

CHAP. V.

M A R Y.

1542 - 1546.

 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Kings of England.</i> Henry VIII.		<i>Kings of France.</i> Francis I.		<i>Germany.</i> Charles V.		<i>Spain.</i> Charles V.		<i>Popes.</i> Paul III.
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THE total rout of the Scottish army at the Solway Moss, and the death of James the Fifth within a fortnight after that event, produced the most important changes in the policy of both kingdoms. To Henry the Eighth, and that powerful faction of the Douglasses, which, even in banishment, had continued to exert, by its secret friends, a remarkable influence in Scottish affairs, the death of the king was a subject of fervent congratulation. The English monarch immediately embraced, with the enthusiasm belonging to his character, the design of marrying his son, the Prince of Wales, to the infant Mary, hoping by this means to unite the two kingdoms, which had so long been the enemies of each other, into one powerful monarchy in the persons of their descendants. The Earl of Angus, and the Douglasses, after a banishment of fifteen

years, joyfully contemplated the prospect of a return to their native country; they had become subjects of the English monarch, had largely shared his bounty and protection; and Henry, determined to put their gratitude to the test by claiming their assistance in forwarding his great scheme of procuring the Princess Mary for his son, and incorporating the kingdom of Scotland into the English monarchy; but, in the prosecution of this design, the king employed other agents. On their first arrival in London the Scottish prisoners, who were taken at the Solway Moss, found themselves treated with great severity; they were paraded through the streets of the metropolis, conducted to the Tower, and watched with much jealousy; but, as soon as the intelligence arrived of the death of their master the king, an immediate and favorable change in their condition took place. Their high rank and influence in Scotland convinced Henry, that they might be useful, and even necessary agents to him in the accomplishment of his designs; the rigor of their confinement was accordingly relaxed; and they now experienced not only kindness, but were entertained with hopes of a speedy return to their country, on condition that they forwarded the designs of the English king. Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, who had shared his long banishment, and was much in the confidence of Henry, appears to have been entrusted with the principal share in negotiating the marriage. His talents for the management of political affairs were superior to

those of his brother, the Earl, over whose mind he possessed great influence; and if we may believe the expressions which he employed in his correspondence with Henry, he appears to have forgotten his allegiance to his natural prince in the humility of his homage, and the warmth of his devotion to the English monarch.¹

The project of a marriage between young Edward and the Scottish queen was in itself so plausible, and, if concluded upon an equitable basis, and with a just attention to the mutual rights and independence of each country, it appeared so likely to be attended with the happiest results, that it required little argument to recommend it to the Scottish prisoners, even had they not seen in it the only road by which they were to escape from their captivity; but whilst all can understand their readiness to promote a matrimonial alliance, and a perpetual union between the two kingdoms, had Henry confined his views to such a general design, the conduct pursued by that monarch, and the conditions which he offered were such as no man of independent and patriotic feelings, could without ignominy have embraced. He insisted, that they should acknowledge him as lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland, that the prisoners should exert their influence to procure for him the government

¹ Original letter of Sir G. Douglas, in State Paper Office, dated January 10, 1542, to Lord Lisle, the English warden:—"yff it pleases God that I continewe withe lyff and helthe, I shall do my soverand lord and maister gud servyce be the helpe of God; and yff I dey, I shall depart his trewe servand."

of the kingdom, and the immediate resignation of all its fortresses into his hands ; that they should use their utmost efforts to have the infant queen delivered into his power, to be kept in England ;¹ and, in the event of such demands being refused by the parliament of Scotland, he stipulated that their whole feudal strength was to be employed in co-operating with his army, and completing the conquest of the country. Nor did the English monarch content himself with the bare promise of his prisoners to fulfil his wishes. The affair was transacted with much rigor and solemnity. A bond or obligation was drawn up, which engrossed these stipulations. To this they were required to subscribe their names, and confirm it by their oath ; they were to leave their eldest sons, or nearest relatives, in their place as pledges for their fidelity. Should they fail in accomplishing the wishes of the king, they were to return to their prisons in England, on his so requiring it ; or if he judged it more profitable for the accomplishment of his design, to remain in Scotland, and assist him in the war.² The bond, in short, contained terms which virtually annihilated the existence of Scotland as a separate kingdom ; and sad as is the fate of the captive, I am not prepared to admit that the Scottish prisoners were placed in a very trying situation. They were called upon to choose whether they were to preserve unsullied their individual honor, and maintain their national independence, by remaining in prison, and

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 69, 74, 75, 81.

² Ibid. p. 97.

braving a captivity which the cruelty of Henry might render perpetual; or whether they were to return dishonored to their country, bound by the most solemn obligation to employ their strength in reducing it to the condition of a province of England. Under such circumstances the citizen of a free country ought to have felt that he had only one resolution to adopt; and it is with sorrow it must be declared, this resolution was not the one embraced by the Scottish nobles. Unable to endure the thoughts of remaining in England, the Earls of Glencairn, and Cassillis, with the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant, agreed to the conditions, upon which Henry permitted them to revisit their country; subscribed the bond, by which, to use the words of the governor, Arran, they were tied in fetters to England; confirmed it with their oath; and having left hostages in the hands of that monarch, prepared to set out on their return.¹ On their arrival, they cautiously abstained from revealing the full extent of their obligation, and spoke in general terms upon the advantages to be derived from the marriage with England. At the same time it is not to be forgotten, in justice to the Scottish aristocracy, that whilst its leading members did not scruple to sign this unworthy agreement, the majority of the prisoners taken at the Solway remained in captivity in England. It cannot, however, be affirmed, with certainty, that to them Henry had presented the same temptation which overcame the virtue of their more wealthy and influential brethren. I have been thus minute in

¹ Maitland, vol. ii. p. 838.

describing the transaction, which took place between the English monarch and his prisoners, because it was afterwards attended with important consequences, and has not been noticed by any former historian with either the care or the full reprobation which it deserves.

Whilst such was the policy adopted by Henry, the sudden death of James the Fifth gave rise to a very opposite course of events in Scotland; it left that country once more exposed to all the evils of a minority, and divided by two great parties: of these, the first, and that which had hitherto been the strongest, was the body of the Catholic clergy, at the head of which stood the cardinal Beaton, a man possessed certainly of high talents, and far superior in habits of business, acquaintance with human character, and the energetic pursuit of his purposes, to his opponents,—but profligate in his private conduct, insatiable in his love of power, and attached to the Romish religion with a devotedness, which, without any breach of charity, we may pronounce rather the offspring of ambition, than the result of conviction. Of this faction the guiding principles were a determined opposition to the progress of the Reformation, and a devotion to the papal see,—friendship with France, hostility to England; and a resolution, which all must applaud, of preserving the ancient independence of their country. To them the late king, more from political motives, than anything like personal bigotry, had lent the important strength of the royal favor and countenance.

In the ranks of the opposite faction were found a

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

With regard to the great body of the people, of which we must remember that the middle and commercial classes alone possessed any influence in the government, they appear to have been animated at this time by somewhat discordant feelings. Many favored the doctrines of the Reformation ; and so far as these were concerned, gave a negative support to Henry by their hostility to the cardinal and his party ; but their sense of national independence, and their jealousy of England as the ancient enemy of their country, was a deep-seated principle, which was ready to erect itself into active opposition, on

the slightest assumption of superiority by the rival kingdom. The conviction of this ought to have put Henry on his guard; but it was the frequent misfortune of this monarch, to lose his highest advantages by the arrogance and violence with which he pursued them.

Immediately after the death of the king, the cardinal produced a scroll which he declared to be the will of the late monarch. It is asserted by most of our historians, and the story was confirmed by the positive testimony of the Earl of Arran,¹ that this was a forged instrument procured by guiding the king's hand upon the paper when he was in his last extremity, and utterly insensible to its contents. It is certain that it appointed Beaton guardian to the infant queen, and chief governor of the realm, with the assistance of a council composed of the Earls of Argyle, Huntly and Murray, all of whom were devoted to his service; and without giving his opponents time or opportunity to examine its provisions, or ascertain its authenticity, the cardinal had himself proclaimed regent, and hastened to assume the active management of the state. But his power, though great, was not sufficient to support him for above a few days in so bold a usurpation: the nobility assembled, and Arran, rousing himself from his constitutional indolence, claimed the office of regent, insisting that by law it belonged to him as next heir to the crown;² the pretended will he described as a

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 137-8.

² Knox, History, p. 35. Letter, State Paper Office, Jan. 10th,

forged document, to which no faith was to be attached, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the cardinal, his claim was universally admitted. He was chosen governor, and solemnly installed in his office on the 22nd of December, 1542. Arrangements were then made for the maintenance of the household of the young queen, and her mother the queen dowager, whilst it was determined that the Earl of Angus, and the Douglasses, who had been doomed to so long a banishment in England, should be restored to their possessions, and admitted to that share in the government which belonged to their high rank. A remarkable circumstance increased the power and popularity of Arran, and the dread with which the country regarded the cardinal. Upon the king's person at the time of his death was found a secret scroll, containing the names of above three hundred and sixty of the nobility and gentry who were suspected of entertaining heretical opinions, and whose estates on this ground were recommended to be confiscated for the support of the king.¹ This private list, it was affirmed, had been furnished by Beaton, immediately after the refusal of the army to invade England, and although James rejected on

1542-3. Sir George Douglas to Lord Lisle, informing him he had received a safe conduct from the Earl of Arran, calling himself governor, and proposed setting out that night for Edinburgh. Also Letter, State Paper Office, from the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, with the lords Fleming and Maxwell, to Henry the Eighth, dated 29th of January, 1542-3, Carlisle. On the 20th of January they are to set out for Scotland.

