

# HISTORY

OF

## SCOTLAND.

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### CHAPTER I.

### MARY.

(Continued.)

1545 - 1554.

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#### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary.	Francis I. Henry II.	Charles V.	Emanuel the Great. John III.	Charles V.	Clement VII. Paul III. Julius III.

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**T**HE murder of Cardinal Beaton was followed, as might have been anticipated, by the most important consequences. It removed from the head of affairs a man, whose talents for political intrigue, and whose vigorous and unscrupulous character, had for some time communicated strength and success to the government—it filled with alarm that party in Scotland which was attached to the Romish faith, and interested for the support of the freedom and independence of the country, whilst it gave new spirit to the powerful faction which had been kept in pay by Henry the Eighth, and through whose as-

sistance this monarch confidently looked forward to the accomplishment of his favorite schemes; the marriage of the youthful Queen of Scotland, to his son, the Prince of Wales, the establishment of the Reformation, and the entire subjugation of this country under the dominion of England.

If the fact had not been already apparent, the events which immediately succeeded the assassination of the cardinal rendered it impossible for any one to escape the conclusion that the conspiracy had been encouraged by the English monarch. Scarcely was the act perpetrated when letters were despatched to Lord Wharton, the English warden, by some of those numerous spies whom he retained, describing the consternation which the event had produced in the capital, the change in affairs which was likely to ensue, and the necessity for immediate exertion on the part of his master.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the conspirators, who had seized the castle of St. Andrew's, were soon joined by many adherents, previously the most zealous supporters of the English interests; and who, although not present at the murder, believed that it would subject them to suspicion and persecution<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter in State Paper Office. Original from Lord Wharton, June 2nd, 1545, enclosing three letters which he had received from Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 80, dorso. They amounted to seven score persons; among them the Laird of Grange, Henry Balnaves, a Senator of the College of Justice, Henry Primrose, the Laird Pitmillie, Mr. John Leslie, Sir John Auchenchleach, and sundry gentlemen of the name of Melvin.

amongst these the most noted were John Knox,<sup>1</sup> the great advocate and supporter of the Reformation, Mr. Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, and the Laird of Grange.

Whilst such was the conduct of the English faction, the Governor Arran, and the Queen Regent, exerted themselves to maintain the cause of order, and to bring to punishment those bold and daring men, who had so unscrupulously taken the law into their own hands. A convention of the nobility, spiritual and temporal, was held at Stirling, on the 10th of June; and nothing was left unattempted by which a cordial union might be promoted amongst the parties which separated and distracted the state. The meeting was attended by the chief persons of both factions, by the Earls of Angus, Cassillis and Glencairn, to whose devotion to the English interests many of the late disorders might be attributed, as well as by Huntly, Argile, and the Lords Fleming and Elphinston, who were the leaders in the faction attached to France, and interested in the support of the Romish faith.<sup>2</sup> To conciliate the lords

<sup>1</sup> Knox's History, p. 74. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 866.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Book of the Privy Council of Scotland. Entitled *Liber Secreti Consilii*, 1545, fol. 28. p. 2. The members present were the Bishops of Orkney and Galloway, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argile, Bothwell, Glencairn, and Sutherland, the Commendator of Kelso, the Abbots of Melrose, Pasley, Dumfermling, Cowper, Corsregal, Dryburgh, and Culros; with the Lords Fleming, Ruthven, Maxwell, Somerville, Hay of Yester, Innermeith, Elphinston, Livingstone, Erskine, Sir George Douglas, and Sir William Hamilton.

of the English party, Arran, the Governor, solemnly renounced the contract for the marriage of the young Queen to his son; the "bands" or feudal agreements by which many of the nobles had promised to see this alliance carried into effect, were annulled, and at the same time the Queen Regent released from their written obligations all such barons as had stipulated to oppose the ambitious matrimonial designs of the Governor.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and Lord Maxwell<sup>2</sup> cordially embraced the interest of the Queen Regent, approved of the late act of the Scottish parliament, which had dissolved the peace with England, derided all idea of a marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen; and renounced for ever all those "bands" by which they had tied themselves to Henry, and which had been repeatedly renewed, or forgotten, as their private interest seemed to dictate: Maxwell, who was now made warden of the West Marches, once more took possession of the strong castle of Lochmaben; and twenty peers were selected, out of which number four were directed to remain every successive month with the Governor as his Secret Council.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 30, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 81, we find that Robert Lord Maxwell died in July, 1546, and his second son John returned home out of England, and took upon him the government of the country within the wardenry.

<sup>3</sup> On the expiry of the month, their place was to be occupied by other four chosen from the remaining sixteen, and so on throughout the year, care was also taken to select at this convention, each party

The Lords Erskine and Livingston were continued in their charge of the person of the young Queen, and the important office of chancellor, now vacant by the assassination of Beaton, was conferred upon the tried fidelity of the Earl of Huntly.<sup>1</sup> Peace having been lately concluded between England and France, and a clause inserted in the treaty, of which Scotland might, if she chose, avail herself, it was determined by the Privy Council that "the comprehension should

of four who were to serve in rotation, and to intimate to them the month during which they were to give their attendance on the governor; and it was agreed, that when five months had expired, the same councillors should resume their duties in the same order. —MS. Book of the Privy Council, fol. 29, p. 1. "It is devised and ordained by the queen's grace, my lord governor, and hail lords convened in this convention, that certain lords remain with my lord governor, and be of secret council with him, and they to remain monthly with him, and that to the number of four. The 1st month to begin this day the 10th of June.

The 1st month, 10th June	Arch. Earl of Argile.
to 10th of July.	William, Earl of Glencairn.
Robert, Bishop of Orkney.	Donald, Abbot of Cowpar.
George, Earl of Huntly.	4th month.
William, Lord Ruthven.	Patrick, Bishop of Moray.
Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, kt.	Patrick, Earl Bothwell.
2nd month.	Gilbert, Earl Cassillis.
Gavin, Arch. of Glasgow.	Malcolm, Lord Fleming.
Arch. Earl of Angus.	5th month.
Hew, Lord Somerville.	William, Earl Marshall.
George, Abbot of Dumfermling.	Will. Earl of Montrose.
3rd month.	Andrew, Bishop of Galloway.
William Bishop, of Dumblane.	Sir Wm. Hamilton, of Sanquhar,
	Knight.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 28, p. 2.

be accepted, without prejudice to the queen, her realm, and its liberties." A conciliatory reply was at the same time directed to be made to the English monarch, who had complained of the depredations committed by Scottish privateers upon his merchantmen.<sup>1</sup>

Having endeavoured to secure the kingdom from without, it only remained to appease its internal commotions by adopting decided measures against the conspirators who held the castle of St. Andrew's. Accordingly, after an ineffectual attempt to negotiate, a parliament was convoked (29th July, 1546) in which they were declared guilty of treason:<sup>2</sup> proclamation was made, interdicting all persons from affording them the slightest assistance in their rebellion, and the Governor having assembled an army commenced the siege, with a determination speedily to reduce the fortress. This, however, was found a task of no easy execution: it was naturally strong, and its fortifications had been repaired at great expense by its late master; on the one side the sea rendered it impregnable, and on the land quarter the thickness of its walls defied the imperfect and ill-served artillery of the times. Beaton, from a principle of security had provisioned it fully against attack, and even were it attempted to starve out the garrison, the English fleet which commanded the Firth might at any time throw in supplies. To

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 38, p. 1. Ibid. fol. 40, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 478, 479.

secure this support the conspirators, or Castilians as they were termed, lost no time in opening a communication with Henry the Eighth. Kircaldy of Grange, Balnaves and John Lesly were sent as envoys to that monarch, and they returned with an assurance of his assistance, on condition that they would promote the marriage between the young Queen and the Prince of Wales, and retain in their hands the eldest son of Arran, who had been made prisoner at the time they seized the castle.<sup>1</sup> Confident in their strength, the besieged derided all the efforts of the Governor, and despising the prayers and remonstrances of those pious men who, with a mistaken zeal for the Reformation, had joined their party, they abandoned themselves to every species of intemperate indulgence.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, month after month stole away without any perceptible progress in the siege. Application for assistance was made to France, by Panter, secretary to the Queen, who was sent ambassador to that country.<sup>3</sup> Remonstrances against any intended interference for the defence of the Castilians were addressed to England,<sup>4</sup> but after every effort had been exhausted, it was

<sup>1</sup> Anderson. MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, History of Reformation, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 31st March 1547. Panter to the Protector Somerset.

<sup>4</sup> The governor consented to an act by which his eldest son, James Hamilton, then a prisoner, was disinherited till he should recover his freedom, and his second son appointed in his place. This precautionary measure was adopted to make it impossible that

discovered that the only prospect of success lay in an endeavour to cut off all supplies and starve out the garrison. It may convey to us some idea of the imperfection of the military art in these times, when we find a single castle, with a small garrison, resisting for a long period the utmost efforts of the Governor. To make himself master of it he divided the kingdom into four great districts, and the military force of each division was brought successively to bear upon the fortress,<sup>1</sup> yet without any nearer prospect of success. At length, towards the end of December, the garrison showed a disposition to capitulate; their principal defences were greatly injured by the artillery, and they began to suffer from a scarcity of provisions and sickness.<sup>2</sup> Had Arran been aware of this, instead of listening to any offer for a cessation of hostilities, he might within a short period have made himself master of the place—but ignorant of the real condition of the besieged, he accepted terms dictated to him by men who were at the last extremity. They consented to deliver up

under any circumstances, the throne should be occupied by a prince who was a captive in the hands of the enemy.—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 474.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 40, p. 1. Diurnal of Occurrences, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> MS. State Paper Office. Report of the Proceedings relative to the castle of St. Andrew's. It fixes the date of the appointment or armistice, which is variously given by our historians, to have been the 17th December.



the castle as soon as a papal absolution was obtained for the slaughter of the cardinal—they stipulated for a free pardon, and in the interval between the commencement of the armistice and the arrival of the absolution, insisted on retaining the fortress, and keeping possession of the Governor's son as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. At the same moment that these proposals were transmitted to Arran, the Castilians sent an envoy to Henry the Eighth, informing him of their proceedings, declaring that their only object was to gain time to revictual the castle, that they had no intention whatever of abiding by their agreement, and would thus be able to perform their first promises to the English monarch. For this purpose they requested Henry to write to the Emperor, causing him to intercede with the Pope "for the stopping and hindering of their absolution," by which means a longer time would be given them to accomplish their purposes.<sup>1</sup> These conditions Arran accepted, being solicitous, as has been alleged, to protract the time till the arrival of foreign assistance; and intending to be as little faithful as his opponents to the terms of their agreement. He had despatched Panter, the secretary, as ambassador to France, with an earnest request, that the French monarch would fulfil those treaties of alliance which had so long connected the two kingdoms—he called upon him, if Henry would not consent to peace with Scotland, to declare war against him; he entreated

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. MS. State Paper Office.

him to increase his fleet, the surest arm of defence against the enterprises of England, requested an immediate supply in money, arms, and artillery, and in consequence of the ignorance of the Scottish engineers, required the assistance of some experienced men, learned in the attack and defence of fortified places, and who understood the "ordering of battles."<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time an extraordinary and interesting scene took place within the fortress. Knox, whom we have hitherto known chiefly as the affectionate and courageous disciple of Wishart, had retreated into the castle with the barons of Ormiston and Long Niddry and their sons, whose education he conducted. In the chapel within the fort he catechised his pupils, and delivered lectures on the Scriptures, where a little congregation was soon assembled, who earnestly entreated him to preach publicly to the people. This, however, he at first peremptorily declined, observing "that he would not run where God had not called him,"<sup>2</sup> but they who were deeply interested in his assuming the office of the ministry, for which they believed him to be eminently qualified, determined to overcome his reluctance. John Rough, whom we have seen dismissed, on account of his zeal for the Reformation, from the situation of chaplain to Arran the Governor, had taken

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 51, p. 2. fol. 52, p. 1. Articles to be desired at the King of France, for the help and supply to be given to this realm against the King of England.

