

## CHAP. II.

## JAMES THE THIRD.

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 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.
*Kings of England.*

Henry VI.  
Edward IV.  
Edward V.  
Richard III.  
Henry VII.

*Kings of France.*

Charles VII.  
Lewis XI.

*Popes.*

Pius II.  
Sixtus IV.  
Innocent VIII.

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SCOTLAND, once more exposed to the danger and the woe pronounced upon the nation whose king is a child, was yet entitled to expect a pacific commencement of the minority, from the wisdom and experience of the queen-mother, the apparent union amongst the nobility, and the sage counsels of the chief ministers of the late king, who, from attachment to the father, were likely to unite for the support of the son. Immediately after the surrender of the fortress of Roxburgh, which was dismantled, and the demolition of Wark castle, which had been stormed by another division of the army, the further prosecution of the war was intermitted, and the nobility conducted their monarch, then only eight years old, to the monastery of Kelso, where he was

crowned with the accustomed pomp and solemnity, a hundred knights being made, to commemorate the simultaneous entrance of the prince into the state of chivalry, and his assumption of his royal and hereditary dignity.<sup>1</sup> The court then removed to Edinburgh, where the remains of the late king were committed to the sepulchre in the venerable abbey of Holyrood.<sup>2</sup>

We have already seen, that at this moment the neighbouring nation of England was torn and distracted by the wars of York and Lancaster, and the captivity of Henry the VI., the ally of Scotland, with the escape of his queen, and her son, the prince, into that country, are events belonging to the last reign. Immediately after the royal funeral, intelligence was brought, that this fugitive princess, whose flight had lain through Wales, was arrived at Dumfries, where she had been received with honour, and had taken up her residence in the monastery of Lincluden. To this place, the queen-mother of Scotland, with the king and the royal suite, proceeded, and a conference took place relative to the public affairs of both kingdoms, of which, unfortunately, we have no particular account, except that it lasted for twelve days. A marriage was talked of between the English prince and the sister of the King of Scotland, but the energetic consort of the feeble Henry required more prompt and warlike support than was to be

<sup>1</sup> Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ, fol. 289. "Medium circiter choram."

derived from a distant matrimonial alliance, and, encouraged by the promise of a cordial co-operation upon the part of Scotland, she returned with haste to York, and there, in a council of her friends, formed the resolution of attacking London, and attempting the rescue of her captive husband. The complete triumph of this princess at Wakefield, where she totally routed the army of the Duke of York, once more, though for a brief period, confirmed the ascendancy of the House of Lancaster; and Scotland, in the re-establishment of her ally upon the throne, anticipated a breathing time of peace and tranquillity.<sup>1</sup>

But the elements of civil commotion existed in the habits of the people, and the constitution of the country. In the north, the fertile region of all confusion and rapine, Allan of Lorn of the Wood, a sister's son of Donald Balloch, had seized his elder brother, Ker of Lorn, and confined him in a dungeon in the island of Kerweray. Allan's object was to starve his victim to death, and succeed to the estate; but the Earl of Argyle, who was nearly related to the unfortunate baron, determined to rescue him; and arriving suddenly with a fleet of warlike galleys, entirely defeated this fierce chief, burnt his fleet, slew the greater part of his men, and restored the elder brother to his rightful inheritance. This, although apparently an act of justice, had the usual effect of rousing the whole body of the Island lords, and dividing them into various parties, animated with a

<sup>1</sup> Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 58. Carte, Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 757.

mortal hostility against each other, and these issued from their ocean-retreats to plunder the islands, to make descents upon the continent, and to destroy and murder the unhappy persons who refused to join their banner, or engage in such atrocities.<sup>1</sup>

○ In the meantime, it was thought expedient that writs should be issued, in the royal name, for the meeting of the parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on the 24th of February, 1460. It was fully attended, not only by the whole body of the prelates, to whose wisdom and experience the people anxiously looked for protection, and by the great southern barons, but by the Earl of Ross, the Lord of the Isles, and a multitude of haughty and independent Highland chiefs, whose hands were scarce dry from the blood which they had lately shed in their domestic broils, and who came, not so much from feelings of affection to the crown, as with the desire of profiting by the changes and the insecurity which they knew to be the invariable attendants upon a minority. Unfortunately no records remain of the transactions of this first parliament of James the Third. It is certain, however, that the debates and divisions of the aristocracy were carried on with a virulence which augured ill for the kingdom, and rendered abortive, in a great measure, the deliberations of the friends of order and good government. These, however, so far succeeded as to procure the appointment of sessions for the distribution of justice, to

<sup>1</sup> Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 58, 59.

be held at Aberdeen, Perth, and Edinburgh. The keeping of the king's person, and the government of the kingdom, was committed, for the present, to the queen-mother; and this prudent princess, distrusting the higher nobles, who commanded some of the principal fortresses, removed the governors of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbar, and replaced them by those amongst her own servants, upon whose fidelity she could confidently rely.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible that such decided measures should not excite dissatisfaction amongst a large proportion of the aristocracy, "who," in the words of a contemporary chronicle, "loudly complained against those persons, whether of the temporal or spiritual estate, who committed to a woman the government of a powerful kingdom." In other words, they murmured that the plunder and peculation which they had eagerly anticipated as the ministers of a minor sovereign, were not likely to be permitted under the energetic government of the queen.

In the absence of authentic evidence, it is difficult to ascertain the exact measures which were adopted in the constitution of the new government immediately subsequent to the death of the king. According to Lesley, a council of regency was formed, under the direction or control of the queen-mother. By another, and, as it seems, a more probable supposition, the chief management of affairs was intrusted to Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews; and it is certain

<sup>1</sup> Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 59. Lesley, Hist. p. 33.

that the choice could not have fallen upon one more fitted, from his exemplary probity, and his eminent talents and experience, to guide the state amid the difficulties with which it was surrounded. This his conduct in office during the late reign had sufficiently demonstrated, and his present appointment to be the principal minister of the crown, was a pledge given by the queen that, however thwarted and opposed by the selfish spirit of the great body of the nobles, it was at least her wish that the government should be administered with justice and impartiality. The office of chancellor was, about the same time, conferred on Lord Evandale, a nobleman of considerable ability, who had enjoyed the advantage of a more learned education than generally fell to the lot of the rude barons of his age, and who had experienced the confidence and friendship of the late king. The high situation of Justiciar of Scotland was committed to Robert, Lord Boyd; the care of the privy seal intrusted to James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden, who was said to be admitted into the most secret councils of the queen; James, Lord Livingston, was promoted to the lucrative and responsible dignity of chamberlain, whilst Liddele, Rector of Forres, was made secretary to the king, David Guthrie of Kincaldrum, treasurer, and Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, comptroller of the household.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 37. *Ibid.* p. 313. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 476.