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

a former occasion, all such proposals, as a base project of the clergy to sow dissensions between himself and his nobles, it was suspected that his resolution had, after the rout of the Solway, given way to the intreaties of the cardinal. At the head of these names stood Arran; and it may easily be believed, that with those of the common people who favored the Reformation, and the nobles who were enemies to the church of Rome, such a discovery produced a community of interests and an inveteracy of feeling which added no little strength to the party of the governor.

Although defeated in his first attempt to seize on the supreme power, Beaton was not discouraged. He dispatched messengers to France representing to the house of Guise the crisis to which affairs had arrived in Scotland, the extreme danger attending a union between the Prince of Wales and their infant queen, the peril which threatened the church, and the necessity of an immediate supply of money, arms, and soldiers, to enable him to maintain the struggle against his opponents:¹ he worked upon the fears of those whom he knew to be sincere lovers of their country, by assuring them that the marriage which was now talked of so lightly, was nothing less than a project for the entire destruction of Scotland as an independent kingdom; and he procured the support of the middle and commercial classes by reminding them of the unprovoked seizure of their merchantmen by Henry, during a time of peace;

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 138.

declaiming against the injustice which prompted that prince still to detain their vessels and enrich himself with their cargoes. All these means were not without effect; and it began to be suspected that, notwithstanding his first repulse, the simplicity and indolence of Arran would not long be able to hold its ground against the energy of so talented and daring an enemy as the cardinal.

Such appears to have been the state of parties when the Scottish prisoners, the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, with the Lords Fleming, Maxwell, Somerville, and Oliphant, took their departure from London. They were preceded in their journey by Angus and Sir George Douglas, who left the English court ten days before them, and posted down to Edinburgh for the purpose of conducting the first and most delicate part of the negociation regarding the marriage. On their arrival a council was held by the governor, in which the projected matrimonial alliance between the kingdoms was discussed in a general manner, and received with that favorable consideration with which at first sight all were disposed to regard it. It is here necessary to keep in mind that Sir George Douglas, who was the main agent of the English monarch in this negociation, had three great objects in view, all of which he seems to have pursued with a prudence and cunning which prove his abilities in the management of state intrigue to have been of a high order. The reversal of his own and his brother's treason, and their restoration to their estates, was to be his first step; the procuring the

consent of the Scottish parliament to the marriage, the second; and the last and most important of all, the obtaining the delivery to Henry of the person of the infant queen, the surrender of the fortresses of the kingdom, and the consent of the three estates to have the country placed under the government of England. That Douglas and some of the Scottish prisoners had promised the English king their utmost endeavours to attain all these objects, the last of which amounted to an act of treason, is certain, from the authentic correspondence which yet remains; but they were compelled to proceed with great wariness. They knew well, that the first mention of such ignominious conditions would rouse the country and the parliament to a determined opposition,¹ and that all who would have welcomed upon fair terms the prospect of a matrimonial union between the kingdoms, would yet have scorned to purchase it at the price of their independence. It became necessary, therefore, to feel their way and commence with caution, so that, at the council which was held immediately after their return to Edinburgh, no whisper of such ultimate designs was suffered to escape them.

All their efforts, however, could not prevent the cardinal from becoming acquainted with their in-

¹ See the Letter in the State Paper Office. Lord Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk, dated Berwick, 2nd of February, 1542-3. "I asked him whether he had begun to practice with his frindes, touchyng the king's majesty's purpose. He said it was not tyme yet, for altho he and his broder had manye frindes, he durst not move the matter as yet to none of them; for if he shuld, he is sure they wolde starte from them, everie man."

trigues, and the use which he made of this knowledge in strengthening his party convinced them that, if so active an enemy were left at large, they could hardly hope for success; a secret resolution was, therefore, formed, and executed with that daring promptitude which so often leads to success. Beaton, whose correspondence with France was construed into treason, was suddenly arrested [20th January, 1542-3], and, before he had time to summon his friends, or protest against such injustice, hurried to the castle of Blackness, and committed to the custody of Lord Seton.¹ Having thus boldly begun, proclamation was made, that every man, under pain of treason, should resist the landing of any army from France; a suspicion having arisen, that a fleet which had been seen off Holy Island was the Duke of Guise, with a squadron for the invasion of Scotland. It soon appeared, however, to be some Scottish ships of war, with nineteen English prizes, which they afterwards brought safely into harbour. A parliament was appointed to be held on the 12th of March for the discussion of the proposed alliance with England, and the condemnation of the cardinal; whilst it was proposed that Henry

¹ Keith, p. 27. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 26. Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 137, 138. MS. letter in State Paper Office, Sir Thomas Wharton to the Duke of Suffolk, February 2, 1542-3: "My said servant sheweth the ordre of the takyng of the cardinal, much after the form as I have wrytten. He saith he hard the proclamation made after the same at the cross in Edinburgh, by the governor and the noblemen with him, that his takyng was for certain treasons agaynst the realm, and not for any takyng away the funds of the church."

should immediately grant an abstinence of war, and a safe conduct to the Scottish ambassadors, who were to conclude a perpetual peace between the two realms.

The seizure of the cardinal, however, was attended with effects which his opponents had not anticipated. The public services of religion were instantly suspended; the priests refused to administer the sacraments of baptism and burial; the churches were closed: a universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people; and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some awful crime. The days, indeed, were past, when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the Catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege and injustice; and the people began, in some degree, to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country, exclaiming against the Douglasses and the Scottish prisoners as the pensioners of England.¹ It was suspected, that more was concealed under the proposed marriage and alliance with England than the friends of Henry dared as yet avow; cabals were formed amongst the nobles; and

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

the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Murray, offering themselves as surety for the appearance of the cardinal to answer the charges against him, imperiously demanded, that he should be set at liberty. The refusal of this request by the governor and the Douglasses convinced their opponents that their suspicions were not without foundation; Argyle, one of the ablest and most powerful amongst the barons, retired to his own country, with the object of mustering his strength, and providing for the storm which he saw approaching; whilst the mutual jealousies and animosities amongst those left behind gathered strength so rapidly, that it seemed probable they must lead to some alarming civil commotion.¹

This fatal result was likely to be hastened by the conduct of the English king. Incensed to the utmost degree against the cardinal, whom the Pope had recently appointed Legate *a latere* in Scotland, he insisted on his being delivered into his hands to be imprisoned in England.² He pressed the Earl of

¹ Letter *ut supra*. Sir Thomas Wharton to Suffolk. State Paper Office.

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

Angus and his Scottish prisoners to fulfil their promises regarding the surrender of the fortresses, and was highly dissatisfied when he found his orders not likely to be obeyed. In an interview between Sir George Douglas and Lord Lisle, the English warden, which took place at Berwick,¹ the Scottish baron endeavoured to convince him of the imprudence of thus attempting to precipitate so delicate an affair. He assured him that if the king were content to proceed with caution, he had little doubt of accomplishing his utmost wishes, but that at present the delivery of the cardinal, or the slightest attempt to seize the fortresses, would lead to certain failure. In the mean time he promised that Beaton, against whose talent and intrigue they could never be too much on their guard, should be as safely kept with them as he could be in England; and as the report still continued that the Duke of Guise was about to visit Scotland,² he agreed, at the suggestion of Lord Lisle, to alter their first resolution, which had been to grant this prince an interview, and to adopt the safer plan of interdicting him or his attendants from landing in any of the harbours of the kingdom. Convinced, or at least assuming the appearance, of being satisfied by such representations, Henry consented to the prolongation of the abstinence of war

¹ Letter, State Paper Office, Lord Lisle to the Duke of Suffolk quoted above, February 2nd, 1542-3.

² Letter, State Paper Office, the Duke of Suffolk and council of the north to the privy council, advising them of the appearance of a large fleet off Holy Island, supposed to be the Duke de Guise's squadron, dated at Newcastle, 3rd February, 1542-3.

till the month of June,¹ and awaited, with as much patience as he could command, the meeting of the Scottish parliament. In the mean time he sent orders to Sir Ralph Sadler to repair instantly as his ambassador to Edinburgh, and he determined to keep a jealous watch on the proceedings of France, as it was now confidently asserted that the Duke of Guise and the Earl of Lennox had fitted out an expedition against Scotland in some of the ports of Normandy.²

Shortly before the meeting of parliament, an attempt was made by the Catholic party to counteract the intrigues of the English faction, which had now gained a complete command over the governor. The Earls of Huntly, Murray, Bothwell, and Argyle, supported by a powerful body of the barons and landed gentry, and a numerous concourse of bishops and abbots, assembled at Perth, avowing their determination to resist the measures of the governor and the Douglasses. They dispatched Reid, the Bishop of Orkney, a prelate of primitive simplicity and integrity, with certain proposals to their opponents. Of these, the first insisted that the cardinal should be set at liberty, and that the New Testament should not be read in the vulgar tongue by the people; they

¹ Original agreement of abstinence of war, signed by James Earl of Arran as governor of Scotland (State Paper Office) dated February 20th 1542-3, in the name of Mary Queen of Scotland; also, copy Agreement for Cessation of Hostilities on the part of Henry the Eighth.

