of the Scottish Nobles.

The letters relating to this period, which Mr. Tytler has discovered in the State Paper Office, clearly prove that the leading Scottish nobles had shamefully betrayed the cause of their country, and sold themselves to the English. Sir George Douglas, as a reward for the services mentioned in the text stipulated—1st. "To have one thousand pounds sterling within eleven days to support himself, friends, and strengths against the authority, and to have a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds sterling. 2nd. His friends not to be op-

prest. 3rd. That he may have his goods, silver, money, plate, and apparel that he left in his hostess' house in Berwick delivered to him. 4th. To have from the English king the keeping of the fort at Eyemouth." A letter from the Earl of Angus, his brother, to Sir Andrew Dudley, the English governor of the fort of Broughty, shows that nobleman to have been equally venal and treacherous. Sir Andrew addressed a letter to the Protector, informing him that he had opened secret negotiations with Argyle "to be a favourer of the king's godly purpose, and to take the king's majesty's part in the same; on which communing the Lord Gray borrowed one thousand crowns of me to give the Earl of Argyle to make him the more earnest in the same. * * * The Lord Gray putteth no doubt but that for a pension and a certain sum of money your Grace shall win him to the king's majesty's godly purpose, and to be an earnest setter forth of the same." And Huntley, in a letter to the Protector, dated Newcastle, 20th of March, says, "Your grace shall be sure of such service as I may do to the furthering of the king's majesty's affairs in all sorts as your grace will command, as my duty is. * * * And further your grace may command me; and in what place I may do best service shall be aye ready at your grace's charge."

NOTE FF (XIX.), p. 471.

Martyrdom of Thomas Forret.

The official accuser in court on this occasion was a servile creature of Beaton's, Mr. John Lauder, between whom and Forret the following dialogue took place:—

"*Accuser.*—False heretic! Thou sayest it is not lawful to Kirkmen to take their teinds (tythes) and offerings and corps-presents, though we have been in use of them, constitute by the Kirk and King, and also our holy father, the Pope, hath confirmed to the same?"

"*Dean Forret.*—Brother, I said not so, but I said it was not lawful to Kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the Kirk as they do, as on riotous feasting and on fair women, and at playing at cards and dice; and neither the Kirk well maintained nor the people instructed in God's Word, nor the sacraments duly administered to them as Christ commanded.

"*Accuser.*—Dare thou deny that which is openly known in the country? That thou gave again to the parishioners the cow and the upmost cloths, saying you had no right to them?"

"*Dean Forret.*—I gave them again to them that had more mister (need) than I.

"*Accuser.*—Thou false heretic! Thou learned all thy parishioners to say the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in *English*, which is contrary to our acts, that they should know *what they say*.

"*Dean Forret.*—Brother, my people are so rude and ignorant they understand no Latin, so that my conscience moved me to pity their ignorance, which

provoked me to learn them the words of their salvation in *English*, and the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might observe the same. I taught the Bishop, whereby they might know their faith in God, and Jesus Christ his son, and of his death and resurrection. Moreover, I taught them and learned from the Lord's own prayer in the mother tongue, to the effect that they should know to whom they should pray, and in whose name they should pray, and what they should ask and desire in prayer, which I believe to be the pattern of all prayer.

"*Accuser.*—Why did you that? By our acts and ordinances of our holy father the Pope?"

"*Dean Forret.*—I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Apostle Paul, who saith in his doctrine to the Corinthians, that he had rather speak the words to the understanding and edifying of his people, than to stand in a strange tongue, which they understood not.

"*Accuser.*—Where finds thou that?"

"*Dean Forret.*—In my book here in my arms.

"Upon which the accuser starting with a laugh to the vicar pulled the book out of his hand, and holding it up to the people, said with a loud voice, 'Behold, sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve, that makes all the *deils and play-men* *deil*.'

"'Brother,' said the vicar, 'God forgive you, you could say better, if ye pleased, use to call the Book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy! I assure you, dear brethren, that there is nothing in this book but the life, the law, will and testament of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four Evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort.'

"The accuser, interrupting him, 'Eh, then not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and express commands, to have a New Testament in *English*, which is enough to make thee *deil*.'

"Then the council of the clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt for the heresy and using of the same book—the New Testament—in *English*. For these and the like sentences, was he taken up to the Castlehill in Edinburgh, and next morning publicly burnt. The bodies of these two men appear to have been strangled before they were consumed to ashes.—*Anderson's Journal of the English Bible*, p. 800.

NOTE GG, p. 808.

Erections of the Clergy.

Letter from the Earl of Angus to his brother:—
"The King is not in the town himself, and very few temporal lords. At the making of this writing (certain articles), the King was at *Greenlaw*, in Clydesdale, and sent his writing to *Edinburgh* to the clergy. The bearers were the James Hamilton, Nicol of Crawford, and Mr. James Forret. These were the points of the King's charge to I was advertised—bidding the clergy *give up* the corps-present and the spent stick through all

Scotland, that they should be no more taken; and that every man should have his own teind (tythe), paying for his tythes such like as he pays to his landlord of his maills (rents), and no more, for his whole tythes. Sir James and the other two said to the clergy, if they granted not that at the King's command, that there should be a charge laid to them, that he would ger (make) them set all the temporals that the Kirk have, to feu (fee), and to have for it but the old rent such as the old rentals bear. The Kirkmen of Scotland were never so ill content."—*Anderson's Annals of the English Bible*, p. 448.

NOTE HH (XX.), p. 615.

Ferocity of the War between England and Scotland.

