CHAP. IV.

JAMES THE FIFTH,

1528 - 1542.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Kings of England.	*Kings of France.*	*Germany.*	*Spain.*	*Popes.*
Henry VIII.	Francis I.	Charles V.	Charles V.	Clement VII. Paul III.

JAMES the Fifth, who, by this sudden revolution, had been delivered from the thraldom of a successful faction, and invested with the supreme power, was still a youth in his seventeenth year. Even as a boy, he appeared to the discriminating eye of Magnus, Henry's ambassador at the Scottish court, to be brave, manly, impatient of being treated as a child, and possessed of good natural talents. As he grew up, the Douglases neglected his education, and perverted his disposition by injudicious indulgences. They detected in him a strong propensity to pleasure, which they basely encouraged, under the idea that his mind, becoming enervated by in-

dolence and sensuality, would resign itself to the captivity in which they meant him to remain; but they were not aware of the strength of the character with which they had to deal. It did not, indeed, escape the pollution of such degrading culture; but it survived it. There was a mental vigor about the young king, and a strength of natural talent, which developed itself under the most unfavorable circumstances: he had early felt, with indignation, the captivity to which he was doomed, by the ambition of Angus; but he saw, for some time, no prospect of redress, and he insensibly acquired, by the necessity of his situation, a degree of patience and self-command, which are rarely found at his years. Under the restraint in which he was kept, the better parts of his nature had, for a while, little opportunity to display themselves. But the plot for his escape, and which appears to have been, principally, his own contrivance, having succeeded, he became at once a free monarch, and his true character, to the delight of the nation, was found to be marked by some of the highest qualities which could adorn a sovereign. He possessed a strict love of justice, an unwearied application in removing the grievances and promoting the real interests of his people, and a generosity and warmth of temper, which prompted him, on all occasions, to espouse with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed. A stranger to pride, easy of access, and fond of mingling familiarly with all classes of his subjects, he seems to have gained their affections by relying

on them, and was rewarded by an appellation, of which he was not unjustly proud, "the King of the Poor."

With regard to the principles which guided his future policy, they arose naturally out of the circumstances in which his mind had been nurtured. The sternest feelings against the Douglases, to whose ambition he had been made a sacrifice, were mingled with a determination to recover those rights of the crown, which had been forgotten or neglected during his minority, and to repress the power of an overgrown and venal aristocracy. Towards his uncle, Henry the Eighth, he could not possibly experience any other sentiments than those of indignation and suspicion. This monarch, through the exertions of his able minister, Lord Dacre, had introduced into Scotland a secret system of corruption, by which the nobles had become the pensioned agents of the English government, which maintained innumerable informers in the court and throughout the country, and excited such ceaseless commotions and private wars, that every effort for the maintenance of order and good government was defeated. In his uncle, James had latterly seen nothing but a determination to support his enemies, the Douglases, with the object of degrading Scotland from its rank as an independent kingdom, and, by their aid, administering it according to his pleasure. To destroy this system of foreign dictation, which, since the defeat at Flodden, had been gradually assuming a more serious aspect, was one great

object of the king; and whilst such a design rendered his policy inimical to England, it naturally disposed him to cultivate the most friendly relations with France.

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

He accordingly proceeded from Stirling to Edinburgh, where a proclamation was issued, prohibiting any Douglas, on pain of death, from remaining in the capital, and making it treason to hold intercourse with Angus or his adherents. It was resolved that a parliament should meet in the beginning of September; the important office of

chancellor was bestowed by the king upon his preceptor, Gawin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow; Cairncross, abbot of Holyrood, was made treasurer; the bishop of Dunkeld, privy seal[1]; the command of the capital, with the office of provost, entrusted to Lord Maxwell; and Patrick Sinclair dispatched to the English court, with a message to Henry, informing him of the change which had taken place, and the assumption of the supreme power by the young monarch.[2] During the rapid adoption of these measures, the terror of some sudden attempt by the Douglases had not subsided. Each night the palace was strictly watched by the loyal peers and their armed followers, who now formed the court; and James himself, clothed in complete mail, took his turn in commanding the guard. After a few days, the king removed to Stirling, and the nobles dispersed to their estates, with a promise to attend the ensuing parliament in great force. Meanwhile, the Earl of Angus had shut himself up in Tantallon, whilst his brother, Sir George Douglas, and Archibald, the late treasurer, after a feeble attempt to make a diversion in his favor, were attacked by Maxwell, and driven from the capital. The measures which James contemplated against these powerful delinquents were not at first so severe as have been gene-

[1] Pollock, MS. entitled a Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, edited by the Bannatyne club, p. 11.

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

rally represented by our historians. Incensed, as he must have been, by the long and ignominious durance in which he had been kept, the young monarch did not instantly adopt that stern and unforgiving policy, to which he was afterwards driven by the Douglases themselves. The Earl of Angus was commanded to keep himself beyond the waters of Spey, and to surrender his brother, Sir George Douglas, and his uncle, Archibald Douglas, of Kilspindy, as hostages for his answering to the summons of treason, which was directed to be raised against him.[1] Both orders he haughtily disobeyed; he mustered his vassals, fortified his castles, and provoked, instead of conciliating, the royal resentment. Such conduct was attended with the effects which might have been anticipated.

On the 2nd of September, the parliament assembled, and an act of attainder was passed against the Douglases,[2] who justified the severity, by convoking their followers, and rasing to the ground the villages of Cranston and Cowsland.[3] The lands of the arch-offender, Angus, were divided by James amongst those followers, to whose support he had probably been indebted for the success of the late revolution, Argyle, Arran, Bothwell, Buccleugh, Maxwell, and Hamilton, the bastard of Arran, whilst to himself the king reserved the castle of Tantallon,

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 322-323.
[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 324.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 11.

a place whose great strength rendered it dangerous in the hands of a subject. All this was easy, as the parliament consisted of such peers and prelates as were devoted to the king; but to carry them into execution was a less practicable matter, and so formidable was the power of Angus, that, for a season, he completely defied the royal wrath. In vain did the young king, in person, and at the head of a force of eight thousand men, commence the siege of Douglas castle; admonished by the strength of the fortifications, and the injury to the harvest, which must follow a protracted attempt, he was obliged to disband his army, and submit to the insult of having two villages, near his palace of Stirling, sacked and given to the flames, by a party of the Douglases; who, in allusion to his late escape, remarked, that the light might be useful to their sovereign, if he chose again to travel before sun-rise. An equally abortive display was soon after made before Coldingham, in which the royal forces were totally dispersed; and, in a third attempt to reduce Tantallon, the monarch, although supported by a force of twelve thousand men, was not only compelled to raise the siege, but endured the mortification of having his train of artillery attacked and captured, after an obstinate action, by Angus in person.[1] It was on this occasion that the king, whose indignation was increased by the death of Falconar, the captain of his guard, and the best naval officer in the kingdom, burst into the bitterest reproaches against

[1] Lesly, pp. 140, 141. Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 301.

Angus, and is said to have declared, with an oath, that so long as he lived, no Douglas should find a resting place in Scotland. At length, after repeated failures, and a refusal on the part of Bothwell to lead the army against the formidable rebel, the task of his expulsion from Coldingham was committed to Argyle, who, with the assistance of the Homes, compelled him to fly into England, an asylum from which he was not destined to return, till after the death of James.

Under other circumstances than those in which the English monarch was now placed, the presence at his court of so formidable a person as Angus might have led Henry to an espousal of his quarrel, and have defeated any proposals for a pacification; but the present relations of this prince with the continent, and his strict coalition with Francis the First against the emperor, made him solicitous for tranquillity on the side of Scotland; he contented himself, therefore, with an earnest request for the restoration of the rebel peer, and when this was peremptorily refused by James, abstained from interrupting the negociations by any cavil or reiteration. The Scottish king, on the other hand, professed his obligations to Henry for many favours conferred during his minority, a sentiment for which we can scarcely give him the credit of sincerity; and having dispatched his commissioners to meet with Magnus and Sir Thomas Tempest, the English ambassadors, at Berwick, a pacification of five years was concluded between the two countries, and ratified on the 14th of December, 1528. To Angus was granted a remission of the

sentence of death, and a consent that he might remain in England; but the forfeiture of his estates was sternly enforced, and Tantallon, with the other castles belonging to the Douglases, delivered into the hands of the king.

Having settled this important matter, and secured himself on the side of England, James directed his attention to the state of the borders,[1] where the disorders incident to a minority had increased to a degree, which threatened the total dismemberment of these districts. Such excesses were mainly to be attributed to Angus, the late warden of the marches, who had secured the friendship of the border-chiefs, by overlooking their offences, whilst he had bound them to his interests by those feudal covenants, named "bands of manrent,"[2] which formed one of the darkest features of the times, compelling the parties to defend each other against the effects of their mu-

[1] In the State Paper office, is an original letter of James to Henry, dated at Jedburgh, 23rd July, written on his progress to the borders. "And at this tyme," says he, "we ar in travaile towart oure bordouris, to put gude ordoure and rewle upon thame, and to stanche the thyftes and rubbary's committit be theiffis and tratouris upon the samyn. And as our besynes takis effect, we sall advertise zou."

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

tual transgressions. The task, therefore, of introducing order and respect for legal restraints amongst the fierce inhabitants of the marches, was one of extreme difficulty. The principal thieves were the border barons themselves, some of whom maintained a feudal state, almost royal; whilst their castles, often impregnable from the strength of their natural and artificial defences, defied every attempt to reduce or to storm them.