<sup>2</sup> Knox's History, i. p. 74.

refuge with the rest in the fortress, and on a certain day which had been agreed on, having selected as the subject of his discourse the power resident in a congregation to elect their minister, and the danger of rejecting their call, he, on the conclusion of the sermon, turned abruptly to Knox who was present—" Brother," said he, " I charge you in the name of God, in the name of his Son, and in the name of this congregation, who now call upon you by my mouth, that you take upon you the office of preaching, and refuse not this vocation, as you would avoid God's heavy displeasure." The address was solemn, and totally unexpected by Knox, who, confused and agitated, in vain attempted to reply, but bursting into tears, retired from the assembly.<sup>1</sup> After a few days of great conflict and distress of mind, he accepted the invitation ; and without any further ceremony or ordination than that already received previous to his adoption of the reformed opinions, he assumed the public office of a preacher.<sup>2</sup> The reformer was then in the forty-first year of his age.

<sup>3</sup> In the midst of these scenes occurred the death of Henry the Eighth, which was followed not long after by that of his great contemporary Francis the First, but these events did not materially alter the policy of either kingdom. Francis notwithstanding his occasional political predilection for the Protestants,

<sup>1</sup> Knox's History, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> M'Cries Life of Knox, p. 40. Edition 1812. Ibid. p. 43. Ibid. p. 11.

had been an earnest disciple of the Romish church, and the great preponderance of the house of Guise, under his successor Henry the Second, inclined that monarch more vigorously to support the same party in Scotland. Immediately after his coronation, Monsieur D'Osell was despatched to that country to confirm the league which had so long bound its interests to France; assurances of support were liberally held out against the ambitious designs of England, and D'Osell, who enjoyed the intimate confidence of the Queen Dowager, remained as ambassador at the Scottish court.<sup>1</sup>

In England, the accession of Edward the Sixth, then a promising boy in his ninth year, and the assumption of the protectorate by his uncle the Duke of Somerset, brought no change of policy in dealing with Scotland. Henry, it is said, on his death-bed had earnestly recommended the prosecution of the war with that country, under the mistaken idea that the Scots would be compelled at the point of the sword to fulfil the treaty of marriage; and Somerset, by one of the first acts of his government, showed a determination to carry this injunction into effect. On the 6th of February, Balnaves repaired to the English court as envoy from the Castilians, and received from the Protector a confirmation of the annuities which had attached to England the conspirators against Beaton. It was resolved to strengthen the garrison of the castle by remitting money for the

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, Bannat. Edition p. 193. 31st. March, 1547.

maintenance of troops. Lesly, one of the assassins, was commanded to remain at court, to communicate with his friends; and Balnaves received injunctions, on his return to Scotland, to use his utmost efforts to seduce the nobility from their allegiance to the Governor.<sup>1</sup>

Somerset at the same time determined to lead an army into Scotland. He addressed a letter to the nobility of that realm, reminding them of the league by which they had bound themselves to assist the late king of England in the accomplishment of his designs, he called upon them for a performance of their promises; and so successful was Balnaves in his intrigues, that many of the Scottish nobles and barons showed a readiness to repeat the same disgraceful game by which they had enriched themselves under the former reign.<sup>2</sup>

In the midst of these difficulties which disturbed his government, Arran exerted himself to create a vigorous union against the enemies of the country. Suspicious, from the experience of the former reign, that other designs than a simple matrimonial alliance were contemplated by England, and aware of the preparations for invading the kingdom, he laboured to attach the chief nobility to his service—to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Privy Council Records of Edward VI. p. 9.—Transcript by Gregory King, Lancaster Herald.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter State Paper Office.—Laird of Langton to the Protector Somerset, 18 Aug. 1547. Also Patrick Lord Gray to the Protector, 28 Aug. 1547

strengthen the border defences, and to train the people, by weapon-shawings or armed musters, which had been of late much disused, to greater skill in military exercises ; he encouraged the equipment of privateers and armed merchantmen, as the only substitute for a national fleet, and he anxiously endeavoured to compose those destructive and sanguinary feuds amongst some of the principal barons which had of late years greatly increased, and even in the midst of peace exposed the state to all the horrors of war.<sup>1</sup>

Such being the threatening aspect of both countries, hostilities could not be long delayed. A Scottish privateer, named the *Lion*, was captured by the *Pevensy*, an English ship ; in reply to the remonstrances of the Queen Dowager, it was affirmed that the former had been the aggressor,<sup>2</sup> and not long after a force of five thousand English broke across the western borders, plundered the country, made prisoner the laird of *Johnston* with others of his surname, and seized and garrisoned many of the towers upon the marches.<sup>3</sup> To repel this aggression, which was loudly complained of as an open declaration of war, *Arran* assembled an army, advanced rapidly to the borders, stormed and rased the castle of *Langhope*, and was about to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Record of Privy Council of Scotland. Sub annis 1546, 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iii. p. 205. MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Queen Dowager to the Protector, 18 April, 1547.

<sup>3</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 43. Maitland. Vol. ii. p. 867.

pursue his advantage,<sup>1</sup> when he received intelligence that a French fleet had entered the Firth, and required his co-operation in the bombardment of St. Andrew's. Nothing could be more welcome than this event. During the armistice, the garrison, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Knox and others who, for conscience' sake, now acted with their party, had abandoned themselves to the most flagrant excesses, ravaging the country, and behaving in a brutal and licentious manner to the poor victims who fell into their hands.<sup>2</sup> Trusting to the support of England, they had, on frivolous grounds, refused to abide by their agreement, when the Papal absolution arrived from Rome, and the Governor, convinced that he had been the dupe of a convention which they had never meant to fulfil, was deeply incensed against them.

Hastening back, therefore, to the scene of action, he found in the bay a squadron of sixteen armed galleons, commanded by Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, a knight of Rhodes, of great military experience. The vessels took up their line with much skill, so as at full tide completely to command the outworks towards the sea. The greater ordnance were landed, raised by engines and planted on the steeples of the

<sup>1</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 43, 44. MS. Records of Privy Seal. July 24, 1547. Letter to George Earl of Huntly, of the Gift of the Gudis of George Earl of Cathness.—The army was summoned to assemble at Peebles, 10 July, 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, p. 52. Knox's Hist. p. 83. Herries' Memoirs of the reign of Mary, p. 17.

abbey and St. Salvator's college, which overlooked the inner court of the fortress; whilst some large battering mortars were dragged near the gates. During such preparations, the interior of the castle presented an extraordinary scene. Knox, disgusted by the licentiousness of the garrison, raised his awful voice, and denounced their speedy captivity, as the just judgment of God. To the scoffs of the soldiers, who boasted of the strength of their towers and anticipated assistance from England, he declared that their sins had found them out, that their walls would shiver under the cannon, and their bodies be manacled in foreign prisons. Nor was the sentence of this stern adherent of the truth long in finding its accomplishment. The fortifications which had resisted the ill-directed batteries of the Scottish governor, crumbled under the more effective cannonade of the Italian commander. A breach was soon effected; a proposal of the garrison for a sortie canvassed and abandoned as hopeless, and within less than a week a flag of truce was seen approaching. It brought from the besieged an offer to surrender, their lives and property being secured; but the condition was scornfully rejected by the Governor and the Queen. Strozzi declared that it was beyond his commission even to grant them their lives; and if he did so, it must be with reservation that it was afterwards approved of by the King, his master. To this the garrison were compelled to submit. They would acknowledge no lawful authority in Scotland: the Governor, they affirmed, had treacherously betrayed them, and their only



transaction, therefore, should be with the King of France.<sup>1</sup> They were accordingly conveyed prisoners on board the fleet, the plunder of the castle was seized and divided by the victors, and Strozzi, by the advice of the Governor, who dreaded it should fall into the hands of the English, dismantled the fortress, and levelled its defences with the ground. Others, however, ascribe its destruction to the zeal of fulfilling an injunction of the canon law, declaring the vengeance of extermination against any mansion that has witnessed the murder of a cardinal. The booty, which included the personal property of the prelate, amounted in plate, copes, vestments, and jewels of extreme value, to a hundred thousand pounds, a prize

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95. Lesly, p. 194. Anderson says expressly, "At length he (Strozzi) was content to pardon them their lives, if the king of France should think it good, else to stand to his pleasure." Lesly, p. 194, repeats the same terms. Knox, in his History, gives a different account. The heads of the appointment, he affirms, were—1st, that their lives should be secured to them; 2nd, that they should be safely conveyed to France; 3rd, that if they chose to embrace the conditions proposed to them by the king of France, they should have their freedom, and be at liberty to enter his service; 4th, that if they refused, they should be conveyed, at the expense of France, to what country they chose *except Scotland*. I have preferred the account of the terms of capitulation given in the text, as it appears best supported by the circumstances of the case; and it is confirmed not only by Anderson and Lesly, but by Buchanan, Book xv. cap. 45. —"Leonti Strozzi, incolumitatem modo pacti, se dediderunt." I have been thus particular because an able author has stated that the terms of the capitulation were violated, (Mc. Crie's Life of Knox, p. 52,) of which I see no proof.

which no doubt tempted the return of the French auxiliaries to Scotland. Beaton's death was now amply revenged, and Knox's predictions fulfilled; for the conspirators and their associates, on arriving in France, were partly distributed in the dungeons of various castles in Brittany; whilst others, including the reformer himself, were kept chained on board the galleys, and treated with the utmost rigor.<sup>1</sup>

With this success the Governor was highly gratified. He already possessed Dumbarton, which the English had in vain attempted to recover; St. Andrew's, so lately an object of anxiety, and for the occupation of which the Protector was making every effort, had now fallen; he had been partially successful in his enterprise upon the borders, and could he have succeeded in imparting a spirit of honour and unanimity to the great body of the nobility, there was little reason to be alarmed by the threatened invasion of England.