It was about this time that the King of France, who had been chosen arbitrator in the dispute between the crowns of Norway and Scotland, delivered his final judgment upon the subject. It has been already explained that this serious difference, which threatened to involve the two kingdoms in war, originated in a claim made by the Norwegian monarch for the arrears of the "annual of Norway," the sum payable by Scotland to that kingdom for the possession of the Western Isles and Man. By the original treaty between Magnus, King of Norway, and Alexander the Third, which was concluded in 1286, a certain penalty had been imposed, upon failure on the part of Scotland to pay the yearly quit-rent, and the Norwegian commissioners insisted that the original autograph of this treaty should be produced by the Scottish ambassadors, Patrick Fokart, captain of the King of France's guard, and William de Monipenny, Lord of Concessault, alleging that they would prove, from the terms in which it was drawn up, that an arrear of forty-four thousand marks was due from the Scottish government to the King of Norway. This demand the Scottish envoys eluded. They alleged that the original deed was in the hands of Kennedy, the Provost of St Andrews, who was then sick in Flanders, at a great distance from the spot where the convention was held, and insinuated that the treaty had rather been neglected than infringed; that no demands having been, for a long period, proffered by Norway, Scotland was almost justified in considering the claim as having been cut down

by desuetude. Unable, from the want of the original document, to decide this point, and anxious to avoid the prolongation of the conference, Charles the Seventh proposed that the disputes should be brought to an amicable termination by a marriage between the eldest son of James the Second, and Margaret, the daughter of the King of Norway. Upon this subject the plenipotentiaries of either power, although they intimated that they had no authority to come to a final agreement, declared their willingness to confer with their governments. It was stated by the Scottish ambassadors that the terms which they should be inclined to propose, would be the renunciation by Norway of all claim for arrears, the cession to Scotland of the islands of Shetland and the Orkneys, and the payment of the sum of a hundred thousand crowns for the feminine decorations, or, in more familiar phrase, the pin-money, of the noble virgin ; whilst, upon their part, they engaged that their royal master should settle upon the princess a dowery suitable to her rank. At this moment, and apparently before the Norwegian commissioners had returned any answer to the proposal, accounts of the death of James the Second before Roxburgh reached Bourges, where the convention was held, and the negotiations were brought to an abrupt conclusion ; but a foundation had been laid for a treaty highly advantageous to Scotland ; and the advice of the royal umpire, Charles the Seventh, that the two countries should be careful to continue in the Christian fellowship of peace till the youthful parties had



reached a marriageable age, and the intended union could be completed, appears to have been wisely followed by the ministers of both kingdoms.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, events of the most interesting and extraordinary nature occurred in England. The battle of Wakefield had replaced the sceptre in the hands of the feeble Henry, and the bleeding head of the Duke of York, laid at the feet of his masculine antagonist, the queen, was received by her as a pledge that her misfortunes were to be buried in the grave of this determined enemy of her house. Yet, within little more than two months, the star of York once more assumed the ascendant, and the total and sanguinary defeat of the Lancasterians in the decisive battle of Toton, again drove Henry and his consort into exile in Scotland. So complete had been the dispersion and slaughter of their army, and so immediate and rapid the flight, that their suite, when they arrived, consisted only of six persons.<sup>2</sup> They were received, however, with the utmost distinction; the warmest sympathy was expressed for their misfortunes; and the queen-mother, with the counsellors of the youthful monarch, held various conferences on the most prudent measures to be adopted for the restoration of their unfortunate ally to his hereditary throne. The difficulties, indeed, which presented themselves in the prosecution of such a design, were by no means of a trifling description, and required

<sup>1</sup> Torfæus, pp. 185, 186.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, 256. Paston Letters, i. 219, 229.

very serious consideration. It was evident to the good sense and mature experience of Kennedy, who held the chief place in the councils of the Scottish queen, that, upon the accession of a minor sovereign, the first object of his ministers ought to be to secure the integrity of his dominions and the popularity of his government at home. Yet this, at the present moment, was no easy task. On the side of the Highlands and the Isles, Edward the Fourth had already commenced his intrigues with two of the most potent and warlike chiefs of those districts, whose fleets and armies had repeatedly broken the tranquillity of the kingdom, John, Earl of Ross, and Donald Balloch. To meet these two barons, or their ambassadors, for they affected the state of independent princes, the English monarch dispatched the banished Earl of Douglas and his brother, John Douglas of Balveny, who had sunk into English subjects, and were animated by a mortal antipathy against the house of James the Second.<sup>1</sup> On the side of Norway, the differences regarding the claims of that government, although they had assumed, under the mediation of the French monarch, a more friendly aspect, were still unsettled, and a war with England, unless undertaken on the necessary ground of repelling an unjust attack upon the kingdom, appeared to be a measure which might lead to serious misfortune, and even, if crowned with success, could bring little permanent advantage. Yet to desert an ally in misfortune, to

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. xi. p. 474. Rotuli Scotiae, vol. ii. p. 402.

whom he was bound by the faith of repeated treaties, would have been justly accounted ungenerous, and Henry, or rather his queen, without affecting to be blind to the sacrifice which must be made if Scotland then declared war, offered to indemnify that country by the immediate delivery of the two important frontier towns of Berwick and Carlisle.<sup>1</sup> The prize which was thus offered was too alluring to be refused; and although Edward had previously shown a disposition to remain on friendly terms, the occupation of so important a town was considered as an open declaration of hostility, and called for immediate exertion.