² Privy Council of England to the Duke of Suffolk, March 13, 1542-3. State Paper Office. Earl of Arran to the Duke of Suffolk, March 8th, 1542-3. State Paper Office.

demanding, at the same time, that the Scottish ambassadors who had been named by Henry should not be entrusted with the negotiation of the marriage, but others chosen in their stead, and they asserted their right to be consulted by the governor in all affairs of importance. It was not to be expected that Arran or his haughty councillors should for a moment listen to such a message. It was received with a scornful and positive refusal; and scarce had its authors time to recover from their disappointment, when they saw a herald-at-arms enter their assembly, who, in the name of the governor and under the pain of treason, charged them to disperse their convocation and return to their duty and allegiance. Nor did they dare to disobey the summons. The penalties of treason to which they knew their rivals in power would not be loath to subject them, were of too serious a kind to be despised, and after a brief deliberation, they determined to adopt the safest course. On the day previous to the meeting of the three estates, the Earl of Huntly sent in his adherence to the governor, and under an assurance of safety repaired to the capital to give his presence in the parliament; his example was followed by all the clergy assembled at Perth, as well as by the Earls of Murray and Bothwell; whilst Argyle, prevented by sickness from repairing to the parliament in person, sent his procuratory and his two uncles to plead his apology. They had evidently miscalculated their strength, and observing the number and the vigor of their opponents, deemed it prudent not to push

matters to extremity, trusting by their influence in the great council of the nation, to neutralize the obsequious spirit of the English faction, and if they consented to the marriage, to fetter it at least with such conditions as should ensure the independence of their country ; nor were they disappointed in their endeavours.¹

¹ These important particulars of the meeting held at Perth by the rival lords previous to the parliament are new to Scottish history. They are collected from an original letter preserved in the State Paper Office, dated March 16, 1542-3, addressed by the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas to Lord Lisle. It will be published in its entire state in the volume of Scottish correspondence during the reign of Henry the Eighth, which is about to be printed by Government ; in the meantime a short extract may not be uninteresting to the reader :—“ The Parliament began the 12th of March, and the ouke before, thare convenit in the toune of Perth th’ Erles of Huntley, Ergyle, Murray, and Boithwell, with ane gret noumer of bishoppis and abbotis, baronis, and knightis, and so the forsaidis lordis sent the Bisshop of Orkney, and Sir John Campbell, of Caldour, knycht, uncle to the Erle of Ergyle, with certane artiklis to my lord governour and counsale being with him. Ane of the principale artiklis was to put the cardinal to liberte, and ane other was that the New Testament shuld not go abroide. The third article was that the governour shuld be usit and counsalit be thame in all th’ affaires. The forde was that the ambassiatouris that ar contenit in the saulfconduct come fro the kingis majeste, that thai walde not be contentit that thai shuld pas in England, but walde have others of thare chesing. My lord governour, with avise of us and of his counsale, maid thame ane final answer. That he wuld grant them no such unreasonable desires ; and incontinent after the departure of the said bishop and knycht we sent one heralde of armes unto the saidis lordis at Perth, chargeing thame under the payne of trayson to cum and serue the governour, for the welth of the realme, according to their dewty and alle-

On the 12th of March, the parliament assembled, and its proceedings were marked by a firmness and prudence, which was little agreeable to the impetuous desires of the English king. After the important preliminaries had been gone through of confirming the choice of Arran as governor of the realm and tutor to the young queen, on the ground of his being next in succession to the crown, the archbishop of

giance. Thir forsaid lordis pretendit to have made one partie if thai had bene able, and my lord governour and we agane preparit ourselves with all the gentilmen and servyngmen that langit unto us to ane gud nowmer, and ane weel favorit cumpany purposing to proceed in our parliament in despyte of all thame wald say the contrarie. And than the saidis lordis seeing this, that thai mycht not mak thare partye gud, th' Erle of Huntlie sent unto the governour and to us saying that he wald com, and do his dewtie to the governour, and monche the rather for our cause, considering the proximate of blude that was betwix us. And so be our advise the governour was contentit to give him assurance to com and serve him in the said parlement, and so the said erle came in on Sunday, the 11th Marche; and on Monday the 12th of the same the erle of Murray sent and desyrit he mycht cum and serve the governour, and we acceptit him in lyk maner; and upon Twysday th' erle Boithwell sent to us ane letter and desyrit us that he mycht cam and serve the governour in this present parliament, and we movit the same to the governour and he being contentit thairwith the said Erle Boithwell com in on Weddynsday, the 14th of this month. And all the clergy borth bischoppis and abbotis com into the said parliament upon Sounday the 11th hereof, and all the greater men of Scotland, convenet to the said parliament both spirituale and temporall, except the Erle of Ergyle allanerly, who is sore sick, and sent his Procurator with his two uncles to mak his excuse the 15th of Marche. * * * It has bene the moist substanciall parliament that ever was sene in Scotland in ony mannis rememberance, and best furnist with all the three estatis."

Glasgow, then chancellor, brought forward the proposals of Henry regarding the treaty of peace, and marriage of his son the Prince of Wales with their infant sovereign; whilst he exhibited the instructions which were to be delivered to their ambassadors, who, it was agreed, should immediately proceed to England for the negociation of this alliance. These, however, were widely different from what Henry had expected. The parliament refused to deliver the queen till she had attained the full age of ten years; they declined to surrender any of the fortresses of the kingdom; and the whole deliberations were conducted with a jealous attention to the preservation of the liberties of Scotland as a separate and independent kingdom. That realm was to retain its name, its laws, its ancient courts, officers, and immunities. It was stipulated that, even after the marriage was concluded, whether there was issue or not, the kingdom of Scotland should continue to be governed by a native ruler; and the proviso was subjoined, that in the event of the failure of the heirs of such marriage, the nearest lawful successor should immediately succeed to the crown, without question or difficulty.¹ Under such restrictions the proposal of a matrimonial alliance was welcomed as likely to produce the most favorable effects on the mutual prosperity of both kingdoms; and Balnavis the secretary, Sir James Learmonth the treasurer, with Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, were chosen as ambassadors to the court of England. The parlia-

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 411, 412, 413.

ment then proceeded to reverse the attainder of Angus and the Douglasses, restoring them to their estates and their honors; they selected the Earls Marshal and Montrose with the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Livingston, and Seton, to be keepers of the queen's person; they appointed the governor a council, which was far too numerous to be efficient; and they determined that for the present the young queen should hold her court, under the eye of her mother the queen dowager at the palace of Linlithgow. It was then prorogued to the 17th of March, whilst the committee, known by the name of the lords of the articles, continued their sittings for the introduction of such statutes as were esteemed beneficial to the general interests of the kingdom. Amongst these one provision stands pre-eminent for its important effects in spreading the light of truth, and accelerating the progress of the Reformation. Lord Maxwell when a prisoner in England, had become a convert to its doctrines, and proposed that all might have liberty to read the Bible in an approved Scots or English translation, provided none disputed on the controverted opinions. Against this the archbishop of Glasgow solemnly protested for himself and the ecclesiastical estate in parliament till the matter should be debated in a provincial council, but the proposition obtained the consent of the lords of the articles, and was publicly ratified by the governor. Arran, indeed, was at this time esteemed, to use the words of Knox, one of the most fervent Protestants in Europe. He entertained in his service two celebrated preachers,

Friar William and John Rough, who inveighed with much severity against the corruptions of the Romish church, and under his protection the Holy Scriptures began to be studied very generally throughout the country.

Sadler, the English ambassador, now arrived in Edinburgh, and with great diplomatic ability earnestly laboured to obtain more favorable terms. No effort was left untried to shake the resolution and corrupt the integrity of the governor; his fears were attempted to be roused by threats of war; his ambition was worked on by the promise of a marriage between his son and the Princess Elizabeth of England; but, although indolent and timid as a politician, Arran possessed a high sense of honor, and no persuasions could induce him to depart from the resolution of the three estates. Nor was Sadler more successful with others to whom he applied. In a letter to the king written a short time after the prorogation of the parliament, he lamented that his utmost endeavours were insufficient to bring them to consent to the wishes of his master. They would rather, he assured Henry, suffer any extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England, being determined to have their realm free and to retain their ancient laws and customs; yet he acknowledged that the nobles and the whole temporality desired the marriage, and were anxious to remain at peace, whilst he expressed an opinion that this event would be followed by a renunciation of their alliance with France, and might possibly, in the progress of time, induce them to

fall to the obedience and devotion of England. In the same dispatch, however, the enmity of the churchmen to the marriage and union with England is represented as deep and universal.¹

The haughty temper of the English monarch was irritated by the opposition to his favorite scheme, and the measures which he adopted were violent and impolitic. He upbraided Angus, Glencairn, and the rest of his prisoners with a breach of their promises; he assured them that he had no intention to recede from even the smallest portion of his demands, and that, if necessary, he would, by force, compel the Scots to deliver to him their infant queen, in which case they must prepare themselves either to return to their imprisonment in England, or assist him according to their solemn agreement, in the conquest of the country; but an event which soon after occurred, convinced him that it was easier to form than to realize such intentions. Beaton, who since his imprisonment, had not ceased to keep up a communication with his party, contrived suddenly, and somewhat mysteriously, to recover his liberty. He had been delivered by Arran into the custody of Lord Seton, a near relative of the Hamiltons, but a nobleman distinguished for his hereditary loyalty and his attachment to the Romish faith. This peer, if we

¹ Sir R. Sadler to one of the council of the north, dated 27th March, 1543.—State Paper Office. "In myn opinion they had lever suffre extremyte than com to the obediens and subjection of England—they wool have their own realm free and live within themselves after their own lawes and custumes."

may believe the asseverations of the governor, under pretence of inducing Beaton to deliver up his Castle of St. Andrew's, permitted the cardinal to remove from Blackness to this fortress. Thither he was accompanied by Seton, but with so small a force that the prelate, instead of a captive, remained master in his own palace; and as no attempt was made to punish or even to examine his keeper, it is difficult to resist the inference that Arran was secretly not displeased at his escape.¹ Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, the natural brother of the governor, and an ecclesiastic of considerable political ability, had returned from France a short time previous to the enlargement of Beaton,² and was probably concerned in the plot which led to his liberation. It is at least certain that he soon exercised a considerable influence over the vacillating mind of the governor, and the cardinal endeavoured through his means to promote a coalition between their parties. He declared himself anxious, by every lawful means, to support the government, repelled with indignation the assertion that he had entered into any treasonable correspondence with France, and, forgetting his priestly character in the violence of his resentment, offered his body to the trial of his innocency. He even dispatched his chaplain to Sadler, the English ambassador, with the object of removing from the mind of his master, the King of England, the violent prejudices which had been conceived against him. None, he affirmed,

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 137.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 117.

was more ready than himself to acknowledge the beneficial effects which must result from a union between the two kingdoms; to accomplish which he would serve the English monarch as sincerely as any of his supporters, with this only difference, that he would fulfil his duty to the country of which he was a subject, and anxiously provide for the preservation of its freedom and independence.¹ It is difficult to estimate the exact proportion of sincerity which entered into these professions, but the last proviso was directly opposed to the imperious projects of Henry, who imagined the time had arrived when Scotland was for ever to be incorporated with the English monarchy. He rejected them accordingly with ill-advised precipitation, and both parties became aware that, unless some unforeseen changes took place, all hope of an amicable issue was at an end.