But a discovery was made in the castle which threw a gloom over all his sanguine anticipations. In the chamber of Balnaves, the agent of the Castilians, was found a register book which contained the autograph subscriptions of two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, who had secretly bound themselves to the service of England. Amongst these were the Earls of Bothwell, Cassillis, and Marshall, with Lord Kilmaurs, and Lord Gray. The noted Sir George Douglas, the brother of the Earl of Angus, had, it appeared, sent in his adherence by

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, p. 195.

a secret messenger, whilst Bothwell had agreed to give up his castle of the Hermitage, and renounce all allegiance to the Governor, for which good service he was to receive in marriage the Duchess of Suffolk, aunt to the English monarch.<sup>1</sup> So much was apparent to the Governor, but other disgraceful transactions were in progress of which he was ignorant; Lord Gray had not only himself forsaken his country, but was tampering with the Earls of Athol, Errol, Sutherland, and Crawford, whom he found well disposed to declare their mind, provided they were "honestly entertained." He accordingly advised that some money should be given them according to their good deserving.<sup>2</sup> Glencairn, at the same time, transmitted to the Protector a secret overture of service, in which he declared himself ready to assist the King of England in the accomplishment of his purposes, to co-operate in the invasion with his friends and vassals, who were favourers of the word of God, and to raise two thousand men who should be ready either to join the army, or keep possession of the counties of Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew. He also gave assurances of the devotion of Cassillis and Lennox to the same cause, requested money to equip a troop of horse, with which he would hold the Governor in check till Somerset's arrival, and added directions for the fortification of some "notable

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, State Paper Office. Laird of Langton to the Protector Somerset, 18th Aug. 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Gray to the Protector Somerset, 28th Aug. 1547. MS. Letter, State Paper Office.

strengths" on the east and west borders, by which the whole country might be commanded to the gates of Stirling. It was to be expected that such offers would be highly welcome to the English government, although distrust must have been felt in dealing with persons whose oaths had been so repeatedly and unscrupulously violated. Not a year had elapsed since all these noble barons had solemnly given their adherence to the government of Arran, most of them had been appointed members of the Privy Council, they had approved in Parliament of the dissolution of the marriage and peace with England,<sup>1</sup> and they were now prepared to change sides once more, and promote the purposes of the Protector. Even after such repeated falsehood their overtures were graciously accepted, and they received a pardon for their desertion of their agreement with the late King, under condition that they should perform its conditions in every respect to his son and successor.<sup>2</sup> It is material to notice these terms, as they prove on the one hand that, under the cloak of marriage, Edward like his father Henry, concealed a design for the subjugation of Scotland, and on the other, that the party who favoured this project were dis-

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 476.—MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 32, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. State Paper Office, entitled, Overture of Service and other Devices, by the Earl of Glencairn. These important facts, which are new to this portion of Scottish history, were found in the Original Letters and Overtures of the Actors, preserved in the State Paper Office.

posed to accomplish their purposes, although at the sacrifice of the independence of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of such intrigues placed the Governor in an embarrassing situation. To defeat machinations which had spread so widely, required a union of resolution and talent which he did not possess : he was aware that the country was on the point of being invaded by the Protector in person—to have attempted to bring his enemies to justice might have thrown his preparations for resistance into confusion, and spread distrust and dismay throughout the people at a time when vigor and confidence were imperatively required. Either he ought to have pretended a total ignorance, silently taking the best measures to defeat the designs of his enemies ; or he should resolutely have seized the chief conspirators ; but Arran unfortunately adopted that middle course which was sure to lead to a calamitous result. He dissembled for the moment, and delayed all proceedings against the great body of his opponents, but he threw Bothwell into prison, and thus gave an opportunity to his associates of providing for their own safety.<sup>2</sup>

Yet in the midst of this political irresolution he was not remiss in his military preparations. A line of beacons had been established during the summer upon the hills near the coast, making a chain of communication from St. Abb's-head to Linlithgow ; horsemen were kept at each station to carry intelligence,

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 476.—MS. Record of Privy Council, fol. 3.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Accounts of Lord Treasurer, June 27th, 1547.

and it was proclaimed that no persons should leave their habitations, or remove their goods, as the Governor and noblemen of Scotland had determined to repel the invaders, and defend the realm, with the help of God, and at the hazard of their lives.<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th of August the Protector arrived with his army at Newcastle, and at the same time a fleet of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports, commanded by Lord Clinton, anchored off that port. The English force consisted in all of fourteen thousand two hundred men, of which four thousand were men-at-arms and demi-lances, two thousand light horse, and two hundred Spanish carabineers, mounted. The remaining eight thousand were footmen and pioneers.<sup>2</sup> This force was divided into three principal wards or battles. The vanward was led by the Earl of Warwick, a captain of great experience and resolution, who had been bred to arms in the French wars of Henry the Eighth—the main battle by the Protector in person, and the rear by Lord Dacres of the North, a veteran who still possessed all the fire and vivacity of youth. Each battle was strengthened by wings of horse, consisting of men-at-arms, demi-lances, hacbutteers, and some pieces of artillery, “every piece having its guard of pioneers to clear the way.”<sup>3</sup> Lord Grey of Wilton, high marshall of

<sup>1</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 68. p. 2. Epist. R. Scot. vol. ii. p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Patten in Dalzel's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 280.—Carte, vol. iii. p. 206.—Patter, p. 32.

the army, commanded the cavalry, having under him Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Peter Mewtas, Sir Francis Fleming, master of the ordnance, and Don Pedro de Gamboa, who conducted a fine body of mounted Spanish carabineers.

We have seen that during the whole of the preceding year, the Scottish Governor had been engaged in war, and being apprehensive that the people, fatigued with perpetual hostilities, might be remiss in obeying his summons, he adopted an expedient for assembling an army, which was seldom used except in cases of imminent peril. He sent the fiery cross throughout the country—a warlike symbol of Celtic origin, constructed of two slender rods of hazel, formed into the shape of a cross, the extremities seared in the fire and extinguished when red and blazing in the blood of a goat, slain for the occasion. From this slight description, it is evident that the custom may be traced back to Pagan times, and it is certain that throughout the highland districts of the country, its summons, wherever it was carried, was regarded with awe, and obeyed without hesitation. Previous to this, we do not hear of its having been adopted in the lowlands; but on the present emergency, being fastened to the point of a spear, it was transmitted by the heralds and pursuivants throughout every part of the realm; from town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the ensanguined symbol flew with astonishing rapidity; and such was its effect, that in a wonderfully short

space of time an army of thirty-six thousand men assembled near Musselburgh.

The Duke of Somerset now entered Scotland, on the 2nd of September, 1547, and without interruption, advanced along the coast, in sight of the English fleet, till he arrived at the defile, then called the Peaths, a deep ravine, over which at the present day is thrown the Pease bridge. It has been well described by Hayward as a "valley stretching towards the sea six miles in length, the banks of which were so steep on either side, that the passage across was not direct, but by paths leading slope-wise, which being many, the place is for that reason called the Peaths, or paths."<sup>1</sup> It was reported in the English host, that the Scots were here prepared to resist the further advance of the English, and undoubtedly such was the advantage of the ground, that with even a small portion of military skill, a far inferior force might have discomfited their whole army, yet this opportunity was neglected, a circumstance which can only be accounted for by the fact, that most of the proprietors of the country through which the enemy held their march, were attached to the interests of the Protector. We know that in Henry Balnaves's register were the names of two hundred gentlemen, who were under promise to England, and when his army lay at Newcastle, the Protector received a visit from the Laird of Mangertown, and forty barons of

<sup>1</sup> Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 281.



the east borders, who tendered their services and were courteously received.<sup>1</sup> The little obstruction which Somerset met during the whole course of his march, may perhaps be thus explained.

Having employed the greatest part of a day in conducting the army, and dragging the artillery through this rugged pass, the Duke made himself master of the neighbouring castles of Dunglass, Thornton and Innerwick, and leaving Dunbar within a gunshot on his right he pushed forward to Linton, where the army crossed the Tyne by the narrow bridge which still remains, whilst the horsemen and carriages forded the river. Here the enemy neglected another excellent opportunity of attacking the English force when defiling across Linton bridge. They contented themselves with pushing forward some of their prickers, or light horse, under Dandy Car, a noted borderer, whose little squadron was put to flight by a charge led by Lord Warwick. Advancing past Hailes Castle, which opened upon them an ineffectual cannonade, they proceeded, on the 7th of September, to Long Niddry, where they encamped for the night.<sup>2</sup> Here the Protector communicating by signal with his fleet which lay near Leith, Lord Clinton, the admiral, came ashore, and after a conference it was resolved that the larger ships should leave the road at Leith, and cast anchor beside Musselburgh, whilst the transports and victuallers should beat in as near as possible to the shore.

<sup>1</sup>Patten's Expedition, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Patten, p. 42.

The English were now aware that the Scottish army lay beside Musselburgh, and during the march of the succeeding day there were generally in view some small bodies of their light cavalry, which kept galloping backwards and forwards on the eminences overhanging their line of march.