The energy of the young monarch overcame these difficulties. Having assembled his parliament at Edinburgh, and ascertained his own strength, he represented to the three estates the impossibility of maintaining the laws, when many of the highest nobles declined, or dreaded, the task of enforcing their obedience, and others were notorious for their violation of them. A strong example of rigor was, he said, absolutely required; and this remark was instantly followed by the arrest of the Earl of Bothwell, Lord of Teviotdale: Home, Maxwell, Ker of Farniherst, Mark Ker, with the barons of Buccleugh, Polwarth, and Johnston shared his imprisonment;[1] and having thus secured some of the greatest offenders, the king placed himself at the head of a force of eight thousand men, and traversed the disturbed districts, with unexpected strength and celerity. Guided by some of the borderers, who thus secured a pardon, he penetrated into the inmost recesses of Eusdale and Teviotdale, and seized Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tushylaw, before the

[1] Lesly, pp. 141, 142.

gates of their own castles. Bothwere led to almost instant execution; and by a sanguinary example of justice, long remembered on the marches, the famous freebooter, Johnnie Armstrong, was hanged, with forty-eight of his retainers, on the trees of a little grove, where they had too boldly presented themselves to intreat the royal pardon. The fate of this renowned thief, who levied his tribute, or black mail, for many miles within the English borders, has been commemorated in many of the rude ballads of these poetic districts; and, if we may believe their descriptions, he presented himself to the king, with a train of horsemen, whose splendid equipments almost put to shame the retinue of his prince.[1]

This partial restoration of tranquillity was followed by the news of a formidable but abortive attempt to separate the Orkneys from the dominion of the crown. The author of the rebellion, whose ambition soared to the height of an independent prince, was the Earl of Caithness; but his career was brief and unfortunate, the majority of natives of the islands were steady in their loyalty, and in a naval battle, James Sinclair, the governor, encountered the insurgents, defeated and slew their leader, with five hundred men, and, making captives of the rest, reduced these remote districts to a state of peace.[2] But whilst tranquillity was restored in this quarter of his dominions, the condition of the Isles became a subject of serious alarm. The causes of these renewed disturbances are not to be traced, as

[1] Lesly, pp. 142, 143. Lindsay, p. 226. [2] Lesly, p. 141.

in the former rebellion, to any design in the islesmen, to establish a separate and independent principality, under a prince of their own election; and it is probable that the imprisonment of Donald of Slate, in the castle of Edinburgh, extinguished for a season all ambition of this sort. The sources of disaffection originated in a fierce family feud, which had broken out between the Macleans of Dowart and the Earl of Argyle, who, holding the high office of governor of the Isles, was frequently tempted to represent any attack upon himself or his adherents, as a rebellion against the authority of the sovereign. A daughter of the earl, Lady Elizabeth Campbell, had been given in marriage to Maclean of Dowart, and the union proving unhappy, the ferocious chief exposed her upon a desolate rock near the isle of Lismore, which, at high water, was covered by the sea. From this dreadful situation she was rescued by a passing fishing boat; and not long after, Sir John Campbell, of Calder, avenged the wrongs of his house by assassinating Maclean, whom he stabbed in his bed, although the highland chief had procured letters of protection and believed himself secure.[1] Other causes of jea-

[1] This murder by Sir John Campbell is alluded to in strong terms in an interesting document, preserved in the State Paper office, dated August, 1545, entitled, "Articles proposed by the Commissioners of the Lord of the Isles to the Privy Council, as the basis of an agreement to be entered into between Henry the Eighth and him for the service of his troops." The passage is curious, as evincing the enmity of the islesmen to Scotland: "Quhairfor, your Lordships sall considder we have beyne auld enemys to the realme of Scotland, and quhen they had peasche with ye kings hienis, thei

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

Such was the state of things, in these remote districts, during the years 1528 and 1529; about which time Argyle earnestly appealed to the council, and, describing the deplorable condition of the country, demanded more extensive powers to enable him to reduce it once more under the dominion of the law. But the sagacity of James suspected the representations of this powerful noble; and, whilst he determined to levy a force sufficient to overawe the disaffected districts, and, if necessary, to lead it against the isles in person, he endeavoured to avert hostilities, by offering pardon to any of the island chiefs

hanged, hedit, presoned, and destroied many of our kyn, friendis, and forbearis, as testifies be our Master, th' Erle of Ross, now the king's grace's subject, ye quhilk hath lyin in presoun, afoir he was borne of his moder, and is not releiffit with their will, bot now laitlie be ye grace of God. In lykewise, the Lord Maclanis fader, was cruellie murdressit, under traist, in his bed, in the toun of Edinbruch, be Sir John Campbell, of Calder, brudir to th' Erll of Argyle. The capitane of Clanranald, this last zeir ago, in his defens, slew the Lord Lovett, his son-in-law, his three brethren, with xiii scoir of men, and many uther crewell slachter, burnying and herschip that hath beyn betwix us, and the saidis Scottis the quhilk war lang to wryte."

who would repair to court and renew their allegiance to their sovereign. These conciliatory measures were attended with success. Nine of the principal Islesmen, with Hector Maclean of Dowart, availed themselves of the royal safe-conduct, and personally tendered their submission; whilst, soon after, Alexander of Isla repaired to the palace of Stirling, and in an interview with the monarch, expressed his contrition for his offences, and was received into favor. He promised to enforce the collection of the royal rents upon the crown lands of the Isles, to support the dignity and respect the revenues of the church; and to maintain the authority of the laws, and the inviolability of private property. Under these conditions the monarch reinstated the island lord and his vassals in the lands which they had forfeited by their rebellion.[1]

In the late negociations, Henry the Eighth had distinctly alluded to his wishes for a matrimonial alliance with Scotland,[2] and his ally, Francis the First, whose interests at this time were inseparable from those of England, was disposed to promote the scheme. To Charles the Fifth, however, their great rival, whose policy was more profound than that of his opponents, any match between James and a daughter of England, was full of

[1] These particulars I derive from Mr. Gregory's interesting work, which he has kindly communicated to me in manuscript.

[2] Calig. B. VII. 121. Copy of a letter from Magnus to Sir Adam Otterburne, December 5, 1528.

annoyance; and he exerted every effort to prevent it. He proposed successively to the youthful monarch his sister, the queen of Hungary, and his niece, the daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark; and so intent was he upon the last-mentioned union, that an envoy was dispatched to Scotland, who held out as a dower, the whole principality of Norway. But the offer of an offensive and defensive league with so remote a power as Austria was coldly received by James and his parliament; whilst the preservation of peace with England, and his desire to maintain the alliance with France, inclined him to lend a more favorable ear to the now reiterated proposals of Henry.

In the mean time, his attention was wisely directed to the best measures for promoting the security and happiness of his kingdom, still distracted by the unbridled licentiousness of feudal manners. Blacater, the baron of Tulliallan, with some ferocious accomplices, among whom was a priest named Lothian, having assassinated Sir James Inglis, abbot of Culross, was seized and led to instant execution; whilst the priest, after being degraded and placed without the pale of the ecclesiastical law, was beheaded.[1] To secure the commercial alliance between Scotland and the Netherlands was his next object; and, for this purpose, Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount,—a name dear to the

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 13.

Scottish Muses—and Campbell of Lundy, were sent on an embassy to Brussels, at that moment the residence of the emperor, who received them with a distinction proportioned to his earnest desire to secure the friendship of their young master. The commercial treaty, for one hundred years, originally concluded by James the First, between his dominions and the Netherlands, now approached its expiry, and was wisely renewed for another century.[1]

But it was in vain that the king strengthened his alliances abroad, and personally exerted himself at home, whilst a large proportion of his nobles thwarted every measure for the public weal. Spoilt by the license and impunity which they had enjoyed under the misrule of Angus, and trammelled by bands of manrent amongst themselves, or with that powerful baron, they either refused to execute the commands of the sovereign, or received them only to disobey, when removed out of the reach of the royal displeasure; and in this manner the laws, which had been promulgated by the wisdom of the privy council or parliament, became little else than a dead letter. Against this abuse, James was compelled to adopt decided measures. The Earl of Argyle was thrown into prison; Crawford, on some charges which cannot be ascertained, lost the greater part of his estates: the dislike to the House of Douglas,

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 310.

and the determination to resist every proposal for their return, assumed a sterner form in the royal mind; and the Earl of Murray, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton, who had shared for a while the intimacy and confidence of their sovereign, found themselves treated with coldness and disregard.[1] On the other hand, many of the clergy were highly esteemed, and promoted to the principal offices in the government; nor are we to wonder at the preference evinced by the monarch, when it is considered, that in learning, talents, and acquaintance with the management of public affairs, the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal estate was decided.

It was probably by the advice of Dunbar, the archbishop of Glasgow, who had been his preceptor, and now held the office of chancellor, that the king at this time instituted the College of Justice, a new court, of which the first idea is generally said to have been suggested by the parliament of Paris. Much delay, confusion, and partiality accompanied those heritable jurisdictions, by which each feudal baron enjoyed the right of holding his own court; and although an appeal lay to the king and the privy council, the remedy by the poorer litigant was unattainable, and by the richer, tedious and expensive. In a parliament, therefore, which was held at Edinburgh (May 17, 1532), the College of Justice was

[1] Caligula, B. V. 216. Communicacions had between th' Erle of Northumberland and th' Erle Bothwell, December 21, 1531.

instituted, which consisted of fourteen Judges,—one half selected from the spiritual, and the other from the temporal estate,—over whom was placed a President, who was always to be a clergyman. The great object of this new court was to remove the means of oppression out of the hands of the aristocracy; but, as it was provided, that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and that, on any occasion of consequence or difficulty, the king might send three or four members of his privy council to influence the deliberations, and give their votes; it was evident that the subject was only freed from one grievance, to be exposed to the possibility of another,—less, indeed, in extent, but scarcely more endurable when it occurred.[1] It is an observation of Buchanan, that the new judges, at their first meetings, devised many excellent plans for the equal administration of justice, but disappointed the nation by their future conduct, especially in their attempts to prevent any encroachments upon their authority, by the provisions of the parliament. We must not forget, however, that, as he approaches the period of the Reformation, impartiality is not the first virtue of this eminent man: that the circumstance of one half of the court being chosen from the spiritual estate had an effect in retarding the progress of the reformed opinions cannot be doubted.

All Europe was now at peace; the treaties

[1] Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 335, 336.

of Barcelona and Cambrai had for a season settled the elements of war and ambition. Charles was reconciled to the Pope, and on friendly terms with his rival Francis; whilst Henry the Eighth, under the influence of his passion for Anne Boleyn, was about to pursue his divorce, and become the advocate of that great religious reformation, in the history of which we must be careful to distinguish the baseness of some of its instruments, from the blessedness of the truths which it established. It was in the meantime the effect of all these events to give a continuance of peace to Scotland; but the intrigues of the Earl of Bothwell, who had traitorously allied himself with England,[1] the restless ambition of Angus, whose services against his native country had also been purchased

[1] In the State Paper Office is an interesting and curious original MS. letter, dated Newcastle, 27 December, 1531, from the Earl of Northumberland to the king, giving a full account of a conference with the Earl of Bothwell. Bothwell first declared the occasion and ground of his displeasure toward the King of Scots, —namely, "the giving of his lands to the Carres of Teviotdale; the keeping him half a year in prison, and seeking to apprehend him and his colleagues, that he might lead them to execution." The letter continues thus,—"and touching the second article in your most gracious lettres, as to know what he could do for revenging of his displeasure, or releving of his hart and stomach against the Skottes kyng, the said erle doth securely promise your higness being his good and gracious prince, and helpyng him to his right, * * * that he should not only serve your most noble grace in your wars against Skotland trewly, with a thousand gentlemen, and sex thousand commons, but also become your higness's true subject and liegeman. Thyrdly, to know what lykelihood of good effect shall

by Henry;[1] and the spirit of war and plunder which was fomented in unextinguishable strength upon the borders, combined to distract the kingdom, and defeat the wisest efforts for the preservation of tranquillity. Mutual inroads took place, in which the banished Douglases and Sir Anthony Darcy distinguished themselves by the extent and cruelty of their ravages; whilst it was deemed expedient by James to divide the whole body of the fighting men in Scotland into four parts, to each of which, in rotation, the defence of the marches was entrusted under the command of Murray, now reconciled to the king, and created lieutenant of the kingdom. This measure appears to have been

ensue; hereof the said erle doth say, remembering the banyshment of the Erle of Anguisse, the wrongfull disinherityng of the Erle of Crawford, the sore imprisonment of the Erle of Argyle, the litill estimacyon of the Erle Murray, and the Lord Maxwell, the simple regarding of Sir James Hamilton for his good and paynfull services, he puts no doubt with his own power and the Erle of Anguisse's, seeing all their nobles hartes afore expressed, be withdrawen from the king of Skottes *to crown your grace in the toune of Edinburg within brief tyme.*"