In the mean time the Scottish ambassadors arrived at the English court, and on being admitted to their audience, explained to the monarch the conditions upon which the parliament were ready to give their consent to a marriage.² Henry declared himself deeply dissatisfied; he first insisted on the immediate delivery of the infant queen, but afterwards relaxed so far in his requisitions as to consent she should remain in her own kingdom, till she had completed the age of two years; he talked idly of his right, as

¹ Sadler's State Papers, p. 131, 133.

² They set off from Edinburgh, on the 23rd March, 1542-3. Sadler, vol. i. p. 90,

lord superior to the realm of Scotland,¹ and in virtue of this contended, that the government of that kingdom ought to be resigned into his hands without question or delay. Such demands the Scottish ambassadors resisted with firmness, and in a subsequent meeting with the English commissioners to confer upon the marriage, they did not conceal their opinion that the first notice of such terms would render any treaty between the two countries completely impracticable: nor were they deceived in their expectations; the extraordinary demands of Henry were received in Scotland with a universal burst of indignation, and the anticipations of the Douglasses and their faction, who had in vain besought him to unveil his designs more cautiously, were completely fulfilled. Even the governor, who was described by Sir George Douglas to Sadler, as a very gentle creature resented with becoming spirit, the indignity with which he had been treated, and Beaton gained from the violence and indiscretion of his adversary a strength and popularity which some months before he had in vain attempted to acquire by his own efforts. Nor was he slow of availing himself of this advantage. Some time previous to this the Earl of Lennox had returned to Scotland by the advice of the cardinal, and with the

¹ It is to be regretted that there should be any revival of this question in the present day; but to those who feel any interest in the controversy, I would recommend the able "Vindication of the Independance of Scotland," by Mr. Allen. The meeting between Henry and the Scottish commissioners probably took place some time about the 10th or 12th of April.

concurrence of Francis the First, in whose Italian wars he had received his education.¹ The object of Beaton was to render Arran subservient to his designs, by raising a rival to him in the Earl of Lennox. The near relationship between this young noble and the royal family, and a report which was circulated at this time that the late king, in the event of his dying without children, had selected him as his successor in the throne, excited the jealousy and apprehensions of the governor. Beaton, on the other hand, did not scruple to encourage the ambition of Lennox by holding out the hope of a marriage with the queen dowager; and it was even hinted by the clergy, that in consequence of some informality in the divorce between the father of Arran and his second wife, the governor who was the issue of a third marriage, had no legitimate title either to his paternal property, or to the high office which he held. Could this have been made out, Lennox was unquestionably not only the next heir to these immense estates, but possessed, on the same grounds, a preferable claim to the regency; and it is easy to understand how all these concurring circumstances must have shaken the resolution of Arran, and rendered Lennox a formidable instrument in the hands of so artful a politician as the cardinal.²

These, however, were far from the only means which he employed. He had early opened a negociation with France; and Francis the First, aware of the importance of preserving his amic-

¹ Lesly, p. 173. Diurnal of Occurrents, 27.

² Maitland, ii. 842.

able relations with Scotland, empowered Lennox to promise assistance, both in arms and money, to the party opposed to Henry. He took every opportunity of enlisting upon his side the affections and the prejudices of the middle and the lower classes of the people; promulgating, through the medium of the clergy, the insolent demands of the English monarch, and exciting their resentment against those persons amongst the nobility, whom he justly represented as having sold to Henry their services against their native country.

The consequences of all this were soon apparent, and appeared to promise the cardinal a speedy triumph over his enemies. Arran, the governor, in whose weak and vacillating character there was a strong love of popularity, became alienated from the English party; he declared openly, that he would sooner abide the extremity of war, than consent to the demands of Henry; and, equally irresolute in his religion, as in his politics, dismissed Friar William and John Rough, his two Protestant chaplains, whom, till then, he had retained in his family.¹ The people, also, were now so universally opposed to the renunciation of all amity with France, that Glencairn and Cassillis did not hesitate to inform the English ambassador, they would sooner die than agree to this condition. Such, indeed, was the exacerbation of national feeling upon the subject, that Sadler could not venture abroad without being exposed to insult; whilst the peers, who were in the

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 158.

interest of Henry, complained to the ambassador, that their devotion to England rendered them the objects of universal hatred and contempt.¹

To counteract, if possible, this state of things, which seemed to threaten the total wreck of his favourite schemes, Henry was prevailed upon, by Sir George Douglas, who privately visited him in England, to relax in the rigor of his demands. By his advice, the immediate delivery of the infant queen, the surrender of the fortresses, and the resignation of the government into the hands of the English sovereign, were abandoned as hopeless and extravagant conditions, the mention of which had already materially injured his cause; and the artful envoy returned to Scotland with proposals for the conclusion of the peace and marriage upon a more equitable basis.² He was instructed, also, to flatter the vanity of the governor, by renewing, on the part of Henry, his former proposal of a marriage between the princess Elizabeth, and Arran's eldest son; and so successfully did he labour, that, in a convention of the nobility held in April, which, however, was principally composed of those peers and their adherents who were in the interest of England, it was

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 165.

² In the State Paper Office are preserved two original documents, containing the instructions given to Sir George Douglas. One of them dated May 1, 1543, is a short paper in the hand writing of Secretary Wriothesley. It is thus entitled: "The be th' articles which be thought so reasonable, that if the ambassadors of Scotland will not agree to them, then it shall be mete the king's majestie folowe out his purpose by force."

resolved to dispatch Sir George Douglas and the Earl of Glencairn, as assistants to the ambassadors already there, in the negotiation of the treaty of marriage and alliance, which had been so abruptly broken off by the violence and arrogance of Henry.

In the mean time, the opposite party were not idle, and the talents of the cardinal were exerted against the faction of Henry with formidable success. Lennox, who, till this time, had wavered, went over to Beaton, and, being admitted to an audience by the governor, delivered a flattering message from the French king, containing expressions of the warmest friendship, promising immediate assistance in troops and money, should England attempt an invasion, and declaring his resolution to preserve the ancient league between the two kingdoms, as the firmest basis of their mutual prosperity.¹ This proposal, Arran, for the present evaded, by a general answer ; but the cardinal, the queen dowager, and their friends, did not lose the opportunity. They entered into a negociation with France, in which it was agreed that a force of two thousand men, under the command of Montgomerie Sieur de Lorges, an officer of high military reputation, should be sent to Scotland ; they encouraged their friends and adherents, by the hopes of powerful subsidies, to assemble their forces, garrison their castles, and keep themselves in readiness for the impending struggle ; whilst Grimani, the papal legate, with the still formidable weapons of ecclesiastical curses and pro-

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 163.

cesses of excommunication, was invited to accelerate his journey into Scotland. A convention of the clergy, at the same time, assembled at St. Andrew's, in which the probability of a war with England was discussed, and a resolution carried to ascertain and levy, without delay, the sum required in such an exigency. The assembly was pervaded with the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm; the cause which they were called upon to support was represented as not only that of the church, but of their ancient freedom and national independence; the hearts of the people, and the patriotic feelings of the great majority of the nobility, responded to the sentiments which were uttered; and the clergy declared their readiness, not only to sacrifice their whole private fortunes, but to melt down the church plate, and, were it necessary, themselves fight in the quarrel.¹

In the midst of all this opposition, the diplomatic talents of Sir George Douglas were unremittingly exerted to overcome the complicated difficulties which stood in the way of a general conciliation; and having returned from England with the ultimate resolutions of Henry, they were agreed to by the governor and a majority of the nobility, in a convention held at Edinburgh in the beginning of June.² Satisfied with this approval, although the absence of the cardinal, and many of the most influential peers, might have assured him that it would afterwards be questioned, he returned with expedition to England,

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 204.

² Ibid. pp. 212, 213.

and, along with the Earl of Glencairn and the Scottish ambassadors, Learmont, Hamilton, and Balnavis, met the commissioners of the sister country at Greenwich, where the treaties of pacification and marriage were finally arranged on the 1st of July.¹ The terms were certainly far more favorable than those which had been at first proposed by the English monarch. It was agreed that a marriage should take place between the Prince of Wales, and Mary, Queen of Scots, as soon as that princess had reached majority, and that an inviolable peace should subsist between the kingdoms during the lives of these two royal persons, which was to continue for a year after the death of the first who should pay the debt of nature. Till she had completed her tenth year, the young Mary was to remain in Scotland under the care of the guardians appointed by the parliament; Henry being permitted to send thither an English nobleman, with his wife and attendants, to form part of the household of the princess. Within a month after she entered her eleventh year, the estates of Scotland solemnly promised to deliver their princess at Berwick to the commissioners appointed to receive her; and as hostages for the fulfilment of this condition, two earls and four barons were to be sent forthwith to England. It was carefully provided, that, even if the queen should have issue by the prince, the kingdom of Scotland should retain its name, and be governed by its ancient laws.