This fact is strikingly illustrated by a paper entitled Memorial for Edward Atkinson, alias Bluemantle, sent by the protector to the governor of Scotland. This document states, "that after having obtained audience. the said Bluemantle, putting on his coat of arms, and making reverence to him (the governor), without any other salutation, shall boldly say as ensueth:—The substance is, that understanding that sundry the king's majesty's his grace's sovereign lord's subjects and servants, born within the realm of Scotland, have now a good while, and yet do, according to their bounden duty, serve his majesty in these wars, the governor had published a proclamation, commanding, that if any Scotsman so serving shall be taken in the field bearing arms against him, they shall not be used as prisoners, but immediately put to death as rebels. Bluemantle is enjoined to demand this proclamation to be immediately recalled, otherwise 'all Scottish prisoners, of whatever rank they be, shall be put to death as soon as they are taken.' This paper is followed by a 'Minute of a Proclamation for not taking of Scottishmen, dated 22d May, 1549.' It commences thus: 'Edward by the grace of God, &c., * * * Whereas the Earl of Arran, pretending himself to be Governor of Scotland,' and goes on to speak of the people of Scotland, not acknowledging, or giving obedience to 'their superior and sovereign lord the King's majesty of England, in consequence of which the countries are at war, and Scotland grievously afflicted with slaughter and devastation, as with a just plague of God.' It then proceeds thus:—'Not content with all this, the governor hath devised a most cruel, unnatural, and deadly proclamation, that every Scotsman serving the King of England, should be slain as soon as taken, by means of which some of his majesty's subjects, Scotsmen born, have been put to open and cruel death.' Therefore, it continues, 'that cruelty may be punished, and repelled with cruelty;' he, the protector, straightly commands all his highness's wardens, deputy-wardens, officers, &c., that they do not from henceforth take any Scotsman serving against his highness in the field, but do kill the same out of hand without ransoming them, until the Governor Arran have revoked

his proclamation, under penalty of death, if this is disobeyed."—*Tytler, Appendix to vol. vi. No. V.*

No wonder that such vindictive proceedings led the Scottish Borderers to make dreadful retaliation for the injuries they had sustained. An idea may be conceived of this horrid warfare, from the memoirs of Beaugué, a French officer serving in Scotland. The Castle of Fernihirst, situated about three miles above Jedburgh, had been taken and garrisoned by the English. The commander and his followers are accused of such excesses of lust and cruelty, "as would," says Beaugué, "have made to tremble the most savage Moor in Africa." A band of Frenchmen, with the Laird of Fernihirst and his Borderers, assaulted this fortress. The English archers showered their arrows down the steep ascent leading to the castle, and from the outer wall by which it was surrounded. A vigorous escalade, however, gained the base court, and the sharp fire of the French arquebusiers drove the bowmen into the square keep, or dungeon, of the fortress. Here the English defended themselves till a breach in the wall was made by mining. Through this hole the commandant crept forth, and surrendering himself to De la Mothe-rouge, implored protection from the vengeance of the Borderers. But a Scottish Marchman, eyeing in the captive the ravisher of his wife, approached him e'er the French officer could guess his intention, and, at one blow, carried his head four paces from the trunk. Above a hundred Scots rushed to wash their hands in the blood of their oppressor, banded about the severed head, and expressed their joy in such shouts, as if they had stormed the City of London. The prisoners who fell into their merciless hands were put to death, after their eyes had been torn out; the victors contending who should display the greatest address in severing their legs and arms, before inflicting a mortal wound. When their own prisoners were slain, the Scottish, with an unextinguishable thirst for blood, purchased those of the French; parting willingly with their very arms, in exchange for an English captive. "I myself," says Beaugué, with military *sang-froid*, "I myself sold them a prisoner for a small horse. They laid him down upon the ground, galloped over him with their lances in rest, and wounded him as they passed. When slain, they cut his body in pieces, and bore the mangled gobbets, in triumph, on the points of their spears. I cannot greatly praise the Scottish for this practice. But the truth is, that the English tyrannized over the Borders in a most barbarous manner; and I think it was but fair to repay them, according to the proverb, in their own coin."—*Border Minstrelsy*, vol. i. pp. 127—129.

NOTE II (XXI.), p. 760.

Mr. Tytler's charge against John Knox of being priy to the Murder of Riccio.

The following able and most satisfactory refutation of the charge which Mr. Tytler has brought

against the Scottish Reformer, is extracted from the *North British Review*, vol. iv.

“Mr. Tytler first favours us with a letter from the Earl of Bedford, the governor of Berwick, to Cecil, the minister of Elizabeth, in which he, among other information as to the murder, states, that as ‘Mr. Randolph writeth also more at large of the names of such as now be gone abroad, I shall not trouble you therewith.’ (Vol. vii. p. 354.) Randolph at this period was resident at Berwick, and not in Edinburgh; and the letter referred to by Bedford, accordingly follows. It is dated the 21st March, 1565-6; and in the body of this letter, Randolph gives the list of names in the following terms:—

“The lords of the last attempt, which were these—Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Ledington, besides these that were the principal takers in hand of this matter, there are also these—the Laird of Ormiston, Hawton, his son-in-law, Cawder, his nephew, Brunsden, Whyttingham, Andrew Car, of Fawlside, Justice-Clerk’s brother, George Douglas, and some other; of the town of Edinburgh divers.’ (Vol. vii. p. 355.)