On September the 8th, the Protector halted for the night and encamped near a town, called Salt Preston, now Preston Pans, within view of the enemy's camp, at Edmonstone Edge, about three miles distant, —on his right to the north was the Firth, and towards the south, not far distant, rose the hill of Faside. Upon the long elevated ridges which formed the roots of the hill, the Scottish cavalry showed themselves early next morning, and approached the English vanguard, whooping, shaking their lances, and attempting to provoke them to an onset. They formed a force of one thousand five hundred light horse, led by Lord Hume, and near them lay in ambush a body of five hundred foot. Somerset, however, from the forwardness of these prickers, suspected that they reckoned on some nearer support than was discernible, and gave strict orders to his men to preserve their ranks; but Lord Grey impatient of such provocation, extorted leave to try the effect of a charge: accordingly as soon as they came "scattered on the spur," within a stone cast of the English, and after their usual shouting were beginning to wheel about, Grey with his demi-lances, and a thousand men at arms, charged them at full speed, upon which they faced about, and firmly received his onset. The

weight of the men-at-arms, however, and their barbed steeds, was an overmatch for the slight, though hardy hackneys of the borderers, and after maintaining the conflict for three hours, they were entirely broken, and the greatest part of them cut to pieces. The chase continued for three miles, from Faside hill to the right wing of their army which lay to the south; in this unfortunate affair thirteen hundred men were slain within sight of their camp, Lord Hume was severely wounded, his son, the master of Hume, taken prisoner, and the whole body of the Scottish cavalry nearly destroyed, a loss seriously felt in the next day's battle.<sup>1</sup>

After this success the Protector, accompanied by a small party, descended from Faside hill, by a lane which led directly north, to the church of Inveresk. His object was to examine the position occupied by the Scots, and he was enabled to do so effectually, as the course he took ran almost parallel to their camp, which he could see distinctly. Nothing could be better chosen for strength and security, than the ground whereon they lay, defended on the right by a morass which stretched towards the south, on the left by the Firth, and in front looking eastward by the river Esk, which took its course between them and the enemy. Over this river, to the north and near the Firth, was the bridge of Musselburgh, upon which they had placed their ordnance, so that it was evident to the English commander, upon a slight in-

<sup>1</sup> Patten, pp. 46, 47. Anderson's MS. History, pp. 98. Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 282.

spection, that if they chose to keep their position, it would be impossible to attack them with advantage, or bring them to a battle. Somerset, however, did not fail to observe, that their camp was partially commanded by the hill of Inveresk, and by the higher parts of the lane which led from Faside hill, and having resolved to occupy these places with his ordnance, with the object of forcing them to dislodge from their strong ground, he rode back to his own camp.

On the road he was overtaken by a Scottish herald, with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpet, who brought a message from the Governor. The herald said his first errand was for an exchange of prisoners, his second to declare, that his master, eager to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, was willing to allow him to retreat without molestation, and upon honorable conditions. The trumpeter next addressed the Duke informing him that, in case such terms were not accepted, his master, the Earl of Huntly, willing to bring the quarrel to a speedy conclusion, was ready to encounter him twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or, if he would so far honor him, man to man. To these messages Somerset made a brief and temperate reply. He declared, turning to the herald, that his coming into Scotland had been at the first to seek peace, and to obtain such terms as should be for the good of either realm. His quarrel he added was just, he trusted, therefore, God would prosper it; and since the Governor had already rejected such conditions as would never again be proffered, he must look now to

its being decided by arms ; “ and as for thy master,” said he, addressing the trumpeter, “ he lacketh some discretion to send his challenge to one, who, by reason of the weighty charge he bears (no less than the government of a king’s person and the protection of his realm,) hath no power to accept it ;—whilst there are yet many noble gentlemen here, his equals in rank, to whom he might have addressed his cartel, without fear of a refusal.” At this moment the Earl of Warwick broke eagerly in, telling the messenger that he would not only accept the challenge, but would give him a hundred crowns if he brought back his master’s consent.<sup>1</sup> “Nay,” said Somerset, “Huntly is not equal in rank to your lordship—but herald, tell the Governor, and the Earl of Huntly also, that we have now spent some time in your country, our force is but a small company—yours far exceeds us, yet bring me word they will meet us in a plain field, and thou shalt have a thousand crowns for thy pains, and thy masters fighting enough.”

The herald and his companion were then dismissed, and the Protector pursued his way to the camp, where, after a consultation with his officers, it was thought proper notwithstanding the challenge so lately given, to make a final effort to avert hostilities. A letter was accordingly addressed to the Governor, in which Somerset declared his readiness to retreat from the kingdom on the single condition, that the Scots would consent to keep their youthful queen in

<sup>1</sup> Patten, pp. 49, 50.

her own country, unfettered by any agreement with the French government, until she had reached a marriageable age, and was able to say for herself, whether she would abide by the matrimonial treaty with England. Had such moderate and equitable proposals been made previous to the declaration of hostilities, they would probably have been accepted; but coming at so questionable a moment, they appeared to the Governor to be dictated rather by a conviction in the Protector, that he could no longer support his army in an enemy's country, than by any real love of peace. On showing the letter to Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was much in his confidence, he expressed the same opinion, and it was agreed to suppress the communication entirely, whilst a report was spread that an insulting, instead of a conciliatory message had been transmitted, requiring the Scots to deliver up their queen, and submit themselves to the mercy of their enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Such being the result of this last attempt, nothing was left to either party but an appeal to arms, and early on the morning of the 10th of September, the Duke of Somerset broke up his camp, and gave orders for the army to advance towards the hill of Inveresk, his design being to encamp near that spot, and to plant his ordnance on the eminence commanding the Scottish position: this movement was no sooner perceived by the Scottish governor, than he embraced the extravagant idea that the Protector had

<sup>1</sup> Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 283.

commenced his retreat towards his fleet, which had removed two days before from Leith, and now lay in Musselburgh bay, with the design of embarking his army. He instantly resolved to anticipate him by throwing himself between the English and their ships, and disregarding the advice of his best officers, who earnestly recommended him to keep his strong position till, at least, the demonstrations of the enemy became more definite, he gave orders for the whole army to dislodge and pass the river.<sup>1</sup> Angus who led the vanward, deeming it madness to throw away their advantage, refused to obey; but being charged on pain of treason to pass forward, he forded the river, and was followed, although after some delay, by the Governor, who led the main battle, and the Earl of Huntly with his northland men who formed the rear. The advance mustered ten thousand strong, embracing the strength of Fife, Merns, Angus and the West Country; it was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery drawn by men, and on the left by four hundred light horse; it included also a large body of priests and monks, who marched under a white banner, on which was painted a female kneeling before a crucifix, her hair dishevelled, and, embroidered underneath, the motto "*Afflictæ Ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris.*"<sup>2</sup>

In the main battle was the power of Lothian, Fife, Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, vol. ii. p. 874. Hayward, 284.

<sup>2</sup> Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 286. Anderson's MS. History, vol. ii. p. 101.

barons of Scotland, having on the right wing the Earl of Argyle, with four thousand West Highlanders, and on the left the Islemen, with Macleod, Macgregor, and other chieftains.<sup>1</sup> It was defended also on both flanks by some pieces of artillery, as was likewise the rear, but the guns were clumsily worked, and seem to have done little execution; whilst the Scots, though greatly superior in number, were inferior in military strength, from their having neither hacbutteers nor men at arms.

This movement of the Scots in abandoning their advantage, and crossing the river, was viewed with equal astonishment and pleasure by the English commander. He had dislodged from his camp, and commenced his march at eight in the morning, and before he was half way to Inveresk, the enemy having surmounted the hill, were seen advancing towards the English. Somerset, and the Earl of Warwick, who happened to be riding together at this moment, instantly perceived their advantage, thanked God for the fortunate event, ordered forward their artillery, and taking a joyful leave of each other, proceeded to their respective charges, the former to the vanward, and the Duke to the main battle, where was the king's standard.<sup>2</sup> Warwick immediately arranged his division upon the side of the hill; the Protector formed his battle chiefly on the hill, but his extreme right rested on the plain; the rear, under Lord Dacres,

<sup>1</sup> Pitscottie by Dalzel, vol. ii. p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Hayward in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 284.



were drawn up wholly on the plain, whilst Lord Grey, with the men-at-arms and the mounted carabineers, were stationed at some distance on the extreme left. His orders were to take the enemy in flank, yet he was strictly interdicted from making any attack till the foot of the vanward were engaged with the enemy, and the main battle was near at hand for his support. By the time these arrangements were completed, the Scots were considerably advanced, their object being to throw themselves between the English and their fleet; but in accomplishing this, the wing of their rearward, which moved nearest to the Firth, found themselves exposed to the fire of one of the English galleys, which galled them severely, slew the Master of Graham, with some others who were beside him, and threw Argile's Highlandmen into disorder.<sup>1</sup> Checked in this manner, their army fell back from the ground which was thus exposed, and declining to the southward, took a direct line towards the west end of the Faside-hill.<sup>2</sup> Their object was to win this side of the hill, and availing themselves of the advantage to attack the enemy from the higher ground; but as soon as the Protector perceived this movement, he commanded Lord Grey and Sir Ralph Vane, with the veteran bands of the men-at-arms, called Bulleners,<sup>3</sup> and the demi-lances under Lord Fitzwaters, to charge

<sup>1</sup> This fact is stated both in the English and Scottish accounts of the battle, but in walking over the field, I found it extremely difficult to account for it.—See Patten, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Patten, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> From their having been employed as the garrison at Boulogne.

the right wing of the Scots, and if they could not break it, at least to keep it in check till their own vanward might advance further on the hill, and their centre and rear coming up, form a full front against the enemy. This manœuvre, although aware of its perilous nature, was executed by Lord Grey with the utmost readiness and gallantry. Observing the Scottish infantry advancing at so round a pace, that many deemed them to be rather cavalry than foot,<sup>1</sup> he waited for a short space, till Lord Warwick was pretty well up with the enemy, and then, commanding the trumpets to sound, charged down the hill at full gallop, right against the left wing of Angus's division. The shock at first was dreadful, but the superiority of infantry over cavalry was soon evinced. The Scottish foot were armed with spears eighteen feet in length, far exceeding that of the lances of the men-at-arms, and they knew well how to avail themselves of this advantage. Angus, on observing the intention of the English, had commanded his men to form in that formidable order which had often effectually resisted the chivalry of England. Nothing could be more simple, but nothing more effective. The soldiers closed inwards, so near as to appear locked together shoulder to shoulder. The front line stooped low and almost knelt, placing the butt-end of their pike against the right foot; grasping it firmly with both hands, and inclining its steel point breast high against the enemy; the second

<sup>1</sup> Patten, p. 56.

rank crossed their pikes over their shoulders, the third assumed the same position, and so on to whatever depth the column might be, giving it the appearance of a gigantic hedge-hog covered with an impenetrable skin of steel bristles.<sup>1</sup> Against such a body, if the men stood firm, the finest cavalry in the world could not make any serious impression. It happened, also, that a broad muddy ditch or slough lay between the English and the Scottish foot, into which the horses plunged up to the counter, and with great difficulty cleared it. Yet, undismayed by these adverse circumstances, Lord Grey, heading his men-at-arms, struggled through, and with his front companies charged full upon the enemy's left. No human force, however, could break the wall against which he had thrown himself, and in an incredibly short time two hundred saddles were emptied, the horses being stabbed in the belly with the spears, and the riders who had fallen, speedily dispatched by the whingers or short double-edged daggers, which the Scots carried at their girdle. Such was the fate of Shelly, Ratcliff, Clarence, Preston, and other brave and veteran commanders of the Bulleners. Flammock, who carried the English standard, saved the colours, but left the staff in the hands of the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Lord Grey himself was dangerously hurt in the mouth and neck. Many horses, furious from their wounds, and