[1] Caligula, B. V. 216. The object of Bothwell, as it appears by the original agreement, was to seek Henry's assistance, "that, by his grace, the realme of Skotland sal be brocht into gud stait agayn, and not the nobles thereof be kept down as they are in thralldom, but to be set up as they haif bene before," 21 December, 1531. Angus bound himself, as we learn, by a copy of the original writing between him and Henry, Calig. B. I. 128. to "mak unto us the othe of allegiawnce, and recognise us as supreme Lorde of Scotland, and as his prince and soveraigne."

attended with happy effects; and at the same time, the Scottish monarch evinced his power of distressing the government of Henry, should he persist in encouraging his rebel subjects, by raising a body of seven thousand Highlanders, under the leading of Mack Ian, to assist O'Donnel in his attempts to shake off the English yoke. It appears from a letter of the Earl of Northumberland to Henry the Eighth, that the Earl of Argyle, about the same time, had been deprived of the chief command in the Isles, which was conferred upon Mack Ian; a circumstance which had completely alienated the former potent chief, and disposed him, with the whole strength of his vassals and retainers, to throw himself into the arms of England. But this dangerous discontentment was not confined to Argyle; it was shared, in all its bitterness, by the Earl of Crawford, whose authority in the same remote districts had been plucked from his grasp, and placed in the hands of Mack Ian.[1] Neither was James absolutely secure of the support of the clergy; they viewed with jealousy an attempt to raise from their dioceses a tax of ten thousand crowns, within the period of a single year;

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

and so effectually addressed themselves to the Pope, that a bull was obtained, which limited the sum, and extended the period for its contribution.

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

his opposition, that he consented to a conference for a truce, which, although it had been stipulated to commence early in June, was protracted by the mutual disputes and jealousies of the contracting parties till near the winter.

In the meantime, the king resolved to set out on a summer progress through his dominions, in the course of which an entertainment was given to the yet youthful monarch by the Earl of Athole, which demands a short notice, as it is strikingly illustrative of the times. This potent Highland chieftain, who perhaps indulged in the hope of succeeding to a portion of the power so lately wrested from Argyle, received his sovereign at his residence in Athole, with a magnificence which rivalled the creations of romance. A rural palace, curiously framed of green timber, was raised in a meadow, defended at each angle by a high tower, hung in its various chambers with tapestry of silk and gold, lighted by windows of stained glass, and surrounded by a moat, in the manner of a feudal fortress. In this fairy mansion, the king was lodged more sumptuously than in any of his own palaces; he slept on the softest down; listened to the sweetest music; saw the fountains around him, flowing with muscadel and hippocras; angled for the most delicate fish which gleamed in the little streams and lakes in the meadow, or pursued the pastime of the chace, amid woods and mountains, which abounded with

every species of game. The queen mother accompanied her son; and an ambassador from the papal court having arrived shortly before, was invited to join in the royal progress. The splendor, profusion, and delicacy of this feudal entertainment, given by those whom he had been accustomed to consider barbarians, appeared almost miraculous, even to the warmth of an Italian imagination; and his astonishment was not diminished, when Athole, at the departure of the royal cavalcade, declared that the palace which had given delight to his sovereign should never be profaned by a subject, and commanded the whole fabric, with its innumerable luxuries, to be given to the flames.

Although provoked by the continuance of the border inroads, which were carried on with the connivance of the English monarch, at the moment he professed an anxiety for peace, James wisely suppressed his resentment, and contented himself with a temperate remonstrance; his situation, indeed, owing to the continued intrigues of the adherents of the house of Douglas, and the secret support they received from England,[1] was perilous and harassing; and whatever might be his indi-

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

vidual feelings, it became evident that peace with that country must be secured, even at some sacrifice. The Bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir Adam Otterburn, were accordingly dispatched to the English court with full powers; and having met with the English commissioners, the chancellor Cromwell, and Dr. Fox, a pacification was concluded, which was to last during the lives of the two monarchs, and to continue for a year after the death of him who first deceased. It appears, that the Douglases, since their forfeiture, had gained possession of a fortalice, called Edrington Castle, which James, who was jealous of their retaining even the smallest property within his dominions, insisted should be restored. On this condition he agreed that Angus, Sir George Douglas, his brother, and Archibald, his uncle, might remain unmolested in England, supported by Henry as his subjects,—provided, according to the Border laws, reparation was made for any enterprise which either he or they might conduct against Scotland. The treaty was concluded on the 12th of May, 1534, and soon after ratified with circumstances of much solemnity and rejoicing by both monarchs.[1] The young king was soon after flattered by the arrival of Lord William Howard, with the Order of the Garter from England; whilst Francis the First entreated his acceptance of that of St. Michael; and the Emperor Charles the Fifth

[1] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 480—537.

transmitted the Golden Fleece,[1] by his ambassador Godeschalco.

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

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

bassador in the name of his master, proposed a matrimonial alliance with his niece, the Princess Mary of Portugal; but the Scottish king evaded the offer, and dismissed him with general expressions of gratitude and esteem. He regretted at the same time, the continued hostility between his uncle and the emperor, expressed his sorrow for the violent measure of his double divorce from Queen Katherine and the papal see, and declared his own determination to support the religion of his fathers, and to resist the enemies of the church.[1]

This resolution he soon after fulfilled, by encouraging a renewed persecution of the Reformers. An ecclesiastical court was held in the Abbey of Holyrood; Hay Bishop of Ross presided as commissioner for the cardinal; and the king, completely clothed in scarlet, the judicial costume of the time, took his seat upon the bench, and gave unwonted solemnity to the unholy tribunal. Before it, many were cited to answer for their alleged heretical opinions; some recanted and publicly abjured their errors; others, amongst whom were the brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton the martyr, fled from the country, and took refuge in England; but David Straiton, and Norman Gourlay, a priest, appeared before the judges, and boldly defended their faith. Straiton was a gentleman of good family, brother to the baron of Lauriston, who had engaged in a quarrel with the Bishop of Moray on the subject of his tithes; and

[1] Maitland, vol. ii. p. 809.

in a fit of indignation, had commanded his servants when challenged by the collectors, to throw every tenth fish they caught into the sea, bidding them seek their tax where he found the stock. From these violent courses he had softened down into a more quiet inquiry into the grounds of the right claimed by churchmen; and frequenting much the company of Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest and most eminent of the reformers, became at length a sincere convert to the truth. It is related of him, that, when a young man, reading, one day, the scriptures to his instructor, he came upon that passage where our Saviour declares he will deny before his Father and the holy angels, any one who hath denied him before men: upon which he was deeply moved, and falling down on his knees, implored God, that although he had been a great sinner, he would never permit him, from the fear of any bodily torment to deny Him or his truth.[1] Nor was his prayer unanswered. Death, in one of its most terrible forms was now before him, and he was earnestly exhorted to escape by abjuring his belief; but he steadily refused to purchase his pardon by retracting a single tenet, and encouraged his fellow sufferer, Gourlay, in the same resolution. Both were burnt on the 27th of August, 1534.[2] It

[1] MS. Calderwood quoted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 210, 211. Spottiswood's Church History, p. 66.

[2] The place of execution was the Rood or Cross of Greenside, on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

was during this persecution, that some men, who afterwards became useful instruments in the Reformation, but whose minds were then in a state of precarious transition from darkness to light, consulted their safety by flight. Of these, the most noted were Alexander Aless, a canon of St. Andrew's, who became the friend of Melancthon and Cranmer, and professor of divinity in the University of Leipsick; and John Macbee, better known by his classical surname Machabæus, the favorite of Christiern, king of Denmark, and one of the translators of the Danish Bible.[1]

It was now one great object of Henry to induce his nephew to imitate his example by shaking off the yoke of Rome, and establishing the Reformation in his dominions. To this end he made an earnest proposal for a marriage between James and his daughter the princess Mary; he dispatched successively Dr. Barlow, his chaplain, and Lord William Howard into Scotland, with the suggestion that a conference should take place at York, between himself and the Scottish king,[2] and he

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

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

endeavoured to open James's eyes to the crimes and usurpations of the Romish hierarchy. But it was the frequent fault of the English monarch that he defeated many a wise purpose by the impetuosity with which he attempted to carry it forward; and, in this instance, the keenness of Barlow, and the haughtiness of Howard, were ill calculated to manage so delicate a negociation. James acting by the advice of his privy council, who were mostly ecclesiastics, and are described by Barlow as "the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil," refused to accept the treatise entitled, "The Doctrine of a Christian Man," which had been sent him by his uncle. The conference, to which, through the influence of the queen dowager, the king had at first consented, was indefinitely postponed;[1] and the feelings of the sovereign and his counsellors regarding the marriage with an English princess, were soon plainly expressed by the dispatch of a solemn embassy to France for the purpose of concluding a matrimonial alliance with that crown.

The death of Clement the Seventh, which took place in the autumn of this year, was followed, as is well known, by the most decided measures upon the part of Henry the Eighth. The confirmation of his supremacy as head of the church by the English parliament, the declared legality of the

[1] MS. Letter in State Paper Office. Queen Margaret to Henry the Eighth, dated 12th December, 1535.

divorce, and the legitimacy of the children of Anne Boleyn, with the imprisonment and subsequent execution of Fisher and More, convinced the new pontiff Paul the Third, that he had for ever lost the English monarch. It only remained for him to adopt every method for the preservation of the spiritual allegiance of his remaining children. Amongst other missions he dispatched his legate Antonio Campeggio into Scotland, with instructions to use every effort for the confirmation of James in his attachment to the popedom, whilst he trusted that the marriage of the second son of Francis the First to the pope's niece Catherine de Medici, would have the effect of enlisting the whole interest of this monarch against the dissemination of the Lutheran opinions in his dominions. To James, Campeggio addressed an exposition of the scandalous conduct of the English king in making his religious scruples, and his separation from the Romish church, a cloak for the gratification of his lust and ambition; he drew a flattering contrast between the tyranny and hypocrisy which had guided his conduct and the attachment of his youthful nephew of Scotland to the holy See, addressing him by that title of Defender of the Faith,[1] which had been unworthily bestowed upon its worst enemy; and he laid at his feet a cap and sword which had been consecrated by the Pope upon the anniversary of the Nativity. We are to measure

[1] It appears, by a Letter in the State Paper Office, that Henry remonstrated against this title being given to James.