Personally engrossed, however, by the unsettled state of his own kingdom, he determined to invade Scotland, and, if possible, expel the reigning family by means of those powerful and rebellious chiefs which it held within its own bosom, assisted by the banished Douglasses, who, as before mentioned, had now become English subjects. We find, accordingly, that in a council of their vassals and dependants, held at Astornish, on the 19th of October, the Earl of Ross, along with Donald Balloch, and his son, John de Isle, dispatched their ambassadors to meet with the English envoys, who, in a negotiation at Westminster, concluded a treaty with Edward IV., which embraced some extraordinary conditions. Its basis was nothing less than the contemplated conquest of Scotland by the

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Rolls, p. 478.

army of the island lord and the auxiliaries to be furnished by Edward. The Lord of the Isles, upon payment of a stipulated sum of money to himself, his son, and his ally, agreed to become for ever the sworn vassal of England, along with the whole body of his subjects, and to assist him in the wars in Ireland, as well as elsewhere. In the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the Earls of Ross and Douglas, the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Scottish sea, or Frith of Forth, was to be divided equally between Douglas, Ross, and Donald Balloch, whilst Douglas was to be restored to the possession of those estates between the Scottish sea and the borders of England, from which he was now excluded ; and upon such partition and restoration being carried into effect, the salaries payable by England to Ross and his associates, as the wages of their defection, were to cease. This remarkable treaty is dated at London, on the 13th of February, 1462.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst these important transactions were taking place in England, Henry, the exheridated monarch, in his asylum at the Scottish court, engaged the Earl of Angus, one of the most powerful subjects in Scotland, by the promise of an English dukedom, to grant him his assistance in the recovery of his dominions ;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Hume of Godscroft, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22, quotes from the original treaty, which he had seen : “ And so the treaty was sealed and subscribed with a Henry as long as the whole sheet of parchment ; the worst shapen letters, and the worst put together, that I ever saw.”

but before any regular plan could be organized, the Earl of Ross, faithful to his promises to Edward, broke into a rebellion, which was accompanied with all those circumstances of atrocity and sacrilege which disgraced the hostilities of these island princes. Having approached the castle of Inverness, at the head of a small party, for the purpose of concealing his ultimate design, he was readily admitted by the governor, who believed him faithful to the king; and found, when it was too late, that all resistance must be hopeless.<sup>1</sup> Ross immediately assembled his army, and proclaimed himself King of the Hebrides. He then invaded the country of Athole, published a proclamation, that no one should dare to obey the officers of King James—commanded all taxes to be henceforth paid to him—and, after a cruel and wasteful progress, concluded the expedition by storming the castle of Blair, and dragging the Earl and Countess of Athole from the chapel and sanctuary of St Bridget, to a distant prison in Isla. Thrice did he attempt, if we may believe the Catholic historian, to fire the holy pile which he had plundered—thrice the destructive element refused its office—and a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the greater part of his war-galleys were sunk, and the rich booty with which they were loaded consigned to the deep, was universally ascribed to the wrath of Heaven, which had armed the elements against the abettor of sacrilege and murder. It is certain, at least, that this idea

<sup>1</sup> Ferrerius, p. 383.

had fixed itself with all the strength of remorse and superstition in the mind of the bold and savage leader himself; and such was the strength of the feeling, that he became moody and almost distracted. Commanding his principal leaders and soldiers to strip themselves to their shirt and drawers, and assuming himself the same ignominious garb, he collected the relics of his plunder, and, proceeding with bare feet, and a dejected and haggard aspect, to the chapel which he had so lately stained with blood, he and his attendants performed before the altar an ignominious penance. The Earl and Countess of Athole were immediately set free from their prison—and Ross, abandoned as it was supposed by Heaven, was not long after assassinated in the castle of Inverness, by an Irish harper, whose resentment he had provoked.<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear that any simultaneous effort of the banished Earl of Douglas, who at this time received from England a yearly pension of five hundred pounds, co-operated with the rebellion of Ross; so that this formidable league, which threatened nothing less than the conquest and dismemberment of Scotland, expired in a short and insulated expedition, and fell to pieces before the breath of superstitious terror. Meanwhile the masculine and able consort of Henry the Sixth was indefatigable in her efforts to regain the power which she had lost. With a convoy of four Scottish ships she sailed from Kirkcudbright to Bretagne, and there prevailed upon the duke, who recei-

<sup>1</sup> Ferrerius, p. 383. Lesley de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 300.

ved her with much distinction, to advance the sum of twelve thousand crowns. From Bretagne she passed to her father, the King of Sicily, at this time resident at Anjou, and thence proceeded to the court of France, where her promise to surrender Calais, the moment she was reseated on her throne in England, induced Lewis the Eleventh to assist her with a force of two thousand men, under the command of Breze, the Seneschal of Normandy, and a sum of twenty thousand livres.<sup>1</sup> With this little army, the English queen disembarked near Bamburgh, under the confident expectation that the popularity of the house of Lancaster, and the prompt assistance of the Scots, would soon recruit the ranks of her army, and enable her to triumph over the power of the usurper. But she was cruelly disappointed. On her first landing, indeed, the fortresses of Alnwick and Dunstanburgh immediately surrendered, and were occupied by the troops of the Lancasterians ; but before the Scottish auxiliaries, under the command of Angus, could march into England, Edward the Fourth, in person, along with the Earl of Warwick, advanced, by rapid marches, at the head of a numerous army, and compelled the queen and her foreign ally to fly to their ships. The Seneschal of Normandy, however, left his son in command of Alnwick, at the head of the French auxiliaries, whilst Bamburgh castle was committed to the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of

<sup>1</sup> Wyrecestre, p. 492. Carte, Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 566.

Pembroke; but it was impossible for the Queen of England to struggle against the adverse accidents which pursued her. A storm attacked and dispersed her fleet; and it was with infinite difficulty and danger that she succeeded in putting into Berwick.<sup>1</sup> Breze, the seneschal, after witnessing the wreck of his best ships, and the capture of his troops by Ogle and Manners, two of Edward's officers, was glad to escape in a fishing-boat from Holy Island; and although the Earl of Angus, at the head of a considerable Scottish force, gallantly brought relief to the French auxiliaries who were shut up in Alnwick, and carried off the garrison in safety, in the presence of the English army, the expedition concluded with Edward becoming master of the castles of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, whilst Margaret once more fled to the continent, and sought an asylum at her father's court.