“This is the list of Randolph, and in it Knox’s name does not appear; but Mr. Tytler found a piece of paper pinned to the letter, with some names written in some unknown hand, which he says was the list Randolph was to send. Now, here we humbly confess ourselves unable to follow Mr. Tytler. We have in Randolph’s letter—in the body of it, and in his own handwriting—a precise, definite list, which would be without any meaning at all, if the loose slip of paper was also to be held as the list. This separate paper is not mentioned, moreover, as having been sent along with the letter—it is not written by Bedford or Randolph, or by any secretary of Randolph’s; but, according to Mr. Tytler, it must have been by some clerk of Bedford’s, whom Randolph must have hired for the occasion. There is not the slightest evidence that it was seen by either of the ministers. The whole bond of connexion between it and their letter is the pin, just as the sole connexion between one part of Mr. Tytler’s argument and the rest is the binding. That it was written by Bedford’s clerk, we have nothing but Mr. Tytler’s guess as proof. It is an anonymous, unauthenticated, nameless scrap of paper, gathered from a mass of similar rubbish, to be rendered by Mr. Tytler powerful enough to annihilate the concurring testimony of all contemporary history.

“From all this, however, Mr. Tytler maintains, that ‘the inference is inevitable.’ John Knox, in “an authentic list,” is described as privy to the murder. Having thus doggedly pronounced his decree, Mr. Tytler declines an examination of the list, with the view of ascertaining if it be consistent with other acknowledged facts, or even with itself. It contains, however, several blunders in the only two lines of narrative with which it favours us. It professes to be “a list of names of such as were consenting to the death of David,” which is totally

contrary to the character of the list which Randall said Randolph was to send, for it was only to contain ‘the names of such as be gone abroad,’—a description which might apply to Knox, as he left Edinburgh on the queen’s return from Douglas. There are only sixteen names given; but in the appendix to Keith, there is a list of those charged by the Privy Council as having been accessory to the crime, amounting in number to seventy-two; and in Pitcairn’s *Criminal Trials*, there will be found thirty more. This is the first error, though it is not the greatest. It resembles well informing us that ‘all these were at the death of David, and privy thereto, and are now in displeasure with the queen, and their houses taken and spoiled.’ Here there are two gross mistakes. We never before heard it whispered, that either John Knox or John Craig was ‘at the death.’ Crawford and Blackwood, though they covered this part of history with the most impudent fabrications, never crowned them by one like this; and Mr. Tytler’s caution came to his aid; he will not believe the plain statements of his own authority, and he drops short of the charge, that Knox gave one of the fifty-three wounds. The paper is, however, so valuable to be rejected as unworthy of notice; it merely contains an error, and must be understood to mean, ‘that all these were at the death of David, or privy thereto.’ After the crack has thus been soldered, another yawn, when we are informed, that the houses of all the persons named, were ‘taken and spoiled.’ This is an extraordinary error as regards Craig, who remained in Scotland all the time, labouring in his vineyard; and we cannot in any authority, printed or unprinted, find the slightest warrant for saying that such a law overtook the establishment of Knox.

“Mr. Tytler expends great industry in establishing that Randolph and Tytler were both in the full knowledge of all the facts relative to the conspiracy. Here also he is very false. With regard to inconsistency, while he maintains the truth of the list, on the ground that ‘these two persons, the Earl of Bedford and Randolph, were intimately acquainted with the whole details of the conspiracy’ (vol. vii. p. 300.) again, in the following page, he makes another wobble, and after adopting his own list, because it was written ‘after the arrival of Lord Ruthven,’ he rejects a list in which we shall immediately refer (which, with the name of Knox), because ‘the chief particulars of both account and list were Morton and Ruthven.’ (Vol. vii. p. 301.) That there was not the chief authorities shall be immediately shown; but, in the meantime, we rather think Mr. Tytler is more at home in describing doubtful names than in chopping logic. It appears, from all the evidence we possess, to be perfectly essential that neither Randolph nor Bedford knew anything of the details of the conspiracy, except what they derived from the flying reports of the refugees who were daily flocking to Berwick. This can be clearly established, without relying upon any statements we

might draw from Mr. Tytler's language. Besides the list contained in the body of Randolph's letter of 21st March, and the scrap of paper which Mr. Tytler found pinned to that letter, there exists a third list, not written by a clerk, not unsubscribed, not unauthenticated, but in the handwriting of Randolph himself, and authenticated by the subscriptions of him and Bedford; and in this list also the name of Knox does not occur. This list was sent on the 27th of March, with a minute account of the conspiracy, to the Council of England, and after every means had been adopted for arriving at the truth. We have this important document printed elsewhere than in Mr. Tytler's history.

"From it, it appears that both Randolph and Bedford were in the dark in regard to the whole matter, and resorted to every expedient to collect information. They state that, 'hearing of so many matters as we do, and finding such variety in the reports, we have much ado to discern the verity, which maketh us the slower and loather to put anything in writing.' (This uncertainty as to facts, be it observed, existed no less than six days after Mr. Tytler's famous 'authentic list' is said to have been sent off by Bedford's clerk to London.) The writers then state, that 'we would that your honours, and by you the queen's majesty, our sovereign, should be advertised but of the very truth, as near as we can possible.' How did they proceed? 'To this end, we thought good to send up Captain Carewe, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the last attempt, who spoke there with diverse, and after that with the queen's self and her husband.' Thus, therefore, on the 27th of March, eighteen days after the murder, when the usual exaggerations and falsehoods that attend the first report of a startling event had died away, and when the English ministers had derived their information from the sure source of a special envoy, they sat down to write a deliberate account 'of the very truth.' 'Willing to our utmost part to inform you of the truth.' We beg attention to the data on which their statement is founded, on account of a perversion of fact by Mr. Tytler. They distinctly state that their information is 'conform to that which we have learned by others, and known by his, Captain Carewe's report; we find the same confirmed by the parties selves that were there present, and assistants unto those that were executors of the deed.' (*Ellis's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 208.) In defiance of this explicit declaration, that 'the chief authorities' were authentic statements made by the special commissioner and others, 'confirmed' merely by Morton and Ruthven, we have Mr. Tytler, for a purpose of his own, risking the extraordinary assertion (we will not characterise it more severely) that Morton and Ruthven were the 'chief authorities.' The object of this is to take away from the list the character of being impartial, by rendering it entirely the work of Morton and Ruthven, who, Mr. Tytler again most gratuitously, and without a shadow of evidence, tells us, wished, with Roman generosity, to screen Knox by sacri-