<sup>1</sup> So that it were as easy, to use the words of an eye-witness, for a bare finger to pierce the skin of an angry hedge-hog, as for any one to encounter the brunt of their pikes.—Patten, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Herries' Memoirs, p. 20.

plunging in their agony, carried disorder into their own companies, and such was soon the inextricable confusion into which the whole body of the men-at-arms was thrown, that a portion of them, breaking away, fled through the ranks of their own division, whilst Lord Grey had the greatest difficulty in extricating the rest, and retreating up the hill with their shattered and wounded remains. At this critical moment, had Angus been supported by the rest of the army, or had the Scots possessed any body of men-at-arms, who by a timely charge might have improved their advantage, the English would in all probability have been undone.<sup>1</sup> But the cavalry had been nearly cut to pieces in the action of the day before, and the centre and rear under the Governor and Huntly were still at a considerable distance; the vanward, therefore, unable to pursue the fugitives, and not choosing to advance against the main body of the enemy till certain of support, halted for a brief space. The opportunity was thus lost, and the Earl of Warwick, aware of the infinite value of a few minutes gained at such a juncture, galloped through the wavering ranks of the advance, re-established their order, disengaged the men-at-arms from the infantry, and rallying them, with the assistance of Sir Ralph Sadder, pushed forward the company of the Spanish carabineers. These fine troops, armed both man and horse in complete mail, galloped up to the brink of the broad ditch, and coming within half-musket range

<sup>1</sup> Hayward, p. 284. Patten, pp. 61, 62, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Patten, p. 65. Ho'linshed, p. 239.

discharged their pieces full in the faces of the Scottish infantry. This attack was seconded by Sir Peter Mewtas, who brought up his foot hacbutteers: the archers now moving rapidly forward discharged a flight of arrows, and at the same moment the artillery, which had been judiciously placed on the hill, were made to bear upon Angus's division, who, dreading the effect of so complicated an attack, began to fall back, though in good order, to the main battle. At this instant the Highlanders, who, unable to resist their plundering propensities, were dispersed over the field, stripping the slain, mistook this retrograde movement for a flight, and seized with a sudden panic began to run off in all directions. Their terror communicated itself to the borough troops: these formed a main portion of the centre, and starting from their ranks, although still a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy, they threw away their weapons, and followed the Highlanders. In the midst of this shameful confusion, the Governor, instead of exerting himself to rally the fugitives, shouted treason, a cry which only increased the disorder. The Earl of Warwick meanwhile was coming fast forward, the horsemen once more showed themselves ready to charge, and the English centre and rear hastened on at an accelerated pace. Had the Scottish vanward been certain that support was near at hand, they might, even alone, have withstood this formidable attack; but, deserted by the rest of the army, they did not choose to sacrifice themselves; and the body which so lately had opposed an impenetrable front to the enemy

beginning first to undulate to and fro like a steely sea, agitated by the wind, after a few moments was seen breaking into a thousand fragments and dispersed in all directions: every thing was now lost, the ground over which the flight lay was as thickly strewed with pikes as a floor with rushes; helmets, bucklers, swords, daggers, and steel caps lay scattered on every side, cast away by their owners, as impeding their speed, and the chase beginning at one o'clock continued till six in the evening with extraordinary slaughter. The English demi-lances and men-at-arms, irritated by their late defeat, hastened after the fugitives with a speed heightened by revenge<sup>1</sup>, and passing across the field of their late action, were doubly exasperated by seeing the bodies of their brave companions stript by the Highlanders lying all naked and mangled before their eyes. Crying to one another to remember Panierheugh, the spot where Sir Ralph Evre and his company had in the former year been cut to pieces by the Earl of Angus, they spurred at the top of their speed after the fugitives, cutting them down on all sides, and admitting none to quarter, but those from whom they hoped for a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three several ways, some straight upon Edinburgh, some along the coast to Leith, but the most part towards Dalkeith, with the object of throwing the morass, which had defended the right of their camp, between them and their pursuers.<sup>2</sup> Yet this proved so ineffectual a security, that, before the chase was ended, fourteen

<sup>1</sup> Patten, p. 66.<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

thousand were slain, the river running red with blood, and the ground for five miles in distance and four in breadth being covered, says an eye-witness, as thick with dead bodies, as cattle in a well-stocked pasture field.<sup>1</sup> It was recorded, that in Edinburgh alone this day's battle made three hundred and sixty widows.<sup>2</sup> Little pity was shown to the priests, multitudes of whom were slain,<sup>3</sup> and mingled amongst the corpses of common soldiers, whilst their sacred banner lay trampled under foot and soiled with blood.

The evening was now advancing to night, the pursuit had lasted for five hours, and the Protector causing a retreat to be sounded, the army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish tents, where joyous at their victory, they gave a long loud shout, which, as they afterwards were told, was so shrill and piercing, that it was heard in the streets of the capital.<sup>4</sup>

This great defeat, named from the adjoining fields the battle of Pinky, if immediately followed up by Somerset, might have led to results most fatal to Scotland. Had he pursued the fugitive Governor to Stirling, where the young Queen was kept, made himself master of its castle, which could not have held out long against such a force as he commanded, occupied Edinburgh, seized and fortified the town and harbour of Leith, and after leaving a garrison to defend it, taken his progress through the country, and offered a general protection to the Scots, the

<sup>1</sup> Patten, p. 67

<sup>2</sup> Herries' Memoirs, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Patten, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 71.

consequences must have been eminently hazardous. But providentially for Scotland, the Protector at this moment received information of secret plots against him in England; and he resolved to hurry home, that he might confront and defeat his enemies. His measures, in consequence of this abrupt decision, were confused and ill-digested. Their cruelty alienated the minds of the people, and their impolicy shook the confidence of the Scottish barons who had attached themselves to his service. Advancing from Edgebuckling Bray, where he had encamped after the battle, to Leith, he quartered his horse in the town, ravaged the neighbouring country, received the submission of the Earl of Bothwell, whom he released from prison,<sup>1</sup> burnt Kinghorn, with some petty fishing ports upon the coast of Fife, and garrisoned a deserted monastery upon Inch Colm, a small island in the Firth. He next spoiled the Abbey of Holyrood, from which he tore off the leaden roof, set fire to Leith, and having remained no longer than a week, commenced his retreat on the 18th of Sept., 1547.<sup>2</sup> The fleet at the same time weighed anchor, and in their passage homeward took possession of the strong castle of Broughty, situated at the mouth of the Tay, which by the treachery of Lord Gray, its owner, was, on the first summons, delivered to the enemy.<sup>3</sup> It was newly fortified and garrisoned, after

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Lesly, Hist. pp. 200, 201. Diurnal of Occurents, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. Paper Off. Lord Clinton, Andrew Dudley, &c. to the Lord Protector, 24th Sept. 1547.



which Clinton returned with his navy to England. During the retreat of Somerset through Merse and Teviotdale he received the submission of the chief men of these districts, who swore fealty to King Edward, and surrendered their castles to the Protector. Amongst these were the Lairds of Cessford, Fernihirst, Ormeston, Mellerstain, and many others. He then seized and garrisoned the strong castle of Hume, and repaired Roxburgh, building a new fort upon the site of the old castle. For the speedy completion of this he was so earnest, that he put his own hand to the spade and shovel, encouraging his lords and officers to the like exertions, so that within a few days it was ready to receive a garrison.<sup>1</sup>

While still at this place intelligence reached the army of the success of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton, who, two days before the battle, had entered Scotland by the west marches at the head of a body of five thousand men. The object was to create a diversion in these parts, and prevent them from sending their force to join the main army of Scotland. In this inroad they took Castlemilk, giving it in charge to Sir Edward Dudley, wasted the country with fire and sword, and razed to the ground the town of Annan, blowing up the church and steeple, where a brave officer named Lyon, with the Master of Maxwell, and the Lairds of Johnston

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 106, 107. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 111. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary. Sir E. Dudley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 11th Sept. 1547-8, p. 24.

and Cockpool made a desperate defence, and were permitted to retire with their lives.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this success, the whole of Annandale was struck with such terror, that it submitted to England, the borderers swearing allegiance to Edward, and giving pledges for their fidelity.<sup>2</sup> Of these advantages, however, Somerset neglected to avail himself, and whilst such was his impolitic conduct, the measures on the part of the Scots, who still remained true to their allegiance, were prompt and decisive. The cruelty of the slaughter at Pinky, and the subsequent severities at Leith, excited universal indignation; and the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance, amid the groans of its dying citizens and the flames of its sea-ports, was revolting and absurd. The Queen Mother, a woman of much spirit and political talent, seized the opportunity to infuse vigour and decision into the national councils. Meeting the Governor, who immediately after his defeat had hurried to Stirling, she assembled the nobility around her, and proposed that a new army should be levied, whilst ambassadors should be despatched to France, with a request for instant assistance. As the enemy still occupied Leith, the infant Queen for the sake of security was conveyed from Stirling to the monastery of Inchmahome, situated in a little island in the Lake of Menteith, where she remained with her governors Lords

<sup>1</sup> Anderson MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 111. MS. letter, St. P. Off. Lord Wharton to the Protector, Carlisle, Sept. 16, 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, MS. Hist. p. 111.