In the midst of these calamities which befell her sister-queen and ally, it appears that the Queen-Dowager of Scotland had consented to a personal interview with the Earl of Warwick, as the accredited ambassador of Edward the Fourth. The object of the negotiation was an artful proposal of this handsome and victorious prince, for a marriage between himself and the widowed queen, who was then in the bloom of her years, and possessed of many personal charms. Although this negotiation ultimately

<sup>1</sup> W. Wyrecestre, p. 495. Leland Coll. vol. i. part ii. p. 499.



came to nothing, and indeed the notoriety of the queen's intrigue with the Duke of Somerset,<sup>1</sup> and the suspicions previously breathed against her character, rendered it difficult to believe that Edward was in earnest, still the agitation of such an alliance had the effect of neutralizing the party against England, and diminishing the interest of Henry the Sixth at the Scottish court. The death also of his powerful ally, the Earl of Angus, which appears to have taken place about this time, greatly weakened his party; and this ill-fated prince, after having testified his gratitude for the honourable reception and great humanity which he had experienced from the provost and citizens of Edinburgh, by granting to them the same freedom of trade to all English ports which was enjoyed by the citizens of London,<sup>2</sup> once more repaired to England, there to make a last effort for the recovery of his kingdom.

The nobles of Scotland, at this moment, were divided into two parties, known by the name of the young and the old lords;<sup>3</sup> the first, supported by the powerful countenance of the queen-mother and Bishop Kennedy, anxious for lasting peace with England, and eager to promote it by the sacrifice of the cause of Henry, which was justly considered desperate; the second, led by the Earl of Angus, and after his death, headed, in all probability, by his son and successor, or rather by the tutors and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Wyrecestre, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Paston, Letters, i. p. 370.

tectors of this youthful chief. The sudden death of the queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres, in the prime of her years and her beauty, which took place on the 16th of November, 1463,<sup>1</sup> does not appear to have weakened the interest of Edward, or thrown any additional weight into the hands of the partisans of Henry; on the contrary, the event was followed by immediate and active negotiations for peace, and soon after the battle of Hexam, a defeat which gave the death-blow to the Lancasterian faction in England, a solemn convention was held between the commissioners of both countries. It was attended, on the part of England, by the Earls of Warwick and Northumberland; and on that of Scotland, by the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Earl of Argyle, with the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Hamilton, and it concluded in a fifteen years' truce, embracing, as one of its principal conditions, that "the King of Scotland should give no assistance to Henry, calling himself King of England, to Margaret, his wife, Edward, his son, or any of his friends or supporters."<sup>2</sup>

Amidst these transactions there gradually arose in Scotland another powerful family, which was destined to act a prominent part in the public affairs of the kingdom, and to exhibit the frequently repeated spectacle of office and authority abused for the lowest and most selfish ends. I allude to the exaltation

<sup>1</sup> Lesley de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. xi. p. 510. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 412. Abercromby, vol. ii. p. 390.

of the Boyds, whose rapid rise to the possession of the supreme power in the state, and the custody of the king's person, is involved in considerable obscurity. The power of the imperious house of Douglas was now extinguished ; it had been succeeded by the domination of the Earl of Angus, which was checked by the influence of the queen-mother, and had lately sunk into a temporary weakness by the minority of the young earl. In these circumstances, an opening seems to have been left for the intrusion of any able, powerful, and unscrupulous adventurer, who should unite in his own favour the broken and scattered families of the aristocracy, and, imitating the audacious policy of the Livingstons in the earlier part of the reign of James the Second, obtain exclusive possession of the king's person, and administer at his will the affairs of the government. Such a leader arose in the person of Robert, Lord Boyd, whose ancestor had done good service to the country under the reign of Bruce, and who himself, probably through the influence of Bishop Kennedy, had been created a peer in an early part of the present reign. The brother of this nobleman, Sir Alexander Boyd, is celebrated, in the popular histories of this reign, as a mirror of chivalry in all noble and knightly accomplishments, and upon this ground he was selected by the queen-mother and Kennedy as the tutor of the youthful prince in his martial exercises.<sup>1</sup> To acquire an influence over the affections of a boy of thirteen, and to

<sup>1</sup> Paston Letters, i. p. 270.

transfer that influence to his brother, Lord Boyd, who was much about the royal person, was no difficult task for so polished and able a courtier as Sir Alexander, but it appears singular that the selfishness and ambition of his character, as well as that of his brother, should have escaped the acute discernment of Kennedy; and yet it is certain that some months previous to the death of this excellent prelate, the Boyds had formed a strong party in the state, the object of which was nothing less than the usurpation of the whole power in the government, and the exclusive possession of the king's person.

This appears from a remarkable indenture, dated at Stirling, on the 10th of February, 1465, the contents of which not only disclose to us the ambition of this family, and the numerous friends and adherents whom they had already enlisted in their service, but throw a strong light upon the unworthy methods by which such lawless confederacies were maintained amongst the members of the Scottish aristocracy. The agreement bears to have been entered into betwixt honourable and worshipful lords, Robert, Lord Fleming, on the one side, and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, elder brother of the bishop, and Sir Alexander Boyd of Duchol, knight, upon the other; and it declares that these persons have solemnly bound themselves, their kin, friends, and vassals, to stand each to the other, in "afald kindness, supply, and defence," in all their causes and quarrels in which they are either already engaged, or may happen to be hereafter engaged, during the whole continuance

of their lives. Lord Fleming, however, it would seem, had entered into a similar covenant with the Lords Livingston and Hamilton, and these two peers are specially excepted from that clause by which he binds himself to support Kennedy and Boyd against all manner of persons who live or die. In the same manner, these last-mentioned potentates except from the sweeping clause, which obliges them to consider as their enemies every opponent of Fleming, a long list of friends, to whom they had bound themselves in a similar indenture ; and it is this part of the deed which admits us into the secret of the early coalition between the house of Boyd and some of the most ancient and influential families in Scotland. The Earl of Crawford, Lord Montgomery, Lord Maxwell, Lord Livingston, Lord Hamilton, and Lord Cathcart, along with a reverend prelate, Patrick Graham, Bishop of St Andrews, are specially enumerated as the covenanted friends of Boyd and Kennedy. It is next declared that Lord Fleming shall be retained as a member of the king's special council as long as the Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd are themselves continued in the same office and service, and provided he solemnly obliges himself, 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 out of the hands of any persons to whom they may have committed the royal charge. By a subsequent part of the indenture it appears, that to Fleming was attributed a considerable influence over the mind of the