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

In the mean time the Scots ambassadors in France had concluded a marriage between their sovereign and Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendosme, whilst Henry, jealous of the late papal embassy, and aware that such a union must confirm the attachment of his nephew to the Romish church, encouraged the discontents amongst the Scottish nobility, promoted the intrigues of the Douglases for their restoration to their native country; and even succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of James's ambassador, Sir Adam Otterburn, who was afterwards imprisoned for a secret negociation with the partizans of Angus.[1]

A parliament was held this summer (June 8th

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

1535) in which, amid much that is uninteresting to the historian, there are found some provisions worthy of attention. It was made imperative on the border barons and gentlemen, to restore something like security to these disturbed districts, by rebuilding the towers and peels which had been rased during the late wars; weapon-shawings, or armed musters, were enforced; and the importation of arms, harness, and warlike ammunition was encouraged. The act passed in a late parliament against the importation of the works of "the great Heretic Luther," with his disciples or followers, was repeated; and the discussion of his opinions, except with the object of proving their falsehood, was sternly prohibited, whilst all persons having any such works in their possession were commanded to deliver them up to their Ordinary within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. It is evident that the late cruel exhibitions had only fostered the principles which they were meant to eradicate. One other act relating to the burghs, in that dark age the little nurseries of industry and freedom, is striking; and must have had important consequences. It appears that a practice had crept in of electing the feudal barons in the neighbourhood to the offices in the magistracy of the burgh; and the effects, as might have been anticipated, were highly injurious. Instead of industrious citizens occupied in their respective trades, and adding by their success to the wealth,

the tranquillity, and the general civilization of the country, the provost and aldermen, or baillies, were idle, factious, and tyrannical; domineering over the industrious burgesses, and consuming their substance. To remedy this it was provided that no man hereafter should be chosen to fill any office in the magistracy of the burgh, but such as were themselves honest and substantial burgesses; a wise enactment, which, if carried strictly into execution, must have been attended with the best effects.[1]

The continued war between Francis and the Emperor, made it expedient for the former monarch to keep on good terms with Henry; and so effectually was the English interest exerted both at the court of France and of Scotland, in creating obstacles to the king's marriage, that James secretly determined to leave his dominions in disguise, and over-rule every objection in a personal interview with his intended father-in-law: a romantic and somewhat imprudent resolution, in which, however, it is not improbable that he may have been encouraged by some of his confidential advisers amongst the clergy. The vessel in which he embarked with his slender retinue encountered a severe gale; and the monarch, who had fallen asleep from fatigue, found himself, on awakening, once more close to the coasts of Scotland; a result which some of our historians have ascribed to the

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p, 349.

jealousy of his companion Sir James Hamilton; who, during the slumber of his master, seized the helm, and put about the ship. It is well known that the Hamiltons, from their hopes of succession to the crown, were opposed to the marriage; yet it may be questioned whether they would thus publicly expose their ambition.

But the king was not to be so easily deterred from his design; and his project of a voyage in disguise having failed, he determined to execute his purpose with suitable deliberation and magnificence. A regency was appointed, which consisted of Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, the chancellor, the earls of Eglinton, Montrose, and Huntly, with the Lord Maxwell; and the king having first, in the spirit of the times, taken a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto, and presented his petition for a happy voyage, sailed from Leith with a squadron of seven vessels, accompanied by a splendid suite of his spiritual and temporal nobility. A fair wind brought them on the tenth day to Dieppe, and Francis, whose hopes were at this moment highly elated by his successes against the emperor, immediately invited the royal visitor to Paris, and dispatched the dauphin to conduct him thither. James's first desire, however, was to see his affianced bride; and, repairing in disguise to the palace of the Duke de Vendosme, he was recognised as he mingled with the gay crowds that peopled its halls, by his likeness to a miniature

portrait which he had sent her from Scotland. Marie de Bourbon is said to have been deeply captivated by the noble mien and gallant accomplishments of her intended husband; but the impression was not mutual: and whether from the ambition of a higher alliance, or the fickleness of youthful affection, James transferred his love from the lady of Vendosme, to the Princess Magdalen, the only daughter of Francis, a beautiful girl of sixteen, but over whose features consumption had already thrown a melancholy languor, which was in vain pointed out to the king by the warning voice of his counsellors. It is said by the French historians, that the princess had fallen in love with the Scottish monarch at first sight; and although her father earnestly and affectionately dissuaded the match, on account of her extreme delicacy of constitution, James would hear of no delay, and on new-year's-day the marriage was celebrated in the church of Notre-Dâme, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The kings of France and Navarre, and many illustrious foreigners surrounded the altar, and the Romish church, as if to confirm and flatter its youthful champion, lent a peculiar solemnity to the ceremony by the presence of seven cardinals. Feasts, masques, tournaments, and all the accompaniments of feudal joy and magnificence succeeded; nor was it till the spring that the king thought of his departure with his youthful queen.

An application had been made by Francis to

Henry, that the royal couple should be allowed to pass through England, but it was refused. The secret reasons of this ungracious proceeding, which appear in a minute of the privy council, were the discontent felt by the English monarch at the refusal of his earnest request for the pardon of Angus, and a desire to avoid the expence of receiving his royal nephew with the honors due to his rank.[1] Compelled to return by sea, James embarked at Dieppe, and arrived with his youthful bride at Leith on the 19th of May. On descending from the ship, Magdalen knelt upon the beach, and taking up some portion of the sand, kissed it with deep emotion, whilst she implored a blessing upon her new country, and her beloved husband: an affecting incident, when viewed in connection with her rapid and early fate. Meanwhile nothing could exceed the joy of the people at the return of their prince; and the graceful and elegant festivals of France were succeeded by the ruder, but not less cordial, pageants of his own kingdom.

James had remained in Paris for nearly nine months: an interval of no little importance when we consider the great changes which were so suddenly to succeed his arrival in his dominions. The causes of these events which have hitherto escaped the notice of our historians, are well worthy of investigation. Of these the first seems to be the remarkable influence which Francis acquired

[1] State Papers, Henry the Eighth, p. 526.

over the mind of his son-in-law; an influence which, notwithstanding the peace then nominally existing between Henry and the French monarch, was unquestionably employed in exciting him against England. The progress of the reformed opinions in France, the violence and selfishness of Henry, and the dictatorial tone which he was accustomed to infuse into his negociations, although for the time it did not produce an actual breach between the two monarchs, could not fail to alienate so high-minded a prince as Francis. The Pope, whose existence seemed to hang on the result, intermitted no effort to terminate the disputes between the French king and the emperor, projecting a coalition against Henry as the common enemy of Christendom. He had so far succeeded in 1537, as to accomplish a truce concluded at Nice between these two great potentates, which was extended in the following year to a pacification of ten years. From this time the cordiality between Francis and Henry was completely at an end, whilst the Pope did not despair to bring about a combination which should make the royal innovator tremble for his boasted supremacy, and even for his throne. It was with this object that James was flattered by every argument which could have weight in a young and ardent mind, to induce him to unite himself cordially in the league. On the other hand the conduct of Henry during the absence of the Scottish king was little calculated to allay the feelings of irritation and resentment which already

existed between them. Sir Ralph Sadler, a minister of great ability, had been sent into Scotland, to complete the system of secret influence and intelligence introduced and long acted on by Lord Dacre. He was instructed to gain an influence over the nobility, to attach to his interest the queen mother, and to sound the inclinations of the people on the subject of peace or war—an adoption of the reformed opinions, or a maintenance of the ancient religion. The Douglases were still maintained with high favor and generous allowances in England; their power, although nominally extinct, was still far from being destroyed ; their spies penetrated into every quarter, followed the king to France, and gave information of his most private motions ;[1] their feudal covenants and bonds of manrent still existed and bound many of the most potent nobility to their interest, whilst the vigor of the king's government, and his preference of the clergy to the temporal lords, disgusted these proud chiefs, and disposed them to hope for a recovery of their influence from any change which might take place.

All these circumstances were well known to the Scottish king, and a more prospective policy might perhaps have dictated a reconciliation with the Douglases as the likeliest means of accomplishing his great design for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the humbling the power of

[1] Letter of Penman to Sir G. Douglas. Calig. B. III. 293. Paris, 29th of October, 1536.

England: but the tyranny of this haughty house, and the injuries which they had accumulated upon him, were yet fresh in his memory. He had determined that so long as he lived, no Douglas should ever return to Scotland: he underrated, probably, the power possessed by a feudal nobility; and being naturally endowed with uncommon vigor and resolution of mind, determined to attempt the execution of his plans, not only without their support, but in the face of their utmost endeavours against him. We may thus discern the state of parties at the return of James to his dominions. On the one hand is seen Henry the Eighth, the great head of the Protestant Reformation, supported in Scotland not only by the still formidable power and unceasing intrigues of the Douglases, but by a large proportion of the nobles, and the talents of his sister, the queen mother. On the other hand, we perceive the King of Scotland, backed by the united talent, zeal, and wealth of the Catholic clergy, the loyalty of some of the most potent peers, the cordial co-operation of France, the approval of the emperor, the affection of the great body of his people, upon whom the doctrines of Luther had not as yet made any very general impression, and the cordial support of the papal see. The progress of events will strongly develop the operation and collision of these various parties and interests. We shall be enabled to observe the slow but uninterrupted progress towards the reception of the great principles of the

Reformation, and, amid much individual suffering, to mark the sublime manner in which the wrath and the sin of man are compelled to work out the predetermined purposes of a most wise and holy God.

To resume the current of events: the monarch had scarcely settled in his dominions, and entered upon the administration of the government, when his youthful and beautiful queen sunk under the disease which had so strongly indicated itself before her marriage; and, to the deep sorrow of her husband and the whole nation, expired on the 7th of July. The mind of the sovereign although clouded for a season by the calamity, soon shook off the enervating influence of grief, and James demonstrated the firmness of purpose with which he had adopted his plans, in the decided step which he took within a few months after an event by which it was conjectured they might be seriously shaken. David Beaton, Bishop of Mirepoix, and afterwards the celebrated cardinal, was sent on a matrimonial embassy to France, accompanied by Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, where, with the least possible delay, he concluded the espousals between Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, and his royal master. Nor was the full year of grief allowed to elapse before the princess arrived, and the king celebrated his second marriage in the cathedral church at St. Andrew's.[1] The ties which attached

[1] Henry the Eighth, as it appears by the Ambassade de M. Chatillon, Lettres Dec. 10 and 11, had become, by the report of

him to France were thus doubly strengthened, and the consequences of this union with the House of Guise may be long detected in those clouds of dark and complicated misfortune which were now slowly gathering around the country.