Erskine and Livingston till the retreat of the Protector.<sup>1</sup> Upon that event, however, the first alarm having subsided, a council was held by the Governor and the Queen Dowager at Stirling, in which it was determined that as the education of the young Queen could not be conducted with any safety or advantage in a country exposed to daily war, she should be sent to the Court of France. D'Osell, the French ambassador, assured the nobility that no more likely method could be adopted to secure the speedy assistance of his master; and finding the proposal agreeable to them, the Queen Mother suggested that the French Dauphin, under the circumstances in which the kingdom was now placed, would be an infinitely more appropriate match for their Queen, when she arrived at a marriageable age, than the English monarch, whose hand had been so rudely forced upon her. This scheme could not fail to be disagreeable to Arran the Governor, who had designed her for his own son; but his influence was on the wane, and although nothing definitive was settled, the ambassadors to the French Court were permitted to sound the inclinations of Henry the Second, who eagerly embraced the overture.<sup>2</sup>

Although the resolute measures adopted by the Queen Dowager, and the retreat of Somerset, sup-

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, Bannat. Ed. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 204. MS. Letter, B. C. State P. Off. Glencairn to the Protector, 23rd Oct. 1547. Also, MS. Letter B. C., Lord Grey to the Protector with the Enclosure, 31st Oct. 1547. Same to the Same, MS. Letter B. C. State P. Off., 16th Nov. 1547. MS. Letter B. C., Grey to the Protector, with news from Scotland, 24th Nov. 1547.

ported in some degree the spirit of the country, it was scarcely to be expected that, under the circumstances in which Scotland stood, the struggle against England could be much longer continued. The land was shamefully deserted by the greater part of its nobility. The Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, and Lennox, the Lords Maxwell, Boyd, Gray, and Cranston, the Lairds of Ormeston and Brunston, with many other barons, had entered the service of England, given hostages for their fidelity, and sworn to secret articles which bound them to obey the orders of the Protector.<sup>1</sup> On the side of the Queen, indeed, Argile, at this time one of the most powerful barons in Scotland, had advanced (Jan. 1547-8) at the head of a large force to Dundee, with the determination of making himself master of Broughty Castle, and compelling the English to abandon that part of the country.<sup>2</sup> A seasonable bribe, however, of one thousand crowns caused an immediate and discreditable change of purpose, and imitating the example of his brethren, he embraced the service of England and retired from Dundee,<sup>3</sup> (5th Feb., 1547-8). Bothwell, whose power was

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey to the Protector, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 20th Oct. 1547; also MS. Letter, *Ibid*, Glencairn to Lord Wharton, 23rd Oct. 1547; also MS. Letter, 3rd Oct. 1547, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn to Lord Wharton, St. P. Off. B. C.: also MS. Letter, 19th Oct. 1547, Grey to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sir Aud. Dudley to the Protector, 27th Dec. 1547.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 5th Feb. 1547-8, Sir Aud. Dudley to the Protector. *Ibid*, Lord Gray of Scotland to the Protector, 7th

great upon the marches, vacillated alternately between the one party and the other; Huntly, the main stay of the Romanists, who had been taken prisoner at Pinky, was allowed to proceed to Newcastle on a solemn engagement to further the views of Edward. Lord Maxwell, another of the prisoners, unscrupulously imitated his example, and Sir George Douglas, the ablest and most unprincipled of the party, not only signed the secret articles, but communicated a plan for an invasion, by which the whole country might be brought in a short time under the subjection of England.<sup>1</sup> With such men, however, no promises or oaths were held sacred; and extraordinary as it may appear, to those barons who had selfishly and basely engaged with the enemy, Scotland at this time owed her preservation. On the 18th of Feb. 1547-8, Lord Wharton assembled the power of the western marches. He was joined by the Earl of Lennox, who commanded the Scottish borderers in the service of England, and, according to their agreement, he expected to be strengthened by Feb. 1547-8. The first being a receipt of Gray for a thousand crowns to be paid to Argile; the second stating "that Argile's mind is wonderfully given to further the King's godly purpose. MS. Letter, Feb. 15th, 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.

<sup>1</sup> Grey to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C. MS. Letter, Ibid. 21st Nov. 1547, Lord Gray to the Protector. MS. Letter, Ibid. 31st Oct. 1547, Lord Grey to the Protector; also, Ibid. 24th Nov. 1547, Lord Grey to the Protector; also, Ibid. 20th March, 1547-8, Lord Huntly to the Protector; also, Ibid. Grey to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547; also, Ibid. 15th Nov. 1547, Lord Wharton to the Protector.

the whole power of the Douglasses, and the master of Maxwell, who held the chief command in these parts. Maxwell, however, after having given pledges to England, was bribed to desert his agreement, by a promise that he should marry the heiress of Terregles, a rich ward of the Governor's ; and Angus, notwithstanding his near connexion with Lennox, deserted him. On his advance Wharton found in his allies, to use his own expressive phrase, "an accustomed fashion of untruth." The Scottish Earl made his appearance, but afterwards escaped to his own men ; and enraged at this breach of promise, Wharton determined to waste the country and take vengeance on such treachery. Incautiously dividing his little army, which consisted of three thousand men, he sent forward the cavalry under his son Henry, and himself followed with the foot. But scarce had he proceeded a few miles through a wild, difficult, and wasted country, when he was attacked and entirely routed by the Earl of Angus.<sup>1</sup> The Scottish Lord had first dispersed the party in advance ; and the assured Scots under the master of Maxwell, who composed a considerable portion of the English force, no sooner saw the day likely to turn against their employers, than, following the example shown at Ancrum, they tore away their red crosses and slaughtered their allies

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, 15th Nov. 1547, State P. Off., B. C. Lord Wharton to the Protector. Ibid. 18th Feb. 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector. MS. Letter, Ibid. Lord Wharton to the Protector, Lochmaben, 21st Feb. 1547-8. Ibid. MS. Letter, 23rd Feb. 1547-8. Thomas Wharton to the Protector.

without honour or mercy.<sup>1</sup> Yet, although successful, it was a dear bought victory to the Scots, six hundred being slain or drowned in the river Nith, and many of the principal barons made prisoners in a charge of cavalry, which checked the triumph of the enemy though it could not restore the day. Wharton, after making extraordinary efforts, by which he extricated himself from his perilous embarrassment, retreated with the remnant of his force to Carlisle,<sup>2</sup> and Lord Grey, who at the same time had pushed forward to Haddington, was compelled by the news of this severe reverse to retire to Berwick. He had been joined by the Lairds of Ormeston, Brunston, and many of the barons of Lothian, to the number of one thousand horse; their houses on his precipitate retreat, were sacked by the Governor, and in one noted instance Arran hanged every man in the garrison which held out against him.<sup>3</sup> This impolitic cruelty drew after it a stern and terrible retaliation. Pledges, as we have seen, had been given by the Scots in the English service, as hostages for their fidelity, and amongst these were many young and noble youths. Lord Wharton, smarting under his defeat, and exasperated by the desertion of Max-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 23rd Feb. 1547-8, Carlisle. Thomas Wharton to the Protector.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton to the Protector, 25th Feb. 1547-8. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., B. C.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter. Grey to the Protector, 23rd Feb. 1547-8, St. P. Off.; also 27th Feb. 1547-8. Grey to the Protector, St. P. Off. B. C.; and Same to the Same, 1st March, 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.

well and the assured Scots, held a court for the trial of the pledges, at the "Moot Hill," beside Carlisle, and condemned ten to be hanged: four of these were instantly executed, amidst the tears and lamentations of their friends who vainly implored delay; six were respited, whilst some priests and friars who had been caught in the Scottish army were dragged along with halters round their necks, and threatened to be tied up to the nearest trees.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these difficulties, when the Governor, despairing of foreign assistance, was about to give up the contest, the conduct of the Queen Mother deserved much praise. Upon the retreat of the Protector, she brought back the young Queen from the monastery of Inchmahome to the castle of Dumbarton, and took immediate steps for transporting her into France.<sup>2</sup>

Alarmed by so decisive a measure, the Protector determined to make an attempt at conciliation, and some months after his retreat, addressed a manifesto (February 5th, 1547-8) to the Governor, in which he disclaimed all views of subjugating the realm, or subverting the government of Scotland. His only object, he declared, was, by marriage, to unite the two kingdoms upon a footing of perfect equality, and he desired that the names of England and Scotland,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, Lennox and Wharton to the Protector, 25th Feb. 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.; also, Lord Wharton to the Protector, 18th March 1547-8, St. P. Off. B. C.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C., 27th Feb. 1547-8. Lord Grey to the Protector. Ibid. 4th March, 1547-8. A Scottish Spy to Lord Wharton.



which had for so many centuries been arrayed in mortal hostility against each other, should henceforth be sunk under the common appellation of Britain.<sup>1</sup> These advances, however, came too late; and having been disregarded by the Governor, Lord Grey, at the head of a powerful force, once more entered the country, carried his ravages through the Merse and Midlothian up to the gates of the capital, rased Dalkeith and Musselburgh, took and fortified Lauder and Haddington, and after leaving in the last place a strong garrison, returned to England.<sup>2</sup> This expedition was rendered remarkable by the taking of the castle of Dalkeith, the stronghold of the crafty and able leader, George Douglas; who, after his old fashion, represented himself as favourably inclined to England. "I pretended no manner of enmity against him," says Grey in a letter to the Protector, "but that still I had hope of his conversion, to breed in him such trust, that the less doubting, the sooner I might be revenged or get him into my hands." Trusting to these assurances the Scottish Baron lay secure, as he believed, in his castle, whilst Gamboa, a Spanish leader in the service of England, and sixty mounted hacbutteers, scoured and burnt the country in his neighbourhood; but before the least intelligence could reach him, Captain Wilford, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iii. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 46, 47. MS. Letter. St. P. Off.— B. C. Grey to the Protector, 23 April, 1548. Also MS. Letter Same to Same, 12 June, 1548. Ibid. B. C.

had crossed the Esk, and pushing forward his advance, summoned the castle. Even then Douglas boldly encountered him at the head of his pikemen. By superiority of numbers, however, he was driven back through a postern. The English gained the base court after a desperate struggle, in which forty of the Scots were slain, and Wilford was proceeding to undermine and blow up the walls, when the garrison yielded without conditions. Much wealth was found in the place, as, according to Gray's account, "all the country had brought their goods together, thinking that nothing could prevail against George's policy.<sup>1</sup> He himself escaped, but his wife, his eldest son, the Master of Morton, afterwards Regent; the Abbot of Arbroath, a natural son of Angus, Home the Laird of Wedderburn, and many of the Douglasses, fell into the hands of the enemy. To be thus overreached and entrapped in his own devices was peculiarly mortifying to this long-practised intriguer, and seems to have sunk deeper into his spirit than the loss either of his wife or his castle. Meanwhile the Governor had been repulsed in an attempt against Broughty Fort; and the chief citizens of Dundee, amongst whom the doctrines of the Reformation were making great progress, declared for England<sup>2</sup> Many of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, Grey to the Lord Protector.—St. P. Off. June 4, 1548.

<sup>2</sup> They offered to hold their town against all the efforts of the Governor, and, in return, requested some good preacher to be sent them, with a supply of English bibles and other godly books. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Dudley to the Protector, Nov. 1, 1547.

leading Scottish barons had already, as we have seen, signed articles of submission to the Protector,<sup>1</sup> and so successful was Wharton, that six thousand men had bound themselves to join his force, giving hostages for their fidelity.<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances, we can scarcely be surprised that the people, worn out by the continuance of war and the ravages of the plague, which now desolated the country, were on the point of falling into despair. At such a time, therefore, it was with no ordinary feelings upon the part not only of the Queen Mother and her friends, but of the nation, that a French fleet was seen to enter the Firth, and an army of six thousand foreign troops soon after disembarked at Leith (16th June).<sup>3</sup> It was commanded by Andrew de Montalembert, *Sieur D'Essé*, an experienced officer, and, besides an excellent train of artillery, included three thousand Germans under the 'Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians led by *Leo Strozzi*. Arran instantly joined them with a force of five thousand men, and after a few days spent in consultation, the united armies invested Haddington, whilst a Parliament assembled (17th July) in the abbey beside the town.<sup>4</sup> At this

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey to the Protector, 20 Oct., 1547. St. P. Off. B. C.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Wharton to the Protector. Carlisle, Nov. 12, 1547.