ficing themselves. In this list of the 27th March, we have 'the names of such as were doers, and of counsel in this last attempt.' Mr. Tytler accordingly very naturally cross-examines himself in the following style:—'Why do you reject the evidence of this second list, and why are we not to believe this solemn declaration, absolving the ministers of Scotland, and of course Knox with them, from all participation in the murder?' (Vol. vii. p. 340.) His answer to this sensible question, and the reply of his opponent, reminds one of the remark of Bishop Horne, that 'by the writers of dialogues matters are often contrived, as in the combats of the Emperor Commodus, in his gladiatorial capacity, where the antagonist of his imperial majesty was allowed only a *leaden* weapon.' He first asserts that Randolph and Bedford, in direct contradiction to their own averment, oftentimes repeated in their letter, made up the list under the dictation of Morton and Ruthven, and that these two worthies had some inexplicable interest to conceal Knox's concern in the transaction. That they had any such interest, farther than the interest of truth, we again affirm to be destitute of proof, and invented solely to meet the exigencies of Mr. Tytler's argument. Again, Mr. Tytler, not feeling secure on this point, makes another gratuitous assertion, when he says that Randolph would be more precise on delicate matters in his private letter to Cecil of the 21st March, sending the scrap of paper (assuming that he sent it, of which there is no evidence), than he and Bedford would be to the Council, in their letter of the 27th. That they felt any such delicacy is also contradicted by the very letter in question; for, in mentioning the insinuations against Mary's honour, they write in the margin thus:—

"It is our parts to pass this over in silence, rather than to make any such rehearsal of things committed unto us in secret; but we know to whom we write.—*Ellis*, vol. ii. p. 229, note.

"But, secondly, Mr. Tytler having thus argued that the list of the 27th March was concocted at Berwick, by Randolph, Bedford, Morton, and Ruthven, absolutely forgets what he had written, flounders into a new contradiction, and transfers the *locus delicti* and the culprits to London, where he makes Cecil, 'the secretary of Elizabeth, modify and recast the story, after the failure of the conspiracy, and with the approbation and by the directions of Elizabeth.' (Vol. vii. p. 360.) One of these arguments must be false. It is clear that the very same act could not be done at Berwick and at London, and that, too, by different people. On the authority of the Italian manuscript which Mr. Tytler cites, he may maintain *à l'outrance*, if it please him, that Cecil concocted the most enormous falsehoods on the subject; but it is absolutely amazing how he imagines that, in consequence of this, Cecil had prepared the list of the 27th March, when that very list itself now lies in the British Museum, patent to all the world, and, as he himself states, 'in the handwriting of Randolph!'

“So much for this third list. We now come to a fourth, as contained in another letter by Randolph. He here informs us that ‘there are privy in Scotland these — Moray, Rothes, Orange, myself.’ (Tytler, vol. vii. p. 25.) The name of Knox does not here occur, nor does it in the fifth list, preserved in the appendix to Keith. But this is not all, Morton and Ruthven wrote from Berwick a letter of their own to Cecil, in which they say that—

“‘It is come to our knowledge that some Papists have bruited that these our proceedings have been at the instigation of the ministers of Scotland. We assure your lordship, upon our honour, that there were none of the mart nor part of that deed, nor were participate thereof.’—Tytler, vol. vii. p. 360.

“Mr. Tytler again puts himself through the catechism. ‘Why not believe Morton? Where is Ruthven, when he states upon his word of honour that none of the ministers of Scotland were art and part of that deed?’ He answers, that Morton did not know the meaning of art and part of the king’s murder, though he admitted foreknowledge of it. But, if this be the case, what does the other statement, that none of the ministers were participate in the murder mean? and, in order to render this absurd, hypercritical argument effectual, be it observed that it is necessary to leave out of view that the letter is not Morton’s only, but the joint production of him and Ruthven; and that the latter must have been equally obtuse in matters of philology. There are still, however, some arguments remaining, which we ask indulgence for examining also, as the matter involves so much the credit of an illustrious name.

“‘Another corroboration,’ says Mr. Tytler, ‘of his accession to this conspiracy was his precipitate flight from Edinburgh, with the rest of the conspirators, upon the threatened advance of the queen to the city. Knox fled precipitately, and in extreme agony of spirit, to Kyle; and, as we have already seen, did not venture to return till the noblemen rose against the queen, after the death of Darnley. If he was not implicated, why did he take guilt to himself by flight?’ (Vol. vii. p. 359.) Here is an extreme and ludicrous rapidity in a conclusion, which is neither morally just, nor consistent with the facts. Flight by Knox before the queen, marching on Edinburgh at the head of troops, was only a common measure of prudence in his position. We have already seen that he frequently came into collision with Mary, and that her exasperation had reached such a point, that she declared before her Council—‘I vow to God, I shall be once revenged.’ (Knox, p. 359.) At this very time, too, he was a proscribed and marked man, and the very first person to be seized during the licence of military misrule. In that old contemporary diary, titled *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, which Mr. Tytler estimates so highly, we are informed that, ‘upon the 19th day of August, the king [Darnley] came to St. Giles’ Kirk, and Johne Knoxe preachit; quhairat he was erabbit, and causit discharge the said Johne of his preitching.’