In the interval, however, between the death of Magdalen, and the union with Mary of Guise, the life of the monarch was twice menaced by secret conspiracy; and there seems to be little doubt, that both plots are to be traced to the widely-spreading intrigues of the House of Douglas; nay, there is a strong presumption that they were directly connected with each other. The first plot, and that which seems to have attracted least notice, was headed by the Master of Forbes, a fierce and turbulent chief, distinguished, under the government of Albany, for his murder of Seton of Meldrum, and his subserviency to the schemes of England. This person was tried, condemned, and executed on the same day; but unfortunately, in the absence of all authentic records, it is difficult to detect the particulars of the conspiracy. Having married a sister of the Earl of Angus, he was naturally a partizan of the Douglases; and, upon their fall

Mr. Wallop, one of his agents, enamoured of the same lady, chiefly on account of her large and comely size. He demanded her of Francis, and took the refusal violently amiss, although it was stated to him that the contract of marriage between this princess and James the Fifth had been solemnly concluded.—Carte's History, vol. iii. p. 152.

from power, and subsequent banishment from Scotland, he appears to have vigorously exerted himself in those scenes of private coalition and open violence by which their friends attempted to promote their interests and accelerate their return. For the same reason he had been a decided enemy of Albany during his government, and the refusal of the Scottish lords encamped at Werk to lead their vassals against England, was mainly ascribed to his conduct and counsel; a proceeding, which was in the eye of law, an act of treason, as Albany was then regent by the appointment of the three Estates. It does not appear whether any notice was taken of this at the time, but as early as the king's first journey to France, in June 1536, Forbes had been accused by Huntly of a design to shoot the king as he passed through his burgh of Aberdeen, and of conspiring the destruction of a part of the army of Scotland,—charges upon which both himself and his father, Lord Forbes, were then imprisoned; nor did the trial take place till upwards of fourteen months after. What may have been the precise nature of the proof against him, the meagre details of our early criminal records, unfortunately, do not permit us to discover: he was found guilty by a jury, against whom Calderwood has brought an unsupported assertion that they were corrupted by Huntly,[1] but, as far as can be discovered, the accusation seems to be be unjust: no bias or

[1] Calderwood Hist. MS. quoted in Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, p. 183.

partiality can be traced to any of the jurymen; no previous animosity can be established against Huntly, but rather the contrary;[1] and the leniency of James, in the speedy liberation of Lord Forbes, in admitting the brother of the criminal to an office in his household, and abstaining from the forfeiture of his estates, proved the absence of all vindictive feeling. All men rejoiced at the acquittal of the father, and some doubted whether the crime for which he suffered was brought home to the son, but none lamented the fate of one already stained by murder and spoliation of a very atrocious description.[2] Over the design of assassinating the king, the obscurity is so deep, that all efforts to discover its truth, or even its circumstances, are baffled; but of the treasonable refusal to invade England, and thus compass the destruction and dishonour of the Scottish army, there can be little doubt that Forbes was guilty in common with many other peers, who were not so severely dealt with: nor is it to be forgotten, that Albany, on his return from this unfortunate expedition, accused the Scottish nobles, not only of retiring in the face of the enemy, but of entertaining a secret design of delivering him to the English;[3] and here, perhaps, we may discover the

[1] Pitcairn's Collection of Criminal Trials, pp. 183—187 inclusive.

[2] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 183, 187. See Note in Appendix, on the trial of Lady Glamis.

[3] Caligula, B. I. 281. Letter of Queen Margaret to Surrey, "Bot he thynketh na schame of it, for he makyth hys excuse that

secret reason for the long delay of the trial, in the anxiety of the king to obtain from Albany, who was then in France, decisive evidence against the criminal.

The other conspiracy, of which the guilt was more certain, and in its character more dreadful, excited a deeper interest and sympathy, from the sex and beauty of the accused. Janet Douglas, the sister of the banished Angus, had married Lord Glamis, and, after his death, took to her second husband, a gentleman named Campbell, of Skipnish. Her son, Lord Glamis, was in his sixteenth year, and she a youthful matron, in the maturity of her beauty, mingled little with the court since the calamity of her house. A week had scarcely passed since James had paid the last rites to his beloved queen, and the mind of the monarch was still absorbed in the bitterness of recent grief, when, to the astonishment of all men, this noble matron, only two days after the execution of the Master of Forbes, was publicly arraigned of conspiring the king's death by poison, pronounced guilty and condemned to be burnt.[1] She suffered her

the lords wold not pass in Ingland with hym, also that my lord of Aren, and my lord of Lenos, wyth other lordys, he sayth that they wold haf seld hym in Ingland."

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

dreadful fate with the hereditary courage of her house; and the sympathy of the people, ever readily awakened, and unenlightened by any knowledge of the evidence brought against her, too hastily pronounced her innocent, ascribing her condemnation to James's inveterate hostility to the Douglases. Her son, Lord Glamis, a youth in his sixteenth year, was convicted, upon his own confession, that he knew and had concealed the conspiracy; but the monarch commiserated his youth, and the sentence of death was changed into imprisonment; Archibald Campbell, of Skipnish, her husband, having been shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, in attempting to escape, perished miserably by being dashed to pieces on the rocks; John Lyon, an accomplice, was tried and hanged; whilst Makke, by whom the poison had been prepared, and from whom it was purchased, escaped with the loss of his ears, and banishment.[1] It must be confessed, that the circumstances of this remarkable tragedy are involved in much obscurity; but an examination of the evidence which has been

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

lately published, leaves upon the mind little doubt of her guilt.[1]

Although James supported his clergy in their persecution of the Protestant doctrines, which were now rapidly gaining ground in the country, it was not so much with the zeal of a bigot as with the views of a politician. That he was not indisposed to a moderate reformation of the abuses in the Catholic church, is evident, from the liberality with which he permitted the exhibition of the dramatic satire of Lindsay, and the severity of his censures upon the excesses of some of the prelates; but his determination to humble the power of the nobles, to destroy the secret influence of England, and to reign a free monarch over an independent kingdom, was, he thought, to be best accomplished by the assistance of the great body of the clergy, whose talents, wealth, and influence formed the only effectual counterpoise to the weight of the temporal peers. The impetuosity of the character of Henry, and the haughtiness with which he dictated his commands, alienated from him the mind of his nephew, and disposed him to listen with greater favour to the proposals of Francis, and the

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

wishes of the house of Guise. The state of England also encouraged him to hope, that the king would be soon too much engrossed with his domestic affairs, to find leisure for a continuance of his intrigues with Scotland. The discontents amongst his Catholic subjects had become so deep and general, that within no very long period three insurrections had broken out in different parts of the country; various prophecies, songs, and libellous rhymes, which spoke openly of the accession of the Scottish monarch to the English throne, began to be circulated amongst the people; and numerous parties of disaffected Catholics, intimidated by the violence of Henry, took refuge in the sister kingdom. James, indeed, in his intercourse with the English council, not only professed his contempt for such "fantastic prophecies," but ordered that all possessing copies of them should instantly, under the penalty of death and confiscation, commit them to the flames;[1] yet, so far as they indicated the unpopularity of the king, it may be conjectured that he regarded them with satisfaction. Another event, which happened about this time, was attended with important consequences. James Beaton, Archbishop

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

of St. Andrew's, who had long exercised a commanding influence over the affairs of the kingdom, died in the autumn of the year 1539, and was succeeded in the primacy by his nephew, Cardinal Beaton, a man far superior in talent, and still more devotedly attached to the interests of the church from which he derived his exaltation. It was Beaton who had negociated the second marriage of the king with Mary of Guise; and such was the high opinion which his royal master entertained of his abilities in the management of state affairs, that he appears soon to have selected him as his principal adviser in the accomplishment of those great schemes which now occupied his mind.

Beaton's accession to the supreme ecclesiastical authority, was marked by a renewed persecution of the reformers. It was a remarkable circumstance, that however corrupt may have been the higher orders of the Roman Catholic church at this period in Scotland, the great majority of converts to the principles of the Reformation were to be found amongst the orders of the inferior clergy. This was shown in the present persecution. Keillor, a black friar; Dean Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, and a canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch; Simpson, a priest, John Beveridge, also a black friar, and Forrester, a notary in Stirling, were summoned to appear before a council held by Cardinal Beaton, and the Bishop of Dumblane, William Chisholme. It gives us a low opinion of the purity of the ecclesiastical judges before whom these early disciples of

the truth were called, when we find the bench filled by Beaton and Chisholme, the first notorious for his gallantry and licentiousness, the second commemorated by Keith as the father of three natural children, for whom he provided portions by alienating the patrimony of his bishopric.[1]

Friar Keillor had roused the indignation of the church by the composition of one of those plays, or dramatic "mysteries," common in such times, in which, under the character of the chief priests and pharisees, who condemned our Saviour, he had satirised the prelates who persecuted his true disciples; against Forret, who owed his conversion to the perusal of a volume of St. Augustine, a more singular charge was preferred. He was accused of preaching to his parishioners; a duty then invariably abandoned to the orders of friars, and of exposing the mysteries of Scripture to the vulgar in their own tongue. It was on this occasion that Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, a prelate more celebrated for his generous style of living and magnificent hospitality, than for any learned or theological endowments, undertook to remonstrate with the vicar, observing, with much simplicity, that it was too much to preach every Sunday, as it might lead the people to think that the prelates ought to preach also: "Nevertheless," continued he, "when thou findest any good epistle or gospel, which sets forth the liberty of the Holy Church, thou mayst read it to thy flock." The vicar replied to this, that

[1] Keith's Catalogue, p. 105.

he had carefully read through both the Old and New Testament, and in its whole compass had not found one evil epistle or gospel; but if his lordship would point them out, he would be sedulous in avoiding them. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the bishop, smiling; "for I am contented with my breviary and pontifical, and know neither the Old or New Testament; and yet thou seest I have come on indifferently well—but take my advice, leave these fancies, else thou mayst repent when it is too late."[1] It was likewise objected to Forret, upon his trial, that he had taught his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed in the vulgar tongue; that he had questioned the right of taking tithes, and had restored them to the poorer members of his flock. His defence, which he grounded on Scripture, was received with insult; his Bible plucked from his hand by Lauder, an ignorant and furious priest, who denounced it as a heretical work, and himself and his companions condemned to the stake. The sentence was executed on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, on the 31st February, 1538-9.[2] But such cruel exhibitions were not confined to the capital. In the same year, Kennedy, a youth of eighteen years of age, and Russel, a grey friar, were found guilty of heresy, and burnt at Glasgow; Archbishop Hamilton having,

[1] MS. Calderwood, Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 212.

[2] Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 23.

it is said, in vain, interceded with the cardinal to spare their lives. Kennedy is described by Knox as one who possessed a fine genius for Scottish poetry; and it is not improbable he may, like Lindsay and Dunbar, have distinguished himself by some of those satirical effusions against the higher clergy, which it is well known were not the least efficient weapons in pulling down the strong holds of superstition. But the prospect of so cruel a death shook his resolution, and it was expected he was about to recant, when the exhortations of Russel, a meek but courageous disciple of the truth, produced a sudden change. Falling on his knees, he blessed the goodness and mercy of God, which had saved him from impending destruction, and breaking out into an extacy of triumph, declared he now coveted death, and would readily endure the utmost tortures they could inflict. "Now," said Russel, fixing his eyes on the prelates who presided; "now is your hour, and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness—meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities."[1]

The effect of these inhuman executions was highly favorable to the doctrines of the Reforma-

[1] MS. Calderwood Pitcairn, Crim. Trials, vol. i. p. 216.

tion, a circumstance to which the eyes of the clergy, and of the monarch who lent them his sanction, were completely blinded; and it is extraordinary they should not have perceived that they operated against them in another way by compelling many of the persecuted families to embrace the interests of the Douglases.