¹ Rymer Fœdera, vol. xiv. pp. 786-791.

It had been earnestly desired that the treaty should include a positive abrogation of the long-established league between France and Scotland; but instead of being "friends to friends, and enemies to enemies," the utmost that could be procured was the insertion of a clause, by which it was agreed, that neither should afford assistance to any foreign aggressor, notwithstanding any former stipulation upon this subject. It is apparent that, in this treaty, Henry abandoned the most obnoxious part of his demands; and had the English monarch, and the Scottish nobles who were in his interest, acted with good faith, little ground of objection to the proposed marriage and pacification could have been left to their opponents. But, whilst such were all the articles which openly appeared, a private transaction, or "secret device," as it is termed in the original papers which now, for the first time, reveal its existence, was entered into between Henry and his partizans, Maxwell, Glencairn, Angus, and the rest, which was at once of a very unjustifiable description, and calculated to exasperate their adversaries in a high degree. An agreement appears to have been drawn up by the English commissioners, for the signature of the Scottish peers and barons taken at the Solway, by which they once more tied themselves to his service; and forgetting their allegiance to their natural prince, promised, in the event of any commotion in Scotland, to adhere solely to the interest of the English monarch, "so that he should attain all the things then pacted and covenanted,

or, at the least, the dominion on this side the Firth.”¹ In the same treaty the precise sums of ransom to be exacted from the Scottish prisoners, taken at the Solway, were fixed by the commissioners; but, before they were permitted to avail themselves of this means for the recovery of their liberty, it appears to have been a condition, that they should sign this agreement, which has been above described. In the mean time, the negotiations having been concluded, peace was soon afterwards proclaimed between the two countries, and the ambassadors returned to Edinburgh with the hope that the treaties would immediately be ratified by the governor and the parliament.

To their mortification, however, they discovered that, in the interval of their absence, Beaton, who had, in all probability, obtained information of this

¹ The proof of this transaction is found in a paper preserved in the State Paper Office, and dated July 1, 1543, entitled, “Copy of the Secret Devise.” It contains this passage, “Fourthly, if ther happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland, by practise of the cardinal, Kyrkmen, France, or otherwise, I shall sticke and adhere only to the king’s majesty’s service, as his highness maye assuredly atteyne these things noe pacted and covenanted, or, at the least, the domynion on this side the Freythe.” This explains an obscure passage in Saddler’s State Papers, vol. i. p. 237, “The said Earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles of the devise which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters, and the Lord Maxwell telleth me, that, as soon as he received the like articles from your majesty, by his son, he forthwith subscribed the same. The rest I have not yet spoken with because they be not here, but as soon as I can I shall not fail to accomplish that part according to vour gracious commandment.”

second combination of Henry and his Scottish prisoners against the independence of the country, had succeeded in consolidating a formidable opposition. The English monarch had at this moment resolved on a war with France; and any delay in the proposed alliance with Scotland, inflamed the haughty impatience of his temper. His resentment against the cardinal, with whose practices Sadler, his ambassador, did not fail to acquaint him, now rose to a high pitch, and he repeatedly urged the governor and his partizans to seize and imprison the prelate. Such, however, were the vigilance and ability of this energetic, though profligate ecclesiastic, that he not only escaped the snares, but for a while defeated the utmost efforts of his enemies; and many of the nobles, becoming aware of the plots which were in agitation for the subjection of Scotland, eagerly joined his party, and prepared by arms to assert their freedom. With this object the Cardinal and the Earl of Huntley concentrated their forces in the north, Argyle and Lennox in the west, whilst Bothwell, Home, and the Laird of Buccleugh, mustered their feudal array upon the borders.¹ They declared that they were compelled to adopt these measures for the protection of the faith and holy church, and the defence of the independence of the realm, which had been sold to Henry by Arran, whom they stigmatized as a heretic and an Englishman.² So far as it concerned the preservation of

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 236.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

what they erroneously believed the only true faith, their opposition was happily defeated, whilst the great cause of the reformation, gaining ground by slow degrees, was destined to be ultimately triumphant. But it is not to be denied that their accusations, regarding the sacrifice of the liberty of the country by its weak and vacillating governor, were founded in justice. We know from the high authority, of Sadler, the English ambassador, that Arran boasted of his English descent; that he eagerly received the money sent him by Henry, and professed his anxiety for the accomplishment of all his desires. Nor was this all: he entertained, though he did not accept, a proposal of the English monarch to make him king of Scotland beyond the Firth; and he proposed that, in the event of the cardinal becoming too powerful for him, an army should be sent to invade the country with which he and his friends might effectually co-operate, alleging that, by this means, although forsaken by their countrymen, he doubted not that the whole realm might be forcibly reduced under the subjection of England.¹ It is not matter of surprise, therefore, that Beaton, as soon as he became aware of this disposition, of the urgent desire of Henry for the seizure of his person, and of the still more dangerous intrigues of the Scottish prisoners for the subjugation of the realm should have exerted every effort to defeat their intentions.

So bitter and indignant, indeed, were his feelings,

¹ Ibid. pp. 216, 253, 256.

that, if we may believe an extraordinary story which is found in a letter of the Duke of Suffolk to Sir R. Sadler, the cardinal had challenged Sir Ralph Evre, warden of the marches, to a personal combat, on some ground of quarrel which does not appear. The challenge was communicated to Henry, who, considering it in a serious light, intimated his wishes that Evre should fight with Beaton in Edinburgh. The whole matter evinces the credulity of the English ambassador and his royal master, for we cannot believe that the prelate could have contemplated so disgraceful an adventure; and the conjecture of Suffolk, that it originated in the insolence of a moss-trooper, whom he characterises as one of the strongest border-thieves in Scotland, is probably pretty near the truth.¹

During these transactions, the young queen remained in the palace of Linlithgow, under the nominal charge of the queen dowager, but so strictly guarded by the governor and the Hamiltons, that

¹ Letter in State Paper office, Duke of Suffolk and the Bishop of Durham to Sir Ralph Saddler, July 15, 1543:—"For we cannot thinke the cardinal wolde be so madde as to provoke and challenge any man that wolde fighte with him in the quarrell, or that he intends to fight, onelesse he shall thinke himselfe to be farre the stronger partie, and yet then we thinke he wolde stande alouff and look on rather than to come himselfe among knocks. We thinke rather this bragge is made by Clement Crosier, himselfe being one of the strongest thieves in Scotland, to stirre besynes and to lett the good peax, than that the cardinall was so madde to bydde him meddle in any such matter." Also letter in State Paper Office, July 20, 1543, Duke of Suffolk and the Privy Council to Lord Parr, touching the challenge.

her residence was little else than an honorable imprisonment. To obtain possession of her person was now the first object of the cardinal's party; and, whether by the connivance of her immediate guardians, or from some relaxation in the vigilance of Arran, they at last succeeded. Marching from Stirling at the head of a force of ten thousand men, Lennox, Huntley, and Argyle proceeded towards the capital, and were joined at Leith by Bothwell, with the Kers and the Scotts, forming a combined army, which Arran and the Douglasses did not find themselves able to resist. After an ineffectual attempt to temporise, which was defeated by the energy of his opponents, the governor consented to surrender his royal charge; and the infant queen, with the queen dowager, who secretly rejoiced at the change, were conducted by Lennox in triumph to Stirling.¹

To Beaton this was an important accession of strength; and having so far succeeded in weakening his adversaries, he laboured to detach the governor from England, by holding out the prospect of a marriage between his son and the young Mary. Arran, however, resisted, or suspected the splendid bribe, and, in a convention of the nobles which was held on the 25th of August, in the abbey church

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 28. A valuable volume lately printed by the Bannatyne Club, from which the erroneous chronology of our general historians of this period may be sometimes corrected. It contains the best account of this transaction, the delivery of the queen, upon which Buchanan, Lesly, Maitland, and our general historians, are obscure and contradictory.

of Holyrood, the treaties with England were ratified with solemn pomp, the governor swearing to their observance at the altar.¹ To this transaction, however, the cardinal and the powerful nobles with whom he acted were no parties. Not long before they had remonstrated in strong terms against the mode of government pursued by Arran; they complained that, in the weightiest affairs of the realm, he was guided by the advice of a particular faction, excluding from his councils many of the highest nobles; and they warned him that, as long as this course was adopted, they would not consider themselves bound by their partial deliberations.¹ They insisted that the ratification of the treaties had been carried by private means, unauthorized by the authority of parliament, contrary to the opinion of a majority of the nobles, and to the wishes of the great body of the people; nor did they omit any method by which they might render Arran suspected and unpopular.

These devices began soon to produce the desired effect; and this was accelerated by one of those rash measures into which Henry was so frequently hurried by the impetuosity of his temper. Soon after the proclamation of peace, the Scottish merchants, who then carried on a considerable foreign commerce, had dispatched a fleet of merchantmen, which sought shelter from a storm in an English port. Here they deemed themselves secure; but, to their astonishment,

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 270, August 25, 1343.

² Ibid. p. 251.

they were detained, and, under the pretext that they were carrying provisions into France, their cargoes were confiscated; a proceeding which so highly irritated the populace of Edinburgh, that they surrounded the house of the English ambassador, and threatened his life, in case their ships were not restored.¹

This last act of injustice and spoliation was attributed to the governor, who was known to be in the interest of Henry, and he began to feel that his subserviency had made him odious to all respectable classes in the community, and to dread, when it was almost too late, that he had engaged in a desperate enterprise. His friends, Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, with other barons attached to England, proposed to assemble their forces, and prepare for immediate war; the time, they declared, was come, when Henry must send a main army into Scotland, with which they might co-operate in his conquest of the realm;² and such was the exasperation of the two factions, that, in the opinion of the English ambassador, a hostile collision was impossible to be avoided. It was averted, how-

¹ In the State Paper office is a draft of a letter, dated 9th of September, 1543, from the English king, in the handwriting of Writhesley, secretary of state, threatening the magistrates of Edinburgh, to whom it is addressed, with punishment, if they maltreated his ambassador, in consequence of the seizure of the ships.