youthful monarch ; for he is made to promise that he will employ his sincere and hearty endeavours to incline the king to entertain a sincere and affectionate attachment to Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boyd, with their children, friends, and vassals. The inducement by which Lord Fleming was persuaded to give his cordial support to the Boyds is next included in the agreement, and it affords, it must be allowed, a melancholy picture of the venality and corruption of the aristocracy. It is declared, that if any office happen to fall vacant in the king's gift, which is a reasonable and proper thing for the Lord Fleming's service, he shall be promoted thereto for his reward ; and it continues, " if there happens a large 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 is finally concluded between the contracting parties, that two of Lord Fleming's special friends and retainers, Tom of Somerville, and Wat of Tweedy, shall be received by Kennedy and Boyd amongst the number of their adherents, and maintained in all their causes and quarrels, and the deed is solemnly sealed and ratified by their oaths taken upon the holy gospels.<sup>1</sup>

Such is a specimen of the mode in which the prosperity of the kingdom was sacrificed to the private

<sup>1</sup> This valuable original document was communicated to me by James Maidment, Esq., through whose kind permission it is printed in the Appendix, Letter G.

ambition of the nobles ; and it is evident that this band or indenture, by which Lord Fleming was irrevocably tied to support the faction of the Boyds, was merely one of many other similar instruments which shackled in the same manner, and rewarded by the same prospects of speculation, the rest of the Scottish nobles.

These intrigues appear to have been carried on during the mortal illness of Bishop Kennedy, and in contemplation of his death. This event, which was truly, in the circumstances in which it occurred, a national calamity, took place on the 10th of May, 1466.<sup>1</sup> In him the country lost the only statesman who possessed sufficient firmness, ability, and integrity, to direct the councils of government. He was, indeed, in every respect a remarkable man ; a pious and conscientious churchman, whose charity was munificent, active, and discriminating ; and whose religion was perhaps as little tinged with bigotry and superstition as the times in which he lived would allow. His zeal for the true interests of literature and science was another prominent and admirable feature in his character, of which he left a noble monument in St Salvator's college at St Andrews, which was founded by him in 1456, and richly endowed out of his ecclesiastical revenues. Kennedy was nearly connected with the royal family, his mother being the Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, a daughter of Robert the Third. It appears that he

<sup>1</sup> Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops, p. 19.

had early devoted his attention to a correction of the manifold abuses which were daily increasing in the church; for which laudable purpose he twice visited Italy, and, notwithstanding his zeal in reformation, experienced the favour of the pope. Although in his public works, in his endowments of churches, and in every thing connected with the pomp and ceremonial of the Catholic faith, he was unusually magnificent, yet in his own person, and the expenditure of his private household, he exhibited a rare union of purity, decorum, and frugality; nor could the sternest judges breathe a single aspersion against either his integrity as a minister of state, or his private character as a minister of religion. Buchanan, whose prepossessions were strongly against that ancient church, of which Kennedy was the head in Scotland, has yet spoken of his virtues in the highest terms of panegyric:—“His death,” he says, “was so deeply deplored by all good men, that the country seemed to weep for him as for a public parent.”<sup>1</sup>

Upon the decease of this virtuous prelate, the strength of the coalition which had been formed by the Boyds, and the want of that firm and decided hand which had hitherto guided the government, and restrained the enterprises and intrigues of private ambition, were soon felt in a lamentable manner by the country. To get complete possession of the king's person was the first object of the faction, and this they accomplished in a very summary and audacious manner. Whilst the king, who had now

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan *Histor. Rerum Scotic.* b. xii. c. 23.



completed his fourteenth year, sat in his Exchequer Court, which was then held in the palace of Linlithgow, Lord Boyd, accompanied by Lord Somerville, Adam Hepburn, Master of Hailes, and Andrew Ker of Cessford, violently invaded the Court, which was kept by the officers and attendants of the chamberlain, Lord Livingston, and laying hands upon the king, compelled him to mount on horseback behind one of the Exchequer deputies, and to accompany them to Edinburgh. Lord Kennedy, who was a principal party in the conspiracy, with the object of exculpating himself from the public odium which attached to such an outrage, threw himself in the way of the cavalcade, and, seizing the bridle of the horse which the king rode, attempted, with well-dissembled violence, to lead him back to the palace. A blow from the hunting-staff of Sir Alexander Boyd put an end to this interference, and the party were suffered to proceed with their royal prize to the capital.<sup>1</sup> The reader need hardly be reminded, that Lord Livingston, the chamberlain, without whose connivance this enterprise could not have succeeded, was one of the parties to that remarkable bond between Lord Fleming and the Boyds, which has been already quoted, and that Tom of Somerville, or, in less familiar language, Thomas Somerville of Plane, the

<sup>1</sup> R. Mag. Sig. vii. 45. 13th October, 1466. Buchanan, b. xii. c. 21, is the authority for this pretended interposition of Kennedy. The rest of the story given by him is inaccurate. See an extract from the Trial of the Boyds in 1469, in Crawford's Officers of State, p. 316.

brother of Lord Somerville, who accompanied and assisted Lord Boyd in his treasonable invasion of the royal person, was another. Fleming himself, indeed, does not appear, and the other powerful friends of the Boyds, the Earl of Crawford, with the Lords Montgomery, Maxwell, Hamilton, and Cathcart, are not mentioned as having personally taken any share in the enterprise ; but it is impossible to doubt that all of them gave it their countenance and support ; and that the Lord Boyd and his associates would not have risked the commission of an act of treason, unless they had been well assured that the strength and influence of their party would enable them to defy, for the present, every effort which might be made against them.