The continued and mutual inroads upon the borders now called loudly for redress, and Henry, having dispatched the Duke of Norfolk, his lieutenant in the north, to punish the malefactors, the Scottish king, in a letter addressed to that nobleman, not only expressed his satisfaction with this appointment, but his readiness to deliver into his hands all English subjects who had fled into Scotland.[1] The presence of the English earl in the disturbed districts was soon after followed by the mission of Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish court, an event accelerated by the intelligence which Henry had received of the coalition between Francis the First and the Emperor, and by his anxiety to prevent his nephew from joining the confederacy against him. Of Sadler's reception and negociation we fortunately possess an authentic account, and it throws a clear light upon the state of parties in Scotland.

His instructions directed him to penetrate, if possible, into James's real intentions with regard to the league by the Emperor and Francis against England; to discover in what manner the monarch

[1] Original letter in the State Paper Office.

was affected towards the reformed opinions, and by an exposure of the tyranny of the papal power, the scandalous lives of the majority of the clergy, and the enormous wealth which had been engrossed by the church, to awaken the royal mind to the necessity and the advantage of a suppression of the monasteries, and a rupture with the supreme pontiff. To accomplish this more effectually, the ambassador carried with him certain letters of Cardinal Beaton, addressed to Rome, which had accidentally fallen into Henry's hands, and the contents of which it was expected would awaken the jealousy of his master, and lead to the disgrace of the cardinal; whilst Sadler was to renew the proposal for a personal conference between the two princes, and to hold out to his ambition the hope of his succession to the crown of England, in the event of the death of Henry's infant and only son, Prince Edward.[1]

On his arrival in Scotland, the ambassador was welcomed with cordiality, and although he failed in the main purpose of his mission, his reception indicated a desire upon the part of James to preserve the most amicable relations with England. He declared, and apparently with sincerity, that if Henry's conduct corresponded to his professions,

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

nothing should induce him to join in any hostile coalition with Charles or Francis, but he steadily refused to imitate his example in throwing off his allegiance to the head of the church, dissolving the monasteries or abjuring the religion of his fathers. As to the letters of the cardinal, the king declared that he had already seen them, and he smiled with polite contempt when Sadler attributed to Beaton a scheme for the usurping the government of his realm, and placing it in the hands of the pope. He admitted, at the same time, the profligacy of some of his clergy, and declared with an oath that he would compel them to lead a life more suitable to their profession, but he pronounced a merited eulogium on their superior knowledge and talents, their loyalty to the government, and their readiness to assist him in his difficulties. When pressed upon the point of a conference, he dextrously waved the subject, and without giving a refusal declared his wish that his ally, the King of France, should be present on the occasion, a condition upon which Sadler had received no instructions. On the whole the conference between James and the ambassador placed in a favourable light the prudence and good sense of the Scottish monarch, under circumstances which required the exertion of these qualities in no common degree.[1]

He now meditated an important enterprise, and only awaited the confinement of the queen to carry

[1] Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 29, 30.

it into effect.[1] The remoter portions of his kingdom, the northern counties, and the Western and Orkney islands had been grievously neglected during his minority; they had been torn by the contentions of hostile clans; and their condition, owing to the incursions of the petty chiefs and pirate adventurers who infested these seas, was deplorable. This the monarch now resolved to redress, by a voyage conducted in person, and fitted out upon a scale which had not before been attempted by any of his predecessors. A fleet of twelve ships was assembled, amply furnished with artillery, provided for a lengthened voyage, and commanded by the most skilful mariners in his dominions. Of these six ships were appropriated to the king, three were victuallers, and the remaining three carried separately the cardinal, the Earl of Huntly, and the Earl of Arran.[2] Beaton conducted a force of five hundred men from Fife; Angus, Huntly and Arran brought with them a thousand, and this little army was strengthened by the royal suite, and many barons and gentlemen who swelled the train of their prince, or followed on this dis-

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

[2] Ther be preparyt in all twelf shyppys, whereof thre as is aforesaid for the cardinall and the two erlys, and thre other shypis for wytalis only, and for the kyng and hys trayne, * * the said ships ar all weil ordanansyd." Edward Aglionby to Sir Thomas Wharton, May 4, 1540. Caligula, B. III. 217.

tant enterprise the banner of their chiefs. It was one laudable object of the king in his voyage, to complete an accurate nautical survey of the northern coasts and isles, for which purpose he carried with him Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot and hydrographer, whose charts and observations remain to the present day.[1] But his principal design was to overawe the rebellious chiefs, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to reduce within the limits of order and good government a portion of his dominions, which, for the last thirty years, had repeatedly ceased to acknowledge their dependance upon the Scottish crown.

On the 22nd of May, to the great joy of the monarch and his people, the queen presented them with a prince, and James, whose preparations were complete, hoisted the royal flag on board the admiral's ship, and favoured with a serene heaven and a favourable breeze, conducted his fleet along the populous coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan, till he doubled the promontory of Kennedar. He next visited the wild shores of Caithness, and crossing the Pentland Firth was gratified on reaching the Orkneys by finding these islands in a state of greater improvement and civilization than he had ventured to expect. Doubling Cape Wrath the royal squadron steered for the Lewis, Harris, and the Islets of North and South Uist; they next crossed over to Skye, made a descent upon Glenelg, Moidart and Ardnamurchan, circumnavigated Mull,

[1] Harleian MSS. 3996.

visited Coll and Tiree, swept along the romantic shores of Argyle, and passing the promontory of Kentire, delayed awhile on the Alpine mountains of Arran, and the richer and more verdant fields of Bute. Throughout the whole progress, the voyage did not exhibit exclusively the stern aspect of a military expedition, but mingled the delight of the chace, of which James was passionately fond, with the graver cares and labors of the monarch and the legislator. The rude natives of these savage and distant regions flocked to the shore to gaze on the unusual apparition, as the fleet swept past their promontories, and the mountain and island lords crowded roundthe royal pavilion, which was pitched upon the beach, to deprecate resentment and proffer their allegiance. The force which was aboard appears to have been amply sufficient to secure a prompt submission upon the part of those fierce chieftains who had hitherto bid defiance to all regular government, and James who dreaded lest the departure of the fleet should be a signal for a return to their former courses, insisted that many of them should accompany him to the capital, and remain there as hostages for the peaceable deportment of their followers.[1] Some of the most refractory were even thrown into irons and confined on board the ships, whilst others were treated with a kindness which soon substituted the ties of affectionate allegiance for those of compulsion and terror.[1] On reaching Dumbarton, the

[1] Lesly, p. 157. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 814.

king considered his labors at an end, and giving orders for the fleet to proceed by their former course to Leith, travelled to court, only to become exposed to the renewed enmity of his nobles.

Another conspiracy, the third within the last three years, was discovered, and its author Sir James Hamilton arrested and brought to trial on a charge of treason. This baron who has been already mentioned as notorious for his cruelty in an age not fastidious in this respect, was the illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran, and had acquired over the early youth of the king an influence, from which his more advanced judgment recoiled. Such, however, was his power and wealth, that it was dangerous to attempt any thing against him, and as he was a zealous and bigotted supporter of the ancient religion, he could reckon on the friendship of the clergy. His temper was passionate in the extreme, and during the king's minority had often hurried him into excesses, which, under a government where the law was not a dead letter, might

[1] The names of the chiefs seized by James in this expedition may be interesting to some of my readers. In Sutherland, Donald Mackay of Strathnaver; in the Lewis, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen; In the west of Sky, Alexander Macleod, of Dunvegan, or of Harris, in the north of Sky at Fronterness, John Moydertach, Captain of Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarrie, and others who were chieftains of Maconnylls Kin, by which we must understand relatives of the late Donald Gruamach of Slate, who was understood to have the hereditary claim to the lordship of the isles In-Kintail, John Mackenzie, chief of that clan, Kentire and Knapdale, Hector Maclean of Dowart and James Macconnel of Isla.

have cost him his head; but he had hitherto escaped, and latterly had even experienced the king's favour. Such was the state of things, when the monarch, who had left the capital to pass over to Fife, was hurriedly accosted by a youth who demanded a speedy and secret audience, as the business was of immediate moment, and touched the royal life. James listened to the story, and taking a ring from his finger sent it by the informer to Learmont, master of the household, and Kirkaldy, the treasurer, commanding them to investigate the matter and act according to their judgment of its truth and importance.[1] He then pursued his journey, and soon after received intelligence that Hamilton was arrested. It was found that his accuser was a namesake and near relative to Hamilton, the sheriff of Linlithgow, and brother to the martyr, Patrick Hamilton, in whose miserable death Sir James had taken an active part. The crime of which he was arraigned was of old standing, though now revealed for the first time. It was asserted that Hamilton along with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, Robert Leslie, and James Douglas of Parkhead, had in the year 1528, conspired to slay the king, having communicated their project to the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, who encouraged the atrocious design.[2] Some authors have asserted that the intention of Hamilton was to murder James by

[1] Drummond, 333. Maitland, 825.

[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 423.

breaking into the royal bed-chamber,[1] but in the want of all contemporary record of the trial, it is only known that he was found guilty and instantly executed. His innocence he is said to have affirmed to the last,[2] but no one lamented the death of a tyranical baron, whose hands were stained by much innocent and unavenged blood; and the fate of the brave and virtuous Lennox who had been murdered by him after giving up his sword, was still fresh in the recollection of the people.

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

[1] Anderson, MS. History, in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, p. 229.
[2] Lesly, 158.

awakened by groans in the royal apartment, and entering found the king sitting up in bed, transfixed with terror, and declaring that he had been visited by the bastard of Arran, who brandished a naked sword, and threatened to lop off both his arms, affirming that he would return, after a short season, and be more fully revenged.[1] These stories, whether we believe or reject them, were undoubtedly so far founded in truth, that the king became deeply engrossed and agitated by the difficulties of his situation, and it is no unusual thing to find the visions of the night borrowing their gloomy and fantastic pictures from the business of the day; but James's mind, however paralysed for the moment, was composed of too strong materials to be shaken by such ideal terrors, and as it recovered its strength he soon resumed his wonted activity.