<sup>3</sup> De Thou, Book v. p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Lesly, pp. 208, 209. MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. Grey to the Protector, June 17, 1548. Ibid. July 14, 1548, Lord Wharton to the Protector.

meeting of the three estates, Monsieur D'Essé brought from his royal master an affectionate assurance of his anxiety to assist his allies in defence of their independence against, what he termed, the cruelty and arrogance of England. He declared he was ready, in addition to the army now sent, to grant them every further aid that might be necessary, in troops, money, and arms, and he concluded by expressing the anxiety of the French monarch that the league which for so many centuries had bound the nations to each other, should now be further strengthened by a marriage between his son, the Dauphin, and their youthful Queen,<sup>1</sup> whose education, if they would commit her to his charge, he would superintend with the utmost care and affection. To these proposals the Scottish parliament unanimously agreed, under the single condition that the French monarch should solemnly promise to preserve the laws and liberty of the realm of Scotland, as they had existed under the race of her own kings. Measures were immediately adopted for the passage of the infant Queen to France, and as it was known that the Protector, aware of the design, had sent Clinton with a fleet to intercept her, great caution was necessary.

Monsieur Villegagnon, with four galleys, weighing anchor from Leith, pretended to sail for France, but on clearing the mouth of the Firth, he changed his course, and passing through the Pentland Firth round

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 481, 482.

Scotland, came before Dumbarton,<sup>1</sup> where the Queen awaited his arrival. Mary, who was now a beautiful infant in her sixth year, was delivered by her mother to Monsieur de Breze, who conveyed her on board the royal galley. She was accompanied by her governors the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and by the Lord James, her natural brother, afterwards the regent Murray, and then a youth in his seventeenth year; whilst along with her embarked her four Marys, children of a like name and age with herself, selected as her playmates from the families of Fleming, Beton, Seton, and Livingston.<sup>2</sup> Scarce had she embarked when the English admiral, with his fleet, was seen off St. Abb's head, but setting sail about the 7th of August, the little squadron with its royal freight escaped every danger, and cast anchor in the harbour of Brest on the 13th of August, 1548. From this place the young Queen took her progress to the palace of St. Germain, where she was joyfully received by the French monarch, and an honourable court and household appointed for her<sup>3</sup> at the public expense. Having completed these arrangements, Henry directed his ambassador, Monsieur de Selves, to inform the Protector and his council that, as father of the Dauphin, the affianced husband of the Scottish Queen, and to whom the estates of her realm had

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. 29 July, 1548, Brende to the Protector. Lesly, p. 209. Bannat. Edn. Lord Herries' Memoirs, p. 23,

<sup>2</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 47. MS. Letter. St. P. Off. B. C. Grey to the Protector, 7 Aug. 1548.

<sup>3</sup> Lesly, p. 210.

already given the investiture of the kingdom, he had taken Scotland under his protection, and considered it as included in the peace between France and England. He required him, therefore, to abstain from all hostilities against that country, and promised that a like cessation should be observed by the Scots.<sup>1</sup>

It was not to be expected that this intimation should produce any effect, and the war continued with equal animosity as before, but at first the success was on the side of England. Haddington held out against every effort of the foreign troops, and although a body of one thousand five hundred English horse who escorted a supply of ammunition, were defeated with great slaughter, such was the bravery of the garrison under Sir John Wilford, that the siege was first turned into a blockade, and afterwards abandoned on the approach of the Earl of Shrewsbury at the head of an army of twenty-two thousand men. To co-operate with the land troops, a fleet under Lord Clinton appeared in the Firth, and making a descent at St. Monan, on the coast of Fife were encountered and defeated with great slaughter by the Lord James, lately returned from France,<sup>2</sup> who, on the first intelligence of danger, had mustered the strength of Fife, and here first gave a proof of that cool and determined character which afterwards raised him to such a height of power.<sup>3</sup> To balance this success, however, Haddington was

<sup>1</sup> *Memoires D'Etat*, par Ribier, ii. p. 152. *Carte*, vol. iii. p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Lord Herries' Memoirs*, p. 24. *Carte*, vol. iii. p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Anderson's MS. History*, vol. ii. p. 122 dorso.

fully supplied, and its garrison strengthened by four hundred horse, Dumbar was burnt, Dundee taken, a strong fort raised at Broughty,<sup>1</sup> which overawed the country, another begun at Dunglass, and a force of three thousand German troops encamped in the neighbourhood to complete the work, and reduce that district.<sup>2</sup>

On the retreat, however, of Shrewsbury to England, affairs began to assume a different aspect, and the tide of success soon turned completely in favour of the Scots and their foreign allies. The war, too, assumed a character of more than common ferocity. The Scots, not contented with the slaughter of the captives who fell into their hands, purchased their English prisoners from the French, that they might have the gratification of subjecting them to the most ingenious and protracted kinds of death. Of such excesses, disgraceful as they undoubtedly were, the causes were to be found in the conduct of the English themselves. The cruel slaughter at Pinky,<sup>3</sup> the burning of their sea ports and shipping, the destruction of their harvest, and the pitiless severity with which the repeated invasions of the country had been accompanied, had at length animated the Scots with a universal feeling of revenge, which manifested itself in the most shocking excesses: one example of such scenes may be given as illustrating the times. Farnyhurst Castle, on the east borders, had submitted to

<sup>1</sup> It was called the Brakehill, MS Privy Seal, 1548-9, Feb. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lesly, pp. 211, 212, 214, 215, 216. Carte, vol. iii. p. 222, 223.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter. St. P. Off. 19 Oct. 1550. Mason to the Privy Council.

the English; it was strongly garrisoned, and the commandant and his soldiers had made themselves obnoxious to the common people by many shameful excesses of rapine and licentiousness. Siege was laid to it by the Scottish and foreign troops; the base court was gained, the English archers were driven by the fire of the hacbutteers into the keep, and the engineers had effected a breach in the inner wall, when the commander, afraid of falling into the hands of the Scots, stole forth, and surrendered to the *Sieur D'Esse*, imploring his protection; but it was in vain, a borderer beholding in him the brutal ravisher of his wife, broke through every impediment, and ere his arm could be arrested, at one blow carried his head four paces from his body.<sup>1</sup> The English had repaired and garrisoned the ruinous fortress of Roxburgh immediately subsequent to the battle of Pinky; the chiefs on the east border had sworn allegiance to the Protector, and the west borderers submitted universally to Lord Wharton, but the submission which had been extorted by fear was, on the first success of the foreign troops, exchanged for the bitterest hostility, and in a short space of time, the country which had been occupied by the enemy was wrested from their hands. The castle of Hume was retaken, the governor of Haddington, Sir John Wilford, made prisoner, and the party he commanded entirely defeated; the German garrison, which had been left in Coldingham, were cut to pieces, the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, p. 224.



expelled from their fortifications in Inch Keith, the important strength of Fascal castle recovered by stratagem, and the English at length compelled to abandon Haddington, the defence of which had cost them so much blood and treasure.<sup>1</sup> But the employment of foreign troops generally brings some calamity along with it: if successful, they insist on a monopoly of the glory; if defeated, they throw the blame upon their employers, and in either case jealousy and heartburnings arise. These causes seem to have operated to their full extent during the campaigns of the French in Scotland, and at last broke out in a tumult in the capital, which was only appeased after the death of the Laird of Stenhouse, the Provost, and the slaughter of many of the citizens.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of these transactions a reinforcement of a thousand foot and three hundred horse arrived from France, (June 23, 1549,) under the command of De Thermes, an experienced officer, who prosecuted the war with such vigor and ability that the English were every where defeated, and compelled at last to surrender the castle of Broughty, their strongest remaining fortress in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Having obtained this advantage, the Governor laid siege to Lauder, and in a successful attack, had already driven the enemy into the inner court, when intelligence was brought that peace had been concluded at Boulogne between France and England, upon which hostilities were immediately

<sup>1</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 49. Lesly, p. 231, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Lesly, p. 217, 218.

<sup>3</sup> Lesly, p. 227, 228, 231.

suspended.<sup>1</sup> It was found that the French monarch had stipulated very favourable terms for his allies. The English agreed to evacuate Scotland; to demolish the forts which they had raised at Dunglass, Roxburgh, and Eymouth, to surrender Lauder, and to abstain from any invasion, unless upon some new provocation.<sup>2</sup> To these conditions the Governor lost no time in giving in his adherence, sending the Master of Erskine as his Ambassador into France for that purpose, and peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1550.<sup>3</sup>

Thus after a war of nine years were the English obliged to abandon their extravagant projects of compelling the Scots by force of arms into a matrimonial alliance. Had their measures been more judicious and the mode of courtship less boisterous, the match under due restrictions might have proved acceptable to the Governor, the nobles, and the common people—but the violence of the Protector defeated his object, threw his enemy into the arms of France, and rendered the breach between the two nations still wider than before.

To the Queen Mother nothing could be more acceptable than this successful termination of hostilities. The betrothing of the infant Queen to the Dauphin, the brilliant successes of the foreign

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 5. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 4, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Book of Privy Council, fol. 4. p. 2. Proclamatio Pacis, 20th April, 1550.

troops, and the terms of the peace, established the ascendancy of the French interest, and gave Henry the Second an influence in the management of Scottish affairs, of which she now resolved to avail herself. She had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Governor, and instigated alike by her own ambition and the advice of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal Lorrain, she formed the bold design of supplanting him in the possession of the supreme power. To accomplish this by force was impossible. Towards the conclusion of the war the people and the nobles became jealous of the French auxiliaries,<sup>1</sup> the feeling was increased by the obligations which they owed to them, and the slightest appearance of compulsion employed towards Arran would have roused a spirit of universal opposition. Mary of Guise determined to gain her purpose by the more artful weapons of intrigue and bribery. She knew the venality of the Scottish nobles, she was familiar with the timid and irresolute character of the Governor, and she did not despair, so to manage matters, that he should at length be reduced to save himself from increasing

<sup>1</sup> Illustrations of the reign of Queen Mary p. 30-31. Thomas Fisher to the Protector, Oct. 11, 1548. Some minute and interesting particulars of the war in Scotland, and the conduct of the French auxiliaries under D'Essé and De Thermes, will be found in the above valuable volume of original letters (the contribution of Mr. Kirkman Finlay to the Maitland Club). See also in the same Volume, p. 36. Letter from Sir Thomas Holcroft to the Lord Protector, Somerset, 24th July, 1549, pp. 36, 39. Also Same to Same, 25th Sept. 1549.