This is strikingly corroborated by what followed. During the sitting of a parliament, which was soon after held at Edinburgh, an extraordinary scene took place. In the midst of the proceedings, Lord Boyd, suddenly entering the council-room, threw himself at the king's feet, and, embracing his knees, earnestly besought him to declare before the three estates there assembled, whether he had incurred his displeasure for any part which he had taken in the late removal of his majesty from Linlithgow to Edinburgh ; upon which the royal boy, previously well instructed in his lesson, publicly declared, that instead of being forcibly carried off in the month of July last from Linlithgow, as had been by some persons erroneously asserted, he had attended Lord Boyd, and the other knights and gentlemen

who accompanied him, of his own free-will and pleasure. In case, however, this assertion of a minor sovereign, under the influence of a powerful faction, should not be considered sufficiently conclusive, an instrument under the great seal was drawn up, in which Boyd and his accomplices were pardoned ;<sup>1</sup> and to crown this parliamentary farce, the three estates immediately appointed the same baron to the office of governor of the king's person, and of his royal brothers. They selected, at the same time, a committee of certain peers, to whom, during the interval between the dissolution of this present parliament and the meeting of the next, full parliamentary powers were intrusted. It is impossible not to pity the miserable condition of a country, in which such abuses could be tolerated, in which the rights of the sovereign, the constitution of the great national council, and the authority of the laws, were not only despised and outraged with the most perfect impunity, but, with a shameless ingenuity, were made parties to their own destruction. In the same parliament, the ambassadors who were then in England, amongst whom we find the prelates of Glasgow and Aberdeen, the Earls of Crawford and Argyle, with Lord Livingston, the chamberlain, were directed to treat of the marriage of the king, as well as of his royal brothers, the Lords of Albany and Mar, and, upon their return to Scotland, to come to a final deter-

<sup>1</sup> *Litera approbationis in favorem Dom. Rob. Boyd.* Appendix to Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 473.

mination upon the subject with that committee of lords to whom the powers of parliament were intrusted.

It is evident, however, that although their names and their numbers are studiously concealed, there was a party in the kingdom inimical to the designs of the Boyds, who absented themselves from the meeting of the estates, and, shut up within their feudal castles, despised the simulated summons of the king, and defied the authority of those who had possessed themselves of his person. The parliamentary committee were accordingly empowered to sit and judge all those who held their castles against the king or my Lord of Albany;<sup>1</sup> to summon them to immediate surrender, and, in the event of their refusal, to reduce them by arms. At the same time, it was determined that the dowery of the future queen should be a third of the king's rents. Some wise regulations were enacted against the purchase of benefices *in commendam*; and an endeavour was made to put a stop to the alarming prevalence of crime and oppression, by inflicting severe fines upon the borrows or pledges of those persons who had become security to the state that they would keep the peace, and abstain from offering violence to the person or invading the property of their neighbours. "If borrows be broken," to use the language of the act, "upon any bishop, prelate, earl, or lord of parliament, the party who had impledged himself for his security, was to be fined a hundred pounds; if upon barons, knights,

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 85.

squires, or beneficed clerks, fifty pounds ; if upon burgesses, yeomen, or priests, thirty pounds." In the same parliament, the act of King Robert Bruce, by which Englishmen were forbid to hold benefices in Scotland, was revived ; and the statutes, so often renewed and so perpetually infringed, against the exportation of money out of the realm, excepting so much as is necessary for the traveller's personal expenses, were once more repeated. On the other hand, to encourage the importation of money into the kingdom, a provision was made that every merchant who exports hides or woofels, should, for each sack which he sells in the foreign market, bring to the master-coiner of the king's mint two ounces of " burnt silver," for which he was to receive nine shillings and twopence ; whilst, for the ease and sustentation of the king's lieges, and to encourage alms-deeds to be done to the poor, it was enacted that a coinage of copper money should be issued, four pieces or farthings to the penny, with the device of St Andrew's cross on the one side, and a royal crown, with the letters James R., on the reverse. The other gold and silver money of the realm was to be current at the same value as before.<sup>1</sup>

A restriction was made upon foreign trade, by which none but free burgesses, resident within burgh, or their factors and servants, were permitted to sell or traffic in merchandise out of the realm, always understanding, that it is lawful for prelates, barons,

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 86.

and clerks, to send their own property, the produce of their own lands, out of the country by the hands of their servants, and to purchase in return such things as are needful for their personal use. Other regulations follow, which enable us to form some idea of the commercial condition of the country; even burgesses, it would appear, had not an unlimited permission to trade, unless the trader was a famous and worshipful man, having, of his own property, half a "last" of goods, or so much at least, under his own power and management; no handicraftsman or artisan was to be permitted to trade, unless he first, without colour or dissimulation, renounced his craft; and none of the king's lieges was to be permitted, in all time coming, to freight a ship, either within the realm, or from a foreign port, without there being a formal agreement or charter-party drawn up, containing certain conditions which were to be fulfilled by the shipmaster. By such conditions, the shipmaster was obliged to find a steersman, and timberman, (tymmerman,) and a crew sufficient to navigate the vessel. The merchantmen who sailed with him, were to be provided with fire, water, and salt, at his free cost. If any quarrel arose between the shipmaster and his merchant passengers, its decision was to be referred to the court of the burgh to which the vessel was freighted, whilst care was to be taken that no goods should be damaged or destroyed, shorn or staved in, by ignorant or careless stowage, under the penalty of forfeiting the freight-money, and making good the loss to the merchant. 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 in consequence, probably, of some misunderstanding with the Flemings, of which there is no trace in the history of the times, all merchants were interdicted from trading to the ports of the Swyn, the Sluse, the Dam, or Bruges, and ordered to pass with their ships and cargoes to the town of Middleburg. They were not, however, to establish their trade in that city, as a staple, as it was declared to be the intention of the government to send commissioners to the continent, for the purpose of negotiating for them the privileges and freedom of trade, and to fix the staple in that port which offers the most liberal terms.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, it was permitted to all merchants, to trade to Rochelle, Bordeaux, and the ports of France and Norway, as before. In England, during the same year, we find the parliament of Edward the Fourth imposing the same restrictions upon the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, enforcing an unattainable uniformity of fabric and quantity in the worsted manufactures, and prohibiting the exportation of woollen yarn and unfulled cloth, by which the king lost his customs, and the people their employment. The truth seems to have been, that, owing to the decided inferiority of the English wool, the foreign cloths had completely undersold the English broadcloth, and the parliament interfered, to prevent the manufacturers from diverting their labour