² As this expression, "the conquest of the realm," coming from Scottish nobles, against their country, may seem unnaturally strong, it is right to observe, that the words are not mine but their own, as reported by the English ambassadors. — Sadler, vol. i. p. 257, 281.

ever, by a revolution as sudden as it was extraordinary. On the 28th of August, the governor, in an interview with Sir Ralph Sadler, expressed an entire devotedness to Henry, declaring that no prince alive should have his heart and service but the English monarch. On the 3rd of September, before a week had elapsed, he met the cardinal at Callendar House, the seat of Lord Livingston; all causes of animosity were removed; and a complete reconciliation with the prelate took place. Beaton, who, a few days before, had declined any conference, alleging that his life was in danger, rode amicably with him to Stirling, and soon acquired so complete a command over his pliant and vacillating character, that he publicly abjured his religion in the Franciscan convent of that city, received absolution for his having wandered from the Catholic faith,¹ renounced the treaties with England, and delivered his eldest son to the cardinal as a pledge of his sincerity. Such was the conclusion of this remarkable coalition. Its causes are of more difficult discovery, but are, probably, to be traced to the secret influence of the abbot of Paisley, bastard brother of Arran, and a zealous adherent of the cardinal, who had lately arrived from France. This able ecclesiastic is said to have secretly persuaded the governor, that, by his friendship with England, and his renunciation of the papal supremacy, he was undermining his own title to the government and to

¹ MS. Letter in the Hamilton Papers, Lord William Parr to the Duke of Suffolk, September 13, 1543, quoted in Chalmer's Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 404.

his paternal estates, which rested on a divorce, dependant for its validity on the maintenance of the authority of the Holy See. Arran, at no time distinguished by much penetration or resolution, took the alarm, and, believing it his only security, consented to a union with Beaton, whom he never afterwards deserted.¹

Encouraged by this success, the cardinal and the governor earnestly laboured to bring over to their party the Earl of Angus and his associates. They intreated them to attend the approaching coronation of the young queen, to assist, by their presence and experience, in the parliament, and thus to restore unity to the commonwealth; but this proud and selfish potentate, and his confederates, only replied by sullenly retiring to Douglas castle, where they assembled their forces, and drew up a bond or covenant, by which they agreed to employ their utmost united strength in fulfilling their engagements to the English king.² This paper, as an evidence of their sincerity, they entrusted to Lord Somerville, who agreed to deliver it to Henry, and to concert measures for the extirpation of their enemies. In the mean time, the ceremony of the coronation took place at Stirling, a new council was appointed; the governor took an oath, that he would administer the affairs of the kingdom by their advice; and it was resolved that a convention should be shortly held at Edinburgh, in which all disputes with England,

¹ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 282, 283.

² Ibid. p. 288.

relative to the non-performance of the treaties, might be calmly discussed, and, if possible, equitably adjusted.

From the temper, however, in which Henry received the intelligence of this great change in Scotland, little calmness on his side could be expected. In a paroxysm of indignation, he dispatched a herald into that country, denouncing war if the treaties were not immediately fulfilled.¹ He addressed a letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh, threatening them with severe retribution, should they permit the populace to offer violence to his ambassador; he commanded his warden, Sir Thomas Wharton, to liberate the chiefs of the Armstrongs, who were then his prisoners, on condition of their directing the fury of their border war against the estates of those Scottish lords who opposed him; and he determined on the invasion of Scotland with an overwhelming force, as soon as he could muster his power, and make arrangements for its subsistence.²

In the late transactions, the Earl of Lennox had acted a conspicuous part, and his high birth and powerful connections were of essential service to the cardinal; but, having gained the governor, Beaton, with less than his usual foresight, began to look coldly on him, and Lennox, whose conduct was solely regulated by considerations of interest, deserted

¹ Credence of the English herald sent into Scotland, State Paper Office, September, 1543.

² Duke of Suffolk to Lord Parr. Darnton, September 10, 1543; and same to same, September 11, 1543. State Paper Office.

the cause which he had hitherto supported, and threw himself into the arms of England.¹ This defection was attended with serious results. To Lennox had hitherto been committed the negociations with France, and, in consequence of his advice, a French ambassador, the *Sieur de la Brosse*, was dispatched to Scotland, accompanied by a small fleet, bearing military stores, fifty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand crowns,² to be distributed amongst the friends of the cardinal. Ignorant of the sudden change in the politics of the Scottish earl, the squadron anchored off *Dumbarton*, the town and fortress of which were entirely in his power; and Lennox, hurrying thither with *Glencairn*, one of the ablest and least scrupulous partizans of Henry, received the gold, secured it in the castle, and left the ambassador to find out his mistake when it was irremediable.

But, although mortified by this untoward event, the arrival of the French fleet brought fresh hope and renewed strength to the cardinal and the queen dowager. Along with *La Brosse* came a papal legate, *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, commissioned to take cognizance of the heretical opinions which had infected the Scottish church, and to confirm the governor in his adherence to the Romish religion. He remained during the winter in Scotland, entertained by the court and the nobles in a style of generous hospitality and barbaric pomp, and in the spring he returned to the continent, bearing

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 299.

² *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 28.

with him a favourable impression of this remote kingdom. Another object of the patriarch was, to advise the renewal of the league with France ; nor could any measure be more agreeable to the body of the people. They were aware of the determination of Henry to invade and attempt the conquest of the country ; they were incensed to the highest degree by the detention of their ships ; the rekindling of the war upon the borders had recalled all their martial propensities ; and Sadler, soon after the arrival of the French fleet, informed his royal master, that such had been the effect of the promises and pensions of the ambassador, who had been received with great distinction at court, that the whole realm was entirely in the French interest. According to the representations of this able minister, the people of Scotland could not conceal from themselves that France required nothing but friendship, and had always assisted them at their utmost need, in their efforts to maintain the honor and liberty of the country ; whilst England sought to bring them into subjection, and asserted a superiority, which, he added, from their heart they so universally detested and abhorred, that, unless by open force, it was vain to look for their consent.¹

To this last fatal appeal matters appeared to be now rapidly approaching. Henry, irritated by the defeat of his favorite schemes, rose in his unreason-

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 326, October 30, 1543.

able demands in proportion to the opposition he experienced. Denouncing vengeance against the devoted country, he informed Angus and his faction, that the time was passed when he was willing to accept the treaties, and that nothing now would satisfy him but the possession of the person of the young queen, the seizure of his arch enemy, the cardinal, now created legate *a latere* in Scotland, the removal of the governor, and the delivery into his hands of the principal fortresses of the kingdom. His wisest councillors, however, dissuaded him from immediate invasion; to the cardinal and the governor, some time was also required for the assembling of their forces; and thus an interval of brief and insincere negotiation preceded the breaking out of hostilities.

It was at this time that Sadler, the ambassador, was instructed to propose to the Scottish merchants, whose ships had been unjustly detained, the restitution of their property, under the condition that they would assist the English monarch in the execution of his projects against the independence of their country. These brave and honest men, however, spurned at the proposal, with which they declared themselves greatly offended; affirming, that they would not only lose their goods and ships without farther suit or petition, but would willingly forfeit their lives, rather than agree to a condition which would make them traitors to their native land: a memorable contrast to the late conduct of the nobility, and a proof that the spirit

of national independence, which, in Scotland, had long been a stranger to many of the proudest in the aristocracy, still resided in healthy vigor in the untainted bosoms of its citizens.¹ Where such principles animated the body of the people, it was no easy matter for Henry to succeed ; and the exasperation of the nation was increased by the seizure of the Lords Somerville and Maxwell, the principal agents of Angus, in conducting his intrigues with England. Upon the person of Somerville was found the bond signed at Douglas, along with letters, which disclosed the plans of the party ; and as it was evident they were ready to assist Henry in the entire subjugation of the country, their opponents abandoned all measures of conciliation, and resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the Douglasses and their party. Maxwell and Somerville were imprisoned ; the governor and the cardinal determined to assemble a parliament early in December ; and, as the intercepted packet contained ample evidence of treason, it was agreed that its first business should be the impeachment and forfeiture of Angus and his adherents. Alarmed at such a design, these barons assembled their forces, with the idea that they would be strong enough to bring about a revolution before the meeting of the estates ; but in this they were disappointed. The governor, acting by the advice of Beaton, at once resolved on war, seized Dalkeith and Pinky, two of the chief houses of the

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 324.

Douglasses, and sent a herald to Tantallon, where Sadler had taken refuge, commanding Angus to dismiss from his castle one whom they could no longer esteem the ambassador of England, considering his false practices with the nobility in this time of war.¹

Meanwhile the parliament assembled, to which the full attendance of the three estates, the presence of the papal legate, and the grave and weighty subjects to be debated, gave unusual solemnity. The first step taken by the cardinal convinced all, that the day of weak and vacillating councils was past. A summons of treason was prepared against the Earl of Angus and those of his party who had signed the bond in Douglas Castle; the treaties of peace and marriage, lately concluded with Henry the Eighth, were declared at an end, in consequence of the unjust conduct of the English monarch in seizing the Scottish ships,² and refusing to ratify the peace, although it had been confirmed by the oath and seal of the regent of the kingdom. The French ambassadors, de la Brosse, and Mesnaige, were then introduced, and delivered the message of their royal master; they represented Francis as anxious for the renewal of the alliance between the two countries, and declared he had empowered them to tender his immediate assistance in the defence of the liberty

¹ Letter, Earl of Arran to Earl of Angus, November 17, 1543. State Paper Office. Proclamation of Arran as governor, State Paper Office, November 26, 1543.

² Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 30.

of the realm and its youthful queen, against the unwarranted designs of England. This offer was enthusiastically accepted; the cardinal and a select council were directed to revise and renew the treaties which had so long united the realms of France and Scotland; Secretary Panter, and Campbell of Lundy, proceeded on a mission to the French court; and a kinsman of the regent was dispatched to solicit the assistance of Denmark. Envoys, at the same time, were sent to the court of the emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, conveying the intelligence of the war with England, and requesting them, on this ground, to abstain from all further molestation of the Scottish commerce. Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, whose exertions had been of essential service to the government, was rewarded by the office of treasurer, from which Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, a keen supporter of England, was extruded, whilst the cardinal was promoted to the dignity of chancellor, in the room of Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow.¹

During the period that Arran, the governor, professed the reformed opinions, and maintained in his family the two friars, Williams and Rough, many who had before embraced the truth in secret were encouraged to declare openly their animosity to the church of Rome, and the necessity of a thorough reformation; the study of the Holy Scriptures had been authorized by the parliament; books which treated of true and uncorrupted religion were imported from England, and, although little relished by

¹ Maitland, vol. ii. p. 854.

the nobility, as we learn from Sadler, were, in all probability, highly welcome to the middle and lower classes of the people. By such methods, the seeds of reformation, were very generally disseminated throughout the country. Sixteen years had now elapsed since the cruel martyrdom of Hamilton; but the courageous testimony given to the truth by Russell and Kennedy was still fresh in the recollection of the people; and although inimical to the designs of Glencairn, Somerville, Maxwell, and the Protestant lords, for the subjection of the country under the dominion of England, they were disposed to listen with a favorable ear to their denunciations of the corruptions of the church.

Arran, however, in renouncing the ties which had bound him to Henry, had, as we have seen, at the same time abjured his former opinions, and being again received into the bosom of the church, was induced by Beaton to renew the persecution of the reformers. In the parliament which annulled the treaties with England, an act was passed, declaring that complaints were daily made to the governor against the heretics, who began more and more to multiply in the realm, disseminating opinions contrary to the true faith; and all prelates were enjoined to make inquisition within their dioceses for such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of holy church. The expectation, however, of an immediate invasion by England protracted, for a short season, the execution of this cruel decree; and the dissensions which followed between the

governor and the Douglasses, the leaders of the English or Protestant party, gave a breathing time to the sincere disciples of the Reformation.

Into any minute detail of those intrigues which occupied the interval between the meeting of parliament and the commencement of the war, it would be tedious to enter. The picture which they present of the meanness and dishonesty of the English party, who have reaped in the pages of some of our historians so high a meed of praise, as the advocates of the Protestant doctrines, is very striking. To escape the sentence of forfeiture to which their repeated treasons had exposed them, the Earls of Lennox, Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, who had lately bound themselves by a written covenant to the service of the king of England, did not hesitate to transmit to Arran a similar bond or agreement, conceived in equally solemn terms, by which they stipulated for "themselves and all others their complices and partakers, to remain true, faithful, and obedient servants to their sovereign lady and her authority, to assist the lord governor for defence of the realm against their old enemies of England, to support the liberties of holy church, and to maintain the true Christian faith."¹ To this treaty with the governor, Angus gave in his adherence on the 13th of January, and to their faithful performance of its conditions, his brother, Sir George Douglas, and Glencairn's eldest son, the

¹ Agreements (January 13 and 14, 1543-4) entered into by the Earls of Cassillis, Angus, Lennox, and Glencairn, with the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland. MS. copy, State Paper Office.

master of Kilmaurs, surrendered themselves as pledges; yet two months did not expire before we find Angus once more addressing a letter to Henry, assuring him of his inviolable fidelity, whilst, at the same time, the nobles, who had so lately bound themselves to Arran and the cardinal, dispatched a messenger to court, with an earnest request that the English monarch would accelerate his preparations for the invasion of the country, transmitting minute instructions regarding the manner in which the enterprise should be conducted.¹ A main army, they advised, should proceed by land; a strong fleet, with an additional force on board, was to be dispatched by sea; whilst it would be of service, it was observed, to send ten or twelve ships to the west sea, to produce a diversion in the Earl of Argyle's country,—an advice in which we may probably detect the selfish policy of Glencairn, his rival, and personal enemy. A stratagem of the same kind had already been attended with success, when, at the suggestion of the same baron, the highland chiefs shut up in the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar were let loose by the governor Arran, under the condition that they would direct their fury against the country of Argyle.² Henry, with much earnestness, was

¹ Letter, Angus to Henry, 5th of March, 1543-4, State Paper Office. Also Earl of Hertford to the king, March 8th 1543-4, State Paper Office.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 267-275. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 450.

urged to attempt this before the expected aid should arrive from France ; and we shall soon perceive that, on some points, their instructions were faithfully followed.¹

In the mean time, all things succeeding to his wishes in the civil affairs of the government, Beaton found leisure to make an ecclesiastical progress to Perth, where the reformed opinions were openly professed by some of the citizens, and, on his arrival, he commenced his proceedings with a ferocity of persecution, which ultimately defeated its object. Four men, Lamb, Anderson, Ranald, and Hunter, were convicted of heresy, on the information of Spence, a friar. The crime of Lamb was his interrupting this ecclesiastic during a sermon, and his denying, that prayer to the saints was a necessary means of salvation ; his three associates were accused of treating with ignominious ridicule an image of St. Francis, and

¹ The particulars, in p. 357, which are new to this obscure portion of our history, are derived from authentic letters preserved in the State Paper Office. In one of these, from the Earl of Hertford to the king, dated March 8, 1543-4, is this passage: "The cheif cause of his (the messenger spoken of in the text) repayr nowe to your majesty is, to accelerate your royal army and power into Scotland, which all your majesties friends there do specially desire." The letter proceeds to state, that those noblemen, who were the king's friends, directed Henry "to send a mayne armye by land, and a conveyant armye by sea, to repayre to Leith, and bring victuals for the land armye, and to send ten or twelve ships into the west sey to do some annoyance to the Erle of Argyle." Also Letter, March 5, 1543-4, Earl of Angus to Henry the Eighth, State Paper Office.

of breaking their fast during Lent. A poor woman, also, was dragged before the inquisitorial tribunal on a charge, that, during her labour, she had refused to pray to the virgin, declaring she would direct her prayers to God alone, in the name of Christ; and, notwithstanding the utmost intercession made to spare their lives, all suffered death. The men were hanged; and much impression was made on the people by the last words of Lamb, who, in strong language, warned them against the abominations of popery, and its voluptuous supporters,—a denunciation to which the well known profligacy of the cardinal gave no little force; yet the chief sympathy was excited by the fate of the poor woman. She entreated, as a last request, to be allowed to die with her husband; but this was denied, and, according to a savage distinction in the executions of these times, she was condemned to be drowned. “It matters not, dear partner,” said she, “we have lived together many happy days, but this ought to be the most joyful of them all, when we are about to have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for ere the night shall close we shall be united in the kingdom of heaven.” She then gave the little infant, who still hung upon her breast, to the attendants, held out her hands to be bound by the executioners, saw without any change of countenance her feet secured in the same manner, and was cast into a deep pool of water, where her sufferings were ended in a moment. Such atrocious and short-sighted

cruelty only increased the heavenly convictions which they were intended to extinguish.¹

Henry was now busy with the organization of his projected invasion. It was the advice of the Earl of Hertford that the army should first make themselves masters of Leith, and, fortifying that seaport, proceed to ravage the country and burn the capital, whilst the fleet kept possession of the Forth, and co-operated in the destruction of the coast and shipping; but, fortunately for the Scots, a more rapid, though less fatal, mode of operations was chosen by the privy council.

In the interval of preparation, the monarch, whose passions were now excited to the utmost pitch against the cardinal, to whom he justly ascribed the total failure of his schemes, lent himself to a conspiracy, the object of which was, the apprehension or assassination of his powerful enemy. The history of this plot presents an extraordinary picture of the times, and demands more than common attention. On the 17th of April, Crichton, Laird of Brunston, who, since the coalition between Beaton and the governor, had been employed by Sadler, the ambassador, as a spy upon the movements of Beaton and the governor, dispatched to the Earl of Hertford, then at Newcastle, a Scottish gentleman named Wishart, who communicated to Hertford the particulars of the intended plot. He stated that Kirkaldy, the Laird of Grange, the

¹ Spottiswood Hist. p. 75.

Master of Rothes, eldest son to the earl of that name, and John Charteris, were willing to apprehend or slay the cardinal, if assured of proper support from England. Wishart, who brought this offer, was instantly dispatched by post to the English court, and, in a personal interview with the king, informed him of the services which Kirkaldy and Rothes were ready to perform. Henry received the letters of Brunston, and listened to the credence of his messenger with much satisfaction, approved of the plot, and, in the event of its being successful, promised the conspirators his royal protection, should they be constrained to take refuge in his dominions.¹ But Beaton had either received secret information of the project for his destruction, or the design was, for the present, interrupted by some unforeseen occurrence. Succeeding events, however, demonstrated that it was delayed only, not abandoned, and that the same unscrupulous agents who now intrigued with the English monarch were at last induced by Henry to accomplish their atrocious purpose.