“Knox being thus prevented from discharging duty, it appears that he applied to the General Assembly, which met on 25th December. ‘An license to peace to England,’ because ‘the execution of his ministrie in Edinburgh was suspended’ (Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 349); and to this request the Assembly acceded, on condition that he returned before the following June; now, seeing that Knox was in Edinburgh on the 23d of March, when Riccio was murdered, two months after the Assembly had sat, it is doubtful whether he had gone to the south. At all events, this is clear, that Knox was idle in Edinburgh, and labouring under the marked displeasure of the court, and therefore, of all others, the first person that would have been summarily dealt with on the occasion of an irruption of undisciplined troops into the city. On all these facts Mr. Tytler has, however, kept a guarded and discreet silence.

“He has also been mute as to the mode in which the queen’s forces fulfilled the worst anticipations of the refugees. The *Diurnal of Occurrents* informs us, that they recklessly entered the houses of the citizens, spoiled them of their goods, and, without a shadow of suspicion, hurled them to prison. Randolph and Biddel set out, that ‘diverse of the towne folk, honest men, were committed to prison, and diverse escaped’ (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 233); and ‘the worst of it was, as called the Frenchmen, their wives were taken as well’ (Ibid.) This is further confirmed by David Buchanan, who wrote the 6th book of Knox’s History: ‘In the execution of the same of our committed great outrages in breaking up houses, thrusting themselves into every house. (Knox, p. 354.) Many of the poor burghers fled from the city in terror. Two of them thus describe their story—

“‘They were in their own houses at supper ignorant of the thing attempted, until the common bell rang, at which time we passed in company with the provost, as many more did, to the street, and that same night returned again and passed in our beds, within our own houses. Thus in the plain and simple truth of our pains. Although this was all the concern in which our sister and cordiner had with the matter, they saw that they, for fear, absented themselves, and so were put to the horn,’—a protesting voice amongst against Knox.—*Pitcairn’s Crime*, Tract, p. 492.

“So much as to Knox taking guilt to himself by flight. We come now to Mr. Tytler’s argument drawn from the opinion Knox is said to have expressed when the deed was done, by Mr. Tytler will not rely upon the ‘ambiguity’ of his being absolutely conclusive. He quotes a passage from the fifth book of Knox’s History, where the death of Riccio is thus spoken of—

“‘After this manner above specified, to wit, by the death of David Riccio, the multitude were relieved of their trouble, and returned in their peace and rowmes, and likewise the church returned, and all that professed the straight within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered.’

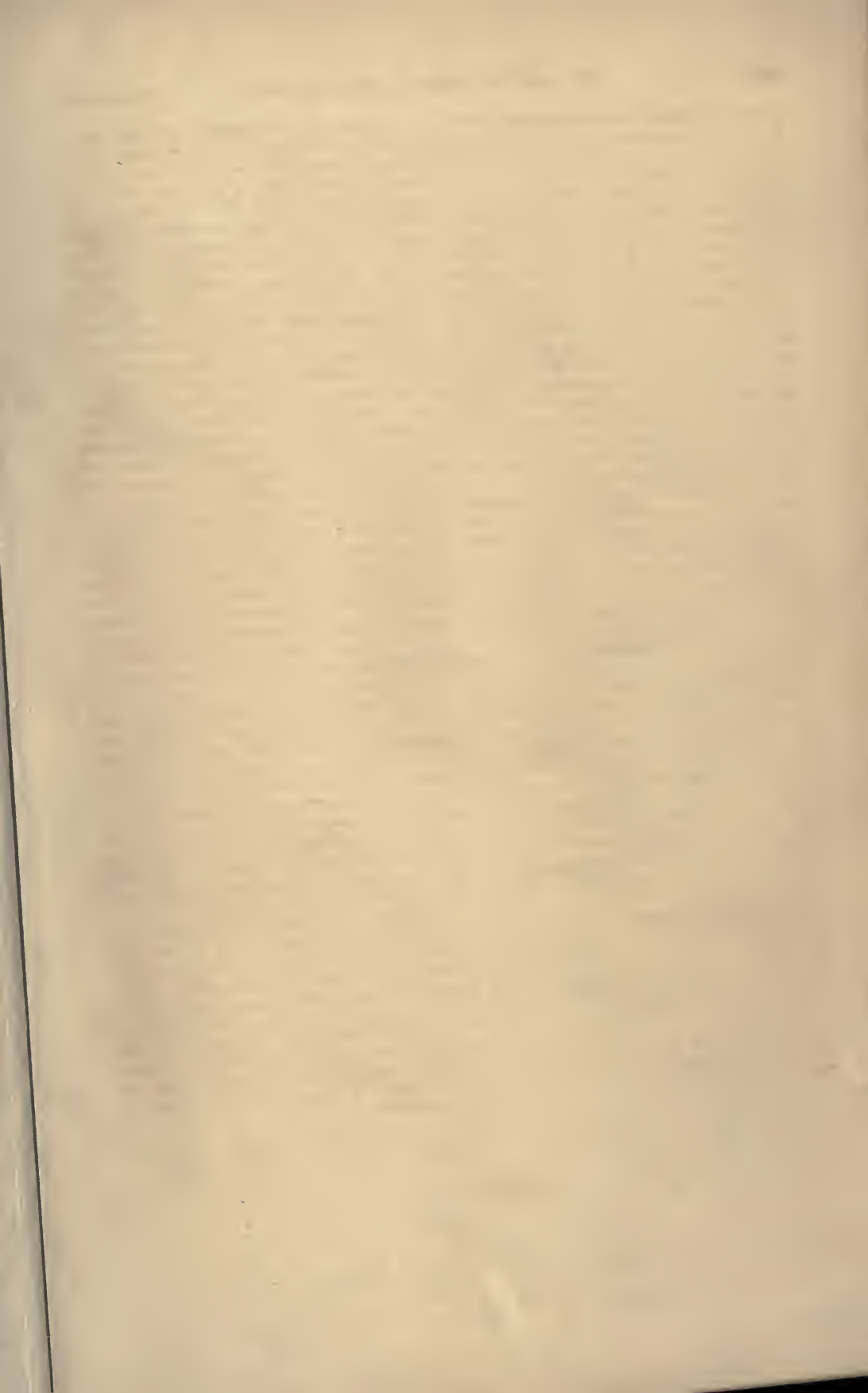
"Now it is matter of notorious fact, that the fifth book of the volume, which goes under the name of Knox's *History of the Reformation*, was not written by him; and if this be the case, why should the historian drag in a passage written by another hand full sixty years after the grass was growing green upon his grave? Why should Knox be made responsible for the reflections of David Buchanan, with which that worthy gentleman enlightened the world in the following age? Knox himself expressly states, in incidentally referring to the death of Riecio, and declining to tell the story, that 'he refers it to such as God shall raise up to the same.' As the force of all this could not be disputed, Mr. Tytler endeavours to implicate the Reformer by insinuating that the statement might be found 'in his notes and collections;' for which, however, we have only the worn-out authority of the historian's imagination, which can never take a flight except in one direction.