unpopularity by a voluntary demission of the regency. Her first step towards the prosecution of these views was to repair to the Court of France, her ostensible object being a visit to her daughter, her real purpose to obtain the advice and co-operation of the French monarch. In the month of September, Strozzi, Prior of Capua, brought a small squadron of French ships to anchor at New-haven, and the Queen Mother embarked for France. She was accompanied by De Thermes, La Chapelle, and other French officers, and by some of the principal nobility of Scotland, amongst whom were the Earls of Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, and Marshall, the Lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell, with the Prelates of Caithness and Galloway.<sup>1</sup> Landing at Dieppe (19 September, 1550,) they immediately proceeded to Rouen, where the court was then held, and were received with much distinction.<sup>2</sup> Amidst the festivities which welcomed her arrival,<sup>3</sup> Mary of Guise explained her graver schemes against Arran to the French Cabinet, and found them warmly encouraged by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise. Nor did they find it difficult

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, p. 235. MS. Letter. State Paper Office. Privy Council of England to Sir John Mason, Ambas. in France, 11 Aug. 1550. Vol. of Sir John Mason's Corr. State Pap. Office, p. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Mason to the Privy Council. MS. Letter, 6th Oct. 1550. Same vol. p. 118.—State Pap. Off. Lesley, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Mason the English Ambass. describes her as almost worshipped as a Goddess. Sir John Mason, to Privy Council. State Pap. Office. Corr. p. 240. 23 Feb. 1550.

to bring over the French monarch to their opinion. They contended that on the success of such a plan depended the preservation of the French influence and of the Romish religion in Scotland. If the first failed, the other, they said, must inevitably decay; and it was to be feared, from the great progress already made by heresy in that country, that a reformation would be established in Scotland, similar to that which had taken place in its sister kingdom. On the contrary, if the pre eminence of French councils could be secured all would go well, and Ireland, which was universally ripe for insurrection, would throw off her allegiance, and needed but a token from France to be wholly at her devotion.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this last a vain boast. The archbishop of Armagh, a busy envoy of the papal government, who had been sent into that country with a commission to encourage a revolt against England, had arrived at the French Court soon after the Queen Dowager, and, after giving an encouraging description of the universal discontent which prevailed in that unhappy country, proceeded to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter. Mason to the Privy Council. Corr. p. 129. 19th Oct. 1550. The talk of this Court amongst the baser sort is very large of our things. Especially since the arriving of the Scots \* \* \* Ireland, they say, is theirs when the King shall give but a token.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Mason to Privy Council. MS. Letter. 8th Feb. 1550-1. Corresp. p. 231. The Archbishop's name was Wauchop, who, although blind from his infancy, was a great diplomatist. See Lesly, p. 242.

Convinced by such arguments, Henry declared his satisfaction with the projects of the Queen Mother, and Panter, Bishop of Ross, the Scottish ambassador at the Court of France, with Sir Robert Carnegy and Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, repaired to Scotland for the purpose of breaking the affair to the Regent. This they did in an artful manner. They represented to him the dilapidation of the revenue and the crown-lands which had taken place during his government, the rigid reckoning to which he must be called when the young Queen came of age, and the impossibility of obtaining an honourable discharge, if he remained in his dangerous elevation. On the other hand, they held out the splendid bribe of the Dukedom of Chastelherault for himself, and an establishment at the French Court for his eldest son, if he agreed to resign the government; whilst they strengthened the party of the Queen Mother by liberal promises to the Scottish nobles.<sup>1</sup> It happened that at this moment the Governor was deprived of the counsels of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who then lay on what was supposed a death-bed. The influence of a talented and determined opponent was thus removed, and Arran left to himself gave a reluctant and conditional assent.<sup>2</sup> Having so far succeeded, Mary of Guise took leave

<sup>1</sup> Lesly. p. 237. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 884. Anderson, MS. History, vol. ii. p. 153. The Earl of Huntly was promised the Earldom of Murray, and his son who had married a daughter of the Governor was to be made Earl of Rothsay.

<sup>2</sup> Lesly, p. 238. Melvill's Memoirs, pp. 20, 21.

of her daughter, the Scottish Queen, and passed over from France to the Court of England, where she had an amicable interview with Edward the Sixth.<sup>1</sup> This was politic and judicious. It evinced her resolution to preserve pacific relations with this country, and formed part of that system of universal conciliation which for the present she had determined to maintain. Some time before this the Master of Erskine, and Sinclair, the president of the Session, had proceeded on an embassy to Flanders, where they concluded a peace with the Emperor,<sup>2</sup> and tranquillity being thus established abroad, the Queen on her return to Scotland devoted her undivided energy to the composition of all differences amongst the nobility, and the establishment of order and good government. In justice to Arran, the Regent, it ought to be stated, that during her absence in France he had exerted himself to accommodate those border differences which had ever been so fertile a cause of exasperation, and in a convention signed by commissioners of both kingdoms at Norham, some wise regulations were introduced for the determination of the boundaries, the tranquillity of the Debateable Land, and the security of the commercial intercourse between the two countries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Mason, Corr. p. 204. State Pap. Off. MS. Letter. Sir John Mason to the Privy Council, 20th Jan. 1550 -1. Anderson, MS. History vol. ii. p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Maitland, vol. ii. p. 885. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 265. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 485, 488, 489.

Nor was this all, two parliaments were held at Edinburgh, in the spring and the winter of the year 1551, in which, amid much of that rude and narrow legislation which marks the age, some salutary laws were introduced. A vain attempt was made to fix the prices of wine and of provisions, and repress the inordinate luxury of the table.<sup>1</sup> An enactment was passed against the sins affirmed to be scandalously common—of adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship; and the press, which it is declared had teemed with lewd rhymes and ballads, with scandalous songs and tragedies, was subjected to the censorship of an ordinary, and restricted by a law, which compelled every printer to obtain a licence from the Queen and the Governor.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently to this, Arran took his progress through the northern parts of the kingdom, holding justice courts in the principal towns, and proceeded afterwards, accompanied by the Queen Regent, to visit for the same purpose the western and southern districts of the realm. During the late war licentious disorders of all kinds had grown up amongst the lower classes, the restrictions of the laws were despised, the clergy forgetful of the sanctity of their

<sup>1</sup> No Archbishop, Bishop, or Earl, was permitted to have more than eight dishes of meat at his table; to the Abbot and Prior six were allowed, Barons and Freeholders were restricted to four, and wealthy Burgesses to three, with one kind of meat in each.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland, vol. ii. p. 886, 889. Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 483, 490, inclusive.



character had quarrelled regarding the disposal of many rich vacant benefices, their friends had fiercely espoused their claims, and the country presented one wide scene of civil broil and ecclesiastical commotion. To compose this rude state of things required a union of energy and address which might have been deemed beyond the abilities of Arran, but his exertions were seconded by the Queen Mother, who bent all her efforts to the task, and it says much for her talent, temper, and good sense, that the measures which she adopted, were successful. The clergy were satisfied, the nobles reconciled amongst themselves, the lower orders induced, rather than compelled, to respect the laws, and Mary of Guise, by her prudence, and popular manners, so firmly attached all orders to her party, that the Governor began to dread he would be universally deserted.<sup>1</sup>

This moment was artfully seized by her to remind Arran that it was now time for him to fulfil his promise, and resign the regency in her favour, but she met with an indignant refusal. He declared his resolution to retain the high office, which belonged to his rank as nearest heir to the Crown, insisted that no such overtures could be entertained till the young Queen had at least reached the age of twelve years, and so deeply resented the proposal, that he remained in Edinburgh with the few lords who still embraced his party,

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, p. 245.

whilst the Dowager held a brilliant court at Sterling.<sup>1</sup> He contended, and with truth, that since the peace with England he had devoted himself with unremitting assiduity to the duties of his office, to the assembling of the parliaments, the administration of justice, the improvement of the moral character of the people, the recovery of the country from the ravages committed during the war; and now, in return for all this, it was requested that he should at once descend from an almost royal rank, to the condition of a private subject, and lay down his authority at the mandate of a woman. These proud and resentful feelings, so opposite to the sentiments which he had expressed in 1551, were supposed to be instilled into the mind of Arran by his brother, the Primate of St. Andrew's, who had now recovered his health, and with<sup>2</sup> it his influence over the easy temper of his relative. A determined opposition was thus re-organized against the Queen Mother, the Archbishop represented to his brother the madness of retiring from the supreme power, when nothing stood between him and the Crown but the feeble life of a girl,<sup>3</sup> and nearly a year was spent in mutual crimination and intrigue.

The party of the Governor, however, at length became so insignificant, that the Primate was the

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, vol. ii. p. 891. Lesly, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> By the means of the famous Cardan "who hung him certain days by the heels—and fed him with young whelps." MS. Letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 15 Jan. 1561-2.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 21, 73. Lesly, p. 245.

only man of consequence left to him, and the Queen, confident in her strength, threatened to call a Parliament and exact an account of his administration of the royal revenue. She at the same time procured the young Queen her daughter to select as her guardians the King of France, with her uncles, the Cardinal Lorrain and the Duke of Guise. They again devolved their authority upon the Queen Dowager, and although Arran pleaded justly that the transaction was illegal, the young Mary being still in her minority, the objection was overruled, and he at last reluctantly consented to his abdication.

A Parliament accordingly assembled at Edinburgh, on the 12th of April, 1554, in which this solemn transaction was completed. The various instruments of agreement which had been entered into with Arran were first produced. They conferred on him the Dutchy of Chastelherault, and gave him an ample approval of the mode in which he had managed, and the purposes to which he had applied the revenue of the Crown. He was permitted to retain the Castle of Dumbarton till the Scottish Queen attained majority, and he was lastly declared the second person in the realm, and, failing the Queen, nearest heir to the Crown. To these contracts the spiritual and temporal peers having affixed their seals, the Duke of Chastelherault, in the presence of the estates of the realm, resigned the ensigns of his authority into the hands of the Queen Dowager; a commission by the Queen of Scotland

was then produced and read, which appointed her mother, Mary of Lorrain, Regent of her realm, and that Princess rising from her seat accepted the office, and received the homage and congratulations of the assembled nobility. She was then conducted in a public procession with great pomp and acclamation through the city to the palace of Holyrood, and immediately entered upon the administration of the government.<sup>1</sup> Meantime, in the midst of these transactions, the death of Edward the Sixth, (July 6th 1553,) had occasioned a great revolution in England. The accession of Mary, the restoration of the Romish faith, and the marriage between England and Spain, produced important effects upon Scotland, both in its internal state and its foreign policy, the consideration of which, however, belongs to a subsequent period of this history.

<sup>1</sup> Lesly, pp. 247, 249, 250. Anderson's MS. Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 158, 159, 162.