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 87.

and their capital into that only channel in which they appear to have been profitably employed for themselves and for the country.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these parliamentary labours, the power of the family of the Boyds, fostered by a prepossession which the youthful monarch seems to have entertained for their society, and increased by the use which they made of their interest in the government to reward their friends, and overwhelm their opponents, was steadily on the increase. The Princess Mary, eldest sister to the king, had been affianced to the son of Henry the Sixth, but the hand of this royal lady was not deemed too high a reward for Sir Thomas Boyd, the eldest son of Lord Boyd. The island of Arran was, immediately after the marriage, erected into an earldom, in favour of the bridegroom, and his power and ambition were gratified by the grant of ample estates in the counties of Ayr, Bute, Forfar, Perth, and Lanark.<sup>2</sup> Soon after this accession of dignity, Lord Boyd, who already enjoyed the office of governor to the king and his brothers, and high justiciar of the kingdom, was promoted to the lucrative and important trust of lord chamberlain ; so that, armed in this triple authority, he may be said to have ruled supreme over the person of the sovereign, the administration of justice, and the management of the revenues. The power of this family, however, which had shot up, within a short period, to such wonderful and dangerous strength, seems to have reached,

<sup>1</sup> Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 32.



at this moment, its highest exaltation ; and the fall, when it did arrive, was destined to be proportionably rapid and severe.

An event which soon after occurred in Orkney, had the effect of renewing the intercourse between the courts of Scotland and Denmark, although the auspices under which it was resumed, were at first rather hostile than friendly. Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, a Scotsman, and a prelate of high accomplishments and great suavity of manners, enjoyed the friendship and esteem of Christiern, King of Denmark and Norway ; and appears to have been intrusted by this northern potentate with a considerable share in the government of these islands, at that time the property of the crown of Norway. In some contention and consequent feud between the Bishop and the Earl of Orkney, a baron of a violent and ambitious character, and of great power, the prelate had been seized and shut up in prison, by a son of Orkney, who showed no disposition to interfere for his liberation. Upon this, Christiern directed letters to the King of Scotland, in which, whilst he professed his earnest wishes that the two kingdoms should continue to preserve the most friendly relations to each other, he remonstrated against the treatment of the bishop, requested the king's interference to procure his immediate liberation, and intimated his resolution not to permit the Earl of Orkney to oppress the liege subjects of Norway.<sup>1</sup> So intent was the

<sup>1</sup> Torfæus, p. 187.

northern potentate upon this subject, that additional letters were soon after transmitted to the Scottish king, in which, with the design of expediting his deliberations, a demand was made for the payment of all arrears due by Scotland to Norway, and reiterating his request not only for the liberation of the bishop, but for the restoration to the royal favour of a noble Scottish knight, Sir John Ross of Halket, the same who had distinguished himself in the famous combat, held before James the Second, between three warriors of Burgundy and three champions of Scotland.

These representations had the desired effect. The king had now completed his sixteenth year; it was not expedient longer to delay his marriage; and, in looking around for a suitable consort, the daughter of Christiern was thought of amongst other noble virgins. The consequence of this was, an amicable answer to the requests of the Norwegian monarch, and a promise upon the part of James, that an embassy should immediately be dispatched, by which it was hoped all claims between the two crowns might be adjusted. The Bishop of Orkney appears to have been liberated from his durance, Ross was recalled from his banishment, and restored to favour, and a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, for the purpose of taking into immediate consideration the affair of the king's marriage.

In this meeting of the estates of the realm, a commission was drawn up, empowering the Bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, the Chancellor Evandale, the

Earl of Arran, and Mr Martin Vans, grand almoner and confessor to the king, to proceed as ambassadors to the court of Denmark, for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between the youthful sovereign of Scotland and Margaret, Princess of Denmark; whilst, in the event of any failure in the overtures made regarding this northern alliance, the embassy received a sort of roving commission to extend their matrimonial researches through the courts of England, France, Spain, Burgundy, Brittany, and Savoy. Three thousand pounds were cheerfully contributed by the parliament for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the embassy, not, as it is stated in the act, by way of tax, or contribution, but of their own free-will, and without prejudice to follow to them in any time to come. Of this sum, a thousand was to be given by the clergy, a thousand by the barons, and a thousand by the burgesses of the realm.<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish ambassadors accordingly proceeded to Copenhagen, and their negotiations appear to have been conducted with singular prudence and discretion. Their great object was to obtain a cession from Norway of the important islands of Orkney and Shetland, which, as long as they continued the property of a foreign crown, were likely, from their proximity to Scotland, and in the event of a war with the northern powers, to become exceedingly troublesome neighbours to that kingdom. Since the ninth century, the superiority in these islands had belonged to the Nor-

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 90.

wegian kings. For a considerable period, they had been governed by a line of Norwegian jarls, or earls; but these having failed about the middle of the fourteenth century, the earldom passed, by marriage, into the ancient and noble house of St Clair, who received their investiture from the monarchs of Norway, and took their oath of allegiance to that crown. Nay, the sovereigns of Norway were in the practice of occasionally appointing viceroys or governors in these islands; and on the failure of heirs in the line of Scottish earls, on the refusal of allegiance, or in the event of rebellion, the islands were liable to be reclaimed by these foreign potentates, and at once separated from all connexion with Scotland. In such circumstances, the acquisition of the Orkneys, and the completing the integrity of the dominions of the Scottish crown, was evidently an object of the greatest national importance. At a remote period of Scottish history, in 1266, the kingdom of Man, and of the Western Islands, were purchased from Norway by Alexander the Third. The stipulated annual payment of a hundred marks, from its trifling value, had not been very regularly exacted. Under the reign of James the Second, when the arrears appear to have accumulated for a period of twenty-six years, Christiern, King of Denmark, remonstrated, and not only claimed the arrears, but the penalties incurred by the failure. In these circumstances, the case was submitted to the arbitration of Charles the Seventh of France, the mutual friend of the parties, who, as already stated, recommended a marriage between the

Prince of Scotland and the daughter of the King of Denmark, as the happiest and wisest mode of terminating the differences.