A parliament which assembled in the month of December, and a second meeting of the three estates convoked in the succeeding March, discussed in their deliberations some subjects of great importance. To preserve the peace with England, to support the church now hourly becoming more alarmed by the acknowledged progress of the reformed opinions, to strengthen the authority of the crown, and humble the power of the nobles were at this moment the leading features of the policy adopted by the Scottish monarch: and easy as it is to detect his errors when we look

[1] Drummond, *336, 337.*

back at the past, illuminated by the light of nearly three centuries of increasing knowledge, it would scarcely be just to condemn that conduct which sought to maintain the independence of the kingdom, and the religion of his fathers against what he esteemed the attacks of heresy and revolution. When in France, in 1537, James had published at Rouen a revocation of all the grants of lands, which during his minority had been alienated from the crown, and he now followed this up by a measure, upon the strict justice of which the want of contemporary evidence precludes us from deciding This was an act of annexation to the crown of all the isles north and south of the two Kentires, commonly called the Hebrides. That these districts had been the scenes of constant treason and open defiance of the laws, must be acknowledged, and at this moment James retained in various prisons many of their chiefs whose lives had been pardoned on their surrender of their persons during his late expedition to his insular dominions. But whether it was just or prudent to adopt so violent a measure as to annex the whole of the isles to the crown as forfeited lands may be doubted. To these also were added the Orkney and Shetland isles, the seat of the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness, with the Lordships of Douglas, Bonhill, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford Lindsay, Crawford John, Bothwell, Jedburgh forest, and the superiority of the county or Earldom of Angus. But this was not all; Glamis with its dependancies, Liddesdale, the

property of Bothwell, who was attached to the Douglases, and Evandale the estate of Sir James Hamilton, increased the growing power of the crown, and even the best disposed among the nobility trembled for themselves when they observed the unrelenting rigor of the monarch and the rapid process of the law. Having thus strengthened his hands by this large accession of influence, James attempted to conciliate the uneasy feelings of the aristocracy by a general act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons committed up to the day of its publication; but unfortunately its healing effects were defeated by the clause which excepted the banished Earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, and the whole body of their adherents. Nor was the sternness of regal legislation confined to the hated Douglases. The Catholic clergy, whose councils were gradually gaining a fatal influence in the bosom of the monarch, procured the passing of many severe statutes against heresy. To argue against the supreme authority, or to question the spiritual infallibility of the Pope, was made a capital offence, no person even suspected of entertaining heretical opinions was to be admitted to any office in the government, whilst those who had fled from judicial examination were to be held as confessed, and sentence passed against them. All private meetings or conventicles, where religious subjects were debated, were declared illegal, rewards were promised to those who revealed where they were held; and

such was the jealousy with which the church provided against the contamination of its ancient doctrines, that no Catholic was to be permitted to converse with any one who had at any time embraced heretical opinions, although he had repented of his apostacy and received absolution for his errors. Nor is it unworthy of notice that in the same parliament, the strongest exhortations were given to churchmen, both of high and low degree, to reform their lives and conversation, whilst the contempt with which the services of religion had been lately regarded was traced directly to the dishonesty and misrule of the clergy, proceeding from their ignorance in divine and human learning and the licentiousness of their manners. For the more general dissemination of the knowledge of the laws amongst the inferior judges and the great body of the people, the acts of parliament were ordered to be printed from an authentic copy attested by the sign manual of the clerk register; and an act passed at the same time against the casting down of the images of the saints, informs us that the spirit of demolition, which afterwards gathered such strength, had already directed itself with an unhappy narrowness of mind against the sacred edifices of the country.[1]

Other enactments in a wiser spirit provided for the more universal and impartial administration of

[1] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 370.

justice by the sheriffs and temporal judges throughout the realm. The abilities of deputies or inferior judges, the education and election of notaries, and the solemn ratification of the late institution of the college of justice, form the subjects of some important changes; various minute regulations were introduced concerning the domestic manufactures and foreign commerce of the country, and to defend the kingdom against any sudden project for its invasion (a measure which the violent temper of Henry rendered by no means improbable) the strictest orders were given for the observance of the stated military musters, and the arming of all classes of the community. It was declared that the army of Scotland should fight on foot, that the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggage waggons, and that none should be permitted to be mounted in the host except earls, barons, and great landed proprietors. Such leaders were directed to be armed in white harness, light or heavy according to their pleasure, and with the weapons becoming their rank; whilst all persons whose fortune was below a hundred pounds of yearly rent, were to have a jack and gloves of plate, and a baldrick, or brigantine, with pesane and gorget; no weapons being admitted by the muster officer, except spears, pikes of six ells length, light battle-axes, halberds, bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two handed swords.

Such in 1540 were the arms of the Scottish host;[1] and these cares for the increase of the military strength of his dominions were succeeded on the part of the king by more decided demonstrations. A proclamation was read in the capital, and forwarded to every part of the country, by which all persons between sixteen and sixty years of age, were commanded to be ready on a warning of twenty-four hours to join the royal banner, armed at all points; and a train of sixteen great, and sixty lesser cannon was ordered to be fitted out, to take the field within twenty days after Easter. It may be doubted, however, whether such symptoms of impending hostility were not rather preventive than preparatory of war. The individual feelings of the sovereign at this moment appear to have been in favor of a Reform in the church, a measure almost synonymous with a peace with England; he not only permitted, but encouraged and sanctioned by his presence, the celebrated play of Lindsay, which, under the name of a satire on the Three Estates embodied a bitter attack upon the Catholic clergy; he remonstrated with the prelates on the scandalous lives of some of their body; and if we may give full credit to the representations of the Duke of Norfolk,[2] who repeats the information of an eye witness; he began to look with a covetous longing upon the immense reve-

[1] Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 362.

[2] Norfolk to Lord Privy Seal, 29 March, 1543. Calig. B.VII. 228.

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

In the midst of these transactions, the queen mother was taken ill at Methven, the castle of her husband, and died after a varied and turbulent life, during the latter years of which she had lost all influence in the affairs of the kingdom. Great violence of temper, a devotedness to her pleasures, and a disregard of public opinion, were qualities in which she greatly resembled her brother, Henry the Eighth; and after the attempt to accomplish a divorce from Methven, her third

husband, which, for the sake of decency, was quashed by her son; she appears to have been neglected by all parties. Her talents, had they not been enslaved to her caprice and passion, were of a high order, as is amply proved by that large and curious collection of her original letters preserved in our national archives;[1] but the influence she exerted during the minority of her son was mischievous, and her individual character such as could not long command either affection or respect. She was interred with much solemnity and magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, at Perth, in the tomb of its founder, James the First.

The decease of the queen was followed by an event which plunged the court and the people into sincere grief. Arthur, Duke of Albany, the infant prince, whose birth had lately given such joy to his royal parents, was suddenly cut off at Stirling by some infantine disease; and scarcely had he ceased to breathe, when Prince James, the eldest born, and heir to the throne, was attacked with a similar malady, which defied all human skill, and hurried him within a brief period to share the grave of his brother. It was a blow which fell heavily upon the affections of the monarch; and, in a political point of view, its consequences were equally distressing; it shook the security of a sovereign, who was at variance with

[1] In the State Paper Office and the British Museum.
[2] Pinkerton, ii. 371. [3] Lesly, 159.

his nobility, and whose throne needed, on that account, the support communicated by the certainty of succession; but James never permitted his cares and duties to be long interrupted by an excessive indulgence in sorrow, and he wisely sought for alleviation in an attention to those peaceful arts, which were intimately connected with the welfare of his kingdom. From France and Flanders, from Spain and Holland, he invited the most skilful artizans, in those various branches of manufacture and industry, wherein they excelled his subjects, inducing them by pensions to settle in the country; he improved the small native breed of the Scottish horses by importations from Denmark and Sweden;[1] and anxious for the encouragement of useful learning, he visited the University of Aberdeen, in company with his queen and his court, listened to the classic declamations of the students, and enjoyed the dramatic entertainments which were recited, during a residence of fifteen days, in this infant seat of the Scottish Muses. On his return, a mission of Campbell of Lundy to the Netherlands, for the redress of some grievances connected with the fisheries, and an embassy of Beaton and Panter, the secretary of the King, to Rome, evinced that the royal mind had recovered its wonted strength and activity. The avowed object of the cardinal was to procure his nomination as papal legate within the dominions of

[1] Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. ii. p. 36:—"Cataphractos aliquot e regno tuo desideramus."

his master; but there can be little doubt, that his secret instructions, which unfortunately have not been preserved, embraced a more important design. The extirpation of heresy from Scotland, and the re-establishment of the Catholic faith in the dominions of Henry the Eighth, by a coalition between Francis, James, the Emperor, and the papal see, formed, it is probable, the main purpose of Beaton's visit. Events, however, were now in progress, which counteracted his best-laid schemes; and the rupture which soon after took place between Francis and the emperor, for the present dissolved the meditated confederacy.

It was this moment which the English monarch selected for a second embassy of Sadler to the court of his nephew; and, had Henry's instructions to his ambassador been less violent, a favorable impression might have been made; but James, who never forgot his station as an independent prince, was not to be threatened into a compliance with a line of policy, which, if suggested in a tone of conciliation, his judgment might perhaps have approved; and if the English ambassador besought him not to "be as brute as a stocke," or to suffer the practices of juggling prelates to lead him by the nose, and impose a yoke upon his shoulders, the spirit of the prince must have been roused by the insolence of such language to a deeper resentment than he had yet felt against his uncle.[1] Yet, although inimical to the purposes of

[1] Pinkerton, ii. 374. Calig. B. I. 57.

the embassy, the reiterated request of Henry, that James should meet him in a conference to be held on the borders, was received with a less marked opposition; and before the departure of Sadler, the monarch appears to have given a reluctant assent to the interview.[1] It, however, most inopportunely happened, that at this time the English borderers, not only with the approval, but under the guidance of the wardens, renewed, with every circumstance of cruelty and devastation, their invasions of the Scottish territory; and the king, disgusted with such contradiction and duplicity, presented a remonstrance, in which he not only demanded redress, but declined the promised interview till it should be obtained.[2] Meanwhile, Henry proceeded to York, in the autumn of the year 1541, and for six days held his court in that city, in hourly expectation of the arrival of his nephew; but he looked for him in vain,—and in deep indignation retraced his steps to his capital. To act on the resentment of the moment, and to permit the impatience of personal revenge to dictate the course of his policy, was the frequent failing of this monarch; and there can be no doubt, that from the instant he found himself disappointed of

[1] Copy of Articles delivered by the Bishops of Aberdeen and Orkney, December 1541, promising that James would meet Henry at York on 15 January next. State Paper Office.

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

the intended interview at York, war with Scotland was resolved on. Instructions were dispatched to Sir Robert Bowes, to levy soldiers and put the east and middle marches in a state of defence; an army was ordered to be raised for immediate service in the north; the fortifications of Berwick were inspected; and the monarch having determined to revive the idle and exploded claim of superiority, issued his commands to the Archbishop of York, requesting him to make a search into the most ancient records and muniments within his diocese, so as to ascertain his title to the kingdom of Scotland.[1]

Some circumstances, however, for a short season delayed, although they could not prevent, an open rupture. James, from a deference to the opinion of his ecclesiastical councillors, had disappointed Henry of the intended interview at York; but he despatched an ambassador, who was commissioned to express his regret on the occasion, in terms of deep respect, and anxious conciliation; whilst Beaton's devices being somewhat thwarted by the renewal of the quarrel between Francis and the emperor, this ambitious minister required an interval to examine his ground, and alter his mode of attack. An event, however, which occurred about this time, was improved by the cardinal and the clergy, to bring about the desired war. The

[1] State Paper Office. Letter from Privy Council of England, April 28, 1542, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley to Sir Robert Bowes, July 28th, 1542.

king had long maintained an intercourse with Ireland, corresponding not only with his Scottish subjects, who possessed a considerable portion of the island, but with many of the principal chiefs, in whose eyes the English monarch was a heretic and a tyrant. Hitherto, Henry's predecessors and himself had been contented to call themselves Lords of that country; but, in a parliament of this year, he had assumed the more august style of King of Ireland[1]—a usurpation so ill-received by its native chiefs, that they sent a deputation to the Scottish court, inviting its monarch to accept their homage, and making a proffer of the crown, which had already, in ancient times, although for a brief period, been placed upon the head of a Scottish prince.[2] It is not probable, that the offer was ever viewed by James in a serious light; yet, the assumption of the title of Defender of the Faith, with which the Pope had condescended to flatter him, the gracious reception given to the Irish chiefs, and the warlike preparations which could not be concealed, excited the jealousy, and increased the resentment of the English king to so high a pitch, that it was evident war could not be long averted.