It was now the end of April, and having concentrated his naval and military power, the English king at last let loose his vengeance on the devoted country. On the 1st of May, a fleet

¹ Letter, Orig. Earl of Hertford, and Council of the North to the king—in possession of his grace the Duke of Hamilton—the original draft, with many corrections, is in the State Paper Office. See Appendix. Note on Beaton's assassination.

of two hundred sail, under the command of Lord Lisle, High Admiral of England, appeared in the Frith, and the citizens, after gazing for a short time at the unusual spectacle, on a nearer inspection, found their worst fears realized, by discovering the royal flag of England streaming from the mast head of the admiral. For such a surprisal it seems extraordinary that the governor was unprepared, although Henry's intentions must have been well known. A very inferior force might have successfully attacked the English in their disembarkation, but the opportunity was lost; four days were allowed Hertford, who landed his army and his artillery at his leisure; and it was not till he was advancing from Granton Craig to Leith, that Arran and the cardinal, at the head of a force hastily levied, and consisting chiefly of their personal adherents, threw themselves between the enemy and this place, as if they meant to dispute the passage. They were immediately repulsed, however, by the superior force of Hertford, and Leith was given up to the plunder of the army without a struggle. Although deserted by the governor, the inhabitants of the capital flew to arms, and, mustering under the command of Otterburn of Reidhall, the provost of the city, barricaded the gates, and determined to defend themselves. Otterburn, however, was first dispatched to the English camp, and, in an interview with Hertford, remonstrated against such unlooked-for hostilities, and proposed an amicable adjustment

of all differences. It was answered by the English earl that he came as a soldier, not an ambassador; that his commission commanded him to ravage the country with fire and sword; nor could he withdraw his army under any other condition than the delivery of the young queen into the hands of his master. Such a message was received with much indignation by the citizens. They declared they would rather submit to the last extremities than purchase safety by so ignominious a course, and prepared to sustain the onset of the enemy, when they were deserted by their chief magistrate, who either dreaded so unequal a contest, or had been brought over to the English party.¹ Upon this they retreated into the city, chose a new provost, completed their temporary ramparts, and for a while not only sustained the assault of Hertford, but ultimately compelled him to retire to Leith for the purpose of bringing up his battering ordnance. But a contest so unequal could not last. Arran, Huntly, Argyle, and the cardinal, had retreated to Linlithgow; and to have attempted to defend the gates against the heavy ordnance, without hopes of assistance, would have been folly. During the night, therefore, the inhabitants, removing with them all their transportable wealth, silently abandoned the city; but Hamilton, of Stenhouse,

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 31. Otterburn had been long a secret tamperer with England in the minority of James the Fifth, and during the reign of that monarch.

resolutely defended the castle, and Hertford, after an unavailing attempt to construct a battery, which was dismounted by the superior fire of the garrison, was compelled to raise the siege, and content himself by giving the city to the flames. Its conflagration lasted for three days ; and the English army having been reinforced by four thousand border-horse, under Lord Evre, employed themselves in ravaging and plundering the adjacent country with an unsparing cruelty, which they knew would be acceptable to their master, the king, and which was not soon forgotten by the inhabitants.

It was now the 15th of May, and the governor having assembled an army, and liberated the Earl of Angus and his brother George Douglas, in the hope that all party differences might be forgotten,¹ in a determination to repel the common enemy, was rapidly advancing to give them battle, when Lord Lisle, setting fire to Leith, reembarked a portion of the army, and instantly set sail, leaving the remainder of the host to return by land under Hertford. Before weighing anchor, the English admiral seized two large Scottish ships, the Salamander and the Unicorn, and destroyed by fire all the smaller craft which lay in the harbour ; nor

¹ So innate was George Douglas's disposition to intrigue, that soon after his liberation, he had a private interview in Leith with the Earl of Hertford, and gave him advice concerning the conduct of the expedition. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 451.

did he omit to plunder of its maritime wealth every creek or harbour, which lay within reach, as he sailed along the coast. The land army was equally remorseless in its retreat. Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton, were successively given to the flames; and thus ended an expedition as cruel as it was impolitic, which only increased in the Scots the virulence of the national antipathy, and rendered more distant any prospect of a cordial union between the two kingdoms.

Henry, as it was well observed by Lord Herbert, had done too much for a suitor, and too little for a conqueror. In the violence of his resentment, he had given orders that no protection should be afforded to the estates even of his Scottish friends, and the lands of the Douglasses were wasted as mercilessly as those of their enemies. The effects of this shortsighted policy were soon seen in the splitting of that Anglo-Scottish party, which had so long supported the interests of the English monarch. Angus, George Douglas, and their numerous and powerful adherents, joined the cardinal, and the only adherents left to England were the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn; the first, a small acquisition, a man of weak, selfish, and versatile character; but the other, one of the ablest and most powerful barons in Scotland, whose son, the master of Kilmaurs, from his spirit and military experience, was well fitted to execute the plans which the judgment of the father had matured. Such, indeed, was the great power and influence of Glencairn in

the west of Scotland, that, in the event of a former invasion contemplated by Henry in 1543, he undertook to convey his army from Carlisle to Glasgow, without stroke or challenge;¹ and so faithful had he remained to these principles, that only a few days after the retreat of Hertford, we find him engaged in a negociation, which, considering the cruel ravages then inflicted by the English army, reflects little credit on his love of country. On the 17th of May, at Carlisle, an agreement was concluded between Glencairn, Lennox, and Henry the Eighth, by which that monarch consented to settle an ample pension on the former, and his son, the master of Kilmaurs, whilst to Lennox a more splendid reward was promised in the government of Scotland, and the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, his niece. Upon their side, the Scottish barons acknowledged Henry as protector of the realm of Scotland,—a title which, considering his late invasion, almost sounds ironical; and they engaged to use their utmost efforts to become masters of the person of the young queen, and deliver her into his hands, along with the principal fortresses in the country. Lennox agreed to the surrender of Dumbarton, with the isle and castle of Bute. In conclusion, both earls stipulated that they would serve the English monarch against France, and all nations and persons, for such wages as his other subjects, no reservation being added of their allegiance to their natural prince, which, by the

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 156.

treaty, they virtually renounced.¹ In this base agreement, one redeeming article was included, by which Glencairn and Lennox undertook to cause the word of God to be truly taught in their territories; the Bible is described by them as the only foundation from which all truth and honor proceedeth; but it appears not to have suggested itself to these Scottish barons, that the seizure of their lawful sovereign, and the betrayal of the liberty of their country, were scarcely reconcilable with the sacred standard to which they appealed.

From Carlisle, where he had concluded the negotiation, Glencairn hurried to his own country to assemble his vassals, whilst Lennox collected his strength at Dumbarton; but, as if to punish their dereliction of duty, every thing went against them. Arran, whose measures, now directed by the cardinal, were marked by unusual promptitude, lost not a moment in marching against them at the head of a thousand men, and advancing to Glasgow, was boldly confronted by Glencairn, with five hundred spearmen on a wide common beside the city. The parties engaged under feelings of unusual obstinacy, and in the battle the unrelenting features of civil strife appeared with all their native ferocity; but Glencairn was at last defeated with great slaughter, his second son being slain, with many others of his party, while the rest were dispersed or made prisoners.² The governor imme-

¹ Rymer Fœdera, vol. xv. pp. 23-26, inclusive; and pp. 29-32.

² Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 32.

diately occupied the city, which he gave up to plunder, the chief magistrate having sided with his adversary. Glencairn fled almost alone to Dumbarton, and Lennox having delivered the castle into his hands, instantly took ship for England, where he was soon after united to the Lady Margaret Douglas. His favorable reception at the English court, and his total desertion of his country, were fatal to his illustrious brother, the Lord Aubigny, in France, whom Francis the First, suspecting his fidelity, apparently on no good grounds, deprived of his high offices, and threw into prison.

Henry's affairs in Scotland, so far as they depended on the faction which had hitherto supported him, appeared at this crisis to be desperate; and a general council being summoned to meet at Stirling, on the 3rd of June,¹ it was attended by the whole body of the nobility, with the exception of Lennox and Glencairn. A favorable opportunity was now afforded for the union of all parties in support of the independence of the country. The insincerity of Henry's professions was demonstrated by the cruel ravages with which his late invasion had been accompanied; a feeling of deep indignation had arisen in the breasts of many of his former adherents; and all classes recoiled from a union which they were called upon to celebrate amid the flames of their capital, and the murder of its citizens. But it was the misfortune of the

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 82.

Scottish aristocracy, that when immediate danger was past, it was perpetually disunited by the spirit of selfishness and ambition. Of the nobles, a large majority had become disgusted with the weakness and vacillation of the government of Arran; and they now proposed that the regency should be conferred on the queen mother, from whose energy they anticipated a happier result, and more determined measures against England.¹ It is probable that the Earl of Angus, and his brother, were chiefly implicated in this new movement; which is unknown to our general historians, and involved in much obscurity. It is certain, however, that a coalition took place between the Catholic and Protestant parties; that, in a convention, they declared the governor deprived of his authority, proclaimed the queen Dowager regent in his stead, appointed a new privy council, and conferred upon the Earl of Angus the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

¹ Agreement of the principal Scots nobility to support the authority of the queen mother as regent of Scotland, against the Earl of Arran, declared by this instrument to be deprived of his office, dated June (no day), 1544. State Paper Office—(see also Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 33.) The agreement is not an original paper, but an authentic copy; transmitted, probably, by some of the spies in Henry's interest, at the Scottish court. It is signed by the Earls of Angus, Bothwell, Montrose, Lord Sinclair, Robert Maxwell, Earl of Huntly, Cassillis, Marshall, Lord Somerville, George Douglas, Earl of Murray, Argyle, Errol, Lords Erskine, St. John, Malcolm, Lord Chamberlain, Hew, Lord Lovett, and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, Knight.