"On the return of the queen from Dunbar, the Privy Council was immediately convened, in order to bring down upon the murderers the punishment of the laws. Their directions on this head were of the most sweeping description:—'The lords think expedient, that all that were of the device, council, or actually at the committing of the slaughter, shall be prosecuted by order of justice.' (*Keith*, App. p. 131.) Accordingly, seventy-one persons were put to 'the horn,' which, we understand, involved the pains and infamy of rebellion. And, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, we find that during the succeeding months of April, May, June, and July, this indiscriminate blistering of the lieges was kept up. (*Pitcairn*, vol. ii. p. 283, *seq.*) High and low, rich and poor, were denounced; cordiners and cutlers in the Canongate, residents in Muscelburgh and Dalkeith, were all involved in the indiscriminate forfeitures. Suspicion, in nearly all cases, was the ground of charge; and hence the simple, obvious, but important question, why was Knox not denounced, seeing that 'he took guilt to himself by flight?'—seeing that he was at the moment suffering a punishment imposed upon him by the king, who, in disclosing the names of all the other conspirators, would not surely overlook the man who had on other points displeased him? Was it not because no such interpretation was put upon his conduct by those who had every wish to put it, and because the breath of slander had not, in his own day, dimmed the lustre of his name?

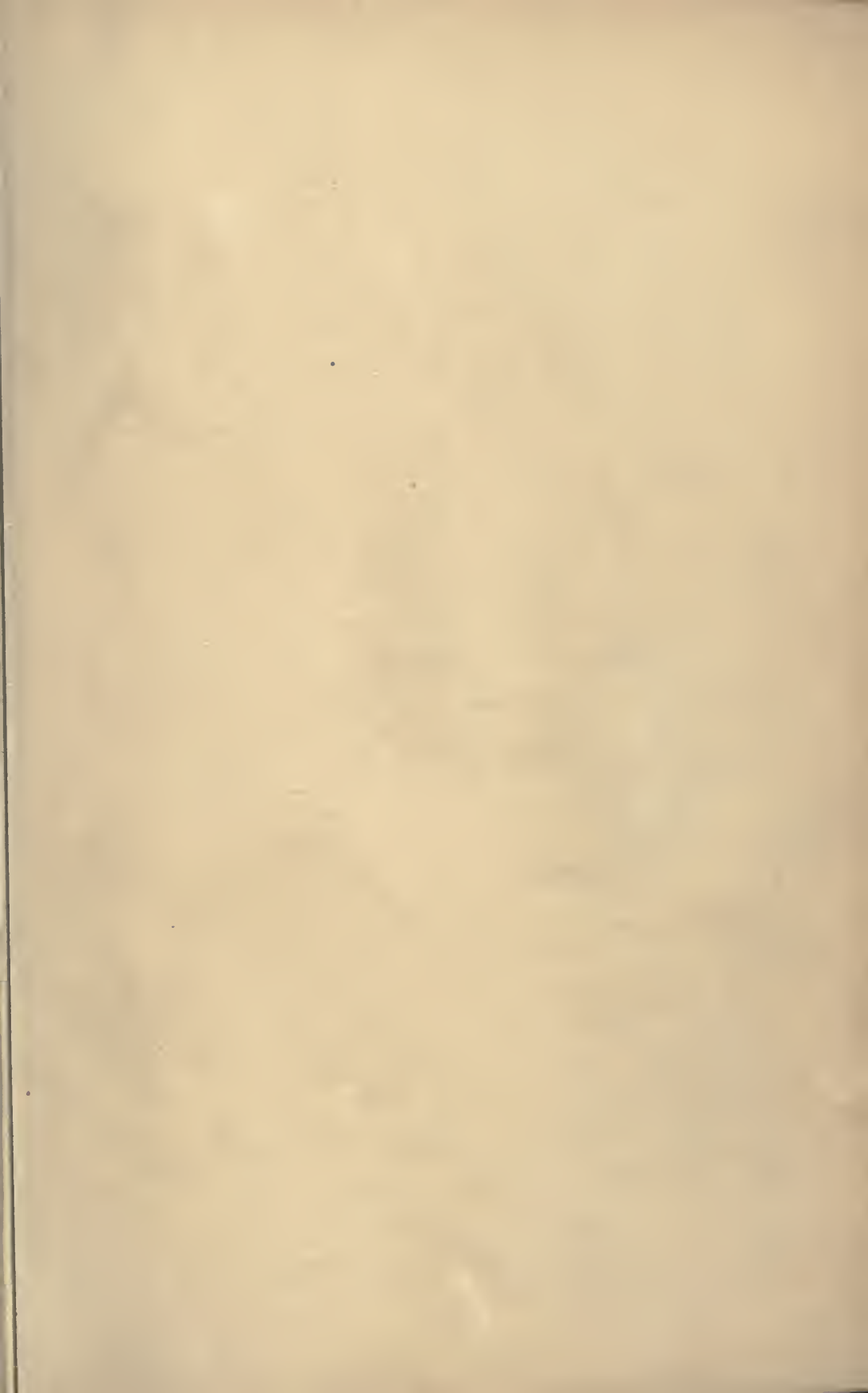