Under such circumstances, nothing seemed wanting but a slight spark to ignite the mass which had been accumulating for many years; and this was soon furnished by the restless borderers. Upon whose side hostilities began,

[1] Lesly, p. 160. [2] Maitland, 826.

seems uncertain; the Scottish monarch in one of his letters, insisting, that before his subjects retaliated, they had been provoked by two English invasions; whilst the manifesto of Henry broadly imputes the first aggression to his nephew. Mutual incursions were probably succeeded by a mutual wish to throw the odium of an infraction of the peace upon each other; and, at the moment when Sir James Learmont had proceeded with a message of regret and conciliation to the English court, Sir James Bowes, captain of Norham, and warden of the East Marches, broke across the border; and, with a body of three thousand horse, penetrated into Teviotdale. He was accompanied by the banished Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and a large body of their retainers; but the Earl of Huntly encountered him with a strong force at Hadden-Rig, and, with the assistance of Lord Home, who joined the host with four hundred lancers, obtained a complete victory. Six hundred prisoners of note fell into the hands of the enemy, amongst whom were the lord warden himself, and his brother. Angus was nearly taken, but slew his assailant with his dagger, and saved himself by flight.[1]

Open and determined war appeared now inevitable; and Henry, having sent orders to the Duke of Norfolk to levy a force of forty thousand men, this able leader, who had obtained from his master the name of the Scourge of the Scots, proceeded by rapid marches towards York. Along with him,

[1] Maitland, 831. Lesly, 162.

each leading their respective divisions, came the Earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, and Hertford, with Angus, and some of his Scottish adherents; but on their march, they were arrested by a deputation of commissioners, instructed by James to make a final effort for averting a war. Whether the Scottish king was sincere in this, or merely used it as an expedient to gain time, does not appear; but, as the season was far advanced, even a short delay was important; and, in all probability, he had become convinced of the fatal effects which the dissatisfaction of his nobility with his late measures might produce upon the issue of the campaign. He accordingly prevailed on Norfolk to halt at York, and amused him for a considerable period with proposals for a truce, and a personal interview, which had long been the great object of the English king.

It was now, however, too late; the conferences conducted to no satisfactory conclusion; and Henry, issuing imperative orders to his lieutenant to advance into Scotland, published at the same moment a manifesto, in which he stated his reasons for engaging in war: his nephew, he affirmed, entertained within his dominions some of his chief rebels; his subjects had invaded England when a treaty of peace was in the course of negociation; he was refused the possession of some districts, to which he affirmed he had established an unquestionable title; and James had lastly disappointed him of the promised interview at York.

These trifling causes of quarrel were followed up by a revival of the claim of superiority over Scotland, and a tedious enumeration of the false and exploded grounds upon which it was maintained.

The winter had now commenced; yet Norfolk, aware of the impetuosity of his master's temper, penetrated into Scotland; and finding no resistance, gave many of the granges and villages on the banks of the Tweed to the flames; whilst James, becoming more aware of the secret indisposition of his nobles to a contest with England, once more dispatched Learmont and the Bishop of Orkney to request a conference, and carry proposals of peace.[1] All negociation, however, was in vain; and commanding a force under Huntly, Home, and Seton, to watch the operations of Norfolk, the Scottish king himself assembled his main army, consisting of thirty thousand men, on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh.[2] But, though strong in numbers and equipment, this great feudal array was weakened by various causes. It was led by those nobles who had regarded the late conduct of the king with sentiments of disapproval, and even of indignation. Many of them favored the doctrines of the Reformation; some from a conscientious conviction of their truth, others from an envious eye to those possessions of the church, which, under the dissolution of the English reli-

[1] Lesly, 161 [2] Herbert, p. 232.

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

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

allowances which they brought along with them, the Scottish army began to be severely distressed.[1] Yet the opportunity for retaliation appeared too favourable to be lost, and the monarch eagerly proposed an invasion of England, when he was met with a haughty and unanimous refusal. The crisis recalls to our minds the circumstances in which James the Third was placed at Lauder Bridge; and it is even insinuated by some of our historians, that the nobles, who had been long secretly dissatisfied with the conduct of the king, meditated a repetition of the ferocious scenes which then occurred; but they had to do with a more determined opponent, and contented themselves by a steady refusal, alleging as their reason, the advanced period of the year, and the impossibility of supporting so large a force. Yet this was enough to arouse to the highest pitch the indignation of the king; he alternately threatened and remonstrated; he implored them, as they valued their honor as knights, or esteemed their allegiance as subjects, to accompany him against the enemy; he upbraided them as cowards and poltroons, who permitted Norfolk to burn their villages, and plunder their granges under their eyes, without daring to retaliate. But all was in vain; the leaders were immovable; the feudal feeling of loyalty to their prince, and revenge against their enemies, seemed to be extinguished by a determination to seize the opportunity to show their own strength, and use it

[1] Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Privy Council, dated 3 November, 1542. State Paper Office.

for the redress of their grievances; and the king, overwhelmed with disappointment and chagrin, disbanded the army and returned to his capital.[1]

Yet, although thus abandoned by a great majority of his nobles, the monarch was not without some supporters amongst them; the opulent body of the clergy were unanimous in his favor, and a few peers making an effort to recall their brethren to their duty, resolved to muster the army for a second time, under what it was hoped would be more favorable auspices. For this purpose, Lord Maxwell offered his services, and a force of ten thousand men having been assembled with great expedition and secrecy, it was determined to break into England by the western marches; whilst the monarch, with the sanguine and energetic temper by which he was distinguished, shook off the anguish which preyed on his mind, and eagerly awaited at Caerlaverock, the result of the invasion. He had given secret orders, that his favorite, Oliver Sinclair, should take the command of the little army, so soon as it reached the Esk; and scarcely had the soldiers encamped on English ground, when a halt was ordered; and this minion of the king, as he is termed, in a contemporary document, with circumstances of military solemnity, was raised on a platform, supported on the shoulders of the troops, whilst the royal commission appointing him generalissimo was read aloud by a herald. The intelligence was received with

[1] John Car to My Lord of Norfolk, 1st Nov. 1542, State Paper Office.

murmurs of disapprobation, many of the ancient nobility declared they could not serve without degradation under such a leader; their clansmen and retainers adopted their feelings; and whilst Maxwell, and a few of the most loyal peers, attempted to overcome their antipathy, the whole army became agitated with the discussion, presenting the spectacle of a disorderly mob, tossed by conflicting sentiments and ready to fall to pieces on the slightest alarm. It was at this crisis that Dacre and Musgrave, two English leaders, advanced to reconnoitre, at the head of three hundred horse; and approaching the Scottish camp, became sensible of its situation: nor did they delay a moment to seize the opportunity, but charged at full speed with levelled lances, and in a compact body. In the panic of the moment, they were believed to be the advance of a larger force; and such was the effect of the surprise, that the rout was instantaneous and decisive. Ten thousand Scottish troops fled at the sight of three hundred English cavalry, with scarce a momentary resistance; and a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy, amongst whom where the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton.[1]

The intelligence of this second calamity fell like a thunderbolt upon the king; he had awaited at Caerlaverock, in the most eager expectation, the first intelli-

[1] Hall, 856. Maitland, ii. 833. Lodge's Illustrations, i. 37-43, inclusive.

gence from the army; he trusted, that the success of the invasion would wipe away, in some degree, the dishonour of the retreat from Fala; and he anticipated, with sanguine hope and resolution the renewal of the war, and a restoration of the feelings of cordiality and attachment between himself and his barons. In an instant every prospect of this kind was blasted; and in the first agony of the moment, he embraced an idea which overthrew the balance of his mind, and plunged him into despair: he became convinced, that his nobility had entered into a conspiracy to betray him to England, to sacrifice their own honor, and the independence of the kingdom, to the determination to gratify their revenge against the crown, and their personal hatred to himself.[1] At Fala, they had disgraced him by an open contempt of his command; at Solway, they had followed up the blow by an act which exposed themselves, their sovereign, and the Scottish name, to ridicule and contempt. James had often borne misfortune; but his mind was too proud and impatient to endure dishonour, or to digest the anguish of reiterated disappointment; and, although in the vigor of his strength, and the flower of his age, with a constitution unimpaired and almost unvisited by disease, he sunk under this calamity, and seems truly to have died of a broken heart. From the moment the intelligence reached him, he shut himself up in his palace at Falkland, and relapsed into a state of the deepest gloom and despondency; he would sit for hours without speak-

[1] Lesly, 165.

ing a word, brooding over his disgrace; or would awake from his lethargy, only to strike his hand on his heart, and make a convulsive effort, as if he would tear from his breast the load of despair which oppressed it. Exhausted by the violence of the exertion, he would then drop his arms by his side, and sink into a state of hopeless and silent melancholy. This could not last; it was soon discovered that a slow fever preyed upon his frame; and having its seat in the misery of a wounded spirit, no remedy could be effectual. When in this state, intelligence was brought him, that his queen had given birth to a daughter. At another time it would have been happy news; but now, it seemed to the poor monarch, the last drop of bitterness which was reserved for him. Both his sons were dead. Had this child been a boy, a ray of hope, he seemed to feel, might yet have visited his heart; he received the messenger and was informed of the event without welcome, or almost recognition; but wandering back in his thoughts to the time, when the daughter of Bruce brought to his ancestor the dowry of the kingdom, observed, with melancholy emphasis, "It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl." A few of his most favoured friends and councillors stood round his couch; the monarch stretched out his hand for them to kiss; and regarding them for some moments with a look of great sweetness and placidity, turned himself upon the pillow and expired.[1] He died in

[1] Lesly, 165, 166. Drummond, 344, 345. Maitland, 834, vol. ii. Lindsay, 176, 177.

the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign; leaving an only daughter Mary,—an infant of eight days old, who succeeded to the crown; and amongst other natural children, a son James, afterwards the famous regent Murray. There were some striking points of similarity between the character and destiny of this prince, and his great ancestor, James the First. To the long captivity of the one, we find a parallel in the protracted minority of the other; whilst, in both, we may discover, that vigor, talent, and energetic resolution to support the prerogative against the attacks of their nobility, to which we can trace the assassination of the first, and the premature death of the fifth James. Both were accomplished princes, and exhibited, in a rude and barbarous age, a remarkable example of literary and poetical talent; whilst they excelled in all those athletic and military exercises, which were then considered the only proper objects of aristocratic ambition.