It was fortunate for the ambassadors of James that Christiern was disposed, at this period, to preserve the most friendly relations with Scotland. It had been the policy of this prince, more than that of any of his predecessors, to strengthen his influence by foreign alliances, and to support France against the aggressions of England, so that a matrimonial alliance with a kingdom which had long been the enemy of that country, was likely to meet with his cordial concurrence. Under so favourable an aspect, the negotiation was soon concluded. The Norwegian monarch, however, hesitated about giving an immediate cession of the islands to Scotland, but the articles of the marriage treaty amounted, in their consequences, to almost the same thing. Christiern consented to bestow his daughter in marriage upon King James, with a portion of sixty thousand florins, and a full discharge of the whole arrears of the annual, the name given to the yearly tribute due for the Western Isles, and of the penalties incurred by non-payment. Of the stipulated sum he agreed to pay down ten thousand florins before his daughter's departure for Scotland, and to give a mortgage of the sovereignty of the Orkney Islands, which were to remain the property of the kingdom of Scotland till the remaining fifty thousand florins of the marriage portion should be paid. Upon the part of James, it was agreed that his consort, Margaret of

Denmark, should, in the event of his death, be confirmed in the possession of the palace of Linlithgow and the castle of Doun, in Menteach, with their territories; and, besides this, that she should enjoy a revenue amounting to one-third of the royal lands.<sup>1</sup> The exchequer of the Danish monarch had, at this time, been drained by continued civil commotions in his kingdom of Sweden, and, owing to the delay in the stipulated payment of the dowery, the residence of the Scottish ambassadors at the northern court was protracted for several months. During this interval, Boyd, Earl of Arran, returned to Scotland, with the object of laying before James the terms of the treaty, and receiving his further instructions regarding the transportation of the bride.

Upon his departure from Copenhagen, it seems probable that Christiern became acquainted, from his brother ambassadors who remained, with the overgrown power of the family of Arran, and the thralldom in which he and his faction held the youthful king, and that in justice to his daughter, James's affianced bride and future queen, he had determined to undermine his influence. The proud and imperious manners of such a spoilt favourite of fortune as Arran, were likely to prove infinitely disagreeable to the majesty of Denmark, and even amongst his brother ambassadors there were probably some who, having suffered under the rod of his power, would not be indisposed to share in the spoils of his for-

<sup>1</sup> Torfæi Orcades, p. 15.

feiture, and to lend themselves instruments to compass his ruin. Whilst such schemes for the destruction of the exclusive and despotic power of the family of Boyd were ripening in Denmark, the Scottish nobles, during his absence on the embassy, had entered into an equally formidable coalition against him ; and the eyes of the king, no longer a boy, became opened to the ignominious tutelage in which he had been kept, and the disgraceful plurality of the highest offices in the state, which were enjoyed by the high chamberlain and the Earl of Arran. All this, however, was kept concealed for the present ; and as winter was now at hand, and the frequent storms in these northern latitudes were naturally formidable to the ambassadors and their timid bride, it was resolved to delay the voyage till spring.<sup>1</sup> At that period, Arran again proceeded with great pomp to the Danish court, and, on his arrival, it was found that Christiern, whose pecuniary difficulties continued, instead of ten thousand, could only pay two thousand florins of his daughter's dowery. Such being the case, he proposed a further mortgage of the islands of Shetland, till he should advance the remaining eight thousand florins, and, as may be easily supposed, the Scottish ambassadors were not slow to embrace his offer. The money was never paid, and, since this period, the islands of Orkney and Shetland have remained attached to the Scottish crown.

Having brought these matters to a conclusion, in

<sup>1</sup> Ferrerius, p. 388. Lesley, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 303.

a manner honourable to themselves, and highly beneficial to the country, the Scottish ambassadors, bearing with them their youthful bride, a princess of great beauty and accomplishments, and attended by a brilliant train of Danish nobles, set sail for Scotland, and landed at Leith in the month of July, amidst the rejoicings of an immense assembly of her future subjects. She was now in her sixteenth year, and the youthful monarch, who had not yet completed his eighteenth, received her with that gallantry and ardour which was incident to his age. Soon after her arrival, the marriage ceremony was completed with much pomp and solemnity in the abbey church of Holyrood, and was succeeded by a variety and splendour in the pageants and entertainments, and a perseverance in the feasting and revelry, which were long afterwards remembered with applause.<sup>1</sup>

The next great public event which succeeded the king's marriage, was the fall of the proud and powerful house of Boyd; and so very similar are the circumstances which attended their ruin to those by which the destruction of the Livingston family was accompanied, under the reign of James the Second, that, in describing the fate of the one, we seem to be repeating the catastrophe of the other. The reflection which necessarily forces itself upon the mind is, that the constitution of Scotland, at this period, invariably encouraged some powerful family in the aristocracy to monopolize the supreme power in the

<sup>1</sup> Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 38.



state ; and, as the manner by which they effected this purpose was the same in all cases, by a band or coalition, with the most powerful and influential persons in the country, so the mode adopted by their enemies for their ruin and discomfiture was equally uniform—a counter coalition, headed by the sovereign whom they had oppressed, and held together by the hopes of sharing in the spoils which they had amassed during their career of successful ambition. Whilst the Danish fleet, which brought the youthful bride and the Scottish ambassadors, was yet in the Forth, the king's sister, who was the wife of Arran, had become acquainted with the designs which were then in agitation ; and, alarmed for the safety of her husband, against whom she perceived that her royal brother had conceived the deepest animosity, she secretly left the court, procured a conveyance on board the fleet, and informed him of his danger. It happened, unfortunately for his family, that this proud noble, overwhelmed with intelligence for which he was so little prepared, adopted the step most calculated to irritate the king's mind against him. It might have been possible for Arran to have awakened an old attachment, or at least to have diluted the bitterness of indignation, by a personal appeal to the generosity of the monarch ; but instead of this, without landing with his brother ambassadors, he secretly got on board a vessel, and taking his wife along with him, whose presence he perhaps believed would be a pledge for his security, escaped to Denmark, a country scarcely less inimical to him than Scotland.