"The last argument we now approach—and it fortunately is one which may be disposed of in a sentence. There was a religious fast held in Edinburgh during the week on which the murder was perpetrated, and which, Mr. Tytler tells us, the ministers took advantage of, in order to preach fiery sermons suited to the times. It is clear that their motive in this was to prepare the public mind for the coming tragedy. Unfortunately for Mr. Tytler, however, it is upon record that this fast was ordained to be celebrated by the General Assembly of the Church, which had three months previously closed its sittings. The subjects of exhortation were expressly stated; a regular treatise for the fast was prepared; and, with general directions to apply their sermons to sins of all times, they were specially to have in view the calamitous position of the country at that period, by the banishment of the Protestant lords, the open celebration of the mass, the danger that threatened the existence of the church, and the insecurity in which the whole Protestant community was placed by the queen's accession to the Bayonne League. These were the causes that induced the ministers so to preach. These are the reasons assigned by our historians, until we come down to Goodall, who first put upon it a sinister interpretation (vol. i. p. 248), which 'my grandfather' copied, and which the grandson has again transcribed *verbatim et literatim*.

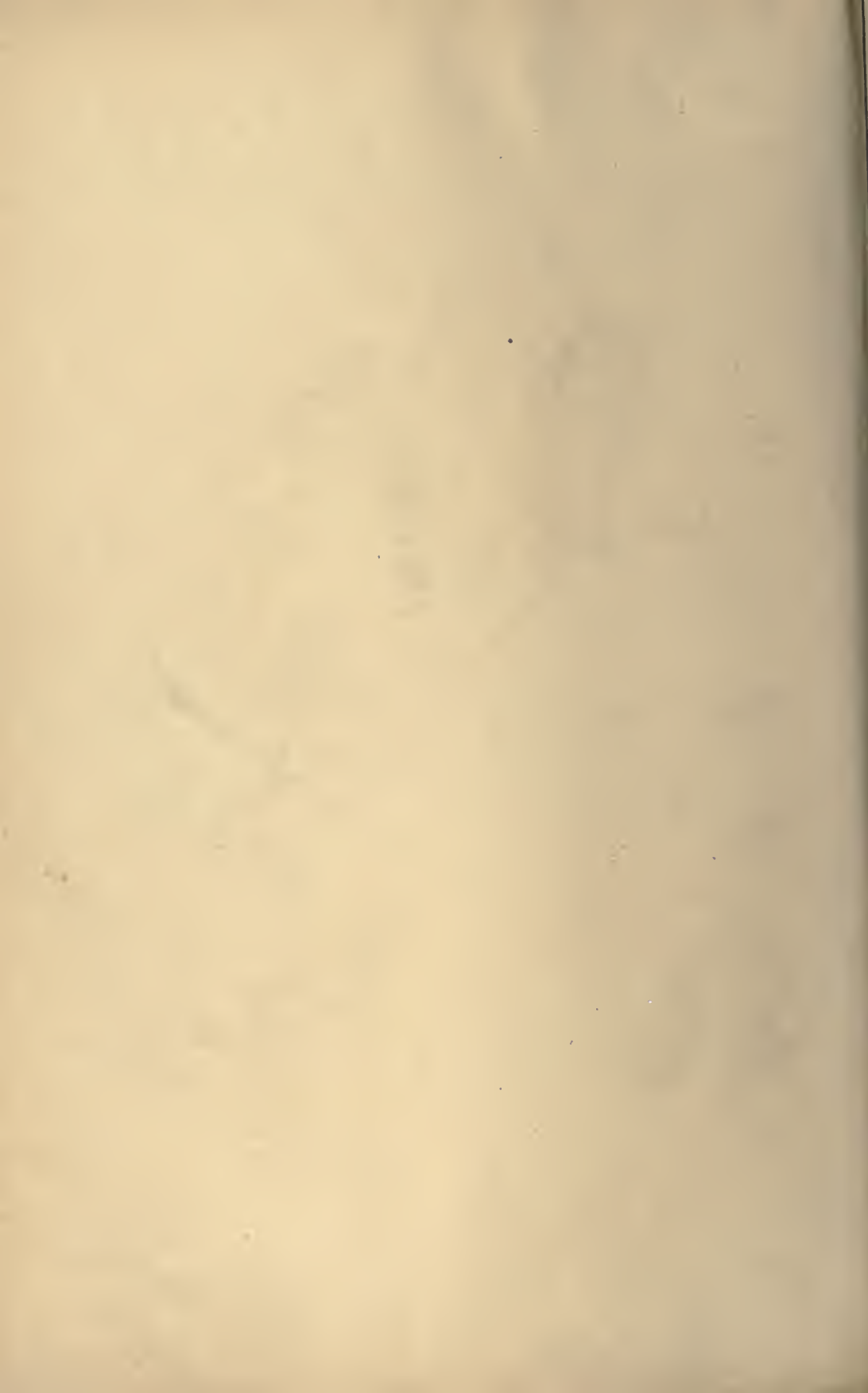
"All contemporary history—all the private correspondence of the age of Knox—is silent on the subject of his accession to the murder. We have examined every printed treatise on the subject, and many of the MSS. that still exist, and in not one of the laboured journals, or didactic histories of either enemies or friends—in not one of the numerous letters written for private perusal, and uninfluenced by any sinister purpose, have we been able to find one single inuendo or insinuation to corroborate the tale.

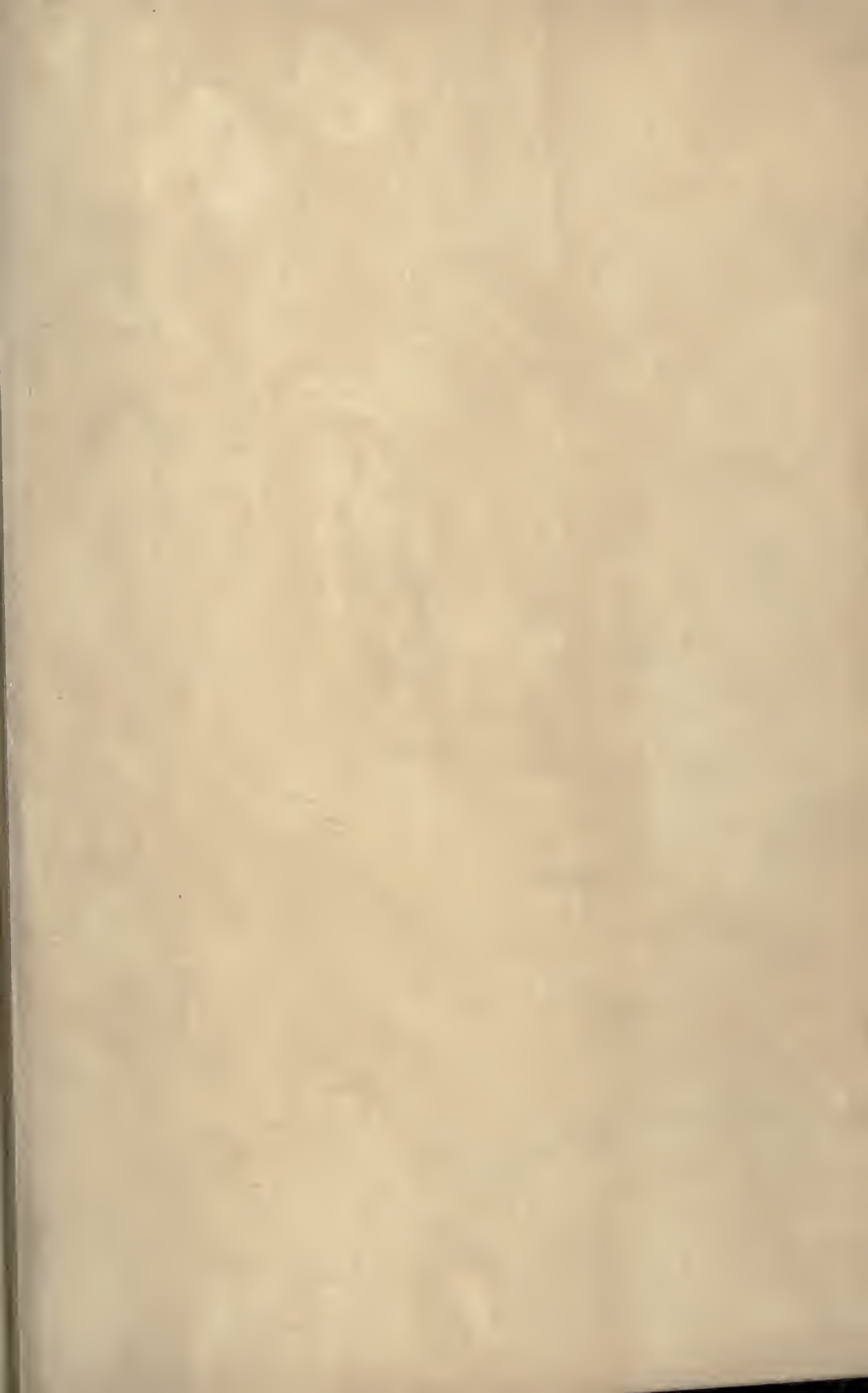
"Thus, therefore, with all this body of overpowering and invincible negative evidence, we have four distinct lists of the murderers or their accessories, in none of which does the name of Knox appear, set in opposition to a miserable rag of paper, unsubscribed, unauthenticated, referred to in no letter, author unknown, date in *nubibus*—in short, without one single element of that evidence on which human opinion rests, and without one single recommendation to induce us to treat it with respect, or to give it credibility."













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